

Which Road in Portugal?



Der Spiegel

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General Links Kennedys to Plot to Kill Castro

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In Tribute to Billy McMillen

Leon Trotsky

Freedom of the Press and the Working Class

The Real Reason for Ford's European Junket

What is the real reason for Ford's junket to Europe?

To believe the official explanation, Nixon's fill-in is meeting with the heads of state in various countries to reassure them about American foreign policy after the knockout suffered in Southeast Asia. It is also averred that the president is taking this means to again stress his message to foes about not trying to take advantage of the battered imperialist goliath, if they know what's good for them.

The official explanation is nonsensical. Ford has already stated these propositions so many times in speeches and news conferences that he has begun to sound like the endless tape of a telephone answering service. Didn't the European heads of state believe these statements? Are they more likely to believe them if they have the opportunity to look Ford in the eye while he repeats them in private?

Moreover, Ford has amply proved by his actions that he has no intention of changing American foreign policy, despite the demagogy about a major review at the time Lon Nol, Thieu, and Ky were given honorable—and highly lucrative—discharges from service as puppets.

The *Mayagüez* incident, a provocation that the Ford administration carried out in accordance with the slogan, "Damn the casualties; full speed ahead!" was, as Kissinger intended, correctly read by the entire world as due notice that if a civil war breaks out in Korea, Washington is committed to repeat there the policy it followed with such signal results in Vietnam.

To this must be added the "leak" that specially equipped electronic submarines are on the prowl on spy missions in Soviet waters; the admission that U-2 spy planes are still in use; and the announcement by Secretary Schlesinger, timed to hit the

headlines during Ford's tour, that the United States is prepared to use "tactical" nuclear weapons in case of a "conventional" Soviet-led attack against Western Europe.

Schlesinger's bomb rattling was especially significant as hard evidence of how little American foreign policy has changed since Truman's time. It was a reminder that the United States now has 7,000 nuclear weapons stockpiled in Western Europe.

The reality of American foreign policy is thoroughly known to Wall Street's West European junior partners and errand governments. So why didn't Ford spend his time on a golf course?

The answer is that the show in Europe is for the benefit of the voters in the United States. The *Mayagüez* affair was the prelude, the present junket the opening act, in the production *The Making of a President for 1976*.

The Madison Avenue advertising experts are constructing what they hope will be a winning image. The ingenuous Boy Scout image of the Republican machine hack went into the wastebasket. With *Mayagüez* the image on TV became that of a Star Spangled anticommunist patriot standing up like a man in defense of America's honor.

With the trip to Europe the image coming into focus on the TV screens in the United States is that of a student of international

affairs showing unexpected talent. And if Kissinger was at his elbow in case he stumbled, as he did in his grand entrance at Salzburg, it was only to keep him from falling flat on his face.

Ford's personal successes as a newly hatched international statesman were of a kind to reinforce the impression that he can be counted on to continue the Nixon tradition in the White House after 1976. There was, for instance, the performance in Madrid in which he rode in an open car with the semicorpse of dictator Franco, the butcher of the Spanish working class.

Franco survived the barnstorming, but barely, according to reliable sources. It was a noble gesture on the shriveled generalissimo's part to go to such lengths to help popularize his friend back home.

The image builders are following the formula that worked so admirably in making the president of 1968 and 1972—get the bum abroad; prearrange some successes for him, some brilliant coups, or at least some publicity stunts like debating Khrushchev in a kitchen. Let Peoria see that your candidate really knows how to run the world.

In one respect, however, they are departing from the script. Nixon, who had the problem of a blue beard that made him look like the crook he was, used to wear pancake makeup for his TV shows. Not so Ford. No pancake makeup for him. He appears in the raw.

All this, you see, really proves that Ford is just what the United States needs for a president—no puppet to Kissinger and no sedulous ape to Nixon. Just a born statesman who came up the hard way, practicing honesty and patriotism for the landlords and businessmen of Grand Rapids, Michigan. □

Save Eva Forest From Franco's Hangmen



GENOVEVA FOREST

International protest actions are urgently needed to save the lives of Spanish feminist Genoveva (Eva) Forest and three other political prisoners held in Franco's jails. The four are scheduled to go on trial on trumped-up charges of assassination. The prosecution is demanding the death pe-

nalty. Forest has already been brutally tortured.

According to information from lawyers in Spain, proceedings in two separate trials will begin June 20.

• Eva Forest, María Luisa Fernández, and J. Antonio Garmendia face charges of having helped organize the December 1973 assassination of the Spanish premier, Admiral Carrero Blanco. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 9, 1974, p. 1639.)

• Garmendia and another prisoner, Astigarrara (a report in *Le Monde* gives his name as Angel Oteagui), face charges in connection with the assassination of an officer in the Spanish riot police.

Under normal practice in Spain, defense attorneys are given five days to study the prosecution's charges. If that procedure is

Next Week . . .

• First installment of the book *Out Now!*: A participant's account of the American antiwar movement. By Fred Halstead, a key organizer of the largest national antiwar demonstrations.

• Interview with Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. An *Intercontinental Press* exclusive.

• Ernest Mandel: "Why Britain Should Get Out of the Common Market."

followed in this case, the trials would actually open June 25.

In an appeal issued May 28, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International urged that wherever possible Spanish embassies and consulates be picketed and solidarity meetings be scheduled before June 25.

Impressive support has already been mobilized for the defendants, particularly for Eva Forest, whose case has received attention in the international press.

In France, more than 500 feminists signed a half-page advertisement in the October 31, 1974, *Le Monde* calling for solidarity with Forest and other women political prisoners in Franco's jails. An international committee organized to defend Forest has been endorsed by a number of French organizations and 200 prominent figures, including Simone de Beauvoir, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Françoise Sagan.

The Swedish section of Amnesty International has denounced the flimsiness of the charges against Forest. The International Federation of Human Rights has also protested her arrest to the Spanish authorities.

Exiled Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco has circulated an appeal from Stockholm calling for international support to Forest's defense campaign. Playwright Peter Weiss issued an appeal on her behalf September 26 that was published in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*.

In New York, Congresswoman Bella Abzug and feminist Gloria Steinem denounced the arrest and torture of Forest at a demonstration in front of the United Nations January 24.

In the Basque country, the Workers Commissions (illegal unions) have already called for a day of protest June 11 against the ninety-day suspension of civil liberties decreed there April 25.

The LCR-ETA (VI),* a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain, has urged that the defense of Garmendia, a Basque nationalist, be made a prime focus of these actions. The group has also urged a general strike throughout Spain on the day the trials open.

Telegrams and letters of protest against the frame-up trials of the four defendants should be addressed to F. Ruiz Jarabo, Ministerio de la Justicia, Madrid, Spain.

Expressions of solidarity with the defendants may be sent through the French feminist organization Librairie "des femmes," 68, rue des Saints-Pères, 75007 Paris, France, or through the Swedish section of Amnesty International, Box 79, S-310 15 Ranneslov, Sweden. □

*Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna (VI)—Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom (VI).

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Portuguese Junta Softens Attack on Democratic Rights

By Gerry Foley

Roughly a week and a half after launching the latest and most ambitious offensive to consolidate its bonapartist power, the Portuguese military junta began a tactical retreat on the main front.

The military leaders drew back somewhat from their attack on the Socialist party, on elections, and on freedom of the press. The Socialist party, which proved able to mobilize tens of thousands of supporters in the streets and launch a damaging political counterattack against the antidemocratic policy of the junta, turned out to be too powerful an opponent to cow immediately. However, the military showed—by attacking a far weaker and politically more vulnerable obstacle to its plans for “restoring order”—that it has not changed its objectives.

In predawn raids May 29, military police seized 500 members of the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party). This fanatical Maoist sect has followed a policy of provocation, denouncing the popular reformist regime as “social fascist.” Recently it went so far as to seize and interrogate suspected fascist plotters on its own. However, the raids were obviously designed to crush the organization outright, rather than prevent it from violating the rights of others. A May 28 Reuters dispatch noted:

“An officer leading one of the midnight raids said the party had ‘exceeded itself’ and that it was now time to put an end to its activities.”

In addition to the arrests of what must be a very substantial proportion of the total membership of the organization, at least 10 or 20 percent, the equipment in the offices was confiscated. This was by far the biggest roundup since the April 25 coup that toppled the Salazarist regime, and as a result of these arrests a high percentage of all political prisoners are opponents of the government from the left.

In its campaign against the pro-Moscow Stalinists, the MRPP has made dubious alliances with right-wing opponents of the regime. This, combined with its provocative politics, has opened it to charges of being manipulated by the right.

However, the organization attracts primarily those who want to fight against the capitalist status quo that the military regime has essentially maintained. Moreover, the immediate reason for the govern-

ment’s move against the MRPP was to stop it from demonstrating against a visit by NATO ships. More generally, although “arrests” made by the MRPP on May 15 led to the discovery of a right-wing terrorist plot, they also embarrassed the military regime and led to a challenging of the hierarchical command in the armed forces.

The MRPP turned over a suspected plotter to the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment, which was the first target of the March 11 rightist coup. The commander of this unit, Dinis de Almeida, has accused the chief of military security forces, Otelo de Carvalho, of naïveté about the intentions of rightist officers. De Almeida said in a May 1 interview with the French magazine *Politique Hebdo* that a majority of the military command were reactionaries.

In the Assembly of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) that began May 19 in the Alfeite naval base, the military condemned the action of the MRPP in these terms: “The offensive of reaction and of the provocative ultraleft groups is designed primarily to divert the attention of the Portuguese revolutionary authorities from what is going on in Angola.”

The Communist party linked the incident involving the MRPP and the Light Artillery Regiment with the SP protests against the closing of the Lisbon daily *República*. On May 23, the CP Central Committee accused the Socialists of initiating a “hysterical” campaign against the MFA and “polarizing the reactionary and conservative forces, starting with the pseudorevolutionary ultraleftist groups.”

Also on May 23, an article in the Lisbon daily *A Capital*, where the CP has strong influence, made an amalgam between the “counterrevolutionary plot” of the MRPP, that is, the turning over of the suspected rightist terrorist to the Light Artillery Regiment, and the protests of the SP in the *República* affair.

“In this context,” Jean-Pierre Clerc wrote from Lisbon in the May 25 *Le Monde*, “the warning by the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] that the Socialist party decision to withdraw from the government could make pointless the Constituent Assembly ‘elected on the basis of the pact between the parties and the MFA’ could not fail to seem very threatening.”

Clerc noted also that the CP-controlled trade-union federation, Intersindical, had mobilized teams May 23 to guard the factories, claiming that there was a danger of “sabotage.”

However, tension between the junta and the SP eased May 30 after a meeting between the Conselho da Revolução (Council of the Revolution, the supreme command of the MFA) and the Socialist leaders. In a joint communiqué, the military publicly admitted that there were “distortions” in Portugal’s political structure and promised to correct them. At the same time, the statement indicated, the SP ministers would end the boycott of cabinet meetings, begun by them to protest the closing on May 20 of *República*, the Lisbon daily edited by Socialist party leader Raul Rego.

The SP had argued that the Stalinists and their allies, who received less than 20 percent of the vote in the April 25 Constituent Assembly elections, had gained control of the national union federation, almost all the daily press, and most of the municipal governments in the country. On the other hand, the SP, which won almost 40 percent of the vote, was virtually excluded from the mass media and from any effective influence in the government or the leadership of the national union federation.

Undoubtedly, the SP leaders expect the joint communiqué to mean an increase in influence for their party corresponding to losses for the CP. Some such concessions may be made. However, it remains to be seen exactly what the military has in mind. CP supporters could be ousted from key posts in favor of “neutral” figures loyal primarily to the Armed Forces Movement. The promotion of such a layer, which has been developing, would represent a step toward establishing a “national liberation front” regime “above politics,” that is, the institutionalization of a bonapartist military dictatorship cloaked in third-worldist, populist demagoguery.

A large share of the sacrifices may in fact have to be made by the MDP (Movimento Democrático Português—Portuguese Democratic Movement, the CP’s party for petty-bourgeois democrats). The fact that this “broad formation” gained only about 4 percent of the vote in the elections was one of the biggest defeats of the CP’s electoral strategy. As a sort of second-rate CP, which

cannot guarantee the "discipline" of its members, the MDP has little to recommend it to the military rulers. Furthermore, the number of positions held by this fictitious party is one of the most scandalous aspects of the bureaucratic influence the CP has gained through its subordination to the military.

On the other hand, it also remains to be seen what commitments the SP leaders may have made in return for whatever concessions the military offered. They have been competing with the CP leaders for the role of organizers of mass support for the junta.

In a statement in the May 27 issue of *Le Monde*, Soares said: "We are not calling for a change in the government, but we can no longer accept being victims of discrimination." As for the Constituent Assembly, due to open on June 2, he pledged: "We have 116 deputies, as many as all the other formations put together. We will assure that all goes well in order to prevent the assembly from becoming a fulcrum for challenging the established authorities. But all this is not possible unless the elementary rules of democracy are respected."

In the mass demonstration organized by the SP May 22 to protest the closing of *República*, Soares made quite clear that he and his party were making very limited demands on the military government: "We do not want to open up a serious political crisis. But we do not want to play only a symbolic role in the government either. We are the biggest party in Portugal. The Conselho da Revolução must say whether it wants to rule with the support of the majority we represent or in opposition to this majority."

However, despite the SP's pledge of support for the MFA, the reality of bonapartist military rule had made its position nearly impossible.

"Finally and especially," Clerc reported in the May 24 *Le Monde*, "the Socialists are demanding a redefinition of the jurisdiction of the Conselho da Revolução and the government. The Socialist ministers complain of being completely bypassed by the military officers. One of them confided in us: 'At most, I am a supervisor in my ministry. To find out what concerns my department, I am reduced to reading *Le Monde*. Moreover, there have been no real cabinet meetings since the April 25 elections. When a question touches in one way or another on my area of responsibility, I am called in to give my opinion on this specific point. Then the discussion goes on without me.'"

Inevitably the contradiction has sharpened between the reality of military rule and the appearance of parliamentary government, especially since the pact-program the officers demanded the parties sign before the elections grants formal authority

to the Conselho da Revolução on all important questions.

After the overwhelming victory of the SP in the elections, the Socialist leaders pressed for a more substantial, if still



SP leader Mário Soares.

subordinate, influence in the political life of the country. But instead of offering them a larger role, in deference to the majority of the Portuguese electorate that voted for the SP, the military tried to minimize the importance of the elections, and at the same time reaffirmed its preference for the CP as its political ally.

The closing down of *República*, specifically the paper closest to the SP leadership, after a provocation staged by the CP-controlled printers union, was the high point of the military's counterattack against any challenge to its bonapartist power based on the principle of popular sovereignty.

The political committee of the Conselho da Revolução made its attitude toward the SP clear in a report presented to the Assembly of the MFA on May 19, shortly before the shutting down of *República*. It rejected the SP's application for a junior partnership and the job of public-relations manager. The party was just not "disciplined" enough.

According to the May 21 issue of the SP weekly organ *Portugal Socialista*, the report blamed the Socialists for the outbreak of an open conflict between the two mass reformist workers parties in the May Day incidents in the Estádio Primeiro de Maio, and made the following assessment of the party's activity:

"The SP has launched an attack in the unions, the local government bodies, the

workers commissions, and the means of communication. It has tried to move closer to the Armed Forces Movement as the majority socialist party. It has tried to transform itself into the only, or at least the most powerful, 'ally' of the MFA. Its apprehension about the speed with which the MFA has pushed the revolutionary process is poorly concealed. Its real commitment to the tasks of mobilizing the workers for the tasks of increasing production is weak.

"It has moved, off and on, toward a tactical alliance with the extreme left parties. Under the impact of the realities of the socialist revolution, it has tried to get closer to the CP, although retaining profound differences with it. At the same time, the SP has not definitively renounced the idea of making an agreement with the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, the main bourgeois party]. It has an attitude of distrust toward the 'broad freedoms' advocated by the CP."

These charges were echoed May 25 by *Pravda's* correspondent in Lisbon. The SP was attacked for "failing to honor its pre-election agreements"—it had supported strikes. The Soviet Communist party organ said that "true patriots" thought the SP's attitude fitted in with "counterrevolutionary provocations designed to aggravate the economic and social situation."

Portugal Socialista failed to note, as *Le Monde* did in its May 22 issue, that the report of the Conselho da Revolução praised the CP for "real commitment to mobilizing the masses for production."

Presumably it would have been embarrassing to explain exactly what this meant and why the CP got high marks while the SP got a failing grade from the military. It would have required saying that the junta expects the workers parties to play the role of overseer and strikebreaker in its campaign to win "the battle of production."

The CP has won its gold stars for good conduct precisely by using its apparatus to hold back workers struggles, and when the need arose, actually breaking strikes, as in the case of the postal workers. These examples are odious to the most militant sections of the Portuguese working class. They have in fact enabled the SP to make progress among these layers at the expense of the CP.

If the SP had mentioned this, it would have had to take a position on the demands of the military government in the labor field. If it had opposed such a role, it would have had to break with the MFA, which, as an opportunist and class-collaborationist party, it cannot do. If it had promised outright to match the CP in this area, it would have forfeited the support of militant workers fed up with the CP, which would greatly damage its chances for competing

effectively with the Stalinists in the labor movement.

In fact, the SP's National Labor Secretariat responded to charges of "indiscipline" by hurling the same charge back at the CP. In a communiqué in the May 21 issue of *Portugal Socialista*, it said: "It was not the Socialist party that provoked or supported the strikes in the hotel industry, the printing trade, and the electrical and electronics industry, but leaders and shop stewards recognized as supporters of the CP and who are doing party work in the unions. . . ."

"We restate, and the MDP knows this very well, that it was a member of that party who made the proposal for a strike at the TAP [Transportes Aéreos Portugueses—Portuguese Airlines] workers assembly, a proposal that was rejected and was manifestly contrary to the interests of working-class unity and the advance of the revolutionary process.

A communiqué from the TAP nucleus of the SP in the same issue of the party organ said that the MDP had tried to foment a strike to recoup its electoral defeat by demonstrating an influence at the trade-union level.

On the other hand, the head of the SP labor department, Marcelo Curto, expressed a basic difference with the CP's concept of trade unions in an interview published in the May 22 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, the weekly paper of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization, a group that claims to be Trotskyist but is outside the Fourth International).

"Now the CP says clearly that the workers commissions complicate union work and they should be done away with. . . ."

"I'll give you an example: When we were in the International Labor Bureau, we had contacts with a delegation from the GDR [East Germany] and I was in the Portuguese delegation with Avelino Gonçalves, who is a Communist and was then the minister of labor.

"I asked the GDR delegate how the workers participated in elections in his country. He told me, through the union leadership in the plant. I asked what the plant union leadership was. Avelino replied: 'It's like in Portugal, we think that workers control should be exercised through the unions.' I said that was an error. The unions are there to present the demands of the workers and not to run production."

That is not to say, of course, that Social Democratic unions cannot participate in running the capitalist economy. West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt praised the SP-dominated unions in his country in an interview with C.L. Sulzberger published in the May 28 *New York Times*:

"One thing stands out vis-à-vis the rest of Europe. That is the role of the German trade union movement. There is only one labor federation here as compared with two or three rival associations in some countries. And in this single federation there are only about sixteen large unions as compared with up to a hundred, often competing, elsewhere.

"And our unions have a much greater and more useful influence than in most nations. They have gained experience over the years and they have behaved well. Also, governments have been granting an ever greater role to the unions. This is beneficial to workers, to enterprises, and to the national economy as a whole."

However, Social Democratic unions are ill-adapted to impose the kind of "discipline" needed by a backward capitalism. SPs lack the kind of apparatus, ideological uniformity, and discipline needed for such a task. This is presumably why the SP is not trusted by the military in the trade-union field. The fact is, while the SP has shown itself no less opportunist than the CP, it has proved unable to take the same kind of rigid stand against workers struggles as its Stalinist rival.

The Portuguese SP seems thus both unable to perform the task the military expects of it or to be able to live within the framework of a parliamentary facade without any real participation in the government. Very quickly after the elections, it began to feel the contradictions of the kind of regime it accepted when it signed the pact-program.

However, the military also soon learned that the contradiction was a two-sided one. The overwhelming victory of the SP in the April 25 elections, after a long period of tensions between the military junta and the party, showed that the political popularity of the military was superficial. Furthermore, although the SP did well in general throughout the country, including many relatively backward areas, it also rolled up impressive votes in the most politically advanced and militant working-class areas.

What is more, the military's political offensive against the SP, for all its "left" demagoguery about establishing "direct links with the masses," tended to undermine the authority the junta needs in order to impose its program of austerity and harder work on the proletariat.

"In any case, Portugal has lost one of the elements of its stability in recent days," Clerc wrote in the May 24 *Le Monde*. "It is no longer sacrilege for the Socialists to publicly challenge the MFA."

While the SP's concessions to the MFA show that it cannot be trusted to defend democratic rights in Portugal, it is also clear that the fight it waged, for its own interests, against demagogic military rule

has been decisive in maintaining the democratic opening in the country, and in this it deserved the support of all revolutionists.

For the moment, the military has apparently retreated, but its recent seizure of the Oporto city government shows that it has not given up its idea of imposing dictatorial solutions. There have been long strikes by municipal workers in this city. The military administration will have a chance to prove which side of the class line it stands on and what kind of "direct links" with the masses it wants to establish. But in the meantime, a united front of all workers in defense of democratic rights against the bourgeois government and its Stalinist allies offers the best opportunity for the development of revolutionary forces in Portugal. □

Still Worse in Russia, Says Auto Industry Magnate

The situation has been dismal this year in the U.S. automobile industry, with sales at their lowest level in almost two decades. General Motors Chairman Thomas A. Murphy didn't have much to crow about at the annual shareholders' meeting, held in Detroit May 23.

So he devoted much of his report to a theme that was sure to rally support from most of the audience—a defense of capitalism, which, he said, was under attack from a "powerful and vocal minority" seeking to set up a planned economy.

It was less than a ringing defense.

"To all who would substitute a planned economy for the free market, the system in which free people freely decide the best use of our resources, I say consider only this: What we define as the poverty level in America is the average family income in Russia," he said.

What Murphy meant by freedom was clarified at a news conference, where he disclosed that a subsidiary of GM in South Korea had contributed about \$125,000 a year ago to an organization called the South Korean Defense Fund. He said the organization was involved in defending the free-enterprise system and "combating Communism."

The GM chairman's optimistic prophecy of an upturn in auto sales later this year failed to impress all the shareholders. One recalled that Murphy made a speech last fall predicting an upturn for the industry and that GM laid off 4,000 workers the next day.

The reaction of GM workers to Murphy's defense of capitalism was not reported. More than 100,000 of the corporation's employees are on indefinite layoff.

The MFA or Revolutionary Workers Democracy?

By Livio Maitan

[The following article appeared in the May 25 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The situation in Portugal following the elections and, in particular, the May 1 incidents and the relations between the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] and the PSP [Partido Socialista Português—Portuguese Socialist party] could not but impel groups in Italy also to take positions and to engage in debate. These questions have to be analyzed, if only briefly, to better clarify where the revolutionary Marxists of the Fourth International stand in the present discussion.

The simplest task, all in all, fell to the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party]. The PSP's electoral victory could be presented as a victory for all socialists and the PCP's positions offered an easy target for polemical attacks. The PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], on the other hand, ran into serious difficulties. The problem was not simply the PCP's modest vote. More serious was the fact that the PCP has developed an orientation that differs notably from that of the PCI on a whole series of questions. Moreover, in its full sweep, the revolutionary process taking form in Portugal has put to a severe test some of the cardinal tenets of the PCI leading group's ingrained reformism. And, despite its avowed support for "national roads to socialism," this group has never hidden its ambition to get the PCI experience accepted as an example rich in lessons for the workers movement in all of Western Europe.

But what is most interesting for us at this time is to note certain things (going back in part to what we have already said in previous articles) about the themes that have emerged in recent weeks in the publications of the centrist groups.

In the first place, wrong interpretations have appeared about the meaning of the elections. It is true that at least on paper the April 25 election results have created the possibility of a bloc between the PSP and the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, a bourgeois party] representing an electoral majority, and for maneuvers by European capitalist and Social Democratic political forces to achieve a restabilization in Portugal based on this bloc. But, even aside from the fact that Soares has had to rule out this solution in the present situation, a fact that is by no means an accident, it certainly does not follow from this that the results in the Portuguese elections were another April 18¹ or that votes for the PSP were necessarily votes for a conservative solution. Trying to conjure away this problem by talking about the influence of the old anti-Communism, or Soares's opportunist tactics, or still worse, by labeling the PSP a bourgeois (or social fascist!) party, means refusing to take account of the real relationship of forces (which is reflected in a distorted way in elections but in a way not unrelated to the reality) or falling into paternalistic and Stalinist conceptions of the struggle

for power. A fact that cannot be ignored, in our opinion, is that a large part, perhaps the majority, of the working class has seen the PSP as the instrument of its struggle. This may be regarded—and correctly—as a result of the insufficient experience of the Portuguese workers with Social Democratic reformism and a lack of clarity about the roles actually played by the various formations in the workers movement. But, at the same time, it must be understood that the PSP has been able to take advantage of the revulsion of sections of the proletariat against the PCP's bureaucratic methods, its open opposition to a series of struggles, and its seizing the leading positions in the unions by maneuvers at the top. Moreover, the PSP has been able to take advantage of the general demand for the right of democratic expression, which, after all, is natural in a working class that has emerged from nearly a half century of dictatorship. Certainly at least some of the strata of the proletariat did not take favorably to the famous pact imposed by the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement], which made the Constituent Assembly virtually a dead letter.

On this question, the most "consistent" position was taken by the organ of *Avanguardia Operaia* [*Quotidiano dei Lavoratori*]. Not only has it to a large extent arrived at wrong interpretations of the election results, but it has said clearly—through its correspondent Renzo Rossellini—that the elections should not have been held and that holding them was the MFA's biggest mistake. The inclination toward paternalistic, authoritarian methods could not have been expressed more clearly. There is scarcely any need to note that the revolutionary Marxists make no fetish of elections of the bourgeois parliamentary type. We know that after winning power the Bolsheviks had to dissolve a constituent assembly, and we think they were correct to do so. But those who invoke this historical precedent forget one little detail. The Soviet government had a revolutionary legitimacy that the Portuguese government—which remains a coalition government with bourgeois forces—totally lacks. It is one thing to dissolve a constituent assembly, offering the alternative of an actually existing workers democracy based on workers and peasants councils that hold real power. It is quite another to say that elections should not have been held so as not to create problems for the MFA and its allies (and this is leaving aside a certain tone in Rossellini's remarks about parties in general and his underlying assumption about the immaturity of the broad masses; these are reminiscent of antipolitical reactionary populist demagogy).

There has also been a burgeoning of judgments that at least in part are flattering to the PCP. Let's quote *Quotidiano dei Lavoratori* again, not because it was alone in this but because once again it was the most explicit (see the article by Gamba in the May 8 issue and the one by A.D. in the May 11-12 issue, where the author went so far as to say that "with unheard-of dynamism, in these last months the CP has been carrying forward a coherently and rigorously anticapitalist line").

The Stalinist bureaucratic strong-arm methods of Cunhal and his associates have been mistaken for radicalism and intransigence, while the role of the PCP and its myrmidons have played in holding back some of the most important struggles and the fact that the PCP strategy excludes a socialist, revolutionary dynamic are passed over in silence.

However, what stands out as the mainstay in all this, although

1. The elections of April 18, 1948, in Italy, in which the CP went down to defeat, marked the completion of the restabilization of capitalism and the bourgeois parliamentary system in the country after the postwar crisis.—IP

there are undoubtedly various differences in emphasis and other nuances, is making the MFA the principal guarantor of the development of the revolutionary process in Portugal. In some more recent commentary, Lotta Continua seems to stress the role that could be played by the elements in the MFA that are considered to be the more advanced, such as Otelo de Carvalho or even Rosa Coutinho. As we have seen, Avanguarda Operaia is relying on the radicalism of the PCP itself, and it calls on the MFA to seek the support of "structures of people's power." *Il Manifesto*, building a little on imagination as usual, has outlined a plan for the most advanced section of the MFA based on "three levels of power—the armed forces; the parties and formal representative bodies, which are to serve as a catalyst of universal suffrage; and organs directly representing the grass roots."²

If this plan is applied, the gradualist notion of winning power that *Il Manifesto* has conceived for Italy will get a practical test in Portugal, or to put it in Rossandian language, there will be a test of the "'processness' of the growth of a new historic bloc into a ruling class." Admitted or not, conscious or not, the implication of all these assessments is that the role that falls to the revolutionary party in the Leninist conception can be carried out—at least for an entire crucial phase—by the political-military force represented by the MFA. In the last analysis, this hypothesis is the decisive question.

There is no doubt that in many respects the MFA is a new phenomenon and should not be characterized hastily. It is an officers' movement that arose from the experience of a military defeat in a colonial war. In the international and domestic climate that prevailed after 1968, it took a direction different from, if not diametrically opposite to, other movements that have also emerged as a reflection of a defeat. It is clear that since September 28, and still more since March 11, the MFA has experienced a certain radicalization. As a result of this, it is no longer crystallized around the projected course that seemed to have been adopted after April 24, 1974, that is, a coalition government, preparation for a transition to a "normal" system of bourgeois democracy, "rationalization" of Portuguese capitalism and its integration into the Common Market, and so on.

Today, the MFA must take much more into account the mass movement; and must exploit the margin for maneuver internationally much more, seeking contacts and deals in every possible direction. The logic of self-defense and the logic of the balancing game it is playing has led it to strike blows against important sections of the bourgeoisie, to outline forms of participation from below, and to radicalize its own vaguely socialistic ideology. (It should be noted, by the way, that this ideology cannot be evaluated on the basis of episodic statements by one or another member of the MFA; the most important text to date is the pact that the parties were given to sign, which speaks in general terms of "building a real political, economic, and social democracy.")

All of this has not involved and does not involve breaking with the fundamental mechanisms of the capitalist economy or with the apparatus of the bourgeois state in the broad sense. The MFA's economic plans—of which the campaign for production is doubtless an important expression, along with the opposition to certain strikes—do not provide for any qualitative change from the structural standpoint, and furthermore by its very nature the pact intended to guarantee the political domination of the MFA for several years more excludes building a real revolutionary democratic government of the workers and peasants.

