

# Intercontinental Press

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# STALINISTS SPLIT RANKS OF WORKERS IN PORTUGAL



Workers Press

CARVALHO: General on a white horse?

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# NEWS ANALYSIS

## Portugal: The Imperialists Play a Waiting Game

Throughout the third week in July, most commentators in the international capitalist press were speculating that a "Communist take-over" could be imminent in Portugal. But they did not seem to get very excited about it.

The British *Economist* seemed to feel it could afford to take a rather detached and self-satisfied attitude, considerably cooler than the blasts of fire and brimstone inspired by the "selfishness" of the British labor unions.

The headline in its July 19 issue struck a philosophical note: "Soldiers don't let go." That is, once the military has power, they will not relinquish it. This was followed by such nostrums as: "The longer Portugal remains on its present course, the likelier it is that one form of authoritarianism or another will be there to stay."

Although the situation in Portugal was disagreeable, all was not necessarily lost, and there was a salutary lesson to be learned: "... for the Portuguese majority either a Communist outcome or a Carvalhoist one is likely to seem very much the same dictatorship in the end.

"For democratic Europe as a whole, that outcome in Portugal will be a signal defeat. It may yet be that the early hopes for a democratic Portugal will return—if Russia really has pulled the financial rug from under the soldiers' feet; if popular support for the communists continues to plummet as it has done in recent weeks; if Angola weakens Portuguese military strength and nerve. But those are long shots. Many months ago the European Economic Community had the chance to give financial aid to Portugal tied up with strings of democracy. The chance was missed and its floundering over the issue in Brussels this week was too late to affect anything that was happening in Portugal. The chance may just come again. Let us hope Europe meets it."

Of course, after the socialist-minded masses in Portugal were demoralized a little

more by the attempts of the Stalinists and ultralefts to identify socialism with dictatorship, it would presumably be easier to offer aid "with strings of democracy."

If one of the most authoritative voices of British capital—which has substantial investments in Portugal—was not particularly upset about the prospect of a "red take-over," the capitalist press in the main imperialist country, which generally has a shorter temper than its British counterpart, seemed hardly more unnerved.

The *New York Times* did not comment editorially for a week after the military's announcement of its "grass-roots democracy" plan. When it finally did in its July 17 issue, it took a reserved tone. The editorial presented a careful brief against the Portuguese CP:

"The resignation from the Government of Mario