It will be said that the MFA can evolve. For our part, we are convinced that if the process of mass radicalization continues, this will have a series of repercussions in the MFA itself and that a part of it may even come to make common cause with the

workers and the other exploited classes. But this is a different matter. The question raised by those who project a process of transition to socialism under the hegemony of the MFA is the possibility of a gradual transformation of the traditional army into a "people's army."

For us, however, such a hypothesis lacks any real foundation and this conception in reality means transferring reformist gradualism into this area also. In our opinion, the Portuguese army as such cannot "change its nature," not even under the impetus of a combination of exceptional factors. The possibility revolutionists must aim for is breaking up this army by organizing the soldiers and sailors in revolutionary democratic bodies, in councils of soldiers and sailors representatives elected and subject to immediate recall. Such bodies, moreover, must not be confused with those that the MFA has created or called for, in which soldiers constitute a minority and in which they are destined to remain a minority. The new army, the revolutionary army, can only be born from the ruins of the old. If some officers from the MFA or not from the MFA want to take part in building it, there is no reason in principle to oppose this (after all, many tsarist officers helped in the formation of the Red Army).

Similarly, the central axis of a revolutionary strategy in Portugal must lie in building—starting now, in the phase in which we are at the moment—organs of proletarian democracy, as the expression of the working class and the exploited peasants. Establishing and spreading such bodies, as well as linking them up through national coordination, must be the revolutionists' main concern. The real guarantee against other, inevitable coup attempts by the reaction, against all the maneuvers of local and international capitalism, lies in carrying out this task and not in reinforcing the authority and organs of the MFA. At the same time, the revolutionists must fight for the achievement of all the democratic demands raised by the broad masses. This means, in the first place, that the trade-union organizations must be thoroughly renovated, that the maximum possible democracy must prevail within them. And the election of the leaders and the right of expression for various orientations and various tendencies are two essential components of such democracy. It is on this basis, moreover, and not some legal obligation, that solid foundations can be laid for the trade-union unity of which the revolutionists are the most convinced advocates.

The hypothesis that Portugal could move toward overthrowing capitalism thanks to the guarantee offered by a movement such as the MFA, without revolutionary democratic organization by the workers and peasants (other than in subordinate and secondary forms) and without a revolutionary party, may seduce some who do not accept the essential Leninist criteria and succumb to the lure of "processes."

However, the Portuguese proletariat cannot put its trust in such a game of chance. □

Peking Signals Readiness to Soft-pedal Korean Struggle

Peking has indicated strongly in recent weeks that it opposes any efforts by its allies in Pyongyang to try to complete the American rout from the Asian mainland. In a Washington dispatch May 28, Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* cited State Department officials as saying that the Chinese leaders left that impression "by underscoring their support for 'peaceful reunification' of Korea and by their continued support for an American presence in Asia to counter the Russians."

Peking's "restraint" was welcomed by the Ford administration, which is concerned that the mounting popular opposition in South Korea to its puppet Park Chung Hee may lead to a new flare-up in the civil war. The Pentagon has nuclear weapons and 42,000 troops in South Korea.

2. See in particular the article by Rossana Rossanda in the May 10 issue, which also contains some correct observations.

Workers Reply to Attacks on Palestinians in Lebanon

By Peter Green

Major fighting occurred in Lebanon the last two weeks in May as Palestinian refugees sought to defend themselves against murderous attacks by the right-wing Phalangist militia. At least 130 persons were killed and 235 were wounded up to May 30. Two Lebanese governments fell during the crisis.

The current clashes are a continuation of fighting that began April 13 when a bus carrying Palestinians home from a rally was ambushed by members of the Phalangist party. Twenty-seven Palestinians were killed in a hail of machine-gun bullets. As many as 300 persons were killed in the next four days before a shaky cease-fire was arranged.

After coming under heavy attack from the Phalangists for not using Lebanese troops against the Palestinians, Premier Rashid Solh resigned May 15. In his resignation speech he accused the Phalangist party of bearing "full responsibility" for the "massacre" of the twenty-seven Palestinians.

The Phalangists have long campaigned for the suppression of the Palestinian movement. They see the 300,000 Palestinians living in Lebanon as a political threat and argue that unless the Palestinians are curbed, Lebanon will face continual attack from Israel, perhaps even loss of territory.

The Phalangists maintain a heavily armed, 6,000-man private army. They hope their provocations against the Palestinians and other Muslim groups will force open intervention by the Lebanese army and the crushing of the guerrilla groups along the lines of the September 1970 massacre by Jordan's King Hussein.

The latest fighting started May 20 when Phalangists attacked the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal al-Zataar with rockets and mortar shells.

On May 23 President Suleiman Franjieh appointed a military cabinet, the first in Lebanon since independence. The eight-man cabinet, headed by a retired brigadier general, Nureddin Rifai, was seen as a clear gain for the Phalangists. Its announcement was greeted with jubilant bursts of small-arms fire in the right-wing neighborhoods of Beirut.

Among the predominantly Muslim working class, the formation of the military cabinet touched off an explosive upsurge,

however. Beginning on May 24, the country was shut down by a general strike. Mail services stopped; garbage piled up in the streets; ships waiting to be unloaded jammed the ports; and barricades went up in Beirut and the major towns.

Muslim political and religious leaders united in opposition to the new cabinet. A delegation representing the entire Muslim community called on Rifai May 25 and demanded that he resign.

Representatives of left political organizations met with Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat and told him they were ready to help the Palestinians defend themselves if the Phalangists continued their attacks. Arafat also received a telephone call from Libyan Prime Minister Muammar el-Qaddafi, who offered to place "all of Libya's potential at the disposal of the commando movement in Lebanon." Syrian President Hafez al-Assad sent a message of support.

In the midst of the crisis, the Israeli army stepped up its aggression in southern Lebanon, aiming to put additional pressure on the Lebanese government to crack down on the Palestinian resistance groups.

On May 25, Israeli troops on a "search and destroy" operation inside Lebanon clashed with the Lebanese army in the fiercest engagement for three years. Two companies—150 men—of Israeli troops fought a twelve-hour battle, backed by heavy artillery fire and air strikes. The Lebanese army reported that five Israeli soldiers and seven of their own men were killed. The following day, 100 Israeli soldiers attacked in the same area.

After three days of continual street fighting and heavy pressure from the Muslim community, the military cabinet resigned May 26.

On May 28 President Franjieh appointed Rashid Karami as premier. Karami, who had been premier eight times in the past, was touted by some Muslim political leaders as the only solution to the crisis.

A PLO representative stated, after the military government fell, that "if a parliamentary government is formed under a Moslem premier, the Phalangists will have failed in their attempt to create a conflict between the Lebanese state and the Palestinian resistance."

But the Phalangists also supported the

appointment of Karami, who promised cabinet posts to all the major political tendencies. On the way to the presidential palace to accept his appointment, Karami drove through the Beirut stronghold of the Phalangists and was cheered by their militia. Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel accompanied him to the palace.

The Phalangists—like the rest of the bourgeois forces in Lebanon—feared the mobilizations that occurred in defense of the Palestinians. *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis reported June 1 that in addition to their fear of Israeli retaliatory attacks against Lebanon, "a deeper concern expressed by the Phalangists, and shared by other conservative Christian forces, is that the Palestinians could join other Moslem and leftist political forces here in an armed revolution based on the grievances of industrial workers, Syrian and Kurdish laborers, and poor peasants."

According to a report by Joseph Fitchett in the May 29 *Washington Post*, the rising influence of left-wing organizations in the explosive situation created by the combination of the Palestinian struggle with the long-standing grievances of the Muslim working class "disconcerted all factions of the establishment. . . ."

Le Monde correspondent Jean-Claude Guillebaud said that it was the intervention of the Syrians and the discreet pressure of the leaders of the Palestinian resistance that ensured the selection of Karami and prevented the Muslim leaders from being outflanked to the left in the streets. The far-left groups "appeared to be the main beneficiaries of the radicalization that occurred," he said, and "no Lebanese politician failed to notice it."

Arab political analysts described the situation as worse than that preceding the civil war in 1958, when the Pentagon sent in more than 14,000 troops.

Washington was not ignoring the situation this time, either. The State Department issued a statement May 27 saying that "we particularly regret" the Israeli incursions into Lebanon "at a time when Lebanon is beset by internal tensions." A high-ranking official said, "We are obviously concerned because if you look back, it is a more serious crisis in Lebanon than in the past."

But in the wake of its Vietnam debacle, Washington is cautious about direct intervention in explosive situations around the world. The White House prefers to work through regional military forces. The same State Department official indicated the drift of Washington's thinking. According to the May 28 *New York Times*, he "said that if the Palestinian guerrilla leadership gained the upper hand in Lebanon, this would be a cause of grave concern to Israel and might provoke military action of more serious nature than border raids." □

The Attack on the Palestinian Resistance in Lebanon

[Tony Maron is secretary of the Sydney (Australia) Friends of Palestine and editor of the publications *Palestine Forum* and *Middle East News*. After a recent four-week visit to the Arab East at the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization he was interviewed by Jim McLroy of the Australian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Direct Action*. The interview, edited by *Direct Action* for reasons of space, appeared in the paper's May 15 issue.]

* * *

Direct Action. You visited Lebanon around the period of the attack by the extreme right-wing Phalangist organization on the Palestinian resistance movement in Lebanon. What were your impressions of that conflict?

Tony Maron. The impression of most people in Lebanon was that the attack by the semifascist Phalange was carefully planned, but it seems that the incident which started the fight led to a premature explosion. The Phalange were preparing for a big fight with the resistance. It would have come anyway. The Phalange had collected an enormous quantity of arms in preparation for this struggle.

Generally, all the right-wing forces in Lebanon were in favor of an assault on the Palestinian resistance. But the Phalange committed such a brutal and barbaric crime in attacking a Palestinian bus going through a suburb of Beirut that none of the other right-wing groups were prepared to be associated with it. So the Phalange were left to fight alone. Virtually every other political group in Lebanon dissociated itself from this attack.

It is well known that there were outside forces involved also. For instance, it is known that the Phalange had received arms from King Hussein of Jordan and from others who had a vested interest in destroying the Palestinian movement, since it is now the only stumbling block in the face of a settlement in the Middle East. That is why the U.S. government is so keen to see the Palestinian movement out of the way.

Direct Action. What is the general situation for the Palestinian movement in Lebanon in the face of Israeli and right-wing attacks? What is the attitude of the Lebanese people to the Palestinian resistance?

Maron. Fortunately, the resistance in Lebanon is very strong. This is not only because of its own strength, but also because of the strength of the left-wing forces that are allied with it. One of the main reasons why the Phalange wanted to destroy the Palestinian resistance was to weaken the radical and revolutionary movement within Lebanon. The Phalange saw these forces becoming stronger because of their alliance with the resistance. And it was this which they could not tolerate. Their positions of power were being threatened by this alliance.

The Palestinian resistance has a revolutionary impact on the situation in the Arab world generally, and especially in Lebanon. I feel that what happened in Jordan in 1970 with the massacres of Palestinians could not happen in Lebanon now. The people are so much behind the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon that any attack on the resistance would be vigorously opposed.

There is now a strong challenge to the status quo in Lebanon. A small minority benefits from the wealth of the country and the workers are very exploited. There is no social justice. In this situation, the Palestinian movement is a catalyst for revolutionary feeling. This is why the Phalange is so much against the Palestinian resistance.

Direct Action. What is your response to the recent statements by King Hussein while in the U.S. that Jordan, Egypt, and Syria are willing to make a deal with Israel involving recognition of the state of Israel?

Maron. There's nothing really new in Hussein's proposal. We've known for years that Sadat and the Syrian government are prepared to recognize Israel if Israel withdraws from all occupied territories. The other clause that the Arab regimes are putting forward is that Israel "recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people." But what does this mean?

We want to restore the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, not just recognize them. And if the Arab regimes are prepared to extend diplomatic recognition to Israel then I can't see how anything meaningful can be achieved for the Palestinian people by Israel "recognizing their rights." This is a basic contradiction.

You cannot reconcile the existence of Israel with the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. It's one or the other. And the Arab regimes are trying to have it both ways. It cannot be done.

Direct Action. What is your impression of the popular feeling toward the Palestinian question inside Syria and Egypt at present?

Maron. There is a lot of uneasiness in Egypt and Syria. The regimes seem to be committed to a settlement and there is a great deal of dissension from this line on the part of the general population. This is strongly felt in Egypt.

In Syria, President Assad continues to align himself with the PLO to reassure the people but at the same time as he looks toward a settlement. The people continue to expect strong action from him, but he continues to play a cool game.

However, my feeling is that, in the end, there is no settlement that will work. Even if the Arab governments send ambassadors tomorrow, Israel is not going to withdraw from the occupied territories and is not going to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people—not in any way that is satisfactory to the Palestinians themselves, that is.

Direct Action. How does the Palestinian resistance feel about the state of world public opinion towards the Palestine question at present?

Maron. They are very, very pleased because they are making tremendous progress. They are recognized everywhere now and people are becoming more aware of the real situation in the Middle East. Israel is feeling this increased isolation.

Because of this, the Zionists are setting up organizations like the Committee to Commemorate the Holocaust to try to link what happened to the Jews under Hitler to the need to support Israel. They want to revive sympathy for the sufferings of the Jews under the Nazis and direct it specifically towards a revival of support for Zionism.

Now, the Arabs fought against Hitler in World War II. It's obvious that we abhor what happened to the Jews in the Second World War, but why should the Palestinians have to pay for these crimes? Israel is a completely false solution for the Jews. More and more people are now coming to realize this.

Direct Action. What is the situation of the resistance inside Israel and in the occupied territories?

Maron. There is considerable activity by

the resistance movement, although it is still very much underground. And the Jews who are opposed to the state of Israel are still very much in a minority. But nevertheless it's a very good minority and increasingly more powerful. The Palestinians are hoping that by converting more and more Jews to the cause of justice, and by telling the Jews that their interests will be served by coexisting with Palestinians rather than by forming a ghetto-state and a fortress behind which they hide, this will later on produce a revolutionary movement inside Israel itself which will eventually destroy the state as it exists today. And this destruction, this dismantling of the state of Israel will come. There are no two ways about it. There is not going to be any harm done to the Jews of Israel, but the present state structure will be dismantled, no matter how long it takes. In the long run, Israel is fighting a losing battle.

Direct Action. What are the demands being raised by the Palestinian liberation forces now? What is the state of discussion around the question of a West Bank "mini-state"?

Maron. There is not much talk about the "mini-state" at present. My impression is, from talking to many Palestinians over there, that this is because they think that this situation will never occur, mainly because Israel is not going to withdraw. This is why, after going along with Sadat and Assad for a while, they now realize that they were going the wrong way and were not going to get anything out of it. Now they stick to their original demands which, of course, they had never rejected.

They have always put forward the demand for the democratic, secular Palestine and they are confident of achieving this. Israel cannot go on existing as a sectarian, racist structure. A solution will certainly be achieved eventually by the integration of the two peoples, for there is nowhere else for them to go.

Direct Action. The supporters of Israel always talk about Arab "terrorism." What do you say about this in the light of your recent overseas experience?

Maron. Well, I would just like those who talk about Arab or Palestinian terrorism to go to Southern Lebanon. I have been a defender of the rights of the Palestinians for many years and I have opposed Israeli attacks for many years, but I never imagined what I saw in Southern Lebanon. It is absolutely appalling. You know, the Western press has no conscience whatsoever. For people to talk about Arab terrorism while civilian camps are lying in ruins and people are being killed every day by Israeli bombers is absolute hypocrisy.

The Israelis have displaced the Palestinians and now they follow them into the neighboring Arab countries. Right now, every time something happens they blame Lebanon because they say that the Fedayeen is in Lebanon. They are trying to dislodge the Fedayeen from the Arab countries and now, since the 1970 massacres in Jordan, the resistance forces are concentrated in Lebanon.

Because of this Lebanon is the main target now. In the recent incident in the Israeli consulate in South Africa, they claimed that three Lebanese and three Japanese were involved. It turned out to be an Israeli employee of the consulate itself. But meanwhile Lebanon braced itself for the coming attack. Everyone knew the incident would be used as a pretext for more Israeli raids.

Southern Lebanon is virtually deserted now. People have moved north because it's just not a life in the south. They have to expect air raids every day, and there are no adequate defenses in Southern Lebanon because the right-wing forces refuse to have them. They reckon that they're strong because they are weak, but I don't see how their weakness has protected them so far.

Direct Action. What was the response in the Palestinian resistance movement to the victory of the liberation forces in Vietnam?

Maron. Jubilation. Absolute jubilation. It was as if the Palestinians themselves had gone back to Palestine. They sent telegrams of support to the Vietnamese liberation forces. It was a day of great joy in the places that I visited.

Direct Action. What was the response of the Palestinian movement to the Australian Labor government's refusal to grant visas to a PLO delegation to visit this country?

Maron. They were pretty upset about it. They think it's pretty unfair of the Australian government to ban the PLO from explaining its point of view to Australians.

On the other hand, they were very happy with the demonstrations and protests against the ban, especially in the resistance circles I visited—the PLO, Fateh, and the PFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine). They are very aware of the Palestine defense movement here. The role of *Direct Action* was mentioned too.

We were able to give them further information about the movement here. They are now giving Australia more attention than in the past. Now that these recent controversies have occurred and after the visit of the unofficial Labor and trade-union delegation last year they are starting to see Australia as an important center, not only in itself but for neighboring Asian countries also.

Direct Action. Would you see the current visit of a GUPS (General Union of Palestinian Students) delegation to Australia as a victory then?

Maron. Yes, it is quite an achievement for the GUPS to come here and to be able to put its point of view. Unfortunately, the attitude of the media to the visit has been completely objectionable. They have given front-page treatment to the trouble arising from protests against the delegation's visit, but no interviews, no reports on what they are doing, nothing.

After all the publicity about the rejection of the PLO visas you would expect the press to take some interest in what these people are talking about. In fact, the GUPS students are not officially representing the PLO, but the GUPS belongs to the PLO. You would expect some interest in them. But no. The major media have ignored the visit except to publicize the trouble. We have come to expect this sort of treatment from the Australian mass media.

Direct Action. What do you think are the prospects for a full PLO delegation being allowed to visit this country fairly soon?

Maron. I think the prospects are quite bright. This is what we want, of course—the admission of a full official delegation of the PLO. There is a strong possibility of a new delegation being formed for a visit in a few months time. I think the Labor government is prepared to grant them visas now.

It was a gross mistake not to allow them to come in and speak. It is a basic question of freedom of speech. But I think our message is getting through now.

I understand that in the recent voting on the AUS (Australian Union of Students) motions on Palestine this year, the trends have been significantly towards the pro-Palestinian viewpoint. This is understandable as students find out more about the situation in the Middle East. The truth must come out in the end. The Zionist just can't hide it forever. This is why the support for the Palestinian cause is growing all the time. We will win because we have justice on our side. □

Captain of Industry

A three-year-old Saudi Arabian prince has been named to the board of directors of the British commercial bank Edward Bates and Sons, according to a report May 17 in a Beirut financial weekly. Twenty-five percent of the bank's stock was purchased in the prince's name for \$3.2 million.

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Demonstrations in Laos Force Washington Out

By Caroline Lund

After years of U.S. domination of Laos, during which that country was battered with more than three million tons of bombs, the American imperialist presence is finally coming to an end.

On May 27 American officials signed a seven-point agreement with the Laotian government to shut down the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) and withdraw its American employees by June 30. All agency property is to be turned over to the Laotian government.

United Press International called the agreement "a virtual surrender to the demands of leftist students." The students had occupied the Vientiane AID headquarters for a week.

Withdrawal of Americans from Laos had already begun before the May 27 agreement, following demonstrations and occupations of AID buildings around the country. The demand for U.S. withdrawal was taken up by masses of students and workers, including Laotian employees of the AID missions.

A UPI dispatch in the May 25 New York *Sunday News* noted that "buses carrying departing Americans from the housing compound to the Vientiane airport avoided the center of the city and took a roundabout way across town."

At the airport students joined police in searching the bags of Americans leaving on U.S. embassy aircraft. In the U.S. embassy in Vientiane, the UPI report said, "officials have begun sorting and burning 'nonessential documents' in a scene reminiscent of the last days of the American presence in Saigon and Phnom Penh, Cambodia."

The agreement on dismantling AID was arrived at under conditions not to the liking of U.S. officials. Present throughout the negotiations were not only a Pathet Lao minister from the Laotian coalition government, but also representatives of the students who had carried out the occupation of the AID compound, and representatives of the Laotian employees of AID, who had held separate demonstrations demanding full payment of wages due them.

The student and worker representatives were signatories of the agreement, along with U.S. chargé d'affaires Christian Chapman and Pathet Lao minister Soth Petrasy. An eighth point of the agreement was signed by Soth, stating that the protests against AID constituted "correct and legitimate behavior," implying that the

demonstrators would not be prosecuted.

The students' refusal to end their occupation before obtaining Washington's signature to the agreement was in defiance of an appeal by Premier Souvanna Phouma. The demand for no reprisals could also have been prompted by a May 27 attack by Pathet Lao troops on a demonstration of Laotian AID workers.

Outside the building where the negotiations took place, hundreds of demonstrators awaited the outcome. "Normally you wouldn't go about this sort of thing [negotiations] with a howling mob outside," complained an American official.

The students and Pathet Lao leaders have demanded that Washington continue to provide economic aid, but with no strings attached. They demand that aid be administered by Laotians instead of Americans. The aid amounts to about \$60 million a year, including about \$32 million in economic aid and \$28 million in military aid.

Total spending by the U.S. in Laos has actually been much greater. Jerome Doolittle, a former press attaché at the U.S. embassy in Laos, says that "because of our numerous clandestine activities in Laos, no one will ever fix the exact cost of U.S. involvement there, but in the three years that I was there, we spent close to \$1 billion."

"We picked up the whole tab" for the Laotian government, Doolittle said in the May 25 New York *Sunday News*, "even the cost of the kingdom's embassies in other lands."

Much of the U.S. money goes through the AID mission in Vientiane. The agency employs more than 2,000 Laotians. It is the second largest employer in the country after the government.

U.S. military aid paid for training, feeding, and arming the rightist Vientiane army. This aid was stopped immediately after rightist defense minister Sisouk Na Champassak resigned in face of student demonstrations and was replaced by a Pathet Lao minister.

One of the demands of the students was that the AID mission and U.S. embassy "stop sending their people out for spying." When asked by reporters whether AID was used as a front for CIA operations, AID director Gordon Ramsey said, "No comment."

In addition to this direct aid, Washington is the main contributor to an international fund that helps prop up the shaky Laotian

economy by providing it with almost all of its foreign exchange.

Soaring inflation has been a major factor in the recent protests, prompting mass mobilizations going beyond the control of the Pathet Lao. The rising cost of living has also caused a spate of strikes.

Referring to the series of demonstrations beginning in early May, Bruno Dethomas said in the May 17 *Le Monde*: "New forces are beginning to emerge in a country where politics up to now was a monopoly of the well-heeled members of the bigger families or their nominees. Among these are the National Student Federation, which is behind all the demonstrations and seems to be well organized, the Workers Federation, and even a Women's Movement (this is in Luang Prabang)."

Most of the protests have been organized by a coalition called the Movement of the Twenty-One Organizations (it now includes twenty-eight, but retains its original name). In addition to the National Student Federation and the Workers Federation, it includes associations of Buddhist students, of "former students of the socialist countries," and an "Association of Unaffiliated Individuals."

On May 23, 4,000 Laotians gathered in the Vientiane stadium "to hear an explanation of the political situation in the country," Dethomas reported from Vientiane May 24. The dispatch said that "at the request of the Movement of the Twenty-One Organizations," numerous political figures were given the opportunity to speak.

The main speaker for the Pathet Lao, Foreign Minister Phoumi Vongvichit, hailed the victory in Vietnam and Cambodia but said, as paraphrased by Dethomas, that for Laos, "the Vientiane accords [establishing the coalition government with the rightists] for reestablishment of peace and realization of national concord remain the basis for all political action."

A communiqué from the Movement of the Twenty-One Organizations declared "support to the Thai people, who are driving the American forces out of Thailand."

The masses are pressing for strong measures against price gouging and economic sabotage by the rightist capitalists and traders. In the absence of backing to the coalition government from Washington, it is likely that the flight of the rightist businessmen, generals, and politicians will accelerate. □

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'Didn't Come to America to Live Like Monkeys in a Forest'

Thousands of Vietnamese Want to Go Home

By Peter Green

Washington's last "humanitarian" mission in Vietnam began with a great fanfare. Both sides of Congress joined hands in granting Ford \$405 million to provide a safe haven in the United States for the estimated 150,000 "loyal" Vietnamese who fled their country with the final defeat of American imperialism and its puppet regime.

But more than a month after their evacuation, most of the refugees are still crammed in makeshift tent cities or hastily patched army barracks at camps scattered from Florida to Guam.

The processing of refugees practically came to a stop in mid-May. "No one is coming in and no one is moving out," said one civilian official at Camp Pendleton in California. In spite of an optimistic prognosis by a public-relations expert of the marines that "the bottleneck in the pipeline is starting to unglue," the refugee flow remains slow.

A fourth camp was opened at Indiantown Gap in Pennsylvania as an eventual replacement for the camp at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida. "Eglin is strictly a tent city in a swamp area and the heat and mosquitos are excessive in the summer," a Pentagon representative explained.

One reason for the delay in moving the refugees out of the camps has been the difficulty in finding suitable sponsors and jobs under other than virtual slave-labor conditions.

The main reason for the holdup, however, appears to lie in Washington. Each refugee must get a security clearance from six different government departments—the CIA, the FBI, the Pentagon, the State Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and the Drug Enforcement Administration. But government officials admit they do not know what they will do with refugees who do not pass the security tests.

"We can't send them back to Vietnam against their will, but we're not going to parole release them from government control either," said a top immigration official May 21.

In the opinion of John Eisenhower, the chairman of Ford's advisory committee on refugees, many of the Vietnamese may have to spend the rest of their lives in the camps.

The son of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower told an interviewer on CBS



Tribune

news May 23, "There's going to be a certain number that you're almost never going to be able to parole, especially the group that came out after the American-sponsored refugees left, that 70,000 people that made their way out on their own on sampans."

If French colonial experience in Vietnam is anything to go by, Eisenhower may be right. A refugee camp in southern France still houses Vietnamese who fled after the French defeat at Dien Bien Phu twenty-one years ago. Like the camps in the United States, it was supposed to be temporary. But 450 of the 31,000 Vietnamese "loyalists" evacuated to France still live there.

The chief crooks of the Thieu gang found no delays or "security" problems in getting released from the camps, however. In fact, they got special treatment. The chief of Saigon's police and other generals and high officials were released without security clearance or proof of sponsorship after Washington sent special telegrams to camp officials.

An immigration official in Washington, when asked why the prominent officials had received special treatment, replied: "I guess the simplest way to explain it was just because they were prominent officials."

Other refugees suggested it was because the officials were Thieu intimates especially zealous in the pursuit of political dissidents.

One of the most corrupt and brutal of the whole gang, Lt. Gen. Dang Van Quang, even merited the special intercession of the CIA to secure his speedy release.

Quang, Thieu's special assistant for military and security affairs, was reputed to be the regime's chief graft collector. In 1971, NBC-TV quoted "Extremely reliable sources" as saying that he was "the biggest

pusher" of heroin in South Vietnam.

Former dictator Nguyen Cao Ky also had no trouble getting out of the camps, in spite of the show he put on to prove he was poor and going through "normal" procedure, "just like anybody else." He entertained Ford's wife for the reporters in his "humble palace" at Camp Pendleton, and soon turned up again on the pages of the newspapers pictured at ease in a new Washington residence in keeping with his favored status.

Many other refugees would like to get out of the camps, too. According to news reports, some of the Vietnamese arriving at Eglin "took one look at the military-style camp, its portable chemical toilets and the tuna salad sandwiches on the mess menu and sat down in disgust. 'They didn't,' said one disgruntled businessman, 'come to America to live like monkeys in a forest.'"

Many refugees have made a sober assessment of what they are in for in America and now want to go back to Vietnam. Washington first estimated that about 150 Vietnamese wanted to return; then the figure was upped to 1,000. By May 27 reports in the *New York Times* indicated that as many as 3,000 persons on Guam alone wanted to go home.

Staff members of the Senate subcommittee on refugees investigated the refugee program in Guam, the Philippines, and California. Senator Edward Kennedy, the committee's chairman, said that the later refugees were mostly farmers, fishermen, local tradesmen, and soldiers.

"Few speak English and fewer still comprehend the implication of their plight as refugees," he said. "In fact, many of the refugees fled in panic from conflict and violence—as Vietnamese have fled for years—not fully understanding where they are or why they got there."

He said the staff members found that for "personal" reasons "many may wish to seek repatriation to their native land." They estimated this figure could reach the thousands.

Some refugees have threatened demonstrations if they are not returned to Vietnam quickly. A representative of a group of 107 Vietnamese at Fort Chaffee in Arkansas said he decided to go back home when he learned that the new Saigon government had promised that returning refugees would not be killed.

"Your GIs in Vietnam wanted to go back to the United States. We want to go back to our country," he said. □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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'Legal' and 'Extralegal' Violence Used Against the Metalworkers

The Peronist regime has done its best to break—or at least tame—the militant leadership of the UOM (Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union) in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires.

On March 20 the regime announced that it had uncovered a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" in Villa Constitución. This was the pretext for a raid by 4,000 police, in which more than 200 trade unionists were seized in one day. All but one of the UOM's elected officers were jailed. They had won office last November after a four-year struggle to end direct government intervention in the UOM local.

Students, lawyers, political activists, and family members of metalworkers were also arrested in the March 20 raids. Police occupied iron and steel plants throughout the zone and closed down the UOM's headquarters. A federal intervenor and then a national functionary of the UOM were sent in to take over the union.

These steps led to the strike of 6,000 metalworkers—the longest, most important strike waged under the current Peronist regime. The main demands were release of the elected leadership and return of the union to their control.

Trade-union leaders in other plants who expressed solidarity with the strike were also arrested. Carmelo Affatato, a leader at the nearby Indiel metalworks, was arrested along with twelve co-workers after he spoke at a solidarity rally.

An activist from John Deere, one of the plants in the area, told *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina), that the March 20 repressive sweep was very harsh in some cases. "Armed, hooded civilians carried out some of the raids. They beat the companions of the arrested leaders. In other cases, where the Santa Fé provincial police were operating, they used search warrants and did not destroy things."

The next major crackdown on the metalworkers came April 22, when the strike was a month old.

The strike committee, elected from the rank and file of the Villa Constitución UOM to replace its jailed leadership, had called a city-wide mass demonstration and work stoppage to support the strike. Thou-

sands of persons turned out only to be met by police armed with tear gas and guns. Demonstrators were fired on; three were seriously injured. Three busloads were arrested, and police and civilian harassment in working-class communities was stepped up.

That evening a bomb exploded in front of the Villa Constitución headquarters of the Unión Ferroviaria (Railroad Workers Union.) The Unión Ferroviaria had participated in the solidarity work stoppage.

Two days later, UOM General Secretary Alberto Piccinini and fourteen other metalworkers were transferred by plane from the nearby Coronda jail to the notorious federal penitentiary in Rawson, in the south of Argentina.

In Rosario, Luis Reinaldo Guzmán, a metalworker, was machine-gunned as he was leaving his home.

On April 25 a bomb was exploded in front of Piccinini's house. The following day another one went off—this time at the home of Raúl Horta, a metalworker who had been on the same slate as Piccinini in the November union elections.

Meanwhile, following the April 22 demonstration, *Avanzada Socialista* reported that working-class neighborhoods in Villa Constitución were being "patrolled" by unmarked cars with masked drivers.

Strike Bulletin No. 15, edited by the strike committee, reported a common form of harassment: Five workers were arrested April 29 at a Rosario plant while handing out leaflets on the strike.

"On May 1," reported *Avanzada Socialista*, "the repression struck a new, heavy blow: the charred corpse of Rodolfo Mancini was found and two members of the strike committee—Victorio Paulón and Zenón Sánchez—were arrested as they were entering Villa."

Mancini, twenty five years old, was a representative of the strike solidarity committee in the Malugani neighborhood of Villa Constitución. He worked at Metcon, one of the striking metal plants, and was president of the Centro de Estudiantes Secundarios (High School Students Center) in Villa.

A few days before his death Mancini had given an interview to *La Chispa*, the newspaper of the Juventud Socialista (JS—Socialist Youth, youth group of the PST). In it he reported that all 200 high-school

students in Villa supported the strike. They had called a sympathy school strike. "I think the youth helped a lot to change the atmosphere in the factories in the last four or five years," he said. "Little by little the youth slowed down a killing tempo of production. Now the bosses publish advertisements asking for workers who are 'married with children.'"

Avanzada Socialista's correspondent in Villa Constitución reported that Mancini had taken a leading role in building strike support after the April 22 repression. "Before," the correspondent reported, "he had been a conscious striker but not an activist. It speaks very well of him that when the repression began, when things got ugly in the neighborhood, he was nominated as delegate, taking on ever more responsibilities."

The strikers won a victory May 2. The Peronist regime released twelve metalworkers who had been held since March 20. None of the central leaders of the local UOM were among them, however. The May 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* commented, "Along with the government's retreat and release of prisoners, it now seems to be reverting to the 'hard line' again. As we close this edition, we have learned that in the neighborhoods, arrests and persecution by the police and fascists is continuing."

On May 11, the regime issued its red-baiting report on the Villa Constitución metalworkers (see article elsewhere in this issue). In it, the government admitted having made 307 arrests during the "operation." They had released all but 97 of these individuals.

The metalworkers ended the strike on May 19. They returned to work without having won the release of the leadership or the return of control over their union. However, they faced yet one more reprisal—massive firings. As of May 24, more than 500 strikers had been dismissed and the process was continuing. □

Miners Strike in Papua New Guinea

Police attacked a demonstration of more than 1,000 striking copper miners in the streets of Panguna, Papua New Guinea, May 12, arresting 120 workers. The strikers were demanding higher wages, better working conditions, and the rehiring of a union leader who had been fired.

Police assaulted barricades the miners had erected, launching tear gas from helicopters. A police station and administration offices were destroyed in the clash, and 500 Europeans were evacuated to a coastal city.

Union and company officials were reported May 13 to have regained control of the mines.

Argentine PST Militants Seized by Police

Four national leaders of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina) were arrested at dawn May 17 in Rosario. Silvia Díaz, Eduardo J. Expósito, Alberto Lisandro Pujals, and José Francisco Páez were arrested while holding discussions with party members involved in the strike of metalworkers in Villa Constitución, a nearby city. Páez is a leader of the Córdoba labor movement and was the PST's vice-presidential candidate in the last national elections.

Participating in the discussions on what course of action the party should propose in trying to settle the strike were José Kalauz and Oscar Juárez, two PST members who are part of the strike committee in Villa Constitución. They were also jailed.

Police of the province of Santa Fé raided the private home where the discussions were taking place, arresting these six PST members along with Nilda Carbone, another party member, and Marta Brizzio, owner of the house, who has no political affiliation.

The raid occurred two days after the PST's headquarters in Rosario had been dynamited.

These arrests brought to twenty-one the number of PST and Juventud Socialista members who are being held. Under the state of siege the victim can be held indefinitely without charges or trial.

The majority of the PST members in jail are there because of their involvement in the sixty-one day strike in Villa Constitución (see article elsewhere in this issue on the PST's support to the strike). However, the PST has singled out the case of Juan Carlos López Osornio for special attention. López Osornio was arrested and tortured during the federal take-over of the Ledesma sugar workers union in northwest Argentina in March. He is a longtime member of the party.

In addition, four PST members have been kept in jail since shortly after the state of siege was declared in November 1974: Luisa Segura, a student leader at the University of Tucumán; Silvio Dragunsky, a well-known PST representative in Bahía Blanca; and attorneys Juan Llanos and Daniel Veiga.

The full list of PST members in prison as of the May 24 issue of the party's weekly newspaper, *Avanzada Socialista*, is as follows:

Gerardo Romagnoli, Guillermo Díaz,

PST Political Prisoners



Silvia Díaz



Eduardo Expósito



José Páez



Alberto Pujals



Oscar Juárez



José Kalauz

Nora Albanesi, Gloria Preiti, José María Fernández, Silvio Dragunsky, José Kalauz, Oscar Juárez, José F. Páez, Alberto L. Pujals, Silvia Díaz, Nilda Carbone, Eduardo J. Expósito, Juan Llanos, Juan Carlos López Osornio, Daniel Veiga, Luisa Segura, Néstor R. Sánchez, Ricardo Siam, Jorge Rodríguez, and Juan Carlos Veiga.

The high morale of the PST political prisoners was indicated in an open letter to the metalworkers of Villa Constitución from José Kalauz and Oscar Juárez. It was dated May 22:

"From jail—at this time the Alcaldía de Rosario—we want to send our most enthusiastic greetings to all the compañeros with whom for more than sixty days we wrote one of the most glorious pages in the history of working-class struggles.

"In this case the government forced us into a strike under very difficult conditions: our main leaders were in prison, the bosses and government were against us, and the bureaucracy was continually speculating as

to whether with our defeat it could once again regain control of a union it had lost in some of the cleanest elections ever held in the history of the UOM [Unión Obrera Metalúrgica—Metalworkers Union]. . . .

"Those of us here are under the jurisdiction of the executive branch of the national government. We think they are going to transfer us to Coronda or some other place. Wherever it will be, we will meet up with the other compañeros. From here we send you our fraternal and fighting greetings. You should know that repression has not broken us. Jail won't either. On the contrary, the only thing it is accomplishing is to temper our spirit so that when we are released along with Pichi [Alberto Piccinini, the general secretary of the Villa Constitución UOM, imprisoned since the March 20 police raid on Villa Constitución], we will continue this tremendous struggle that we metalworkers are carrying forward in Villa Constitución. . . ." □

A 'Great Battle of the Argentine Workers Movement'

By Judy White

On May 19 the 6,000 metalworkers who had been on strike in Villa Constitución for two months went back to work.

Avanzada Socialista, describing the strike as "one of the great battles of the Argentine workers movement," offered a balance sheet of the strike in its May 24 issue:

"The assembly of Saturday, May 17, drew 2,500 compañeros who unanimously decided to continue the strike three days longer and to make a final try for serious negotiations. . . . but their endurance had reached a limit. With quarrels masking their feeling of impotence, some in tears, persecuted, exhausted, with thousands of problems built up in the course of the two-month work stoppage, the strikers could not hold out any longer.

"Nonetheless, the morale was not that of an army that had been smashed. The word that began to circulate was 'continue it inside.' That is why the police and the government mounted the final provocation against the strike: They prevented the general assembly from meeting and spread the lie that there was a helter-skelter, disorganized return to work.

"The reality was different. Over the weekend, meetings were held in the neighborhoods and an organized return to work starting Monday was approved. . . . [but] on Monday and the following days the bosses began the systematic firing of activists, the total now reaching more than 500.

"Sad as the truth may be, it does not stop being the truth: The strike in Villa ended in a defeat. It did not achieve its objectives—the compañeros are still in jail—and it led to a terrible bloodletting. . . ."

Describing the forces arrayed against the strikers, *Avanzada Socialista* said:

"The bourgeoisie, which began claiming to have had nothing to do with the March 20 attack, showed its true colors: By firing more than 500 compañeros it showed the real extent of its participation.

". . . the true initiator of the attack was the government. The false use of a supposed 'plot' was the pretext to take over the union and launch a direct provocation against the 6,000 compañeros."

"But of the three allied forces, the one that has to answer directly to the workers, the national trade-union leadership, has the greatest responsibility. In the first place because the real origin of the conflict must be sought in the local's four years under

trusteeship. And, in the second place, because although the national UOM was supposedly ignorant of the attack launched by the government, it is responsible for the total isolation of the struggle, for not having helped economically, and for not having taken any steps to have the membership of the union support it. Not to speak of its silence in face of the criminal actions—one that cost the life of compañero Mancini—carried out by rightist gangs against dozens of compañeros.

"It is this entire policy of the trade-union bureaucracy, culminating in the refusal of Lorenzo Miguel [national president of the UOM] to recognize the strike committee, that caused the defeat."

Avanzada Socialista pointed out that there were also weaknesses in the leadership of the union local that contributed to the defeat.

"We described them as a combative, democratic leadership that had not yet become an authentic, consistently class-struggle leadership. The two best examples of this are their positions on the coordinating committee and the guerrillas.

"[They] did not have a consistent class-struggle position on the problem of the isolation that the bureaucratic trade-union leadership had imposed on us. The attempt to form a coordinating committee at the trade-union plenary of March 1974 was quickly dropped when it was opposed by the JTP [Juventud Trabajadora Peronista—Peronist Worker Youth], the Communist party, and Salamanca [leader of the militant Córdoba section of the auto workers]; and only received verbal support from Tosco [leader of the militant light and power workers in Córdoba]."

"Thus Villa remained isolated at the critical moment, as had happened previously to SMATA, Luz y Fuerza, and Gráficos.¹

"The same centrist, vacillating position was repeated on the question of the guerrillas. The Pichi [Piccinini] leadership never spoke straightforwardly to the ranks, posing to them the problem of these non-working-class organizations that were not pursuing working-class objectives or using

1. SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades), Luz y Fuerza (Light and Power Workers), and Gráficos (Printers Union) are three militant unions that were attacked by the regime in the last year.

working-class methods. For example, the leadership was silent when Breuss was assassinated at Acindar.²

"By not having done this, they permitted the guerrillas to grow in an atmosphere of indiscriminate goodwill that gave people the idea that 'they are good guys' or 'that they are helping.'

"This was fatal in Villa, as it can be in other places. Not only did it mean providing the government unnecessarily with arguments—the 'subversive plot'; it also disarmed the ranks on the negative role played by guerrilla actions isolated from the mass movement."

Avanzada Socialista assessed the role of the neighborhood support committees:

"Starting with its leadership jailed, the strike continued for two months thanks to the colossal drive, the semispontaneous organization, the consciousness of the ranks, and the participation of women and merchants. All of these positive features were shown in the community organizations that kept arising and were converted into the symbol of the resistance. Almost all initiatives came from there—from those for obtaining subsistence to those for stopping scabs—and a real community to serve the strike was forged."

"Another thing that greatly helped the resistance was the solidarity shown. Although there were no mobilizations, in many factories and other sections of the populace all over the country there were currents that supported the struggle."

Avanzada Socialista is certain that a rapid recovery can be made:

"Five months after the smashing of SMATA in Córdoba the compañeros took up the fight again. What at the time was a harsh defeat was rapidly overcome by the drive of the ranks.

"The same thing, perhaps even more rapidly, can happen in Villa Constitución where the fundamental priority task posed is the reorganization of the union in the factories.

"In addition, in the struggles now going on in Rigolleau, Grafa, among the bank workers, and in those to come, the lessons of Villa and the meaning of that tremendous strike that shook the country will be fundamental. Understanding how to distinguish what unites and what divides the bourgeoisie, the bureaucracy, and the government; understanding how to follow a truly class-struggle policy to overcome isolation and to distinguish ourselves from all non-working-class and centrist currents, especially the guerrillas, will help us in the coming battles in which the unforgettable memory of the great strike in Villa Constitución will always be present." □

2. Breuss was an executive at the struck Acindar plant in Villa Constitución. He was assassinated by guerrillas while the strike was going on.

Argentine Metalworkers' Strike in Second Month

By Judy White

Argentine Minister of the Interior Alberto Rocamora issued a lengthy communiqué May 11 outlining the "findings" on a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" to sabotage heavy industry in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires.

On discovering the "plot" March 20, the Peronist regime sent 4,000 police into Villa Constitución and neighboring cities. They raided factories and homes, arresting—the government now admits—307 trade-union

This article was written before the settlement of the strike May 19.

leaders, abusing their families and friends, and looting indiscriminately. The Villa Constitución local of the Unión Obrera Metalúrgica (UOM—Metalworkers Union) was taken over by the regime and its elected leadership jailed. A national UOM functionary, Alberto Campos, was placed in charge of the union's affairs.

The communiqué justifying the repressive operation was issued almost two months later. It began by saying that the government's action had made it possible "to detect a vast network of extremist infiltration in the industrial establishments of the zone and neighboring communities, which was forming a real subversive tumor in the most sensitive flank of the country and beginning to spread roots."

Villa Constitución is the center of iron and steel production for Argentina, and its paralysis could have drastic effects on the construction and auto industries, among others.

"Two fundamental methods of action go along with this tumor," the statement continued, "political subversion and industrial terrorism."

Listed as "political subversion" were such things as:

- "... keeping the rank and file constantly agitated and in a permanent state of mobilization with the object of inculcating 'political consciousness' fundamentally designed to exalt subversive and coercive acts as the only means through which the organized workers movement can make social gains."

- "Mass action directly indoctrinating the youngest and most rebellious in the necessity of overthrowing the ruling social system to replace it with Marxist-Leninist socialism. . . ."

- "... painting slogans all over the walls of towns and factories and putting out pamphlets on these themes. . . ."

An amalgam was formed between trade-union activists involved in efforts to mobilize the masses and the guerrillas: The statement listed fifteen terrorist actions carried out "since the day of the arrest of those directly implicated in the scheme we are dealing with." These acts, according to the communiqué, were "designed to reverse the results of this [police] operation that has done so much for the defense, security, and well-being of the people."

"What at one time was a dissident trade-union movement"—a reference to the November 1974 election of a class-struggle slate in the UOM—"was gradually co-opted by a subversive organization, which totally won over many raw leaders and led them to officially commit themselves to the extremist plan. . . ."

The organization that supposedly accomplished this feat was listed as the Organización Revolucionaria Poder Obrero (ORPO—Workers Power Revolutionary Organization), an arm of the "subversive group that has been declared illegal"—a reference to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army). Furthermore, all of ORPO's efforts were described as being aimed at winning workers to "Trotskyist activism, continually creating conflicts in the factories to undermine the productive capacity of the industries."

Here a second amalgam was made, linking the ERP to Trotskyism. The truth is that the Revolutionary Workers party—of which the ERP was a guerrilla group—split from the Trotskyist movement in 1972.

The largest Trotskyist group in Argentina—and one playing an extremely active role in the Villa Constitución struggle—is the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The PST is well known for its repeated public condemnations of actions separated from the masses, such as those carried out by the ERP and other guerrilla groups in Argentina.

After listing the arms, printing equipment, and political literature seized during the raids, the statement concluded with the government's proposal to deal with "the grave risk to the security of the zone and its inhabitants" posed by the "subversives":

"... the national government has decided to impose a strict security operation in

the affected zone and where the workers live to really guarantee the freedom to work and impede the activity of the small groups that are still trying, through now familiar methods, to sow chaos and terror as a way of preventing the effective industrial and trade-union normalization of the area."

Earlier in the day on May 11, in what appeared to be part of the same well-orchestrated attempt to drive a wedge between the radicals and other trade unionists in Villa Constitución, UOM intervenor Alberto Campos had called a news conference. He announced that he expected a report from Defense Minister Adolfo Mario Savino that afternoon spelling out the degree of participation of local leaders in the March 20 "plot."

"We are not judges and we are interested in the normalization of the union local," Campos said, according to a report in the May 12 weekly edition of *La Nación*.

Campos added that if the leaders were not guilty, the local should be returned to their control.

At the same time, Campos stated his opposition to the holding of a metalworkers' mass meeting scheduled for that day on the grounds that the body calling it (the strike committee) was not a statutory body of the union. "Moreover, it has been ruled illegal by the labor minister," he said.

Later that day Campos chaired an assembly held at the Metcon metalworks. He congratulated the 400 workers who were not participating in the UOM strike.

The day after the Peronists' findings on the "plot" were released, Armed Forces Commander in Chief Lt. Gen. Leandro Enrique Anaya resigned his post. He said he disagreed with President Isabel Martínez de Perón on matters discussed in a secret meeting April 25.

Anaya reported that the meeting dealt with army performance, its recent "anti-subversive" operations in Tucumán, and in general, the role of the armed forces in the campaign.

It was widely speculated that the situation in Villa Constitución was also discussed. Following the March 20 raid there, 6,000 metalworkers went on strike in protest against the arrests and the seizure of the union. The strike has continued ever since, drawing increasingly broad support, particularly in that region, from workers in other industries and working-class communities. A massive police presence, ongoing

searches and arrests, civilian vigilante squads, and even the murder of union activists have failed to force them back to work.

As a result it seems likely that the option of sending the army into Villa Constitución was under consideration. *La Opinión* said that "the executive could have suggested the suitability of army participation in that zone of conflict, without, however, reaching any decision."

The first public remarks of the new armed forces head, General Alberto Numa Laplane, added weight to the notion. Explaining that he wanted to go "where the army is carrying out its most transcendent current task," Laplane made a visit to the Tucumán "zone of action," according to the May 16 issue of *La Opinión*.

Strike Support Organized

From the very outset, the Villa Constitución workers organized broad solidarity with the strike.

Avanzada Socialista, the weekly newspaper of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, has chronicled this support.

Soon after the brutal government intervention, trade-union militants on the outskirts of Rosario, a city in the same industrial belt as Villa Constitución, began to organize, the April 12 *Avanzada Socialista* reported. An activist from Villa Gobernador Galvez described the process:

"We started organizing on a neighborhood basis with compañeros from our factories who were very anxious to take action.

"To get together we meet in compañeros' homes in groups. In the course of two or three meetings we get to know all the faces and communicate all the news about what is happening.

"For the [strike] bulletins there are certain key compañeros in the movement. They go around delivering them to the other homes. For those who live farther away, we take the bulletins and information to them personally."

"There are merchants who offer to pay rent for the compañeros who need it. . . .

"In the neighborhoods you see the activists going around on motorbikes, bicycles, or in the car of some compañero who happens to be passing by. We can't use the buses all the time, because if we paid fares all day long, in twenty-four hours we would have spent almost 100,000 pesos. Sometimes we walk twenty, thirty blocks but we don't mind because we know it is in our interest.

"Many factories are helping—Baldini, Filipini, Guereño. We are going to visit Electrifun in the next few days. But the most concrete example are the compañeros at Montenegro. In twenty-four hours they

collected more than 150,000 pesos [approximately US\$135] to help us."

The wives of imprisoned metalworkers also pitched in.

"The families began to get organized as soon as the repression was unleashed," one woman told *Avanzada Socialista*. "Some began to move to find out where the prisoners were being taken.

"I could not participate at first because I too was held until midnight.

"My husband was taken away by five men in civilian dress. I did not even know who they were.

"Later I went to police headquarters twice and the second time they asked for my name. When I told them, they arrested me. It was totally arbitrary. But I was released that same night."

She went on to say that she finally got to see her husband on April 6:

"It was fabulous. There were 500 family members to see the prisoners. I can tell you, seeing so many people, it was practically like a demonstration, not a visit."

Many such women have gotten involved in a committee that has met with legislators in Buenos Aires, the governor of Santa Fe Province, and the federal judge—trying to aid the prisoners. By mid-April this group had collected more than 1 million pesos for the strike fund, and was organizing prison visits and care for needy families, in addition to other strike support activities.

The Juventud Socialista (JS—Socialist Youth), youth group of the PST, has played an active role in the crucial work of fund raising. During the first two weeks of April the JS raised close to 5 million pesos.

Metalworkers Feel Renewed Repression

More than 3,000 workers turned out in Villa Constitución April 22 to attend a demonstration called by the strike committee. There was to be a march followed by an assembly to decide the next steps in the strike. Tear gas and gunfire by the police broke up the demonstration. Three persons were shot and three truckloads arrested. However, all businesses, public offices, and factories stayed shut all day.

In response, the strike committee issued the following communiqué:

"Despite the terrible repression unleashed on Villa and its access roads, on Tuesday, April 22, the strike committee managed to meet and pass the following resolutions:

"a. To continue the strike.

"b. To call a 48-hour general work stoppage for Thursday and Friday.

"c. To ask the UOM to condemn the April 22 repression and call a national work stoppage in solidarity.

"d. To demand that the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor] publicly repudiate the police violence.

"e. To call on all forces to hold a day of solidarity activities with Villa May 1.

"That the strike committee has met and given this response is a victory for our struggle. Long live our unity in struggle! Long live the work stoppage of Thursday and Friday!"

The work stoppage was almost totally effective.

Strike Support Broadens Out

In the two months since the Villa Constitución strike began, support from other organizations has grown. Starting with local groups, it has extended to encompass all the major political parties, student federations, and important trade unions in other parts of the country. This solidarity, in turn, has forced some figures in the union bureaucracy and the government itself to make some concessions.

The Federación Universitaria para la Liberación Nacional—Buenos Aires (FULNBA—University Federation for National Liberation—Buenos Aires) issued a press release April 11 promising active solidarity with the strike. Another of the main student organizations, the Consejo Nacional de Federaciones y Centros (CNFC—National Council of Federations and Centers) had passed a similar motion April 5.

The right-wing Peronist leadership of the SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades) published a display advertisement in the major Argentine bourgeois dailies April 27. The text dealt with the crisis in the auto industry, but for the first time since the Villa Constitución strike began, SMATA bureaucrats did not place the blame for the crisis on striking metalworkers.

A plenary meeting of union delegates of FOETRA (Federación de Obreros y Empleados Telefónicos de la República Argentina—Telephone Workers Federation of the Argentine Republic) in the capital voted April 28 to support the strike. It was the most important union to do so to date.

On the same day Lorenzo Miguel, orthodox Peronist national head of the UOM and of the 62 Organizations (the Peronist bloc in the trade-union federation), called for "the release of all workers in Villa Constitución who are not involved in subversive acts." He added, "The only ones we cannot defend are those involved in activities outside of trade-union affairs because that is beyond our purview."

On May 2 the regime released twelve of the approximately 100 trade unionists and supporters being held because of the strike.

A meeting was held in Rosario the same day by representatives of the Radical Civic Union, Progressive Democratic party, Movement for Unity and Development,

Intransigent party, Communist party, Revolutionary Christian party, Popular Union, People's Socialist party, United Socialist party, Socialist Workers party, and Authentic party.* They issued a statement that included the following:

"No convincing information has been obtained to substantiate the existence of a 'subversive plot.'

"The immediate release of all those arrested . . . one of the demands that keeps the conflict going, must be satisfied.

"Compliance with prevailing legal norms will make possible the immediate restoration of the Villa Constitución UOM to its legitimate authorities.

"The maintenance of national police in the Villa Constitución region is creating an unending disturbance, which is aggravated by the actions of civilian groups whose impunity makes them even more dangerous.

"In summary, the undersigned political parties express their conviction that only in a climate of freedom and recognition of legitimate trade-union rights will a solution be found to reestablish peace in Villa Constitución."

The PST has mobilized its members to publicize and raise money for the struggle since it began. The strike has been featured in *Avanzada Socialista* each week, providing a rich picture of the dynamic of the struggle.

PST Members Jailed

More than that, the PST has played a leading role in the day-to-day work of the strike. Two PST members are on the strike committee and numerous others are working in Villa Constitución with the committee.

Two PST members—Gloria Preiti and Nora Albanesi—were arrested during the April 22 demonstration and remain under the jurisdiction of the executive branch of the government. Two more PST activists—Gerardo Romagnoli and Guillermo Díaz—members of the Frente Rosarino de Artistas Socialistas (Rosario Socialist Artists Front), are in jail as the result of strike support activities in Rosario.

The theme of the PST's May Day commemorations was one of solidarity with the struggle of the people of Vietnam and the workers at Villa Constitución. In the party's May Day manifesto, printed in the April 26 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the PST related the world crisis of imperialism to the growing crisis in Argentina. Pointing to the struggles of the Argentine working

*Unión Cívica Radical, Partido Demócrata Progresista, Movimiento de Integración y Desarrollo, Partido Intransigente, Partido Comunista Mexicano, Partido Revolucionario Cristiano, Unión Popular, Partido Socialista Popular, Partido Socialista Unificado, Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores, Partido Auténtico.



Avanzada Socialista

March in Villa Constitución in support of the striking metalworkers.

class within this framework, the PST said:

"We must agree that the fundamental demands for wages, freedom for political prisoners, defense of the unions, and the antioligarchical, anti-imperialist fight all have a common denominator: *the victory of the workers and people's struggle in Villa Constitución.*"

Because of the ban on mass meetings and demonstrations under the state of siege, the PST's May Day commemorations took the form of *asados*—traditional Argentine barbecues—and meetings in the party's headquarters.

At the Buenos Aires asado a neighborhood delegate from Villa Constitución spoke:

"The PST, with all its experience, has helped us a lot in getting organized. We know that Lorenzo Miguel asked for the release of our leaders. But that is not making us let up. We will continue the strike until all the leaders are free and they return the union to us."

In Rosario there was a rally at the PST headquarters, where party members who are on the strike committee at Villa Constitución spoke. The May 3 issue of *Avanzada Socialista* reported:

"Juárez was introduced by the statement that our party was proud that he was a leader of the struggle in Villa. Juárez responded, 'I want everyone to know that I had to place myself at the head of the fight, along with the other compañeros of the strike committee, because we were left without our real leaders, who are in prison. But in Villa, compañeros, the strike has 7,000 leaders!'

"Kalaus, another compañero of the PST who is a member of the strike committee, referred to the importance of the party in

the conflict in Villa. 'It was the party, this party, that gave us something basic for our fight: an orientation to follow. It told us that victory would come from a long strike, that we had to organize the neighborhoods to resist, to put out bulletins to inform the compañeros, to organize the strike fund. All that, which is what we did, is what today is bringing us closer to victory.'" □

Peking to Establish Ties With Common Market

Peking has decided to establish diplomatic relations with the European Economic Community. The decision was announced in the Chinese capital May 8 by Sir Christopher Soames, the Common Market's commissioner for external affairs.

China thereby becomes the second workers state after Yugoslavia to have such relations with the nine-member alliance of West European countries.

The move to establish relations with the EEC is expected to boost China's trade with the West, which has fallen sharply in recent months after nearly tripling, from \$5 billion to \$13 billion, between 1971 and 1974.

China's purchases from the West increased so rapidly that they resulted in a trade deficit of \$500 million in 1973 and about \$1 billion in 1974.

According to some Western analysts, Peking recently reduced its orders from capitalist countries in order to cut back on such deficits. But another factor in the reduced trade has undoubtedly been the impact of the current depression—particularly harsh for China, which makes 80 percent of its foreign purchases and sales in the capitalist countries.

Warren Panel Suppressed Report of Oswald Being on FBI Payroll

Was Lee Harvey Oswald, the man accused of killing President John F. Kennedy, an FBI agent?

The possibility was discussed by the Warren Commission, which was appointed by President Lyndon Johnson to investigate the Kennedy assassination, at a closed session January 22, 1964.

The transcript of the session, classified as top secret for eleven years, was recently released to Harold Weisberg, an author who filed suit for its release under the Freedom of Information Act. Weisberg is a critic of the Warren Commission's investigation and its conclusion that Oswald, acting alone, shot and killed Kennedy in Dallas on November 22, 1963.

Excerpts from the transcript were given in an Associated Press dispatch published in the May 18 *Los Angeles Times*.

The commission members, who included President Ford, then a congressman from Michigan, seemed primarily concerned with covering up the report of Oswald's possible FBI connection.

At the start of the meeting, J. Lee Rankin, general counsel of the commission, said he had been told by the Texas attorney general that "the word had come out . . . that Oswald was acting as an FBI undercover agent and that they had the information of his badge which was given as No. 179, and that he was being paid \$200 a month from September of 1962 up through the time of the assassination."

When Congressman Hale Boggs pointed out that the FBI denied that their records showed such a connection, Rankin responded: ". . . I assume that the FBI records would never show it, and if it is true, and of course, we don't know. But we thought you should have the information."

Later Rankin commented that he and Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren, the commission chairman, had discussed the report and "we said if that was true and it ever came out and could be established, then you would have people think that there was a conspiracy to accomplish this assassination, that nothing the commission did, or anybody, could dissipate."

"You are so right," Boggs said.

"Oh, terrible," said commission member Allen Dulles, former director of the CIA.

Dulles asked why the FBI would hire Oswald as an undercover agent.

"I mean, when they hire someone they hire somebody for a purpose . . . Was it to

penetrate the Fair Play for Cuba Committee? . . ."

"He (Oswald) was playing ball, writing letters to both the elements of the Communist parties," Ford said. "I mean, he was playing ball with the Trotskyites and with the others. This was a strange circumstance to me."

Ford was apparently referring to statements by the Dallas police that they had found copies in Oswald's residence of the *Worker*, the publication of the U.S. Com-

Try to Smear Fourth International

Police Kill Five Members of Argentine LCR

Five members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/ex-Fracción Roja¹ were killed and eleven were arrested in a five-month drive conducted by the Argentine federal police, according to a police communiqué summarized in the May 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. As of June 2 there has been no verification of the report from other sources.

The communiqué is entitled "Argentine Federal Police Thwart the Most Ambitious Plan of the Fourth International for Latin America." It said that the drive against the LCR began December 13, 1974, with a shootout near Temperley.

Two "extremists" and a policeman were said to have been killed in this clash. Police also reported seizing arms and literature, which they said led to a series of raids and arrests in several parts of Buenos Aires and the surrounding area.

Flavio Koutzii and Paulo Paranagua, both Brazilians, were said to have been arrested around this time. The police named them as "the two main leaders of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/ex-Fracción Roja."

The police linked the LCR/ex-Fracción Roja to the "outlawed extremist organization"—the Peronist government's circumlocution for the PRT/ERP.²

1. Revolutionary Communist League/ex-Red Faction, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina.

2. Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores/Ej-

munist party, and the *Militant*, the weekly Trotskyist newspaper, as well as correspondence on letterheads of the CP. The *Militant* had already reported that its records indicated Oswald was a subscriber for a brief period in 1962 and 1963.

"But the FBI get people right inside, you know," Dulles said. "They don't need a person like this on the outside. . . ."

Later the commissioners discussed their belief that FBI officials simply wanted the commission to endorse the FBI investigation and support its conclusion that Oswald had killed Kennedy.

Dulles agreed that this was the case. Then, near the end of the transcript, he said, "I think this record ought to be destroyed. Do you think we need a record of this?"

"I would hope that none of these records are circulated to anybody," Boggs added. □

According to the police, Koutzii and Paranagua joined the PRT/ERP in 1967.

The actions of the LCR/ex-Fracción Roja "show the presence of foreign elements who, under orders from the Fourth International, are trying in a mercenary way to wreck and undermine the best interests of the Nation," the report said.

The police statement also referred to "forces of the Fourth International, with their headquarters in Paris," which the late President Juan Domingo Perón had said was headed by "J. Posadas." Posadas's organization in Argentina denied having any connection whatsoever with the "extremists."

The following persons were named as victims of the police operation:

Killed: Mario Rodríguez, David Laniado, Francisco Carricabure, "a woman whose last name is Dragosh," and a man identified only as Ramón.

(It is likely that the "woman whose last name is Dragosh" refers to Adriana Drangosch. Her death was reported in a December 17, 1974, statement from the LCR. See *Intercontinental Press*, January 27, p. 94.)

Arrested: Flavio Koutzii, Paulo Paranagua, Norma Spíndola and María Regina Pilla (Brazilians), Julio Ramos (Spaniard), Susana Lobosco, Carlos Alvarez, Manuel Rallis, Ingrid Bohbe, Julia Norma Beñaldo, and a man whose last name is Montova. □

ército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Workers party/Revolutionary People's Army.

Secret Memo Ordered 'Elimination' of Cuban Premier

General Links Kennedys to Plot to Kill Castro

By Dick Fidler

More information has come to light implicating former President John F. Kennedy in attempts to assassinate Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

Retired Maj. Gen. Edward G. Lansdale told the *New York Times* in a May 30 interview that in late 1961, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, acting on behalf of President Kennedy, ordered him to prepare "contingency plans" to eliminate Castro.

General Lansdale, whose role as a U.S. adviser in Philippines counterinsurgency provided the basis for a character in the novel *The Ugly American*, told *Times* reporter Nicholas M. Horrock that he tried to find "20 or 30" carefully selected Cuban exiles with "political support" who could start a popular uprising against the Castro government. The plan, as it evolved in 1962, was "never feasible," he said, because he "never found such Cubans."

It is doubtful, to say the least, that the White House or the CIA actually believed that Castro could be overthrown by a mass insurrection in Cuba. The real plan was to kill the Cuban leader.

Horrock reported June 1 that the operation General Lansdale described was "only one 'track' of the planning in the Central Intelligence Agency and the Department of Defense." He cited "former senior intelligence officials" as saying that shortly after the failure of the CIA-sponsored Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961—which revealed clearly the lack of popular support in Cuba for counterrevolutionary opponents of the Castro leadership—the CIA "began a 'frantic' search for ways to remove Mr. Castro. . . ."

Some sources said there were "two or three plans" to kill the Cuban premier. Horrock said his informants had testified to this effect before the Rockefeller Commission, the White House-appointed body hearing secret testimony about CIA covert operations.

The Rockefeller Commission is reported to possess a 1962 memorandum written by General Lansdale directing the CIA to develop contingency plans for the possible assassination of Castro. An Associated press dispatch in the May 24 *Washington Post* said that "the memo, which dealt with a variety of subjects, does not use the word 'assassination,' according to a source who had seen it, relying instead on more general terms such as 'elimination.'"

"But the source said the memo clearly



ROCKEFELLER: Sitting on secret FBI memorandum linking CIA to Mafia hoods.

provided authority for drawing up contingency plans for an assassination."

Lansdale was at that time an assistant to Pentagon chief Robert S. McNamara. In his May 30 interview, he told the *New York Times* that he had dealt with Robert Kennedy, not in Kennedy's role as attorney general but in his role as "senior adviser" to his brother, President John F. Kennedy.

The Lansdale memo was written two days after a secret meeting on August 10, 1962, at which leading officials of the Kennedy administration discussed the possibility of assassinating Castro. The meeting was attended by McNamara, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, CIA director John McCone, and McGeorge Bundy, Kennedy's adviser for national security affairs. The minutes of the session have been made available to the Rockefeller Commission, according to Associated Press.

The disclosure of the existence of the Lansdale memo contradicts previous reports that these same officials had "immediately dismissed" the idea of killing Castro.

In another disclosure, the *New York Times* reported May 30 that both the

Rockefeller Commission and the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence have been given copies of a "detailed secret memorandum" written in May 1961 by J. Edgar Hoover, then director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The memo informed Robert Kennedy that an investigation of two Mafia racketeers, Sam Giancana and John Roselli, had turned up evidence of their connection with the CIA. Recent revelations have disclosed that Giancana and Roselli were recruited by the CIA to assassinate Castro.

Times reporter Horrock noted that at a CIA briefing on the same subject a year later, Robert Kennedy "appeared to learn of the C.I.A.'s dealings with the Mafia for the first time and admonished the agency official briefing him that the next time the C.I.A. wanted to deal with organized crime it should come to him first."

So far all the disclosures of White House-CIA-Mafia assassination plots have been "leaked" to the news media by unofficial sources. Both the Rockefeller Commission and the Senate committee have been meeting behind closed doors and refuse to reveal details about testimony.

Fidel Castro has offered to provide documentary evidence of attempts to murder him. Frank Church, chairman of the Senate committee, has turned down the offer.

In a television interview broadcast in London May 29, Cuban Deputy Premier Carlos Rafael Rodríguez charged that the CIA has been involved in at least 100 attempts to assassinate Castro in the last fifteen years. He said would-be assassins had used many methods, "including bombing, shooting and poison."

Rodríguez added: "Between 1960 and 1968, the attempts were constant. . . . I think they're still trying." □

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War and Revolution in Vietnam

By Allen Myers

[Allen Myers spoke at a meeting in Sydney April 18 sponsored by the Australian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Direct Action*. We are reprinting below an article based on that talk, published in the May 2 *Direct Action*.]

* * *

It is now a little more than ten years since Lyndon Johnson sent the U.S. Marines into South Vietnam—the first installment of an invasion force that eventually totaled more than half a million troops. In the following decade, U.S. imperialism conducted a war of unprecedented savagery.

There should be no mistaking Washington's intentions. The imperialists intended to win. The goal of the war was to defeat the Vietnamese fight for self-determination at any cost—to the Vietnamese. There were no restrictions of a humanitarian nature.

Consider the statistics. No one really knows how many Vietnamese have been killed. But in Cambodia, which suffered Washington's attentions later and to a lesser degree, the number of killed and wounded is estimated at one million, out of a total population of only seven million.

In their attempt to suppress the Vietnamese revolution, the U.S. imperialists spent \$110 thousand million [A\$1 equals about US \$1.35] in direct military expenses. In the course of the war, the Pentagon dropped on Vietnam more than three times the total weight of all the bombs dropped by all the Allies in all the theaters of World War II. All the bombs that Hitler dropped on Britain during the six years of the Second World War were equaled by the Pentagon in Vietnam, on the average, every two weeks.

But after wading through oceans of blood, after wasting billions upon billions of dollars, U.S. imperialism has suffered a humiliating defeat. Its puppets in Pnompenh and Saigon have been forced to pack their bags with whatever valuables they could lay their hands on and to depart for more healthful climates. Nguyen Van Thieu probably regrets the fact that he didn't reach Taiwan in time to compare notes with Chiang Kai-shek. Certainly the way in which Thieu's regime collapsed of its own rottenness presents a remarkable parallel to Chiang's downfall in 1949.

Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger are pushing the parallel still further. Just as the McCarthyites of the 1950s went on a witch-hunt in search of those responsible

for the "loss of China," Ford and Kissinger have decided that Congress is responsible for the loss of South Vietnam. The problem, they say, is that Congress "abandoned" Thieu by refusing to provide him with all the weapons he needed.

Thieu was abandoned all right, but not by the U.S. Congress, which, among its other tokens of affection, presented him with the fourth largest air force in the world. Thieu was abandoned by the people of South Vietnam, who were tired of being ruled by a corrupt American puppet; by the ranks of his army, which rightly saw no point in dying in his defense; and finally even by his own generals, his partners-in-crime, who, like all gangsters, stuck together only as long as the profits looked secure. Ford complained that Thieu didn't have enough weapons, but in the first ten days of its flight, the Saigon army left behind an estimated \$1 billion worth of weapons and military equipment.

Ford and Kissinger don't talk about the real causes of the U.S. defeat because they don't want *us* to understand what happened. That's all the more reason for us to look closely at the causes of imperialism's losses in Indochina.

The greatest credit for inflicting this defeat on imperialism of course belongs to the heroic peoples of Indochina, whose resistance was the hard fact that smashed Washington's dreams of military victory.

The international antiwar movement also played a crucial role by helping to tie the hands of the imperialists. The Pentagon Papers confirmed what socialists said from the beginning of the war: that the two restraining influences on U.S. imperialism were the possibility of a military response by Moscow or Peking, and the antiwar movement.

As it happened, the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies put their own narrow view of their own interests ahead of their duty to help the Vietnamese resist U.S. aggression. Not only did they refuse to provide sufficient military aid; they wined and dined Nixon in Peking and Moscow while he was escalating the war in Indochina.

Fortunately, the international antiwar movement took its responsibilities more seriously. At the time, even many of the people who participated in the campaigns demanding the immediate withdrawal of imperialist troops from Indochina questioned whether the protests would have any

real effect. You can see now that the antiwar demonstrations did a world of good. First Nixon lost the material and moral support provided by Australian and New Zealand troops. Then he had to pull out the U.S. troops. Now the Cambodians and Vietnamese are taking control of their own countries, driving out Washington's hirelings, and Ford can't take military action. He can't send in troops, he can't bomb North Vietnam, he can't even send all the military equipment he wants to—and all because he knows the American people wouldn't stand for it. And they wouldn't stand for it largely because of the years of activity of the international antiwar movement.

Ford is commander in chief of the most powerful military apparatus that has ever existed, and he can't use it as he wants to. He's had his advisers working overtime trying to come up with a propaganda line that would make a new invasion sound like an errand of mercy by the Red Cross. The great warriors are reduced to kidnapping babies.

There's an important lesson we ought to learn from Ford's dilemma. That lesson concerns the power of masses of people acting in their own interest.

A few years ago, it was a very popular thing on the left to run around quoting Mao Tsetung about power coming from the barrel of a gun. A lot of people who wanted to be revolutionaries thought that sounded very militant.

"Power flows from the barrel of a gun." It does sound very militant. But fortunately, it's not true.

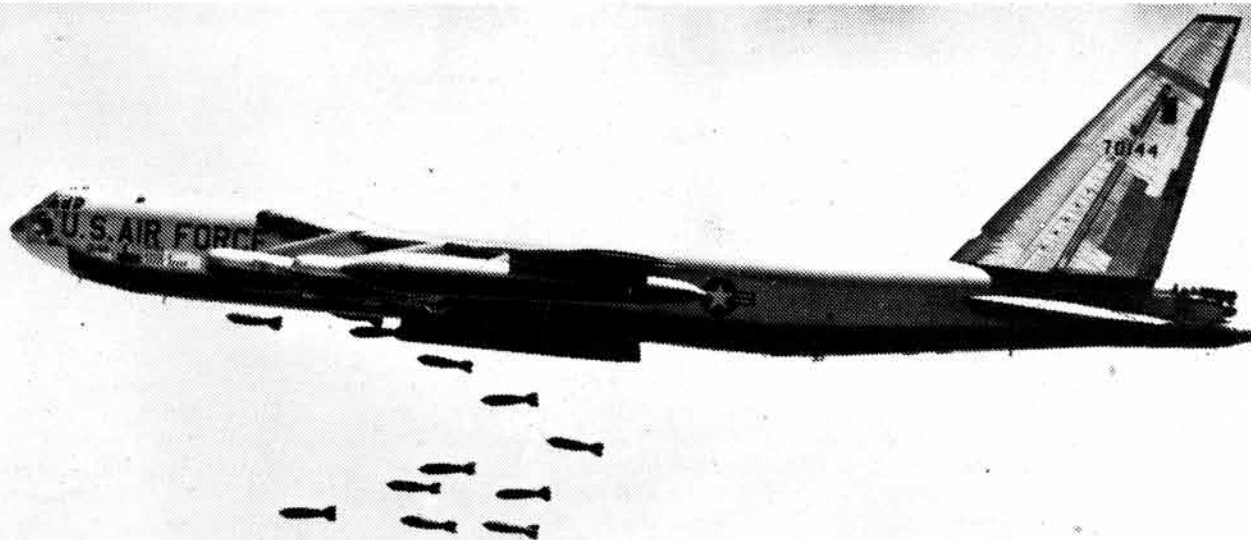
The people of Indochina couldn't begin to match the vast firepower commanded by Ford, or even the tiny fraction of it he provided to his agents. The international antiwar movement never had any guns at all, and yet it was able to neutralize a large part of the Pentagon's arsenal.

Masses of people acting in their own interest are more powerful than the Pentagon.

Socialists are not pacifists. We know that even when the overwhelming majority of the population is ready to run things for itself, it will need guns to defend itself from the terror and violence of the reactionaries. But the masses of people are primary; the guns are secondary. The guns make the job easier, but without the masses the task is impossible.

The imperialists understand this. Remember how they used to talk about "winning the hearts and minds" of the Vietnamese people. That was about half wishful thinking and half cynical propaganda, but it reflected the imperialists' recognition that they needed to neutralize the mass opposition they faced from the Vietnamese people.

The imperialists had no chance of winning any "hearts and minds" that they



Pentagon dropped on Vietnam more than three times the total weight of all bombs dropped by all the Allies in all theaters of World War II.

couldn't buy. The contradiction between the interests of the imperialists and those of the Indochinese masses was too blatant for that. And this is also why the 1973 accords couldn't bring peace to Vietnam.

If you were reading *Direct Action* two years ago, you can't have been too surprised by the recent events in Vietnam. Here's what *Direct Action* said in an editorial immediately after the 1973 cease-fire agreement was signed:

"The accords do nothing to resolve the social, economic, and political problems that have been at the root of the Vietnam war. The imperialists recognise the fact of two armies and two governmental forces in South Vietnam, each representing basically opposed class forces.

"On the one side is the Saigon regime of the landlords and capitalists, backed by U.S. imperialism. On the other side are the revolutionary forces based on the workers and peasants. This is an extremely unstable situation. One side or the other will eventually have to predominate, and that can only be determined in struggle.

"The ceasefire accords announced Jan. 24 will not bring peace to Indo-China. They signal a new stage of the civil war, and of Washington's intervention."

As the editors of *Direct Action* had predicted, the war continued, almost without a pause. Between January 1973 and January 1975, the number of Vietnamese killed was three times the number of U.S. troops killed during the twelve years of Washington's direct military intervention.

Irreconcilable interests were, and are, in conflict. The Vietnamese peasants need land; the landlords require an impoverished, landless peasantry. The workers need full employment, decent wages, and a rational, planned development of the economy; the Vietnamese capitalists require a working class forced by mass unemploy-

ment to accept low wages and the distortion of the economy by imperialism. And each side needs a government that will enforce its requirements against those of the other. Those opposing interests can't be compromised; one side or the other will get its way, and the other will lose out.

This is why it was a serious error for the Provisional Revolutionary Government and Hanoi to proclaim the 1973 accords a great victory and to say that peace was at hand. The withdrawal of U.S. troops and the end of the American bombing *did* represent a real setback for U.S. imperialism. But the accords also left a proimperialist regime in power in Saigon. Thus the 1973 agreement was an ephemeral compromise between the two sides. This compromise was necessarily temporary because it did nothing to settle the question of which set of irreconcilable interests would prevail.

Calling the 1973 agreement a "victory" couldn't make it one in fact. The only effect it could have was to disorient the Vietnamese people and their supporters internationally.

The Vietnamese hadn't won two years ago, and even today their victory hasn't been secured, despite the military defeat inflicted on U.S. imperialism and its puppets.

Neither French nor American imperialism ran Vietnam solely by force of their own arms. They were always able to count on the support of the native capitalist and landlord classes.

At first glance, the reasons for this may not be obvious. Why should Vietnamese capitalists encourage and assist imperialist control over Vietnam? Certainly most Australian capitalists would not welcome the occupation of Australia by U.S. troops or a government in Canberra that deliberately ran the economy for the benefit of Japanese or U.S. capitalists. What is the

difference that accounts for the contrasting behavior of Vietnamese and Australian capitalists?

The most obvious difference is that Australia is a developed capitalist country, while Vietnam is underdeveloped and semicolonial. But why don't the Vietnamese capitalists abandon their junior partnership with imperialism, take things in hand, abolish the feudal relationships in the countryside, and build a developed capitalist society? In short, why don't they act like the French and American bourgeoisies acted at the end of the eighteenth century?

This is what the Vietnamese Communists have urged the South Vietnamese capitalists to do, and the Communist party has even offered its assistance. The program of the Communist party does not call for a socialist revolution in South Vietnam, but for a "national democratic revolution," that is, a revolution analogous to the French Revolution of 1789, which would abolish feudal and neocolonial relations and permit a period of capitalist development of the country. In an interview with the U.S. Communist party newspaper in March 1973, North Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong explained:

"I re-emphasize the objective in South Vietnam is to fulfill the national democratic revolution, not the socialist revolution.

"When people said we want to press a communist administration on South Vietnam they spoke stupidly.

"It is clear that our perspective is this: the construction of socialism in North Vietnam and the successful realization of the national democratic revolution in South Vietnam, will, step by step, lead toward the peaceful reunification of our country."

Why, then, was the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie unable to carry out a bourgeois revolution?

The same question could be asked about

the bourgeoisies of every underdeveloped country in the world. In fact, if you were to make a list of every developed capitalist country, and next to each name you wrote the years during which that country's capitalists took control away from the feudal classes or foreign rulers and began to construct a developed capitalist economy, you'd notice at least one striking fact: It hasn't happened in a long time. It's been nearly a century since a bourgeoisie has led its country out of precapitalist conditions and begun the construction of a developed capitalist economy. The last time it happened was in Japan in the 1880s.

There hasn't been a successful bourgeois revolution anywhere on this planet for nearly a century. Why is that? There certainly isn't any lack of countries that need to accomplish such tasks as real national independence, land reform, democratic forms of government, and so on. If we exclude those countries that have had socialist revolutions, then the overwhelming majority of the world's people live in countries that still need to accomplish those tasks.

Isn't this rather remarkable? And isn't it rather remarkable that the political scientists and economists in our universities don't devote more attention to the subject? For a little more than two centuries, from the time Charles I lost his head until the 1880s, there were a whole series of revolutions in which the capitalist class of a country took control of the government and transformed the country's economy. Then the process stopped, and the phenomenon hasn't recurred since. And yet most of the political scientists and economists of the West act as though there were nothing in this situation requiring an explanation. Or, even worse, they pretend that there *is* a bourgeois revolution going on in the underdeveloped countries and they try to juggle phony statistics to prove it to you.

The Lessons of Russia

Fortunately, however, there is a science—Marxism—that has studied the peculiar unwillingness or inability of the bourgeoisies to lead a bourgeois revolution. And Marxists didn't wait ninety years before they turned their attention to the phenomenon.

Around 1900, probably the big majority of Marxists, if they thought about the question, assumed that in the underdeveloped countries there would continue to be bourgeois revolutions, which would open a period of capitalist development. Only at some later point would a socialist revolution overturn the capitalist society that had arisen. This was the perspective maintained by the Mensheviks, among others. They held to this view even through 1917, and

condemned the Bolshevik revolution for interfering with the schema.

But the assumption that the bourgeoisies of underdeveloped countries would continue to carry out revolutions was given a hard knock by reality in the Russian revolution of 1905. In 1905, instead of leading the struggle against the monarchy to its conclusion, the Russian capitalists abandoned the goals of land reform, democracy, etc., and went over to the side of the tsar, helping him to suppress the rebellious workers and peasants.

This development obviously required an explanation, and Marxist revolutionaries studied the events of 1905 to find the answer. The most thorough study was done by Leon Trotsky, who in 1906 was able to predict that even though the tasks of the bourgeois revolution had not been accomplished, the next Russian revolution would not be bourgeois, but proletarian, that is, socialist. Furthermore, as Trotsky later looked at the other underdeveloped countries in the light of what he had learned from 1905, he concluded that the entire era of bourgeois revolutions had passed. In the underdeveloped countries, he said, there would be either socialist revolutions or no real revolution at all.

During the era of the classical bourgeois revolution, the rising capitalists of England, France, and the United States and so on could lead behind them virtually the entire nation against the feudal lords. This was because the program of the rising bourgeoisie coincided to a large degree with the interests of other classes. The peasantry stood to gain from the abolition of the feudal estates and the power of the church; the urban poor, who would at a later point develop into the industrial proletariat, would benefit from the ending of feudal restrictions on production. The bourgeoisie emerged as the spokesman for the nation because it had a progressive role to play: The conditions that benefited it as a class were the conditions necessary for increasing society's powers of production.

(This is also why the democratic republic emerged as the characteristic form of bourgeois rule during this period. Democracy as a system of government requires that the interests of different sectors of society be essentially harmonious, or at least that most people believe them to be so. As long as the capitalist class, in pursuing its own welfare, also advanced the productive forces of society, and as long as the new proletariat had not reached a level of development and cohesion that permitted it to challenge the bourgeoisie's right to rule, then parliament was a forum for compromising episodic differences between various sectors of the nation whose basic interests were essentially similar. This is the way in which democracy was conceived by the political theorists of the rising bourgeoisie, and most

bourgeois political scientists claim that it still applies.)

But when Trotsky looked closely at Russia and the other underdeveloped countries, he found conditions completely different from those that prevailed in Western Europe and America at the time of their revolutions.

In those countries where the bourgeois revolution had been delayed, the existence of a world capitalist system had distorted the traditional pattern of development from feudalism to capitalism. In Russia, for example, although essentially feudal relations still prevailed in the countryside, foreign investors had established a significant number of capitalist enterprises in the cities. In fact, by 1917, there were more factories that employed 1,000 or more workers in Russia than there were in the United States. Thus two different systems of social organization, which had prevailed in distinct historical periods in the West, coexisted in Russia.

The delay in the bourgeois revolution meant that the Russian bourgeoisie, as a class, was significantly weaker than the capitalist classes of Western Europe and America had been. Russian capitalists were forced to compete with the more developed capitalist enterprises of the West, but did not have time to accumulate the capital necessary to compete successfully. In order to survive, Russian capitalists had to seek the necessary capital through economic alliances either with foreign capitalists or with the Russian landowners.

The distortion of the Russian economy caused by the existence of a capitalist world market prevented the Russian bourgeoisie from filling the role played by the bourgeoisies of the West. Whereas the French bourgeoisie had led the peasantry against the feudal landowners, the Russian capitalists were united with the landowners by economic, and often by financial, ties; in some cases, the same individual would be both capitalist and landowner. Similarly, whereas the American or Dutch bourgeoisies had led a struggle against foreign domination, the capitalists of the underdeveloped countries are completely dependent on their economic ties to foreign imperialism.

Moreover, although the bourgeoisie led the classical revolutions, the bulk of the forces were always provided by the much larger classes, the peasantry and the urban poor. This fact always represented a certain danger for the capitalists, but so long as there was not a developed urban proletariat and the economic base for socialism, it was relatively easy for the bourgeoisie to call a halt if the plebeian troops tried to carry the revolution further than the bourgeoisie wished it to go.

But in Russia in 1905, and in most of the underdeveloped countries today, the intru-

sion of imperialist capital has helped to create precisely such a proletariat. With good reason, the capitalists fear to stir this proletariat into motion because they lack the strength to force it to halt.

On the basis of these observations, Trotsky therefore concluded that the bourgeoisies in the underdeveloped countries lacked both the will and the ability to lead society in accomplishing the tasks of land reform, democracy, and national independence. There would be no more revolutions led by the capitalist class—a prediction for which history has not provided an exception in nearly seventy years.

Because history has passed by the bourgeoisies of the underdeveloped countries, the fulfillment of the tasks of the bourgeois revolution falls upon a new rising revolutionary class: the proletariat. Even where the proletariat is still a minority of the nation, Trotsky said, it can come forward as the leader of the majority of the nation—the peasantry—by conducting a thorough and resolute struggle against the landlords and capitalist exploiters.

But, Trotsky continued, the proletariat is not interested in leading the long and difficult fight against foreign and domestic reaction merely to create conditions in which the capitalist class can exploit it. Both the alliance between capitalists and landowners and the proletariat's own class interests dictate that it will combine the tasks of the bourgeois revolution with socialist tasks. If the revolution is not to be defeated, if it is not simply to reestablish the old situation with a few new faces, the revolution has to carry out bourgeois and socialist tasks simultaneously. This process Trotsky called *permanent revolution*.

Class Collaboration and Vietnam

What all this means for the present is that there cannot be a national democratic revolution in South Vietnam, any more than there could be one in Russia in 1905 or 1917. If there is a difference between the South Vietnamese and Russian bourgeoisies, it is that the former is even weaker, even more dependent on imperialism, even more closely tied to the landowners, than was the latter.

It is the attempt of the Vietnamese CP to carry out a national democratic revolution where none is possible that endangers the gains of the Vietnamese revolution.

In order to carry out the "national democratic revolution," the Vietnamese CP has, quite logically, sought an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie"—the class that could have been expected to lead the revolution, if only the world hadn't changed in the last 200 years. When Thieu's forces collapsed and his army was in headlong flight, the PRG saw this as an opportunity,



Mark Satinoff/Militant

OUT NOW! 500,000 demonstrators in April 1971 gave Nixon this message loud and clear.

not to get rid of capitalism, but to force an alliance with those elements in Saigon it regards as the "national bourgeoisie." A statement broadcast by Hanoi radio quoted the following offer from the PRG:

"An administration standing for peace, independence, democracy, national concord and strict application of the Paris agreement must be established in Saigon. The PRG is ready to hold talks with such an administration to quickly settle all the affairs of South Vietnam. The Thieu junta—main obstacle to the settlement of

political question in Vietnam—must be overthrown."

As we've already seen, the Paris accords didn't and couldn't settle anything. Yet the Vietnamese CP wants to make a permanent arrangement out of that extremely unstable and temporary compromise between imperialism and the Vietnamese independence forces.

After Thieu had fled, the military forces of the PRG were restrained to allow time for the "national bourgeois" Duong Van Minh

to take over Saigon. A dispatch from Saigon to the April 25 *Sydney Morning Herald* noted that "Western intelligence sources report that the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces have been in position to overrun Saigon for 48 hours but are apparently delaying to watch the rapidly moving political events in Saigon."

But if the Vietnamese CP wants an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie," then it has to guarantee to protect its interests. And not even confining the Vietnamese revolution within "national democratic" boundaries will provide such a guarantee.

The so-called national bourgeoisie is not interested in the real independence of South Vietnam. It is not strong enough to feel secure in any situation where it does not enjoy the direct support and protection of imperialism. The "national bourgeoisie" is not even potentially an ally of the forces fighting for independence. On the contrary, it is imperialism's Trojan horse in South Vietnam.

It was the "national bourgeoisie" that opened the door for U.S. imperialism in the first place. In 1954, the French colonial forces had been militarily defeated. The French army was in no mood for further fighting, and the French people were demanding that the troops be brought home. The Vietminh were on the threshold of uniting the country under their own leadership. But at the Geneva conference, under pressure from the Soviet and Chinese governments, the Vietnamese CP agreed to the partition of Vietnam. The national bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the national bourgeois Ngo Dinh Diem, was thus able to regroup in the South and provide the foothold from which U.S. imperialism began its open military intervention in the 1960s.

If it were possible for the national bourgeoisie to be an ally of the independence forces, isn't it rather strange that whenever the PRG wants to speak to the national bourgeoisie, it has to beam radio broadcasts to Saigon? Why are there no national bourgeois in the liberated areas? The national bourgeoisie has voted with its feet!

The so-called national bourgeoisie is imperialism's fifth column. Any concession made to it by the independence forces can become a weapon against the people of Vietnam.

'Peaceful Coexistence'

The Vietnamese CP isn't trying to organize a "national democratic revolution" just because it is enamored of ideas popular with the Mensheviks in 1917. It is Stalinism, rather than Menshevism, that is chiefly responsible for the survival of this dangerous notion.

For the parasitic bureaucracy that arose in the Soviet Union, and for its followers around the world—both those who have achieved state power and those who have not—the "national democratic revolution" is the national aspect of the policy that on an international plane is called "peaceful coexistence." The Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Peking want an agreement with imperialism to preserve the status quo; they prove their good faith by urging their followers to effect alliances with the "national bourgeoisie" in Vietnam, Peru, Portugal, Indonesia, etc., etc., etc.

Just as an alliance with the "national bourgeoisie" excludes a struggle for socialism in any given country, so "peaceful coexistence" implies an international strategy of opposing socialist revolution. But even in terms of creating "peace," "peaceful coexistence" doesn't work, and it can't work.

Capitalism has never coexisted peacefully with any other social system. Whenever, in the course of its expansion through the world, capitalism came in contact with another social system, it subjugated it either by economic or military means.

And from the Paris Commune to Chile, there has not been even one example of the working class taking power, or even appearing likely to threaten capitalist interests, without it facing the armed violence of the capitalists.

It's easy enough to see what the policy of "peaceful coexistence" has done to the Vietnamese. Thirty years ago, when the Japanese surrendered, Vietnam was united and independent. The Vietminh were the only armed force in the country. But for the sake of Stalin's wartime agreements with imperialism, Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese CP allowed the British into Saigon, the French into Hanoi—and the first Indochina war was the result. Another attempt at "peaceful coexistence" in 1954 led to the second Indochina war. After thirty years of "peaceful coexistence," the Vietnamese have suffered millions of dead, and aside from that and the physical destruction of their country, are almost back where they started.

It is possible, and we hope it will happen, that so many of the South Vietnamese capitalists have flown to Switzerland to inspect their bank accounts that there is no one left in Saigon to form a "government of national concord" with the independence fighters. In that case, the Vietnamese CP will probably be forced, willy nilly, to nationalize industry, abolish large land holdings, and sooner or later, establish a workers state.

But it is also possible that the CP will get the class-collaborationist bloc it wants with bourgeois elements. In that case, imperialism will still have a foothold, however slippery, in Indochina, and at some point

the imperialists and "national bourgeoisie" will try to use that foothold to reverse the gains that have been won.

Our Record

Some people—often people with bad consciences, like the Stalinists—sometimes argue that criticizing the leadership of Hanoi or the PRG is equivalent to opposing the Vietnamese revolution and aiding the imperialists. This argument is not new; it is the same one that was advanced by apologists for Stalin in the 1930s when Trotsky warned that the bureaucracy's counterrevolutionary policies were preparing the way for imperialism to attempt to overthrow the Soviet state.

Unlike the apologists for Stalinism, revolutionary socialists don't make the mistake of identifying the achievements of the revolutionary workers and peasants in the Soviet Union, China, or Indochina with the class-collaborationist policies of the Stalinists, which hold back the revolutionary process rather than advancing it. Our support for socialist revolution—in Vietnam and elsewhere—imposes on us the duty of criticizing the class-collaborationist line of the Communist parties.

Nor do we make the mistake of the ultraleft sects, who use their criticism of the Stalinists as an excuse to justify abstention from the fight against imperialist aggression in Indochina. These sects, some of which claim to be Trotskyist, have forgotten the example of Trotsky and the fledgling Fourth International, who actively—not merely verbally—defended the Soviet Union against imperialism and opposed imperialist aggression against the colonial countries even when, as in China, these countries were ruled by the most reactionary governments.

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League and Socialist Youth Alliance have a record second to that of no other political tendency in terms of principled defense of the Indochinese revolution. We were not the ones who advocated diverting the antiwar movement into the trap of "more militant" actions, which would only have interfered with building the movement's mass base. We were not the ones who urged a line for the movement of supporting negotiations or demanding that Nixon "sign the accords." We never swerved from the perspective of building a mass movement around the only position that recognized the Vietnamese's right of self-determination: For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all imperialist troops and material from Indochina.

We know that in the future if the need arises we will be ready once again to protect the gains of the Vietnamese freedom fighters and to demonstrate our support for a socialist transformation in Vietnam. □

Black Liberation and the Need for a Revolutionary Party

[Rosie Douglas spoke at the University of Toronto February 28 at a meeting initiated by the League for Socialist Action and the Young Socialists and sponsored by a wide range of Black, student, and radical organizations. *Labor Challenge*, the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly, published major excerpts from his remarks, which we are reprinting below.]

* * *

As we enter into the most decisive epoch of political struggle in which the forces of reaction are tottering on the brink of economic collapse, it is important that we engage in a rigorous analysis of the dynamics of world revolution. Our most vivid recollections of 1974 center, on the one hand, on rising unemployment, galloping inflation, and slumpflation; a systematically contrived famine in large parts of Africa and Asia; the carrying of the Northern Ireland struggle into England; the imperialist scramble over Cyprus; the continuing offensive for national liberation in Southeast Asia, Palestine, and southern Africa—and on the other hand, the demise of such proven imperialist lackeys as Richard Nixon, Willy Brandt, Golda Meir, Tanaka, Edward Heath, Marcelo Caetano, and Haile Selassie.

It is within this context that Black revolutionaries in North America are seeking to arrive at a higher level of theory and practice as a requirement to move out of the narrow nationalist limitations of the late 1960s and provide political direction in moving forward the struggle for the total emancipation of our people and the social transformation of society led by the working class.

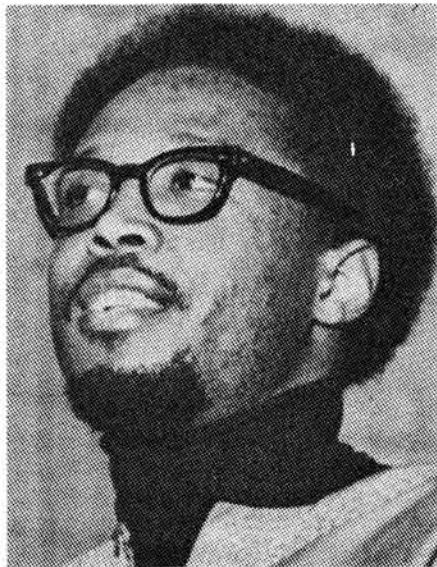
Central to arriving at a scientific position on where we must head ideologically and consequently what strategy and tactics to employ is a concise understanding of the race and class question. During this present crisis racking the world economy—a crisis rooted in the irrationality and anarchism inherent in state monopoly capitalism—it is not good enough to denounce the practice of racism without at the same time recognizing its historical rise as the most effective weapon to secure unimaginable profits and to forestall working-class mobilization and revolutionary action.

Capitalism Needs Racism

It is not an exaggeration to say emphatically that capitalism in North America

June 9, 1975

The Rosie Douglas Case



Labor Challenge

ROSIE DOUGLAS

Rosie Douglas, a native of the British colony of Dominica, is a well-known Black activist in Canada who faces deportation on charges stemming from a 1969 student occupation at Sir George

Williams University in Montréal.

The Immigration Appeal Board in Montréal notified Douglas May 8 that his appeal against deportation had been rejected. The Committee Against the Deportation of Rosie Douglas is appealing this decision to the Federal Court of Canada. The committee points out that if Douglas is deported to Dominica, he faces possible death because of repressive legislation passed there last November allowing private citizens to kill anyone suspected of belonging to an "illegal" association.

Douglas has won wide support in his struggle to remain in Canada. Endorsers of his campaign include former New Democratic party leader T.C. Douglas; the Montréal Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions; and Dennis McDermott, Canadian vice-president of the United Auto Workers.

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 Committee Against the Deportation of Rosie Douglas, 44 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario.

cannot exist without racism. The ruling class, weakened through contradictions generated within the system and beset on all sides by cutthroat competition within the imperialist camp, has no choice but to intensify the barbaric superexploitation of minority workers while using these very workers as scapegoats on whom to blame the crisis. We state emphatically as C.L.R. James did in 1938: "That the race question is subsidiary to the class question in politics and to think of imperialism in terms of race is disastrous. But to neglect the racial factor as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental."

Contemporary racist concoctions emerged in all western countries during the nineteenth century though their roots were firmly planted in the eighteenth century with the rise of capitalism. . . . From the historical standpoint racism resulted from the slave-owning system as the ideological

justification for domination over conquered tribes and over "low castes" or classes.

Racism Used to Justify Slavery

It was in the Caribbean and North America that the exchange value of minerals, sugar, cotton, and coffee were in great demand on the world market and of vital interest to the commercial powers, that the surplus labor power of the slaves was recklessly squandered and degraded while at the same time they were being dubbed as inferior and half-beast so as to ensure their further dehumanization and baseless subjugation to capital.

Britain, France, Portugal, and the American plantocracy wrought havoc in Africa, justifying their economic plunder of human resources by declaring us to be inferior and also in need of religious and civilizing influences. At the time that Europe was progressing from feudalism to capitalism and making enormous technological ad-

vances, Africa was being dragged down and its society thrown into temporary stagnation by advancing Europe. It was on the blood and bones of Africans that European capitalism took off. Numerous historians and erudite scholars have attempted to document the effect of slavery on the development of capitalism. Apart from approximations, however, no one has been able to determine the unimaginable amount of superprofits produced by African labor over 400 years for the enrichment of Europe and North America. In terms of the depopulation of Africa we know that in 1650 some 18 percent of the world's people lived in Africa. By 1900 this figure had been reduced through genocide to 7 percent. Today it is 9 percent.

Politics and Class Struggles

Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. We see politics as a continuous struggle of organizations representing specific class interests—each class struggling to increase its share of the national income. Revolutionary politics is the struggle of the working class with its allies against the bourgeoisie to fulfill its historical mission; that is, through effective organization to lead the struggle to take power, to dispossess the oppressors and to begin the urgent task of social transformation.

The ruling class in this country are corporate inheritors of a settler colony imposed by blood and iron. Today over 300,000 native people suffer under extreme deprivation in Canada. Five million of twenty-two million Canadians are below the government-determined poverty line. Unemployment, galloping inflation, and a constant erosion of workers' rights and income spell a crisis of serious proportions. The contradictions within this domestic situation are further heightened by the parasitic activity of Canadian multinational corporations in the Caribbean, southern Africa, and Brazil (to mention only a few).

Ninety-five percent of Black people in this country, as in the U.S., are workers. Recognizing the level of racism that has been drilled into the consciousness of white workers; noting the level of reformist class collaboration between corrupt union bureaucrats and the ruling class; and further realizing that within the hierarchy of labor, which puts the white male on top and the Black woman on the bottom, we are the last to be hired and the first to be fired; the question is: *How* do we evolve from a primarily nationalist level of militancy to become an integral part of the working-class struggle seeking firstly to increase and defend our democratic rights and subsequently to proceed to the struggle for qualitative change.

We ask ourselves: What is the primary contradiction in this society and indeed in

the world? Many new leftists have failed to deal scientifically with this essential question, the result being an incorrect theory and methodology and consequently an incorrect and oftentimes objectively reactionary practice. We maintain that private ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange is the fundamental source of the injustices and racist inequalities in this society. Without this private property being expropriated and transformed into public property there will be no end to oppression.

As a minority of the working class we experience national and class oppression. There are secondary contradictions which we face—contradictions which are crucial and reflect the dialectical struggle of national oppression and class exploitation. As a brother of the African Liberation Support Committee has outlined it, there are: (1) the contradiction between all Black people and monopoly capitalism; (2) the contradiction between Black and white workers (used effectively by the ruling class to keep the working class divided); and (3) the class contradiction within the Black community, the contradiction which frustrates the Black liberation struggle. The ruling class can use the double strategy of dividing workers and reinforcing a neocolonial, lackey servant class in the Black community. . . .

The nationalist element within the Black struggle continues in the face of the impending collapse of capitalism to refuse to embrace the recognition of the *class pivot of history* and the *class basis of social oppression* and consequently has failed to develop a long-range perspective based on real social forces. Indeed their intransigence at this juncture can only consciously or unconsciously serve their own petit-bourgeois class interests . . . they provide an opening for the bourgeoisie to continue to use racism, to continue to accumulate billions of dollars from wage differentials between equally skilled white and Black workers, to deny minority workers (especially migrant workers) basic medical and social services, and housing; and to use unemployed Blacks as a reserve army of labor which enables them to depress the wages of white workers; and to prevent a polarization of class forces, by feeding into white workers a false sense of superiority while blaming the social ills like unemployment on dispossessed Black workers.

It is true that the reformist tendency within the white-led working-class movement defines Blacks out of the working class and limits itself to obtaining better conditions while failing to challenge the system itself and to struggle for its defeat . . . it is true, as Herbert Marcuse points out, that the big monopolies use ideological conditioning and token concessions to persuade large sections of the proletariat to

believe that their fate and living standards are tied to the maintenance of the capitalist system. . . . It is true that there are numerous historical examples of white betrayals whenever Black workers have attempted to build class alliances, particularly in the United States. Nevertheless, to conclude from this that white workers are stagnant and consequently there can be no basis for a common struggle would be to embrace the false, fatalist belief that capitalism is omnipotent.

Revolutionary Potential of Working Class

The developing crisis in world capitalism, the strengthening of the socialist countries, the upsurge of national liberation struggles, and the growing opposition of rank-and-file workers in spite of reactionary leaderships augurs well for the future. Lenin argued that it was always necessary to have faith in workers, even when they apparently no longer have faith in themselves. Marxism always identified two main trends in the working class of capitalist countries, one reformist and the other revolutionary.

The history of working-class struggles in Western Europe is well known. In this century the revolutionary struggles of the workers can be seen from the Russian Revolution of 1905; the Easter rising in Ireland in 1916; the February and October revolutions in Russia of 1917; the antifascist street battles in France in 1934; the mass resistance to Nazism in Germany in 1932-33; the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39; the Greek armed struggle in 1944 and the second armed resistance war of 1946-49; the struggle by the working people in Eastern Europe from 1945-48; the great strike actions in Italy from 1967-69; the May-June strike in France in 1968. The recent struggles in Western Europe and Japan are now broadening in scope to include struggles against redundancies and closures, for trade-union recognition and the shorter workweek, for longer holidays with pay, for full employment without inflation, etc. These demands indicate quite clearly that the "integrated white workers" theory is reactionary and unscientific.

Increasing Workers' Struggles

Even in the United States and Canada, where racism has had its most numbing effect on large sections of the working class, including sectors organized in the trade-union movement, and where the unions are under the influence of capitalist ideas and led by lackeys who uphold the system, there has been a growing manifestation of progressive action by workers. On the question of job security, speedup, high taxes, and high prices, the rank and file are increasingly at variance with the executive councils of such unions as the AFL-CIO.

Concern over the growing refusal from the rank and file to accept the conciliatory, autocratic actions of the union bosses has resulted in more government intervention on the side of monopoly interest, using antilabor legislation to deny workers a better share of the national income. . . .

(Pointing to the revolutionary potential of the workers, however) is not in any way to fall into the naïve trap of believing that we have discovered an iron-clad solution to the class-race question in North America. Rather, we want to remove the myth, inflated and maintained by imperialism, which has so far prevented workers from attacking national oppression and class exploitation at its Achilles heel—racism. Without this type of demystification we are left mired within the depth of sectarian strife to the obvious detriment of working-class solidarity against the real enemy.

This period of global capitalist crisis raises dangers for the working class which have not been faced since the depression of the 1930s. Unemployment in Canada is soaring over 8 percent. Several thousand auto workers are without work, some for an indefinite period. Sixteen hundred construction workers are jobless in Toronto. Sixteen thousand B.C. woodworkers have been laid off, while there is a chronic housing shortage in major metropolitan areas. In 1974 inflation hit 12 percent, food prices rose more than 15 percent, while corporate profits increased by 33 percent over 1973 and 170 percent over the last quarter of 1970. The real wages of workers has decreased by 4 percent, notwithstanding all the antiworker propaganda being pushed out by the bourgeois media. It is clear that the system is the cause of this human suffering.

Governments Step Up Use of Racism

In the midst of this crisis, bourgeois governments in the advanced capitalist countries have resorted, among other anti-working-class measures, to the old device of inculcating racist sentiments. The Canadian government, in the face of massive deportations of Haitians and the stepped-up police harassment of immigrants, calls hypocritically for a national debate on immigration by introducing a most fascist document called the Green Paper. I say fascist because it ignores the real cause of the social crisis rooted in capitalism and poses the problems in terms of population

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at a time when the flunkies of imperialism are pointing a finger at immigrants from Africa, Asia, and Latin America as being unwanted. This so-called debate is merely a propaganda device to shift the burden of the present economic crisis upon the backs of working Canadians.

In the Black community our minimum program must be to call for defense of democracy and development. Through the Black Workers Alliance we will be struggling to defend Black workers from the attacks of the monopolies and by so doing we will be defending the Black community itself. We will fight for democracy in the trade unions and build Black caucuses within them where necessary. We must move to organize unorganized Black workers who face the brunt of racist attacks. We must develop new tools of struggle to mold Black workers into a fighting class-conscious section of the working class.

We must support the struggles of rank-

and-file white workers against collaborationist bureaucrats. We must identify with and join the call from progressive unions to fight anticommunist propaganda. We must rigorously expose every manner of racism practiced in this country—particularly the continuing genocide against the native peoples. We must aid our youth to make that essential break from the ebb and flow of bourgeois ideas and to build worker-student alliances around issues facing our community. . . . It is the primary victims of racism who must make that decisive step to defeat racism wherever it exists and in the process challenge white workers to make that historical leap as a first step towards defeating state monopoly capitalism.

Finally we must be equal participants in the movement to found a revolutionary party of the entire working class to lead the struggle for socialist revolution. □

Pentagon Accountants Working Overtime



"On the other hand, we could sell them parts for the equipment they captured . . . and bankrupt their economy."

The Pentagon, famous for its elastic accounting procedures, is using some fiscal magic to whittle down the value of the American military equipment and facilities captured by the new government in South Vietnam.

War department officials originally estimated the amount of armaments abandoned by Thieu at \$1 billion. Senator Frank Church pointed out April 10, however, that this figure represented the "depreciated" value of the matériel, and that the actual value was somewhere between \$5 billion and \$10 billion.

Pentagon chief James Schlesinger put the figure at \$5 billion, claiming that much of the equipment was unusable owing to a lack of spare parts.

The figure has now been pared down again. Pentagon official Erich F. von Marbod, just back from an inspection trip to Southeast Asia, said May 12 that only \$2 billion of the abandoned equipment was in "serviceable" condition.

Handy Hints From the Pentagon to Keep War Profits Flowing

The Pentagon has prepared a document to assist U.S. arms exporters in bribing local officials in the Middle East in order to win contracts.

Copies of the document, entitled "Agent's Fees in the Middle East," were mailed last year to aerospace and electronics industry associations in the United States with the suggestion that they be relayed to member companies.

The document recommended that companies arrange their deals through local agents, who can exert influence through friendships, family ties with government officials, and through "payment of substantial sums of money to individuals in high government positions, with somewhat lesser amounts paid to lower-echelon government officials."

"Influence is not always related directly to a cash gratuity," the document advises. "It can include the rent-free use of a villa in France or a flat in London along with car and servants."

Pentagon spokesman Joseph Laitin said May 9 that he had not read the document, but insisted: "We are foursquare against bribery."

In Tribute to Billy McMillen

By Gerry Foley

Liam Mac Maolain, commander of the Belfast Brigade of the Irish Republican Army ("Officials"), was shot April 28 in Belfast by unknown assailants. He was forty-seven years old and had been in the republican movement since the age of seventeen. He was gunned down in the presence of his wife, to whom he was married only a few months.

Thousands of mourners followed Mac Maolain's coffin to Milltown Cemetery on April 30, where Cathal Goulding, chief of staff of the "Official" IRA at the time of the 1969 split and in subsequent years, gave the funeral oration.

It was also Goulding who gave the funeral oration for Seán Fox, a member of the "Official" IRA who was shot February 25 in a clash with members of the Irish Republican Socialist party (IRSP). At that time, the "Official" leader leveled threats against the rival organization. At the Mac Maolain funeral, his remarks were even more violent:

"An Orange junta sent Liam McMillen to prison because he fought for separation. The Provisional Alliance attempted to assassinate him because he held his socialist principles and fought for civil rights. The RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] and the British Army of occupation harassed and hounded him because he was a socialist republican. A small, mad band of fanatical malcontents, the sewer rats of Costello and McAliskey [i.e., the IRSP], finally laid him low."

IRSP representatives have not denied that members of their organization were responsible for the Fox shooting, although they claim that they acted in self-defense. The new organization, however, has denied any involvement of its members or supporters in the assassination of Liam Mac Maolain. IRSP representatives said that the "Official" commander had been killed just before he was scheduled to issue a new statement on the conflict between the two organizations, a statement that they expected would end the violence.

A few weeks after the shooting, Tomás Mac Giolla, president of "Official" Sinn Féin, the political wing of the "Official" republican movement, confirmed that Mac Maolain was preparing a peace initiative at the time of his death.

The IRSP argued that the Belfast "Official" leader was probably killed by a British "counterinsurgency" team encharged with



United Irishman

BILLY McMILLEN

inciting conflict between the two organizations.

In contrast to its attitude after the Fox shooting, the "Official" organ, the *United Irishman*, said in its May issue: "We sincerely hope that there will not be a series of reprisals which would feed the flames of hatred in the North."

Unfortunately, the membership and local leadership of the "Officials" seemed to be more responsive to the tone of Goulding's statements than to the specific recommendation of the *United Irishman*. Incidents between the "Officials" and the IRSP escalated qualitatively after the Mac Maolain shooting. By mid-May more than thirty "Officials" had been caught carrying weapons by the British army, apparently as a result of the conflict with the IRSP. Weapons charges carry draconian penalties in Northern Ireland, and such losses could not help but be very serious for the shrinking and already demoralized "Official" movement.

The "Officials" claimed that Mac Maolain's assassins fled to the Divis flats, a complex of high-rise housing projects at the foot of the Falls Road regarded as an IRSP stronghold. No further basis was offered for claims of IRSP involvement.

The "Officials" have been quick in the past to blame their political opponents for any attacks on them. When Seán Garland,

the organizer of "Official" Sinn Féin, was wounded on March 1, a statement was issued within twenty-four hours blaming the IRSP. "Official" representatives claimed that the would-be assassins had been "positively identified," and privately they even named the persons they considered responsible. These claims proved to be without any basis whatsoever.

On the other hand, since the escalation of the conflict in Belfast, Séamas Costello of the IRSP has said that his organization would accept the protection of shadowy armed groups that have developed out of the breakup of the "Official" organization in Belfast but that have not joined the IRSP or subordinated themselves to its discipline. This move greatly weakens the political credibility of the IRSP and creates favorable conditions for provocateurs and uncontrollable elements.

Nonetheless, as yet no evidence whatsoever has been produced that the IRSP or its supporters were responsible for the Garland or Mac Maolain shootings or that they have played an aggressive role in the conflict.

In their statements, the IRSP leaders have consistently opposed violence between the two organizations, called for peace talks, and maintained a moderate tone toward their political opponents. The same cannot be said of the "Officials," who have hurled sweeping unproved charges, including certain specific accusations with no direct bearing on the incidents, which are scandalous from the standpoint of revolutionary principle. They have engaged in fanatical diatribes and personal invective.

Nor is the "cleverness of Séamas Costello"—alleged by loyal but factionally blinded "Official" representatives—a reasonable explanation for the difference in tone between the statements of the two organizations. The "Official" leaders must recognize at some level, moreover, that their constant portrayal of Costello as the "evil genius" of a plot to destroy the IRA and ignite a disastrous civil war is an incitement to murder. In fact, he was almost killed a few weeks after Mac Maolain's death when a murder squad machine-gunned his car. To his credit, Costello has not made personal attacks on the "Officials" nor singled out any of them as a villain.

There is also a suspicious similarity between the shootings of Seán Garland and Liam Mac Maolain. Both incidents were decisive in escalating the conflict between the two organizations. Garland is one of the most respected, most intelligent, and most sincere revolutionists of the "Official" leadership. His death could be expected not only to evoke a strong reaction from the membership and local leaders but to remove the figure in the leadership most likely to have the stature and objectivity to rise

above the factional frenzy that has gripped the "Officials." Furthermore, Garland is one of the very few who would have sufficient authority to change the disastrous course of the organization.

Mac Maolain was not of similar stature. He did not have Garland's national reputation, his political breadth and flexibility, or his grasp of socialist principles. But he had an essential quality that seems gravely absent now in the "Official" leadership—realism. And he had the toughness and organizational skill to resist emotionalism.

That is not to say that Liam, or Billy McMillen, as most knew him, did not deceive himself at times, as the other "Official" leaders have been wont to do in the last two years in particular. I remember him trying to convince me that the "Officials" really had more support in Belfast than the Provisionals when it was obvious to everyone that they were rapidly losing out to their rivals in the Catholic ghettos.

But Billy McMillen was bound up completely with the Belfast ghettos. He would not have survived as a local leader for so long if he had not been. He could not have failed to recognize the aberrant character of the "Official" line that the Protestant terrorist gangs have a "primitive" form of working-class consciousness or how disastrous attempts by the "Officials" to turn these gangs against the IRSP would prove to be in the Catholic ghettos.

In the 1972 congress of "Official" Sinn Féin, McMillen was one of the leaders of a move to get the organization back on the track on the national question. He sponsored a narrowly defeated resolution that would have defined the Protestant gangs as reactionary, an essential step toward realism, not to say sanity.

McMillen grasped in an instinctive way the disastrous logic of sacrificing the unity of the oppressed people in hope of ingratiating sections of the Protestant workers: "We're not getting any Protestant workers," he told me at the time. "And we're not getting what we should be getting from our traditional supporters either."

When Billy saw that the Communist party would not and could not use the positions it had won by opportunistic methods in the Northern Irish trade unions to assist the struggle of the oppressed Catholic people, he drew the realistic conclusion: "The CP hasn't produced what it promised, so fuck the CP." If the "Official" leadership as a whole had been capable of facing that reality, it would not have followed the Stalinist leaders of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association into oblivion.

McMillen did not accept the downgrading of the national question and national consciousness that came into the movement from Stalinist advisers and was inculcated into the middle leadership by Stalinist-

inspired educational programs. That was one of the things that stood out in him when I first met him in July 1970, just after the Battle of the Falls between the "Official" IRA and the British army.

I had been to a march by Catholic schoolchildren protesting the repression. They were carrying the Irish national flag and singing the national anthem. That infuriated the Stalinist civil-rights activist who was with me. "The stupid fuckers . . ." will "alienate the Protestant workers." But McMillen thought it was wonderful. "We try to encourage patriotism."

McMillen was a product of the Catholic ghetto and a nationalist fighter through and through. That was his strength and it made him worth immeasurably more than all the centrist and Stalinist "socialists" who came into the movement looking for a bigger bandwagon than the Communist party of Ireland, although because of his own political weaknesses he apparently began to defer more to this element in the last period of his life.

In the funeral oration, Goulding tried to weave a web of proletarian romanticism around him. That reflects Goulding's own formation as a Dublin radical and the extreme economism the "Officials" have developed since 1972, as they have tended to collapse into a sect. It was what the new generation of "Officials" has been trained to expect. But it had a rather false ring. Proletarian romanticism is still a fairly exotic style in Belfast.

Despite the overuse of certain traditional devices, Goulding's introduction in the Irish language rang truer. Perhaps part of the reason was that these introductions, which are a standard feature of republican oratory, tend to be general evocations. Thus it was not so distorted by the heavy-handed dogmatism Goulding tried to put across in the portion of the oration, given in English, that could be expected to be more generally understood.

Not many republicans, especially in the North, learn Irish to the point of fluency. But many among the mourners must have responded to the traditional phrases, the Gaelic poetical forms, and the mythological references. It was the language of Irish nationalism and the only one that could be used to offer a fitting eulogy of Billy McMillen. Only a small part of its evocative force can be transferred into English:

"We are here to mourn a Gaelic hero, Liam Our Beloved Mac Maolain, and that is a bitter, sad task. Because it is not an ordinary man that we are burying today but an exceptional man in every sense, a keen, calm leader with a great store of experience in all forms of revolutionary activity, a great hero in battle, a wise seasoned hero as a revolutionary leader, a great defender of the struggles of the common folk of the Gael, a great defender

of our language and our native culture, a gentle, warmhearted, kind man.

"This is a great loss for us. But it is a greater one by far for you, the armed warriors of Belfast, because, believe me, there will never be the like of Liam again. The savior of the Cause of the Republic is dead. Our hero, our Champion, our shield in battle has fallen. Let us stand our ground nonetheless, facing our ancient enemy, although the traitor dogs snap at our heels. Soldiers of Belfast, before you the tumult of battle. But you must fight according to the words of our fair and noble Liam.

"Soldiers and people of Belfast, the task now is yours. Our hope is in you. Not soft or easy the task before you without Liam Mac Maolain as chief over you. You are now like children without a father, like the Fianna without Fionn."*

McMillen was one of the patriot visionaries who have preserved the national tradition of the Irish people and carried it from generation to generation through all the disasters of the conquest and imperialist exploitation of the country. In every Catholic ghetto in the North there are men and women like him who have struggled against poverty and oppression to learn the difficult old language of the Irish people that has been driven back into a few remote corners of the country by centuries of subjugation to the English.

Billy McMillen spoke Irish fluently and with relish, although without losing any of the pungent twang of his Belfast English. He seemed anxious to speak specifically Ulster Irish, which he called "our dialect," although Irish for him as for generations of Belfast Catholics was a learned language. But in a way he maintained the link going back to the time when the Falls Road was the Bothair na bhfál, the road of the hedges, the native Irish settlement outside the garrison city of the invaders.

McMillen's strength of character, like that of most Northern nationalists, did not lie in a consciousness of the power of the workers as a class. Most of the Catholic workers are unskilled and without security of employment; a high proportion of them are permanently unemployed. Their confidence has not been built up by great industrial victories.

McMillen's strength lay in his consciousness of the tradition of the Irish people and his confidence that one day they would regain their heritage. He was aware that the Catholic people were overwhelmingly proletarian and poor and that the only allies they could find were other workers and poor masses. He did not believe that there was such a thing as a "Green bourgeoisie," at least not in the North. But he never became a proletarian romantic. He

*Fionn Mac Cumhaill, the legendary leader of an order of Gaelic heroes.

was a very practical person, and his goal was national liberation.

McMillen was not a romantic of any kind, although he was devoted to a fugitive and rather mythologized national tradition. That tradition was the sword and the buckler of the outcast in Belfast, the pride and sustenance of the lowest layer of the proletariat and the poor. He was a seasoned leader of a ghettoized people, shrewd, realistic, quietly brave, as well as ruthless and rather narrow.

Outside Belfast, he was like a fish out of water. During his exile in the period after the internment raids until the "Official" cease-fire in May 1972, I hardly recognized him. All his weaknesses were magnified, and his strengths were barely visible. He could not, it seemed, readjust to a wider field of activity.

Billy never seemed to really regain his footing. For one thing, under the smoke-screen of an "antiterrorist campaign," British capitalism had bulldozed his Belfast virtually out of existence. The old, tight-knit Catholic communities of the lower Falls Road were replaced with an urban jungle of high-rise flats and sprawling housing estates.

And then, he was particularly unlucky. He was charged with possession of "illegal documents" just before the internment raids and so he was unable to take advantage of the relaxation in the repression after April 1972 to operate openly.

Besides this, Billy returned to Belfast at a time when the "Officials" were starting to go into a rapid decline, as a result of their gravely wrong line on the national question and the aberrant misestimation of the dynamic of the Protestant paramilitary groups that went with it. All of his shrewdness and tactical acumen could not halt that decline.

Furthermore, as their political activity stagnated and all perspective for effective political action was lost, the "Officials" tended more and more to become a business operation, an empire of drinking clubs. This process apparently did not bring out the best in any of the "Official" leaders.

When the "Official" movement in Belfast began to crumble, Billy apparently tried to defend it like a military commander leading a retreat, by sharp sallies against the "enemy" and the ruthless application of "discipline" against "defectors." He told me in April before his death that anyone who "talked against the republican movement" or "tried to destroy it" would be "dealt with."

One of those he "dealt with" was nineteen-year-old Hugh Ferguson, the chairman of the Whiterock club of the IRSP. He sent a punishment detail to shoot Ferguson in the legs. He was not unhappy with the result: "Unfortunately he was a game kid and wouldn't take it lying down. He put up

a fight and was killed by accident."

The IRSP say that the "punishment detail" did shoot Ferguson in the legs but that one person on the squad deliberately shot him dead as he lay on the ground after he threatened revenge. It would have been an understandable response in the context of internecine ghetto warfare.

Billy had no idea that he had no right to punish Ferguson or of the results it would lead to. He was the "Officer Commanding" and that was what you had to do to maintain order "in the army." He was not an inhumane man, but he had to be "tough" to survive in Belfast and to preserve "the army," to "protect the people."

The obscure death of Billy McMillen is symbolic of the whole tragedy of the "Official" leadership. Perhaps that explains the emotional tone of Goulding's funeral oration, although it does not excuse its bitter, partisan, provocative spirit, which could only deepen this tragedy. The tragic implication was made explicit by the phrase, "there will never be the like of Liam again." It is an echo of a statement by one of the last members of the Gaelic-speaking Blasket Island community about the extinction of their way of life.

The "Official" leadership set out on the most difficult political path there is, the path of building a socialist movement, of leading the Irish people into a qualitatively higher historical stage, without any guide but crude pragmatism. As a result, it mistook a few commonplace nostrums for the whole truth of socialism. It was misdirected by bad advisers and lost its way. It was driven into a corner by terrible pressures, the constant threat of death, mutilation, and repression, continual heavy human losses, the wearing out of the small group of experienced leaders, a growing feeling of helplessness in the face of impending disaster.

It was unable to reorient itself. As a result, a team cemented together by long years of common experience was torn apart. Most of the components did not have the political training to understand what was happening to them, much less know how to resolve the fundamental political differences in a constructive way. What few elements did have a little scientific training were swept away by the flood of factionalism and did not contribute any objectivity. Inevitably the most distorted personalities, the most dogmatic, the most fanatical, the most violent, the most paranoid, began to set the tone and to transform the movement into their image.

In an armed movement based largely on the permanently unemployed, the irregularly employed, and individual adventurers, violence is never far from the surface. Once the bonds of brotherhood in arms are broken, anything is possible. That is one of

the reasons why harsh discipline is essential. That is probably also why the "Official" leadership fear Costello so much. They come out of the same tradition and they know what they might do if they were in his position. Furthermore, of all of them, Costello was apparently the most ruthless, the least bound by the ties of comradeship and personal loyalty. That apparently is why he was able to break from a policy and from leaders that had been proved wrong in practice and the rest were not.

Goulding was mistaken about the howling he heard behind him. It was not the yelping of "traitor dogs." It was more like the *mór-rioghna*, the devils of militarism that the old Irish believed drove warriors mad in battle. It was the fears that come out of a tradition of militarism, and from false ideas that, when they are not corrected by an honest look at reality, become paranoid delusions.

Another devil is Stalinist dogmatism. Although the threat of violence in political disputes is part of the republican tradition, the virulent dogmatic factionalism displayed in the "Officials'" attacks on the IRSP is completely alien and unknown to that tradition. The idea that the greatest danger to revolution is revolutionists with "wrong ideas" and that political opponents are always manipulated by the enemy has one classical source in our time—the ideology of Stalinism.

But Billy McMillen's ghost should not become one of the devils that are driving Goulding, his followers, and no one knows what others, to destruction. McMillen deserves better than that. He was like the elder brother in a slum family, who, although he himself could not overcome the pressure of his environment, has made the breakthrough for those who will come later. He was really a seasoned old warrior. Goulding's comparison with Fionn, the wise old chief, and of all the Irish mythological heroes, the one with the most human weaknesses, was an apt one. It is hard to believe that Billy was only forty-seven years old when he was killed.

I remember sitting in his living room in the Lower Falls in 1970 and watching one youth after another come in and ask advice. He had a vast experience, especially with the ways of the courts and the police.

I remember how sharp a political sense he had, how reasonable and well balanced he was, how open to new ideas. He was like many "Official" leaders in those days after the Provisional split who were thinking about how to build a socialist movement in Ireland. Many of them gathered in the same living room. It was a time full of possibilities, few of which were ever realized, unfortunately. Events moved too quickly, and the "Officials," unable to adjust, withdrew into a dogmatic shell that made a mockery of their positive achievements.

In the increasing gloom of later years, one of the best of these leaders told me how he looked forward to having political discussions again in Billy McMillen's living room on Ton Street. It was like a lost golden age. As far as I know Billy never returned to that house after the internment raids. The British soldiers used to hold parties in

it on Fridays to let the neighborhood know who was boss.

Now that hope is gone forever. There can be no return to those days. But there can be a return to the rational thinking of better times if the "Official" leaders stop to think objectively where their course and the logic of their statements are leading them.

In the Belfast of 1970, Billy McMillen told me that a good soldier always keeps open a path for retreat. That applies to politics too. And it still seems like good advice. Perhaps it is the best advice Billy could leave behind him to the leadership to which he remained loyal to the end and defended the only way he knew how. □

Call for International Investigation

Iranian Students Protest Shah's Execution of Political Prisoners

By Majid Namvar

"Since early 1971, more than 200 persons have been executed for political reasons after the semblance of a trial by military courts. Possibly 100 persons have been killed by the police during arrests in the street or at their homes. Several hundred have been sentenced to prison terms of more than fifteen years. Several thousand have been thrown in prison without trial, or for 'short' terms, that is, less than fifteen years."

This is the record of repression under the shah, as summarized by attorney Thierry Mignon in a letter published in the May 15 *Le Monde*. Mignon recently visited Iran as an observer for the International Federation of Human Rights. Her letter was occasioned by the recent disclosure that nine political prisoners had been executed by the shah's police, allegedly "while trying to escape." (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 12, p. 616.)

In an April 29 statement, Amnesty International said everything indicated that the prisoners had in fact died under torture.

The May 15 *Le Monde* reported that the Committee to Defend Iranian Political Prisoners' had received information that the prisoners "died in different prisons, which makes it unlikely that they were escaping together."

According to the committee, four of the prisoners died under torture and the five others were executed in cold blood. "They had previously been invited to join the [shah's recently created] single party and to praise the shah and his regime on television. This they of course refused to do."

This brutal act of repression sparked a number of protests by Iranian students abroad, most of which were organized by the Confederation of Iranian Students.

In London, twenty-one Iranian students were arrested by police April 29 as they staged a sit-in at the Iranian embassy. The demonstrators, all members of the Confederation of Iranian Students, were demanding that an international medical team be sent to Iran to determine the cause of the nine political prisoners' deaths.

On May 5, a group of Iranian students in Vienna began a hunger strike, demanding an international investigation into the death of the prisoners.

On May 12, about forty members of the Union of Iranian Students in Paris began a hunger strike. They said their action was intended to express solidarity with 5,000 Iranian political prisoners who, they said, had also begun a hunger strike.

On May 15, while the shah was meeting in Washington with President Ford, more than 500 demonstrators marched in front of the White House to protest the shah's repressive rule.

Despite the shah's repeated claim that there are not more than "3,000 terrorists" in his jails, arrests on political grounds continue to be made. One such jailing that recently became known is that of Nasser Rahmani-Nejad, a widely acclaimed writer and director, and his entire theater group.

According to information released to the press May 9 by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran,² the group was arrested in February as it was preparing to stage Maxim Gorky's play *Parasite* in Tehran. No information on the fate of those arrested has been given by the Iranian government.

SAVAK, the shah's secret police, continues to gun down suspected dissidents. The weekly English edition of *Kayhan* reported April 26 that two persons were killed in a

raid on a "terrorist hideout" in Qazvin, northwest of Tehran. The names of those killed were given as Khashayar Sanjari and Mansur Farshidi.

The government charged that they were responsible for the assassination of two security officials in Tehran. Tehran newspapers had reported in April the shootings of a SAVAK agent and the chief of security at the University of Aryamehr in Tehran.

On May 17 *Kayhan* published the names of three Tehran University students killed in a shootout with police; no date was given for their deaths. The three, Habib-Ollah Momeni, Jafar Sadati, and Ali-Akbar Jafari, were also alleged to have taken part in the shootings of the two police officials.

Although the American press has chosen to remain virtually silent in the face of the shah's repressive measures, it seized the opportunity to give front-page headlines to the recent shooting of two U.S. Air Force officers in Tehran.

On May 21, the two officers, members of the "Military Assistance Advisory Group" were shot and killed by three unidentified persons while being driven to their offices at the Iranian armed forces headquarters in Tehran.

The American embassy reported that it received anonymous telephone calls indicating that an urban guerrilla group, the "Iranian People's Fighters Organization," had carried out the action. According to the embassy, the callers said the shootings were in retaliation for the execution of the nine political prisoners. □

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Portugal Maneuvers in São Tomé and Príncipe

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—Recent events in the small Portuguese colony of São Tomé and Príncipe, an archipelago off the coast of Gabon, provide fresh evidence as to the neocolonialist maneuvering of the Portuguese government.

A "transitional government" was set up in São Tomé on December 21, 1974, following an agreement in Algiers on November 26 between the Portuguese government and the Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe (MLSTP—Liberation Movement of São Tomé and Príncipe). The transitional government is composed entirely of MLSTP members. It was charged under the Algiers agreement with administering the country in cooperation with the Portuguese high commissioner, Lt. Col. Pires Veloso, until elections are held on July 7, five days before independence.

Veloso has worked hard to cement close ties with the more conservative elements of the MLSTP leadership against the radical wing of the movement. On March 28, under Portuguese pressure, two MLSTP ministers, Gastão Torres, the minister of labour and justice, and Pedro Umbelina, the minister of social communication, were expelled from the government after being denounced as "agitators."

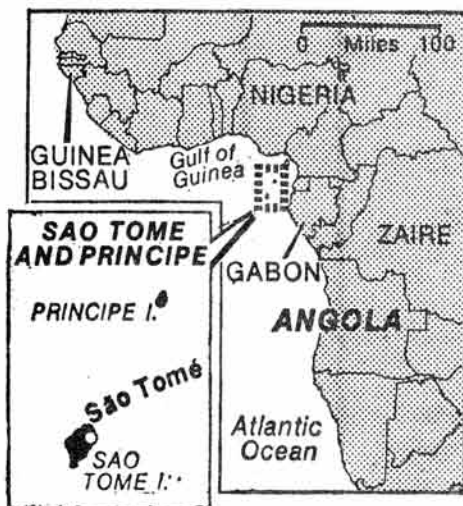
Last week I asked Umbelina, who is in London, how the dispute arose.

"We called for the nationalization without compensation of land which had been left uncultivated or abandoned by the settlers so that we could provide work for the thousands of unemployed agricultural workers in our country," he said. "The settlers and the Portuguese authorities opposed us. The Black middle class, which has bourgeois aspirations, were frightened, too, that we would set off a movement which would end with the removal of their privileges.

"Then we demanded that the Portuguese high commissioner disband the unit of native São Tomé troops in the Portuguese army stationed in the islands. We proposed their replacement by a police force and a militia under the direct control of the transitional government. The high commissioner refused and started organizing military exercises in São Tomé to intimidate us."

How, I asked, had the liberation struggle started in São Tomé.

"Portuguese seamen first came to our islands in 1485. And they built an economy that was founded on slavery. From the



New York Times

beginning of the sixteenth century, São Tomé was a key center of the slave trade to Brazil and the Caribbean, and until a slave revolt in 1530 scared the plantation owners away to Brazil, São Tomé's slave-worked sugar-cane plantations produced the largest sugar output in Africa."

Large coffee and cocoa plantations were set up in the nineteenth century. They too relied on slaves and (after the formal abolition of slavery by decrees in 1869 and 1875) on "contract workers" whose real status differed little from that of the former slaves. In fact, the revelations made by the philanthropist Henry Nevinson in a book published in 1906, *A Modern Slavery*, documenting the terrible conditions of the contract workers, sparked an international boycott of São Tomé cocoa.

"Portuguese colonial rule was brutal and repressive in the extreme," Umbelina told me. "In 1953, troops were ordered by General Carlos Gorgulho, then governor-general, to open fire on striking plantation workers, leaving over 1,000 workers dead."

Ninety percent of the cultivable land is owned by twenty-eight agricultural companies, mainly tied to the Banco Nacional Ultramarino and the Companhia União Fabril. The other 10 percent of the land is owned by about 11,000 small proprietors. The majority of the population of 70,000 work as agricultural labourers on the foreign-owned plantations or are unemployed. The whole economy is geared to producing cocoa and coffee for export, and the

islands have to import nearly all their food.

The overwhelming concentration of land in the hands of a tiny group of foreigners and their failure to diversify agriculture has produced widespread malnutrition in the islands. Estimates for 1973 show that calorie intake per person was 1,735 units a day, 665 less than the amount established as a minimum by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

Oil is thought to lie off the islands' shores, and the British oil company Ball and Collins has prospecting rights. The imperialists may also be interested in the islands' strategic military value. They, like the Cape Verdes, could be an invaluable staging post for imperialist aggression against continental Africa.

According to Umbelina, the Portuguese colonialists agreed to accept the São Tomé people's demand for national independence only because of the intensity of the mass mobilizations after April 25, 1974.

"The new Portuguese rulers at first had no intention of allowing us to be independent. They continued to outlaw the MLSTP and they promoted the Frente Popular Livre (FPL—Free Popular Front), which supported Spínola's plan for federation with Portugal. But we were able to organize a legal arm of the movement, called the Pro-MLSTP Civic Association.

"A wave of struggle broke out rejecting federation and insisting on full independence. The Civic Association held its first big demonstration on June 29. Strikes broke out among the plantation workers. The climax came in September. On the fifth of that month we held a massive demonstration to demand that the Portuguese government immediately open talks with the MLSTP. The police opened fire on the crowd and killed one person. This was followed by a general strike.

"The Portuguese colonialists had little choice then but to agree to meet us. On November 26 the agreement was signed in Algiers and the following month the MLSTP government was installed in São Tomé."

Umbelina's opinion is that the "transitional government of São Tomé and Príncipe never had homogeneity. It had been known even before it was formed that it would be impossible for such a government to work efficiently. Disagreements broke out from the first day.

"The Black middle class, the Africans with good jobs in the civil service, don't want radical changes in São Tomé. They had a lot of backing and influence right inside our movement. And many of the movement's leaders had been living all these years in Gabon with the patronage of President Bongo, one of the most corrupt and reactionary rulers in Africa.

"Carlos Graça, who became minister of

social affairs, had lived in Gabon for fifteen years and was a close personal friend of Bongo. There were even rumours that he was planning to sell São Tomé land to buyers in Gabon and France. What is more, people who'd been in the FPL were admitted to the movement.

"The true fighters for the interests of our people were those who had been in São Tomé all along, the militants of the Civic Association. They were the ones who fought for real liberation and who have borne the brunt of the crackdown. Forty militants of the MLSTP, old members of the Civic Association, have been expelled."

On March 3, the transitional government wrote to Veloso, demanding the disbandment of the Caçadores company of São Tomé native troops in the Portuguese army.

Three days later, Veloso replied: "As high commissioner I have the duty to ensure the fundamental rights of man and public order; and I consider that during the period of decolonization those will only be real while the Caçadores company is here; therefore, while I am high commissioner, I shall never allow the disbanding of this unit."

At the same time, Veloso organized provocative military exercises in different parts of the country. On March 7, a communiqué released by the high commissioner's office pointedly noted that Veloso had personally welcomed the arrival of the Portuguese warship *Hermenegildo Capelo* in São Tomé waters and "paid special attention to its firepower."

It was under this intimidation, Umbelina told me, that the collaborationist elements of the MLSTP, including the movement's general secretary, Manuel Pinto da Costa, and the prime minister, Leonel d'Alva, "made a deal with the Portuguese."

On March 20, armed police acting under the prime minister's orders barred Umbelina from entering the São Tomé radio station. The next day, Umbelina and two other MLSTP members were arrested, accused of attempting to assassinate the prime minister.

Although released the next day, Umbelina and Torres were expelled from the government on March 28. "We flew that day to Portugal, thinking that the Portuguese government was not aware of the actions of the high commissioner. When we arrived in Lisbon we found that the government was only too well aware and was giving Veloso total support. We were forbidden by an order of the ministry of social communication in Lisbon to have our views relayed in the Portuguese media.

"And a few days after our arrival, Torres was arrested and is now under police restriction in the Portuguese city of Setúbal. When I heard that, I immediately took a plane out of the country." □

June 9, 1975

Protest Harassment of Dissidents

Teach-In on Czechoslovakia Held in London

By Bridget Lux

LONDON—More than 100 persons, representing a cross section of the British left as well as many exiles, met here May 10 for a day-long teach-in on the Czechoslovak Experience 1945-75.

The meeting was sponsored by the Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists. It opened with a presentation by Professor Eduard Goldstucker, former rector of Charles University in Prague and former chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers.

A heated though friendly debate followed, with contributions by Chris Harman of the International Socialists, Ken Coates of the Bertrand Russell Foundation and the Institute for Workers Control, and Robin Blackburn of *New Left Review* and the International Marxist Group. Coates emphasized the need for socialists to give a high priority to work in defense of dissidents in the workers states.

The meeting passed a unanimous motion protesting the phony "amnesty" announced in Prague May 9—a decree that excluded all

political prisoners. The resolution also noted the stepped-up harassment of Czechoslovak dissidents. Among the cases cited were the following:

- Former Czechoslovak Communist party leader Alexander Dubcek has been invited to "pack his bags" following publication in the West of extracts from his protest to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly.

- A group of students was recently expelled from the faculty of philosophy at Charles University simply because they questioned the right of the new Socialist Union of Youth to represent all students, regardless of whether they are members of the union.

- A number of apartments were raided in early May. Some individuals were interrogated and detained. They now face the prospect of being tried on charges of possessing "literature hostile to the Republic." This includes such publications as *Listy*, a journal published in Rome by the Czechoslovak Socialist Opposition Abroad,

Beginning in the June 16 Intercontinental Press

OUT NOW!



Fred Halstead addressing mass demonstration in Washington, D.C., May 9, 1970.

A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up



Why Nuclear Energy Is No Bargain

[The following article appeared in the April 28 issue of *La Brèche*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, Swiss section of the Fourth International. The editors explained in an introductory note that it is "the most succinct possible condensation" of a dossier on nuclear energy published in the April 2, June 21, and July 12, 1974, issues of *La Brèche*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The technical means to counteract almost all industrial pollution already exist; in some cases they have existed for a long time. But they are not applied because it is in the capitalists' interests to limit costs of production in order to maintain profits.

Each capitalist keeps his eye on his own profits alone, and not the satisfaction of the real needs of the population.

We seek a socialist society, where the productive forces will be developed to satisfy everyone's needs through democratic planning of production on a world scale.

Within this perspective, extensive industrialization and increased automation are indispensable. Worldwide planning, carried out entirely with a view to the broadest interests of the whole population, will incorporate the research and apply the techniques that are required to do away with pollution.

At the same time, however, there is one technology—nuclear technology—that we must reject for the present, for reasons that we will explain.

Apart from the effects of massive radiation that directly threatens workers in the nuclear industry in the event of an accident, even small doses of radioactivity can eventually induce cancer as well as serious and even fatal genetic and hereditary damage among all living beings.

The full scope of these risks becomes evident when you consider that:

- There is no known cure for cancer, especially leukemia, or for the diseases linked to genetic damage.

- Besides the fact that some new and unknown dangerous genetic mutations are

more likely to appear among humans, there is the danger that new stocks of microorganisms, impervious to human antidotes, can arise through genetic mutations.

- Concentrations of radioactive substances build up in some living organisms, creating stronger emissions than in the surrounding environment. This can occur in certain plants and animals, in some natural foods consumed by humans, and in some human organs.

Radioactivity is indestructible, and it declines very slowly, at least in the case of some elements. Safety in the nuclear industry therefore requires absolute confinement of radioactive materials in all nuclear installations so that no artificial radioactivity increases the natural radiation (which is harmful enough!) in an environment inhabited by human beings and other living organisms.

Considering the present state of technology:

- Even if it were possible to isolate all radioactive wastes (which is certainly not the case today), the problem of eliminating these wastes, which will remain active for centuries (!), has not yet been satisfactorily resolved.

- The corrosion and fatigue of material in a nuclear plant limits its life span to twenty or thirty years, and reduces its safety with age. Moreover, the dismantling of a plant will not only necessitate the isolation of large amounts of radioactive waste, but will also involve considerable risks for the workers and the surrounding population.

- The nuclear industry as a whole is far from being completely automated. It is still necessary to periodically open the innermost casings. Thus it is unavoidable that workers in the nuclear industry will be exposed to appreciable amounts of radiation.

- Besides the dangers inherent in the normal functioning of nuclear installations we are still a long way from having the means to eliminate the dangers resulting from possible accidents during transportation of materials or even in the core of the installations.

But in addition to these risks, which are

inherent at the present stage of development of the technology, there are the risks associated with its application under capitalism. The profit motive, which leads to cutting corners on safety at all levels, profoundly contradicts the extreme vigilance that the safest management of the nuclear industry would require.

Some energy sources have been generally underutilized, even though their existence has been known for a long time. They include:

- Solar energy in all its forms.
- Geothermal energy—the use of heat from the depths of the earth.
- Tidal energy—using the difference in sea level between high tide and low tide.

Research in techniques whose principles have been known for some time, in order to facilitate their large-scale utilization, is consistently underdeveloped for the simple reason that these techniques offer the capitalists no assurance of profits in the short run.

Also worth noting is that traditional energy sources such as coal, oil, natural gas, and hydroelectric energy are far from having been exhausted.

To mention only one example: In Switzerland, the potential hydroelectric energy that technically could be harnessed amounts to 145 billion kilowatt hours a year. But in 1973, only 27.7 billion kilowatt hours were produced this way! As for oil, natural gas, and coal, it must be repeated over and over that technologies permitting their use without pollution exist, and that if it were not for the requirements of capitalist profits, they could be implemented immediately.

It must be added that the capitalist system wastes enormous quantities of energy in the following ways:

- The production by competing companies of two and three times as many identical commodities as are required.

- The production of commodities such as cars and washing machines with built-in obsolescence, to provide a replacement market.

- Production and activities that are socially useless, such as most pharmaceuti-

cal products, advertising, and so forth.

- The priority given to private transportation over public transportation (at a much higher cost in energy).

- The use of cheap but shoddy building materials as a substitute for adequate thermal insulation.

- Without collectivized property and economic planning, there is no hope of recycling the large amounts of thermal energy produced by some industrial complexes.

It is profitable for the capitalists to exploit nuclear energy for the following reasons:

- Nuclear technology was first developed at the taxpayers' expense primarily for military objectives. (In the United States, more than \$15 billion was allocated to nuclear research between 1947 and 1957.) At a later stage the bourgeois state began to hand it over gradually to certain trusts, such as Westinghouse in the United States, at very profitable terms.

- The massive infrastructure involved in nuclear industry offers important markets for key sectors of heavy industry, such as steel, and electrical and chemical engineering companies.

- The short life span of nuclear plants, about twenty or thirty years, assures the constant renewal of the market.

In face of the waste of energy resulting from the anarchy of the capitalist system, and the fundamental disrespect for the public interest that the laws of private profit involve, we demand:

- A complete and immediate end to the nuclear industry.

- Nationalization under workers control of the whole energy sector.

In addition to these demands, we are fighting for a socialist revolution, that is, for the establishment by the working class of a social system in which the imperatives of private profit will no longer play a role, in which the whole economy and state apparatus will belong to the workers and serve their interests. This is the only kind of social system that will provide for harmonious and coordinated growth of the productive forces on a world scale, so as to meet the material and cultural needs of the whole of humanity. □

How's That Again?

"To ask a businessman which comes first, profits or social responsibility, is like asking an educator which comes first, his pursuit of new knowledge or the sharing of the knowledge he already possesses with others. The two pursuits are inseparable; the attainment of one is impossible without the attainment of the other."—General Motors Chairman Thomas A. Murphy, quoted in the May 17 New York *Daily News*.

June 9, 1975

Encouraged by Protests in France and West Germany

Occupiers Block Nuclear Site in Switzerland



Vida Mundial

More than 15,000 persons participated in a national demonstration in Bern April 26 to protest the Swiss government's plan to build a nuclear plant at Kaiseraugst, a town on the Rhine near Basel.

Protesters had occupied the site of the proposed plant for almost a month, blocking its construction.

Speakers at the Bern rally denounced the government's energy policy, pointing out that a majority of the members of a federal commission studying energy problems are also members of the boards of directors of the major electricity trusts in Switzerland.

The construction site at Kaiseraugst was occupied March 30 by several hundred persons who pitched tents and built giant bonfires to ward off the winter cold. The occupiers said they were encouraged to carry out their action by the massive support for similar antinuclear protests recently held at Marckolsheim, France, and Wyhl, West Germany.* Antinuclear demonstrators from France and Germany went to Kaiseraugst to show solidarity with the Swiss protest.

The action received widespread support within Switzerland. The people of neighboring towns supplied the occupiers with free food and provisions. Cyclists organized races with the occupiers' encampment as a goal. *Bürgerinitiativen*, or citizens committees, were formed to mobilize support in many towns throughout the area.

On April 6 a rally at the site attracted

*For an account of these protests, see "French and German Antipollution Demonstrators Join in 'Watch on the Rhine' to Halt Nuclear Plant," in *Intercontinental Press*, April 21, p. 531.

more than 15,000 supporters of the occupation.

In a resolution adopted at the rally, the protesters demanded that the project be closed down, that there be no reprisals against the occupiers, and that a referendum be held on the construction of the nuclear station.

On April 25 the occupiers offered to end the occupation if the government would agree to open negotiations. They insisted, however, that the federal council promise there would be no reprisals against them, and that all construction work would be suspended during the negotiations.

On May 9, the federal council indicated that it was ready to negotiate beginning May 27, and Motor Columbus, the contractor, made a formal promise not to resume work on the site before the beginning of June. The May 17 issue of *La Brèche*, the Swiss Trotskyist fortnightly, reported that the occupation was continuing, since the protesters had been unable to obtain sufficient guarantees that their conditions would be met.

Analyzing the protest movement in its April 28 issue, *La Brèche* emphasized the democratic planning of the mass mobilizations. General assemblies have decided all questions dealing with strategy, the organization of solidarity actions, and the response to repressive attacks.

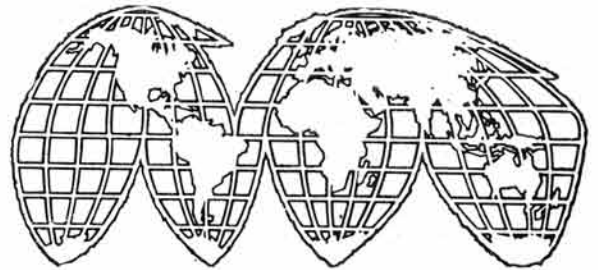
Mobilizing forces that encompass a wide spectrum of the population, the movement has sometimes lacked a clear political focus, *La Brèche* said. Some ecology groups, for example, favor "zero growth" and oppose the development of productive forces that alone can provide the foundation for socialist society.

But the Swiss Trotskyists stressed "the promising dynamic of these movements." Because they are reacting against the anarchy of capitalist production, *La Brèche* said, their mass actions in practice challenge the normal functioning of the system, radicalizing their participants and contributing to political clarification of the issues involved.

La Brèche called on the unions and workers parties to throw their support behind the antinuclear movement.

"This is the first time in a long while," it said, "that a direct action, challenging the law itself and directed against the political authorities and the trusts—in this case, Motor Columbus, alias Brown-Boveri and Alusuisse—has aroused such a response among the people." □

AROUND THE WORLD



Spanish Magazines Seized

In response to increasing criticism in the Spanish press, the Franco regime has seized issues of a number of magazines.

An issue of *Cambio 16*, a publication with a circulation of 140,000, was seized for carrying a cover story entitled "Whacking the Opposition." The article reported that more than 744 persons were arrested in Spain in the past few months for political offenses.

The editor was told that the article constituted "illegal propaganda," a charge that could draw heavy fines and prison terms ranging up to thirty years. *Cambio 16* was recently suspended for three consecutive issues.

Among the other periodicals that recently had issues confiscated were *Posible* and *Guadiana*, for references to the outlawed Democratic Junta of Spain, *El Europeo*, *El Papus*, *El Cocodrilo Leopoldo*, *Triunfo*, *Por Favor*, and *Personas*.

The Information Ministry has warned editors that the following items are forbidden: articles on Franco's retirement, reporting of military and political activities, interviews with leaders of banned parties, and stories on the Basque and Catalan nationalist movements that could be interpreted as favorable.

Millions Face Famine in Eastern India

Near-famine conditions have struck rural areas of West Bengal, Orissa, Assam, and Bihar. Hunger is also acute in the urban areas, where wheat and rice are scarce in the government-run ration shops. In Orissa alone, about 6 million persons are reported-



Laxman/Times of India

ly affected, with 1.6 million in acute distress.

Indian journalists have pointed out that the scarcities in the ration shops are due to the failure of the state governments to compel rich farmers and traders to sell grain to the state. The prices on the open market are much higher than those the government is offering the traders. Enforcement of procurement levies against big farmers, who are major contributors to the ruling Congress party, is generally lax.

Carlos Coitiño Tortured in Uruguay

Carlos Coitiño Cebe, a Uruguayan bank worker and trade-union leader, has been arrested and tortured for the second time in six months. A communiqué from Montevideo dated May 6 reported that Coitiño has been subject to such terrible tortures that his life is in danger.

First arrested in December 1974 by the Montevideo police, Coitiño was finally released in April only to be rearrested by the army.

The communiqué appealed for protests to be directed at Uruguayan government offices around the world.

Zionist Fund-Raising Appeal Meeting Stiff Resistance

Donations by Jews around the world to Israel have plunged sharply in the last two years.

The Jewish Agency, coordinator of Jewish overseas efforts in Israel, had to trim its budget from \$701 million in 1973-74 to \$580 million for the fiscal year ending in March. It is now operating on an interim budget because of the indefinite economic situation.

The United Jewish Appeal, the central instrument for channeling U.S. contributions to Israel, reported an \$86 million "discrepancy" between what had been allocated by American Jewry to the UJA for overseas programs and the actual cash receipts over the past two years. The "discrepancy" is read as an indicator that donors are not paying off their pledges at the rate they used to.

The financial pinch has been attributed to the world economic crisis and to spreading disillusionment among Jews following

recent revelations of multimillion-dollar bribes and other corruption in the Israeli state.

"Considerable numbers of regular donors in Canada are withholding their commitments," said Bernard Morris, a leading Canadian Zionist, "until some satisfactory answers are forthcoming on whether their money is being used for legitimate purposes, or whether it is being siphoned off by Israel's bureaucrats for all kinds of nefarious self-enriching schemes."

Plunging donations have been reflected in cutbacks in education and social services in Israel. Tel Aviv University has cut 350 jobs from the payroll. A 1,500-student dormitory complex for Jews and Arabs at Haifa University has not been completed for lack of funds.

There has been no talk of cutbacks on military spending, which makes up more than 40 percent of the Israeli budget.

3,000 Marchers in London Voice Solidarity With Palestine

Three thousand Arabs marched through the streets of London May 18 to protest the continued occupation of Palestine by the settler state of Israel.

A rally was held at Hyde Park before the march. Speakers included Lek Hor Tan of the National United Front of Cambodia; Said Hammi, representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in London; and speakers from the General Union of Palestinian Students, the General Union of Arab Students, and the Iranian Students Society (a member of the Confederation of Iranian Students, National Union.).

Many of the demonstrators carried placards and Palestinian flags. Among the slogans enthusiastically chanted was the call for a democratic, secular Palestine.

Demonstrators came from as far away as South Wales and Scotland for the march.

Text of 'Embarrassing' Remarks by Kissinger Leaked in Israel

The Israeli government has blocked publication of a book detailing the negotiations between the U.S., Israeli, Egyptian, and Syrian delegations that led to the 1974 disengagement accords in the Arab East.

Written by Matti Golan, the diplomatic

Intercontinental Press

journalist for *Haaretz*, the book reportedly contains verbatim transcripts of talks between Kissinger and Golda Meir in which Kissinger made disparaging remarks about officials in Egypt, Syria, the Soviet Union, and Japan.

The book was banned on the orders of Premier Yitzak Rabin, who told the Israeli cabinet that if the book were published, Kissinger might have to resign and U.S.-Israeli relations could be damaged. He did not explain how the top-secret transcripts had been leaked in the first place.

Western correspondents in Israel suggest that they were provided to Golan from official Israeli sources. Michel Abu Jawdeh, a commentator for the Beirut daily *Al-Nata*, said May 14 that the book was intended to "blackmail" Kissinger.

Kissinger, at a May 13 news conference, said, "I don't doubt that the publication of the book would be embarrassing."

Oil Firms Still Have Their Eyes On South Vietnam's Offshore Wells

Some of the American, European, and Japanese oil companies that held exploration permits to search for oil off the coast of South Vietnam under the old regime are still holding out hope that they will be able to continue operations there.

The president of Philadelphia-based Sun Oil Company said in London that he would not advise company directors to write off Sun's lease in the South China Sea 150 miles southeast of Saigon. At least one other oil company with a concession in the area shares that view, reported a correspondent in the May 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

In a report from Paris May 14, Platt's Oilgram News Service said that the new Saigon government "wants companies that had been operating in the nation's offshore areas to contact its officials to work out new agreements for the areas." Platt quoted unnamed North Vietnamese government spokesmen in Paris.

"Concessions and other contracts made by the deposed Thieu government won't be recognized by the new regime and will have to be renegotiated," the service said, and a company's nationality or its home country politics will not matter.

Plyushch Is Kept Heavily Drugged, Soviet Psychiatrist Reveals

Imprisoned Soviet dissident Leonid Plyushch was given overdoses of a drug for most of 1974, according to Marina Voikhanskaya, a Soviet psychiatrist who recently went into exile in London. Plyushch was last seen by his wife in February, Voikhanskaya said, and was so withdrawn, probably as a result of the drugging, that he barely spoke.

She also recounted the cases of other dissidents who were confined to prison

hospitals. When Victor Fainberg, whom she had met previously, was committed to the mental hospital where she worked, she saved him from being given overdoses of dangerous drugs, she said. Fainberg had previously been arrested for demonstrating in Red Square against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He was allowed to go into exile in the autumn of 1974. Other dissidents she saw in prison hospitals were Evgeny Komarov, Yury Ivanov, and Anatoly Ponomaryov.

Voikhanskaya estimated that there were at least 100 oppositionists in prison hospitals, and perhaps two to three times that number confined in ordinary mental hospitals.

Japanese Workers Win 14% Raise

The decisive phase of the Japanese workers' annual *kokumin shunto*, or "people's spring struggle," ended May 10 when government workers accepted a 14.1% wage increase. The settlement followed a three-and-a-half-day strike that paralyzed the railroads, post office, and other services. Wage settlements in the public sector generally set the pattern for those in private industries.

The 1975 *shunto* was officially launched March 5 with a rally of 20,000 unionists in Tokyo called by the Spring Labor Offensive Joint Struggle Committee. A second rally, held March 16, drew 200,000 persons.

The final settlement fell far below the 25% to 30% wage increases demanded by the unions and was less than half the average 32% raise won in 1974. The 1975 wage offensive was weakened by rising unemployment. The workers also faced the coordinated opposition of the employers.

The two principal organizations of the bosses set a limit of 15% on wage increases. They cited the recession as a justification and claimed that higher raises would aggravate inflation. The ruling Liberal Democratic party openly supported the employers' 15% limit.

Forecast: Cloudy, Chance of Acid

Fish, plants, and residents of the eastern United States are seriously threatened by the growing acidity of rain and snow falling in the region, scientists attending two scientific conferences in May reported.

The ecologists said acidity in some regions had increased during the last two decades to concentrations ranging up to 1,000 times normal. The average acidity of rainfalls in the eastern United States is now about 100 times what it was several decades ago.

Such rain is thought to have killed fish in many lakes; there are several high-altitude lakes in the Adirondack Mountains now devoid of fish. Experts have not fully determined the effects on plant life, al-



Herblock/Washington Post

though they have noted physiological changes in leaves exposed to acid rain. A further fear is that acid runoff may transport toxic metals into drinking water supplies.

It is believed that acid precipitation is caused when pollutants such as sulfur oxides and nitrogen oxides are incorporated into raindrops, thus forming dilute concentrations of sulfuric acid and nitric acid. Electric power plants, smelters, steel mills, and motor vehicles are the leading sources of such pollutants.

What Thieu Left Behind

In addition to the billions in military hardware left behind in the final rout of Saigon puppet forces, the new government in South Vietnam has taken possession of enough stocks of rice and fertilizers to last at least a year.

Along with rice stocks from the last harvest, an estimated 200,000 tons of rice from the American Agency for International Development was on hand, plus an unspecified quantity intended for Cambodia that had never been delivered.

Fertilizer essential to the rice strains grown in the Mekong Delta had also been stocked in massive quantities.

Also in plentiful supply are consumer goods. Because of the severe economic depression South Vietnam went through during Thieu's last year, merchants fled the country leaving warehouses bulging with refrigerators, washing machines, radios, television sets, electric fans, and stoves.

Moreover, despite last-minute efforts, Washington and its puppets failed to get all of South Vietnam's gold reserves out of the country. Fifteen tons of gold remain in the central bank.

La Libertad de Prensa y la Clase Obrera

por León Trotsky

[El siguiente artículo, aunque muy breve, es bastante importante. Apareció bajo el título "La Libertad de Prensa y la Clase Obrera," como principal editorial del primer número de la revista teórica mexicana *Clave*, "Tribuna Marxista" publicada en la Ciudad de México desde octubre de 1938 hasta mayo de 1941.

[Cuando *Clave* se publicó por primera vez su cuerpo de redacción estaba compuesto por Adolfo Zamora, José Ferrel y Diego Rivera, siendo Octavio Fernández el administrador. Aparte de los artículos de estos autores y de otros, *Clave* publicó contribuciones de León Trotsky, en la mayoría de los casos eran traducciones al español de artículos que habían sido publicados en otros idiomas en la prensa de la Cuarta Internacional de aquel entonces.

[Trotsky, que estaba exilado en México, participó en las reuniones del cuerpo de redacción de *Clave*. Evidentemente los miembros del cuerpo de redacción no titubearon en pedirle que asumiera tareas editoriales para la revista, aunque éste tenía un horario en el cual tenía que escribir bastante. El descubrimiento del escrito original en los Archivos de Trotsky en la biblioteca de la Universidad de Harvard prueba que Trotsky fue el autor del primer editorial principal de *Clave*.

[Las declaraciones tan cuidadosamente formuladas que expresaban la opinión del cuerpo de redactores tenían la intención de claramente definir la política de *Clave* en un punto central, la libertad de prensa, que estaba bajo el fuego de los stalinistas de México. El segundo editorial en el mismo número, "El Derecho del Asilo Totalitario," es posible que también haya sido escrito por Trotsky. Es un comentario corto e irónico sobre la imitación que Lombardo Toledano hace de Stalin al estar a favor del asilo para aquéllos que están de acuerdo con su política pero en contra de que se les dé asilo a los que no están de acuerdo. La portada de este primer número de *Clave* se utilizó para una breve declaración editorial, "México No Debe Ir a la Guerra Imperialista," es decir, la Segunda Guerra Mundial que se aproximaba rápidamente.

[La explicación de Trotsky de porqué los revolucionarios están obligados a defender la libertad de prensa como un principio, es decir, sin hacer excepciones ni tan siquiera para las publicaciones reaccionarias, debe ser leída junto con otras declaraciones que

en aquel entonces hizo Trotsky sobre la necesidad vital de defender los derechos democráticos en la construcción del partido revolucionario de masas. Por ejemplo, vea "Una Discusión con Trotsky Sobre Problemas Latinoamericanos" (*Intercontinental Press*, mayo 26 de 1975), "Programa de Lucha o de Adaptación—A Propósito de una Carta de Haya de la Torre" (*Revista Clave*, diciembre 1 de 1938) y "La Ignorancia no Es un Instrumento de la Revolución—A Propósito de un Artículo Escandaloso en "Trinchera Aprista" (*Revista Clave*, febrero 1 de 1939).

[Estos tres artículos y el editorial que a continuación publicamos reflejan el pensamiento de Trotsky en 1938 al respecto de la relación entre la democracia burguesa y la democracia proletaria. Representan las conclusiones a las cuales había llegado el fundador de la Cuarta Internacional en los últimos años de una vida llena de extraordinaria experiencia política en la lucha por un sistema socialista mundial.

[La pertinencia de los escritos de Trotsky puede ser vista en relación al actual intento por silenciar a *República*, periódico del Partido Socialista Portugués. En la afirmación de los principios, y tan sólo con unos cuantos cambios en los detalles, el editorial pudo haber sido escrito en respuesta al actual ataque reaccionario a la libertad de prensa de Portugal. Es notable, aunque no accidental, que la iniciativa de cerrar *República* fue de los stalinistas portugueses, lo más probable, para la conveniencia del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas, que le gustaría restablecer el control gubernamental de la prensa.

[Una diferencia en el paralelo con la iniciativa contrarrevolucionaria que tomaron los stalinistas de México en 1938 es que Cárdenas no le dio la bienvenida a la maniobra de Moscú en la política interna de México (por lo cual fracasó la campaña descrita en el editorial escrito por Trotsky). Cárdenas, representante de la burguesía, era un demócrata más consecuente en esta cuestión que los dirigentes del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas de Portugal, que en voz alta proclaman sus objetivos "socialistas."

[Vicente Lombardo Toledano, colaboracionista de clase, dirigente principal de la Confederación de Trabajadores de México y editor del periódico de la confederación, *El Popular*, era un compañero de camino del

stalinismo que participó activamente en el intento por crear una atmósfera de cacería de brujas que facilitara los planes de la policía secreta de Stalin para asesinar a Trotsky.]

* * *

Se desarrolla en México una campaña contra la prensa reaccionaria. Esta campaña está encabezada por los dirigentes de la CTM o, más exactamente, por el Sr. Lombardo Toledano en lo personal. El fin de esta campaña es "restringir" la prensa reaccionaria, para colocarla bajo una censura democrática o para prohibirla completamente. Las organizaciones sindicales han sido puestas en movimiento, en calidad de ejército activo. Los demócratas irremediables, corrompidos por la experiencia del Moscú stalinista y con "amigos" de la G.P.U. a su cabeza aclaman esta campaña, que no puede ser considerada de otra manera que como suicida. Realmente, no es difícil preveer que aunque el triunfo de esta campaña condujera a resultados prácticos dentro del gusto de Lombardo Toledano, sus consecuencias gravitarían más pesadamente sobre los hombros de la clase trabajadora. La teoría y la experiencia histórica atestiguan igualmente que cualquier restricción de la democracia en la sociedad burguesa es, al fin y al cabo, enderezada invariablemente contra el proletariado, lo mismo que cualquier impuesto también gravita sobre los hombros de los trabajadores. La democracia solamente tiene valor para el proletariado en la medida en que permite el desenvolvimiento de la lucha de clases. En consecuencia, un "líder" de la clase obrera que arma al Estado burgués con instrumentos excepcionales de control sobre la opinión pública en general, y sobre la prensa en particular, es precisamente un traidor. Con la agravación de la lucha de clases, los burgueses de todos matices llegarán al fin de cuentas a ponerse de acuerdo entre ellos mismos, y dirigirán entonces las leyes de excepción, todos los reglamentos restrictivos, todas las especies de censuras "democráticas" contra la clase obrera. Aquél que todavía no haya entendido esto, debe abandonar las filas de la clase obrera.

Pero la dictadura del proletariado—objetarían algunos "amigos" de la URSS— a veces se ve obligada a recurrir a medidas de excepción, en contra de la prensa reaccionaria en particular. Esta objeción—decimos nosotros—significa, sobre todo, la identificación del Estado obrero con el Estado burgués. A pesar de que México es un país semi-colonial, también es un Estado burgués, y en ningún caso, un Estado obrero. Sin embargo, aun desde el punto de vista de los intereses de la dictadura del proletariado, la prohibición de los periódicos burgueses o la censura de ellos no son,

en el más mínimo grado, un "programa" ni un "principio" o un régimen ideal. Tales medidas pueden únicamente ser un mal inevitable y temporal.

Una vez en el timón, el proletariado puede verse forzado, durante un cierto período, a usar medidas excepcionales contra la burguesía, si ésta se coloca en una posición abierta de rebeldía contra el Estado obrero. En este caso, la restricción de la libertad de prensa va de la mano con todas las otras medidas que se toman para sostener la guerra civil. Naturalmente, si se ve uno forzado a apuntar la artillería y a dirigir la aviación contra el enemigo, no puede uno permitir a ese mismo enemigo, mantener sus propios centros de información y propaganda dentro del campo armado del proletariado. Sin embargo, aun en este caso, si las medidas excepcionales se extienden hasta convertirse en un régimen prolongado, llevan en sí mismas el peligro de un completo desenfreno y de un monopolio político de la burocracia obrera, pudiendo llegar hasta ser una de las fuentes de la degeneración.

Tenemos en frente un ejemplo viviente, en la odiosa supresión de la libertad de palabra y prensa que se practica ahora en la Unión Soviética. Nada de común tiene con los intereses de las dictaduras del proletariado. Al contrario, está encaminada a proteger los intereses de la nueva casta gobernante contra la oposición del los obreros y campesinos. Es precisamente esta burocracia bonapartista de Moscú la que está siendo imitada por los Sres. Lombardo Toledano y compañía, que identifican su carrera personal con los intereses del socialismo.

Las tareas reales del Estado proletario consisten, no en colocar a la opinión pública una mordaza policiaca, sino en liberarla del yugo del capital. Esto puede realizarse únicamente por medio del paso de los medios de producción, inclusive los de la producción de la publicidad, a manos de la sociedad entera. Una vez llevada a cabo esta medida socialista básica, todas las corrientes de la opinión pública que no luchan contra la dictadura del proletariado, armas en mano, deben tener la posibilidad de expresarse libremente. El Estado obrero tiene la obligación de poner a disposición de ellas, los medios técnicos necesarios (imprentas, papel, transporte, etc.) en relación con la importancia numérica de esas corrientes en el país. El hecho de que la burocracia stalinista haya monopolizado la prensa constituye una de las principales fuentes de descomposición del aparato del Estado y amenaza todas las conquistas de la Revolución de Octubre, con una completa ruina.

Si buscáramos ejemplos de la influencia fatal de la Comintern sobre el movimiento obrero en los diferentes países, esta campaña de Lombardo Toledano ofrecería uno de

los casos más sorprendentes de esa especie. Toledano y sus correligionarios intentan, ante todo, introducir en el régimen de la democracia burguesa, los medios y los métodos que, bajo ciertas condiciones y temporalmente, pueden llegar a ser inevitables en un régimen de dictadura del proletariado; por lo demás, la verdad es que toman esas medidas, no de la dictadura del proletariado, sino de sus usurpadores bonapartistas. En otras palabras, envenenan la ya enferma democracia burguesa, con el virus de la podrida burocracia stalinista.

La anémica democracia mexicana se encuentra constantemente en peligro mortal por dos lados; por el lado del imperialismo extranjero y por el de los agentes reaccionarios del interior, en cuyas manos están concentradas las publicaciones de más amplia circulación; pero únicamente los ciegos y los tontos pueden pensar que los obreros y campesinos pueden libertarse de la influencia de las ideas reaccionarias mediante la prohibición de la prensa reaccionaria. En realidad, sólo la mayor libertad de palabra, de prensa y de reunión, pueden crear las condiciones favorables para el desarrollo del movimiento revolucionario de la clase obrera.

La lucha irreconciliable contra la prensa reaccionaria, es un imperativo. Pero los obreros no pueden substituir su propia lucha, que debe realizarse a través de sus organizaciones y su prensa, por el puño policiaco del Estado burgués. Hoy, el Estado puede hallarse dispuesto "benévola-mente" para con las organizaciones obreras; mañana, podrá caer, y caerá inevitablemente en las manos de los elementos más reaccionarios de la burguesía. En este caso,

cualquier legislación restrictiva sería arrojada sobre los obreros. Únicamente los aventureros, guiados por las exigencias del momento, pueden descuidar esto.

El mejor modo de luchar contra la prensa burguesa es el desarrollo de la prensa proletaria. Claro que periódicos amarillistas del tipo de "El Popular" no son capaces de desempeñar esa tarea. No son ni prensa obrera ni prensa revolucionaria; ni siquiera, simplemente, prensa democrática honrada. "El Popular" sirve las ambiciones personales del Sr. Lombardo Toledano, quien a su vez sirve a la burocracia stalinista. Sus métodos, mentiras, calumnias, persecución, falsificación, son también los métodos de Toledano. Este no tiene ni programa ni ideas. Lo más natural, por lo tanto, es que un periódico de esta laya no pueda alcanzar a la clase trabajadora en su médula, ni alejar la prensa burguesa de las manos proletarias.

Así, llegamos a la conclusión inevitable de que la lucha contra la prensa burguesa debe comenzar por barrer con los líderes envilecidos de las organizaciones de la clase obrera, en particular por liberar la prensa obrera de la tutela de Lombardo Toledano y demás "chambistas" burgueses. El proletariado de México necesita una prensa honesta, que exprese sus necesidades, defienda sus intereses, amplíe su horizonte y prepare la revolución socialista en el país. Esta es la actitud de "CLAVE". Nosotros declaramos, pues, en primer lugar, una guerra sin cuartel a las viles aspiraciones bonapartistas de Toledano, y en esto, esperamos el apoyo de todos los trabajadores avanzados, de todos los marxistas y de todos los demócratas genuinos.

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Trotsky Aconseja a Socialistas Canadienses

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Leon Trotsky's Advice to Canadian Socialists" que apareció en *Intercontinental Press* el 26 de mayo de 1975.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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[Para celebrar el Primero de Mayo, *Labor Challenge* del 21 de abril, periódico quincenal trotskista canadiense, reproduce, en forma condensada, los puntos de vista expresados por Trotsky en una conversación que se llevó a cabo durante su exilio en Noruega. *Labor Challenge* agregó una introducción explicativa escrita por Ian Angus, que a continuación presentamos junto con el documento.]

* * *

Introducción

El artículo que a continuación publicamos, apareció por primera vez en el número del primero de febrero de 1936 de *The Vanguard*, periódico del Workers Party of Canada [Partido Obrero de Canadá]. Desde entonces no se había vuelto a publicar.

León Trotsky, junto con Lenin, es uno de los dirigentes revolucionarios más grandes de este siglo. A la temprana edad de 25 fue presidente de los consejos obreros (soviets) de San Petersburgo, durante la Revolución Rusa de 1905. Doce años después, como presidente del Comité Revolucionario Militar establecido por el soviets de Petrogrado, fue el principal organizador de la insurrección que inició la primera revolución proletaria. Cuando los ejércitos zaristas, apoyados por una docena de países extranjeros (incluso Canadá), amenazaban al joven estado obrero, Trotsky fue el principal organizador del Ejército Rojo que paró y derrotó la contrarrevolución.

Desde 1917 hasta la muerte de Lenin en 1924, Trotsky desempeñó un papel central en el gobierno soviético y en la Internacional Comunista (IC o Comintern). Fue el colaborador más cercano de Lenin. La última lucha política de Lenin, contra el desarrollo de la casta burocrática representada por Stalin, la llevó a cabo en alianza con Trotsky.

Después de la muerte de Lenin, Stalin triunfó. Trotsky fue exilado, y los cuadros del partido bolchevique fueron aplastados y

restituidos por una jerarquía de burócratas conservadores que floreció bajo el gobierno totalitario de Stalin. La Internacional Comunista fue convertida en instrumento de la política exterior de Stalin. (Más tarde, en 1943, Stalin arbitrariamente disolvió a la IC para satisfacer a sus aliados capitalistas de la guerra.)

En su exilio, Trotsky organizó una campaña internacional para que la IC volviera a la política revolucionaria. Cuando la Internacional, en una francachela suicida y ultraizquierdista, dirigió a los obreros alemanes en 1933 a una derrota catastrófica, permitiéndole a Hitler tomar el poder sin dar ninguna lucha, Trotsky sacó la conclusión de que la IC como fuerza revolucionaria había muerto. Llamó a la creación de una nueva Internacional.

Entre los primeros que respondieron a este llamado estuvieron los canadienses antistalinistas. En noviembre de 1933, *The Vanguard* publicó el llamado de Trotsky. En 1935, Jack MacDonald y Maurice Spector, ex secretario nacional y ex presidente del Partido Comunista Canadiense respectivamente, se unieron con los representantes de otras organizaciones de América del Norte y de Europa firmando un llamado para crear la Cuarta Internacional. De hecho, la CI se fundó en septiembre de 1938.

Al inicio del artículo, cuando Trotsky menciona a los "narodniks," el significado puede no ser claro para algunos de nuestros lectores de hoy en día. Se refiere a un movimiento populista, con base campesina, que existió en Rusia antes de la revolución.

Cuando este artículo originalmente apareció en *The Vanguard*, llevaba adjunto la siguiente introducción:

"Dos camaradas canadienses, actualmente en el extranjero, hace poco tuvieron la buena fortuna de visitar al Cda. Trotsky. Enviaron el siguiente compendio de los puntos de vista de Trotsky sobre los problemas de la revolución en Canadá y en el mundo.

"El Cda. T. informó a nuestros camaradas que lee con gran interés y simpatía su valiente periódico, *The Vanguard*, y el excelente periódico de nuestros amigos ucranianos, *Robitnitschi Visti*. Las firmas que los camaradas MacDonald y Spector adjuntaron por parte de la organización canadiense a la Carta Abierta para la Cuarta Internacional representan un gran compromiso histórico contraído ante el proletariado mundial por el Workers Party

of Canada. 'Estoy seguro que avanzaremos juntos hacia la victoria final.'

Hoy en día el sucesor político y organizativo del Workers Party of Canada es la League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière [Liga de Acción Socialista/Liga Socialista Obrera], sección canadiense de la Cuarta Internacional. Para los socialistas que actualmente trabajan en la construcción de un partido revolucionario de masas, los comentarios de Trotsky siguen siendo tan relevantes como hace 39 años. Los subtítulos y todos los subrayados están en el original.

Publicamos este artículo para conmemorar el 80 aniversario del Primero de Mayo, día internacional de los trabajadores. El Primero de Mayo fue proclamado por la Segunda Internacional como día internacional de la actividad obrera, en solidaridad con los trabajadores norteamericanos en su lucha por el día de ocho horas. Desde 1890, todos los años, los internacionalistas, en todos los países han conmemorado el Primero de Mayo como un día de solidaridad mundial en la lucha en contra de la guerra y por la emancipación de la clase obrera. *Labor Challenge* se enorgullece en continuar con esta tradición hasta la fecha.

Compendio de los Puntos de Vista de Trotsky

1. Cómo Relacionarse con los Granjeros

Aunque la posición económica del campesinado europeo es muy diferente a la del granjero canadiense, tienen en común ciertas características importantes. Por ejemplo, aunque no he hecho un estudio específico de la política canadiense, estoy dispuesto a afirmar que los llamados Partidos de los Granjeros de las praderas—que están en retirada ante el Crédito Social—tienen en común con los partidos campesinos en todo el mundo lo siguiente; si no están vinculados con genuinas organizaciones revolucionarias del proletariado no representan ni pueden representar a los granjeros. Examinen su dirección y sus agrupamientos y díganme si no están dominados por la pequeña burguesía, los granjeros ricos, los abogados, los maestros y los tenderos. Examinen sus conexiones financieras y vean si no conducen directamente al capital mercantil.

Los Granjeros, una Clase Compuesta

Siempre ha sido así, los llamados "partidos independientes de los granjeros" son o se convierten en *antigranjeros*. Los granjeros no pueden mantener un partido independiente porque no son una clase homogénea. Tal como el capitalismo en su conjunto, son una clase compuesta de diferentes clases;

son la protoplasma de la cual todas las clases se derivan. Si los granjeros pobres y explotados no están vinculados con los partidos obreros, inevitablemente terminarán vinculados con los partidos burgueses por una jerarquía a cuya cabeza estará el capital financiero. Es esta verdad básica que los narodniks no podían ver y que requirió de los bolcheviques una lucha prolongada contra ellos. Introducir la lucha de clases en el campesinado era y sigue siendo la esencia del bolchevismo. El crimen del stalinismo fue el de reintroducir la ilusión narodnik de que el campesinado era una masa homogénea que podía ser unificada políticamente. Esta ilusión es sobre todo peligrosa en los países más avanzados donde hay más granjeros ricos directamente conectados con las finanzas urbanas.

¿Cómo podemos hacerle para que el labriego y el campesino pobre apoyen al obrero industrial? Al principio, no hay que esperar un auditorio lleno de campesinos. Uno tiene que empezar por explicar los problemas del granjero a los *trabajadores*. El partido revolucionario debe primero él mismo analizar a los partidos granjeros existentes y exponer las conexiones entre el estrato dirigente y sus explotadores. No debe tan sólo entender y simpatizar con los problemas de los granjeros; debe mostrar a las capas más bajas las fuerzas centrífugas que siempre han desbaratado cualquier intento de lograr una organización de los granjeros unida e independiente (es decir, *independiente* de la clase obrera, y por lo tanto dependiente a la burguesía).

Por medio del trabajo en las organizaciones de masas del proletariado es cómo los revolucionarios se vinculan a los granjeros. Sobre todo en Canadá, me han dicho, una gran parte de la población vive en los pueblos pequeños donde los obreros y los granjeros viven juntos. Es aquí donde se da la vinculación; es aquí donde existe la oportunidad de introducir el bolchevismo que puede unir a los estratos bajos explotados de las granjas con la lucha histórica más importante del proletariado. *Por medio de los obreros encontramos el camino a los granjeros.*

2. Trabajar con la Juventud y la Mujer

Las organizaciones "revolucionarias" que no tienen un lugar especial para la juventud y la mujer no son revolucionarias. En la vida la carga principal la lleva la mujer. Tanto la mujer como la juventud son los más explotados por los capitalistas y los más subestimados por los reformistas. Hay una tendencia a considerar a la juventud menos importante, ¡quizá es por que no votan! Es la actitud hacia ellos al igual que hacia los trabajadores coloniales lo que a los bolcheviques pone a prueba. Hay que recordar que es a la juventud a la que se le

pide que lleve el mayor peso del combate en las guerras capitalistas. Sobre todo, debemos educar junto a nosotros a nuestros mejores camaradas jóvenes en la teoría bolchevique.

¡Sobre todo las mujeres! De la misma manera que los social demócratas son la aristocracia de la clase obrera, la mujer trabajadora, ya sea en el hogar o en la fábrica, es la peor pagada, la más empujada, la más explotada, ellas son las parias. Y nosotros, somos el partido de los más explotados. Por lo tanto somos el partido de la juventud y de la mujer.

3. Trabajo ilegal y de Masas

Los centristas llegan a la revolución con la idea de que el trabajo de masas es prosaico y que el trabajo "clandestino" es romántico. Las dos tareas deben ser sintetizadas, de hecho, son lo mismo. El trabajo ilegal es el trabajo de permanecer dentro de las masas, no de retirarse al sótano. Pasar del trabajo de tendencia en los sindicatos revolucionarios al trabajo ilegal bajo condiciones de guerra es imperceptible. La burocracia sindical se convierte en el sistema policiaco de espionaje, eso es todo.

4. ¿Por qué Después de Alemania aún Hay Obreros Honestos en la Comintern?

Todo el significado de las grandes derrotas históricas no queda inmediatamente claro en la mente de los trabajadores. Solamente durante períodos revolucionarios nuestras ideas se reflejan inmediatamente en las grandes masas. El capitalismo no les enseña a las masas a pensar y analizar. Al no tener esa capacidad deben aprender de los eventos, por medio de consignas adecuadas para ellos y machacadas en ellos. Los sectarios tienen la culpa de no entender esto. Se disgustan con el movimiento obrero que regula la historia y quieren su propio movimientito obrero. Las grandes derrotas, sobre todo las que son causadas por la bancarrota de su dirección, no hacen que los obreros se vuelvan más revolucionarios sino que desmoralizan a su organización por un largo período. Es por eso, que aunque la Oposición de Izquierda en Rusia predijo la derrota china causada por el stalinismo, aún así la derrota debilitó a la Oposición de Izquierda y fortaleció a la burocracia de Stalin en la Unión Soviética. Es por eso que aún hay obreros honestos en la IC. Es por eso que debemos explicar la derrota de Alemania, explicarla pacientemente. ¿Cómo podemos esperar nosotros—el ala izquierda del proletariado mundial—que hemos sufrido una derrota tras otra, habernos fortalecido en un período como éste? Podemos crecer y creceremos con el nuevo despertar del proletariado mundial y la Cuarta Internacional será su dirección. □

Special Offer



Larissa Daniel, anti-Stalinist dissident.

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.

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El Papel del Movimiento de las Fuerzas Armadas de Portugal

Por Livio Maitan

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 27 de abril de *Bandiera Rossa*, periódico quincenal del Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari, sección italiana de la Cuarta Internacional. Una traducción en inglés de este mismo artículo apareció en el número del 2 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*.

[La traducción en español es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Hace un año, la caída del régimen fascista en Portugal señalaba una nueva etapa de la crisis de la Europa capitalista.

Habiendo constatado la imposibilidad de mantener en pie la vieja estructura política y económica de la dictadura, la imposibilidad de persistir en una defensa a ultranza del viejo imperio colonial, la burguesía portuguesa fue forzada a esbozar una operación de reconstrucción a largo plazo. Esta reconstrucción debería incluir el cambio del colonialismo tradicional al neocolonialismo, la integración de la economía portuguesa a formas más modernas de la economía capitalista internacional y sobre todo la integración en el Mercado Común, una reestructuración política que le diera a Portugal instituciones análogas a las de las democracias burguesas de los otros países de Europa Occidental.

El diseño—que sin duda corresponde a los objetivos a largo plazo de la burguesía y que surge de las necesidades que se habían hecho urgentes—se ha enfrentado contra obstáculos muy serios, fundamentalmente en tres áreas.

En primer lugar, el intento de integrarse a la economía europea ha venido en un momento cuando la recesión mundial golpea a casi todos los países capitalistas y crea repercusiones extremadamente graves en la economía de Europa Occidental. Así, una reconstrucción que de todas maneras hubiera creado problemas e impuesto un alto costo en general, y se mostraba sumamente difícil de llevar a cabo.

Actualmente Portugal ha experimentado un debilitamiento notable en varios sectores de la producción: caída de las exportaciones, una intensificación del ritmo inflacionario y un cierre de la salida que representaba la emigración.

En segundo lugar, para una burguesía que se había identificado por medio siglo con el “salazarismo,” no era fácil dotarse

rápidamente de nuevos instrumentos políticos, de uno o más partidos que le permitirían ejercitar su hegemonía en la forma típica de la democracia burguesa, que implica sobre todo, la capacidad de garantizar una base electoral consistente.

Por último, y esto es en el fondo el factor determinante, desde el inicio—aunque sea con el desequilibrio inevitable regional o sectorial, y con las inevitables altas y bajas—se ha desatado un movimiento de masas vigoroso que ha involucrado a grandes sectores de la clase obrera, estratos de la pequeña burguesía y en algunos casos al campesinado y ha tenido un impacto notable en la base de las mismas fuerzas armadas.

La amplitud y dinamismo de la movilización de los últimos meses—la multiplicación de huelgas y de ocupaciones de fábrica y la extensión de organismos democrático revolucionarios surgidos de la base y con manifestaciones políticas como las del 14 de enero y 7 de febrero, que aunque tienen un contenido diferente, de la misma manera son expresiones de la voluntad combativa de las masas (la primera fue convocada por la Intersindical¹ y la segunda por las Comisiones Obreras²), fueron las que originaron el intento de golpe abortado del 11 de marzo.

Los sectores más reaccionarios de la burguesía, vinculados al ala “spínolista” de las fuerzas armadas, consideraron que era urgente parar una tendencia—que era extremadamente peligrosa—para imponer un giro conservador moderado, que hubiera involucrado necesariamente acciones represivas abiertas contra el movimiento de masas. Debido al nivel de combatividad de las masas y debido a la politización cada vez mayor de sectores del ejército y de la marina, la operación era claramente aventurera y no podía más que concluir en un triste fracaso.

El resultado inevitable ha sido una aceleración del proceso revolucionario en Portugal, y un nuevo impulso a la movilización y politización de las masas, cuya movilización tempestiva y poderosa ha sido

1. La Intersindical es la confederación sindical controlada por el Partido Comunista.

2. Las Comisiones Obreras en Lisboa que llamaron a la manifestación del 7 de febrero están dominadas esencialmente por los grupos maoístas.

un factor determinante en la fulminante derrota de los golpistas.

El grupo dirigente de las fuerzas armadas, representado por el MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas], no podía prescindir de este dato. Fue empujado a adoptar medidas más radicales para golpear la vieja estructura de la dictadura salazarista y poner al grupo más conservador de la burguesía en condiciones de que no causara daño—ésta se había resistido a la operación del 25 de abril y había determinado retroceder, es decir, tratar de restaurar un régimen autoritario, por los peligros que causaba el proceso de radicalización y politización a los intereses constituidos.

Para este objetivo el MFA ha tenido que buscar, ahora más que el 25 de abril o el 28 de septiembre, la colaboración del movimiento obrero organizado, principalmente la del Partido Comunista. Esto ha sido la causa de una apertura mayor, también de mayor representación en el aparato político para el PCP [Partido Comunista Portugués] y su aliado el MDP [Movimento Democrático Portugués], y a un explícito y sistemático recurrir a temas ideológicos sustancialmente tácticos.

El fenómeno que hoy estamos presenciando en Portugal muestra claras analogías con fenómenos que han ocurrido en países neocoloniales, o países económica y socialmente subdesarrollados. Por supuesto, no debemos olvidar las diferencias que subsisten y subsistirán entre los países imperialistas y los países coloniales y semicoloniales. Pero esto no nos impide ver que en ciertos aspectos, la analogía es pertinente.

En el caso que nos interesa, la analogía consiste en lo siguiente: en situaciones cuando la burguesía se encuentra imposibilitada a ejercitar su hegemonía política por la vía normal—el mecanismo democrático burgués parlamentario o presidencial, la dictadura formal o de hecho de un partido político propio, etc.—en un período de crisis política profunda, el aparato militar puede surgir como el único capaz de asegurar el funcionamiento del Estado. Para precisar más, el ejército puede asumir la función de partido dirigente, con la capacidad de preservar el funcionamiento del mecanismo esencial del sistema. Este no necesariamente tiene que tomar la forma de una dictadura militar reaccionaria, pero puede darse bajo la tendencia militar reformista o

populista (obviamente la dictadura brasileña se encuentra en la primera categoría y el régimen peruano en la segunda, limitándose uno a citar sólo a dos de los ejemplos más prominentes en América Latina).

En Portugal, después de la disgregación del régimen salazarista y la explosión del movimiento impetuoso de masas que hemos mencionado, la situación ha sido caracterizada exactamente por una creciente insuficiencia del aparato político tradicional y la inexistencia de un partido burgués con una base de masas lo suficientemente grande que le permita ejercer su hegemonía, digamos, a manera de la Democracia Cristiana italiana o del Partido Conservador inglés. El único aparato sólido, la única fuerza relativamente coherente, resulta ser las fuerzas armadas que, debido a esto mismo, emergen como la fuerza políticamente dominante. El MFA que surgió y se vino formando en este contexto, apareció como la verdadera fuerza política del país.

Naturalmente—como ya hemos indicado—al MFA le era indispensable la colaboración de fuerzas políticas capaces de asegurarle la representación de las grandes masas: esto es lo que acordó con el PCP y, no obstante la mayor dificultad, con el mismo PSP [Partido Socialista Portugués].

En la terminología marxista, esta forma de ejercicio de la hegemonía política se define como bonapartista. Tal caracterización—presentada en el documento de nuestros compañeros portugueses de la LCI³ (sección de la Cuarta Internacional)—es perfectamente válida en este caso, en la medida en que el Portugal de hoy no se puede decir que la burguesía ejerce directamente la hegemonía política, sino que está obligada a recurrir a un intermediario. El MFA realiza esta función buscando el apoyo indispensable de las masas y en el plano internacional buscando disfrutar el margen de maniobra que le ofrece la crisis del imperialismo y el interés de la Unión Soviética de estimular una determinada dinámica y una relativa autonomía de Portugal del bloque imperialista.

El programa económico que el MFA ha adoptado, aún después de los desarrollos recientes (nacionalización de la banca y de los seguros, anuncio de la nacionalización de ciertos sectores industriales, etc.) apunta en último análisis a una racionalización del sistema que se perfila en primer lugar a asegurar la inversión necesaria para la reconstrucción, inclusive las inversiones extranjeras, y garantizar el desarrollo de los sectores productivos claves, por ejemplo, por medio de la ayuda a los exportadores. El mecanismo de la acumulación capitalista no ha sido puesto en cuestión por las medidas que se han llevado a cabo o están

proyectadas. Así, en caso de que se aplicaran exitosamente estas medidas, encontrarían un nuevo equilibrio y una nueva—relativa—estabilidad. En este sentido el MFA, en último análisis, defiende los



Dirigente del MFA Vasco Gonçalves.

intereses fundamentales de la burguesía aunque tome decisiones que afecten a tal o cual sector burgués, y a veces impidan a la burguesía ejercitar su propia hegemonía política. Por otro lado, no olvidemos que el programa del gobierno portugués incluye un congelamiento de salarios sustancial, predica la austeridad, ha impuesto leyes que limitan seriamente el derecho a la huelga (que no las ha podido aplicar más que parcialmente, ésa es otra historia).

Las decisiones políticas más recientes sólo son el toque final. El MFA ha golpeado a la derecha, eliminando de la confrontación electoral a un partido nacional sin un impacto real, pero sobre todo ha advertido a la extrema izquierda golpeando al MRPP [Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—la secta maoísta más extremista] y la AOC [Aliança Operária Camponesa—Alianza Obrero Campesina, grupo maoísta aliado al PS]. Aún más significativo es la imposición hecha a los partidos de un acuerdo político que invalida en gran medida a la Asamblea Constituyente y sanciona explícitamente la hegemonía del MFA. Varios portavoces militares, que no tienen pelos en la lengua, dicen: no podemos confiar en los partidos, no tenemos garantías de que el pueblo sea suficientemente maduro, no debemos correr riesgos, el

control debe permanecer en nuestras manos (uno inclusive ha dicho que ha sido un error permitir la constitución o la reconstrucción de los partidos ¡después del 25 de abril!).

La clase obrera y los revolucionarios no pueden avalar una operación política, cuyo contenido no puede ser más que claro para aquél que tenga ojos y vea. Ninguna elucubración y ninguna justificación—y *il Manifesto*, con un artículo de Rossana Rossanda de nuevo está a la vanguardia en este terreno—puede anular el hecho de un programa económico que le da contenido racionalizante, al método político inspirado en un paternalismo vulgar que anula los derechos políticos de la clase obrera, de represión y amenazas que ya se ejercen contra sectores de la vanguardia.

Los revolucionarios portugueses se movilizaron en contra del “golpe” del 11 de marzo y están dispuestos a movilizarse tantas veces como sea necesario contra las tentativas de la reinstauración fascista o autoritaria. Están por el frente único proletario, el frente único de todas las organizaciones del movimiento obrero. No le podemos dar apoyo a un gobierno de colaboración de clases, con una dirección política bonapartista. Por esto los militantes de la LCI han conducido, en las elecciones al igual que en otras ocasiones, la batalla por una estrategia revolucionaria, contrapuesta a la estrategia de los reformistas. Se han rehusado a firmar el acuerdo del MFA, suscrito no sólo por el PCP, sino también por el PSP, el PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—principal partido burgués] y otras formaciones. □

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Dilema Maoísta: Explicar Apoyo de Pekín al Sha

Por Parviz Nia

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Maoists Twist and Turn Over Peking's Support to Shah" que apareció en el número del 26 de mayo de *Intercontinental Press*.

[La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Se está llevando a cabo un debate entre los principales grupos maoístas de los Estados Unidos, con la participación de los maoístas iraníes, en las páginas de *Call*, periódico mensual de October League [OL] (Marxist-Leninist); en *Revolution*, órgano mensual de Revolutionary Union [RU] y en el semanal el *Guardian*. El debate se ha centrado en la naturaleza del régimen "antimperialista" del sha, el papel del sha en el Medio Oriente y la caracterización de los movimientos de liberación nacional de Irán y del área del Golfo Arabe Pérsico.

El debate fue causado por el fiel seguidismo de October League a la política exterior del Partido Comunista Chino (PCCh). Por ejemplo, en el número de septiembre de 1973, *Call* reprodujo un comunicado de prensa de la agencia noticiosa Hsinhua que informaba la visita del sha a los Estados Unidos en julio de 1973 bajo el título: "Lucha Contra la Unión Soviética Clave en la Visita del Sha." El comunicado informó sin hacer ningún comentario el pedido del sha de más ayuda militar a Washington.

El apoyo abierto de OL al sha ha alarmado a algunos grupos maoístas, que temen que su política pueda desacreditar al PCCh ante los ojos de los revolucionarios, sobre todo los activistas iraníes exilados en los Estados Unidos y Europa.

Revolutionary Union expresó este temor al declarar en *Revolution* de agosto de 1974: "De hecho, al usar a China para encubrir su línea derechista, OL está ayudando a los trotskistas y revisionistas que atacan vehementemente a los chinos y a la línea de frente único revolucionario e internacionalista que los chinos han desarrollado."

OL, RU, el *Guardian* y los maoístas iraníes que participan en el debate, todos están de acuerdo en el objetivo programático de formar un "frente único contra el imperialismo." Aún más, están de acuerdo en el papel dirigente que Pekín juega en este frente que incluye tanto gobiernos progresistas como gobiernos reaccionarios, en la medida que sus acciones "debiliten objetiva-

mente a las superpotencias," en otras palabras, Washington y Moscú.

A pesar de que están de acuerdo en este objetivo vago y abstracto, están divididos en cómo formar el "frente único." El punto principal en el debate es: quién es "antimperialista" y quién no.

Cada grupo tiene su propia fórmula para resolver el problema y les pone a los demás etiquetas de "revisionistas" y "chovinistas de gran nación."

OL defiende su política de apoyo al sha basándose en que el "frente único" debe ser construido en base a la oposición contra Washington o Moscú o contra ambos. Según OL, el sha al menos se opone a los "social imperialistas" de la Unión Soviética y por lo tanto pertenece al "frente único antimperialista" y debe ser apoyado.

Al centrarse OL en la "lucha" del sha en contra de la Unión Soviética ignora la represión actual en Irán y la toma como una "contradicción secundaria."

Un seguidor de OL, en una carta al editor publicada en *Revolution* de febrero de 1975, defiende la posición de OL afirmando: "Nuestro papel y el papel del pueblo de Irán, es el de forzarlo [al sha] a entrar al campo antimperialista."

El autor de la carta después indica contra qué "imperialismo" el sha debe estar: "El social imperialismo soviético es el más peligroso en estos momentos para la soberanía de los estados del Golfo Pérsico, es un imperialismo que está en ascenso, mientras que el imperialismo norteamericano está en declive, y es el imperialismo que físicamente está cercando a la República Popular de China, al cual China ha calificado como 'especialmente cruel.'"

OL ha llegado a calificar a los movimientos en Irán en el Golfo Arabe Pérsico de "movimientos separatistas títeres" fomentados por Moscú.

En respuesta a la defensa de OL de su seguidismo dogmático a la política exterior de Pekín, RU escribió en *Revolution* de agosto de 1974 que "mientras que es necesario y correcto que la República Popular de China y el Partido Comunista Chino lleguen a ciertos acuerdos y compromisos con estados imperialistas y reaccionarios, principalmente para aprovechar las contradicciones entre las dos superpotencias y de esa manera fortalecer al frente único en general y a la lucha del pueblo por la liberación y el socialismo, no es correcto para los comunistas de otros países, incluso

de los Estados Unidos, hacer lo mismo."

Un maoísta iraní, en una carta publicada en *Revolution* de diciembre de 1974, escribió que, "en vez de entender la política exterior de China revolucionaria, [OL] simplemente repite las posiciones del PCCh; en vez de hacer un análisis, lo copia, ¡y lo hace terriblemente!"

RU y los maoístas iraníes prefieren levantar dos banderas, una para mostrar a los stalinistas chinos y otra para los exilados y revolucionarios iraníes en los Estados Unidos. En vez de romper con el maoísmo, tratan de falsificar lo más posible sus posiciones.

Mientras que RU expresa lo que piensa del peligro de la política de OL, el *Guardian* es más astuto. Les ofrece su "análisis teórico." Según el *Guardian*, el error de OL estriba en su concepción del "frente unido." En vez de oponerse a sólo una de las "superpotencias," el *Guardian* declara que "un frente . . . debe estar tanto contra los Estados Unidos como contra la URSS (no unirse a uno para luchar contra el otro). . . ."

El "frente único contra el imperialismo," que todas las agrupaciones maoístas—norteamericanas, iraníes y demás—atribuyen a la burocracia china, no es otra cosa que el viejo bloque de las cuatro clases de Stalin. Se usa para justificar con un sello de garantía programático el apoyo del PCCh a regímenes reaccionarios—ya sea que estén en contra de una, o de las dos "superpotencias"—para justificar su traición a los movimientos de liberación en todo el mundo, desde Vietnam y Chile hasta Dhofar y Bangladesh.

Este "frente único" no tiene nada en común con el concepto leninista del frente único o frente antimperialista, que se forma para alcanzar objetivos específicos en los cuales las organizaciones del proletariado mantienen independencia política.

La caracterización de antimperialistas que hace el PCCh de burguesías de regímenes imperialistas y semicoloniales es bastante dudosa.

OL argumenta, que como Irán es un país del tercer mundo en lucha por la independencia nacional, por lo tanto el sha es "antimperialista." Inclusive con esta lógica stalinista, los movimientos de liberación nacional dentro de Irán y del área del Golfo Arabe Pérsico también serían antimperialistas. Sin embargo, OL prefiere calumniar a estos movimientos.

En *Call* de octubre de 1974, OL dijo: "Igual que los hitleristas de hace 40 años, la URSS utiliza el sentir separatista de varios pueblos oprimidos para dividir a países más pequeños e incrementar su rivalidad con la otra superpotencia. . . ."

" . . . Intentando intervenir en los asuntos internos de otros países, han fomentado movimientos separatistas títeres en Beluchistán y en Khusistán y en otros lugares,

con el objetivo de debilitar a Irán, derrocar al sha y tomar control del Golfo.”

El caso de RU y del *Guardian* no es mejor. Han preferido guardar silencio sobre el apoyo de Pekín a los regímenes reaccionarios.

Respondiendo a los cargos de OL de que el movimiento de liberación de Dhofar es un “movimiento separatista títere,” los teóricos del *Guardian* declararon en su editorial del 5 de marzo de 1975: “Si tal fuera el caso, sería injustificado el apoyo y la solidaridad de otros pueblos y de los marxistas leninistas hacia los revolucionarios de Dhofar.

“Pero el hecho es que los marxistas leninistas incluyendo, por supuesto, China Popular apoyan la justa lucha del pueblo de Omán en contra del sultán reaccionario, el sha de Irán y sus jefes norteamericanos y británicos.”

Los teóricos del *Guardian*, al igual que RU y los maofistas iraníes, se dedican a falsificar la posición de Pekín y a encubrir su traición a las luchas en Dhofar y en otros países. Hacen esto para hacer más aceptable el maofismo a sus seguidores y para desviar las preguntas que algunos activistas iraníes se estén haciendo al respecto de la política exterior y oportunista de Pekín.

DOCUMENTS

Freedom of the Press and the Working Class

By Leon Trotsky

[The following article, for all its brevity, is an important one. Under the title “La Libertad de Prensa y la Clase Obrera,” it appeared as the lead editorial in the first issue of the Mexican theoretical journal *Clave* (Key), the “Marxist Tribune” published in Mexico City from October 1938 to May 1941.

[The editorial board when *Clave* was launched consisted of Adolfo Zamora, José Ferrel, and Diego Rivera, with Octavio Fernández serving as managing editor. Besides articles by these authors and others, *Clave* featured contributions by Leon Trotsky, in most instances Spanish translations of articles by him that were featured in other languages in the press of the Fourth International at the time.

[Trotsky, who was living in exile in Mexico, participated in meetings of the editorial board of *Clave*. Apparently the members of the board did not hesitate to ask him to take assignments, although he had a heavy regular schedule of writing. The discovery of the original manuscript in the Trotsky Archives at the Harvard College Library proves that he was the author of *Clave*'s first lead editorial.

[The carefully formulated statement voicing the opinion of the editorial board was intended to clearly define the policy of *Clave* on a key question, freedom of the press, which was under fire in Mexico from the Stalinists. A second editorial in the same issue, “El Derecho del Asilo Totalitario,” may also have been written by Trotsky. It is a short, ironic comment on Lombardo Toledano's aping Stalin in favoring asylum for those in agreement with his politics but opposing it for others. The front cover of this same first issue of *Clave* was used for a brief editorial statement, “Mexico No Debe Ir a la Guerra Imperialista” (Mexico Must Stay Out of the Imperialist War), that is, World War II, which was fast approaching.

[Trotsky's explanation of why revolutionaries are duty bound to defend freedom of the press in a principled way, that is, without making an exception for even reactionary publications, should be read in conjunction with other statements made by Trotsky at the time on the vital necessity to defend democratic rights in building a revolutionary mass party. See, for instance, “A Discussion with Trotsky on Latin American Questions” (*Intercontinental Press*, May 19,

1975), “Haya de la Torre and Democracy—A Program of Militant Struggle or of Adaptation to American Imperialism?” and “Ignorance Is Not a Revolutionary Instrument” in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-39)*, second edition.

[These three items and the editorial below reflect Trotsky's thinking in 1938 on the relation between bourgeois and proletarian democracy. They represent the considered conclusions of the founder of the Fourth International in the closing years of a life of extraordinary political experience in battling for a worldwide socialist order.

[How timely Trotsky's writings often prove to be can be seen in relation to the current move in Portugal to silence *República*, the newspaper of the Portuguese Socialist party. In its affirmation of principles, and with but few changes in the details, the editorial could have been written in response to the reactionary attack today on freedom of the press in Portugal. It is striking, although not accidental, that the initiative in closing down *República* was taken by the Portuguese Stalinists, most likely in connivance with leaders of the Armed Forces Movement, who would like to reestablish government control of the press.

[One difference in the parallel with the counterrevolutionary initiative taken by the Stalinists in Mexico in 1938 is that Cárdenas did not welcome Moscow's ploy in Mexico's domestic politics (which accounts for the failure of the campaign described in the editorial written by Trotsky). The bourgeois Cárdenas was a more consistent democrat on this issue than the leaders of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, who are loud in proclaiming their “socialist” goals.

[Vicente Lombardo Toledano, the class-collaborationist head of the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (Mexican Workers Confederation) and editor of the confederation's newspaper *El Popular*, was a Stalinist fellow traveler who played an active part in trying to whip up a witch-hunt atmosphere that would facilitate the plans of Stalin's secret police to assassinate Trotsky.

[The translation from the Spanish is by Gerry Foley and is printed by permission of Pathfinder Press, Inc., from the forthcoming volume *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*, second edition (1976). Copyright



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* * *

A campaign against the reactionary press is under way in Mexico. The attack is being directed by the CTM leaders, or, more precisely, by Mr. Lombardo Toledano personally. The objective is to "curb" the reactionary press, either by placing it under a democratic censorship or banning it altogether. The trade unions have been mobilized for war. The incurable democrats, corrupted by their experience with a Stalinized Moscow and headed by "friends" of the GPU [Soviet secret police], have hailed this campaign, which cannot be regarded as anything but suicidal. In fact, it is not difficult to foresee that even if this campaign triumphs and leads to practical results that suit the taste of Lombardo Toledano, the ultimate consequences will be borne primarily by the working class.

Both theory and historical experience testify that any restriction of democracy in bourgeois society is, in the final analysis, invariably directed against the proletariat, just as any taxes that are imposed also fall on the shoulders of the working class. Bourgeois democracy is of use to the proletariat only insofar as it opens up the way for the development of the class struggle. Consequently, any working-class "leader" who arms the bourgeois state with special means for controlling public opinion in general and the press in particular is, precisely, a traitor. In the last analysis, the sharpening of the class struggle will impel the bourgeoisie of every stripe to reach an agreement among themselves; they will then pass special laws, all sorts of restrictive measures, and all kinds of "democratic" censorship against the working class. Anyone who has not yet understood this should get out of the ranks of the working class.

"But at times," some "friends" of the USSR will object, "the dictatorship of the proletariat is forced to resort to special measures, particularly against the reactionary press."

"This objection," we reply, "comes down primarily to trying to identify a workers state with a bourgeois state. Even though Mexico is a semicolonial country, it is also a bourgeois state, and in no way a workers state. However, even from the standpoint of the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat, banning bourgeois newspapers or censoring them does not in the least constitute a 'program,' or a 'principle,' or an ideal setup. Measures of this kind can only be a temporary, unavoidable evil."

Once at the helm, the proletariat may find itself forced, for a certain time, to take special measures against the bourgeoisie, if

the bourgeoisie assumes an attitude of open rebellion against the workers state. In that case, restricting freedom of the press goes hand in hand with all the other measures employed in waging a civil war. Naturally, if you are forced to use artillery and planes against the enemy, you cannot permit this same enemy to maintain his own centers of news and propaganda within the armed camp of the proletariat. Nonetheless, in this instance, too, if the special measures are extended until they become an enduring pattern, they in themselves carry the danger of getting out of hand and of the workers bureaucracy gaining a political monopoly that would be one of the sources of its degeneration.

We have a living example of such a dynamic before us in the detestable suppression of freedom of speech and of the press that is now the rule in the Soviet Union. This has nothing to do with the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat. To the contrary, it is designed to protect the interests of the new governing caste from the worker and peasant opposition. That very bonapartist bureaucracy in Moscow is now being aped by Mr. Lombardo Toledano and Company, who equate their personal careers with the interests of socialism.

The real tasks of the workers state lie not in clamping a police gag on public opinion but rather in freeing it from the yoke of capital. This can be done only by placing the means of production, including the production of public information, in the hands of society as a whole. Once this fundamental socialist step has been taken, all currents of public opinion that have not taken up arms against the dictatorship of the proletariat must be given the opportunity to express themselves freely. It is the duty of the workers state to make available to them all, in proportion to their numbers, the technical means they may require, such as presses, paper, and transport. One of the main causes of the degeneration of the state apparatus is the Stalinist bureaucracy's monopolization of the press, which threatens to reduce all the gains of the October Revolution to utter ruin.

If we were to go looking for examples of the Comintern's fatal influence on the workers movements in various countries, the present campaign by Lombardo Toledano would provide one of the oddest. Toledano and his fellow doctrinaires are trying essentially to introduce into a bourgeois-democratic system means and methods that might in certain temporary conditions prove unavoidable under a dictatorship of the proletariat. What is more, they are not really borrowing these methods from the dictatorship of the proletariat but rather from its bonapartist usurpers. In other words, they are infecting an already ailing bourgeois democracy with the virus of the decaying Stalinist bureaucracy.

Mexico's anemic democracy faces a constant and deadly threat from two directions—first from foreign imperialism and second from the agents of reaction within the country, who control the publications with the widest circulation. But only the blind or feeble-minded could think that as the result of the ban on the reactionary press the workers and peasants can free themselves from the influence of reactionary ideas. In reality, only the greatest freedom of speech, of the press, and of association can create favorable conditions for the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working class.

It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive fist of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press. Today the state may appear to be "kindly" disposed to the workers organizations; tomorrow the government may fall, inevitably will fall, into the hands of the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. In that case, whatever restrictive legislation that exists will be thrown at the workers. Only adventurers with no thought other than for the needs of the moment would fail to heed such a danger.

The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press. Of course, yellow journals of *El Popular's* ilk are incapable of taking up such a task. Such sheets have no place among the workers' press, the revolutionary press, or even the reputable democratic press. *El Popular* serves the personal ambitions of Mr. Lombardo Toledano, who in turn serves the Stalinist bureaucracy. Its methods—lies, slander, witch-hunt campaigns, and falsification—are also Toledano's methods. His newspaper has neither program nor ideas. Obviously such a sheet can never strike a responsive chord in the working class or win the proletariat away from the bourgeois papers.

So, we come to the unavoidable conclusion that the fight against the bourgeois press starts with throwing out the degenerate "leaders" of the working-class organizations, in particular with freeing the workers' press from the tutelage of Lombardo Toledano and other bourgeois place seekers. The Mexican proletariat has to have an honest newspaper to express its needs, defend its interests, broaden its horizon, and prepare the way for the socialist revolution in Mexico. This is what *Clave* proposes to do. So, we are starting out by declaring an unrelenting war against Toledano's wretched bonapartist pretensions. And in this effort we are looking forward to the support of all the advanced workers, Marxists, and genuine democrats.

August 21, 1938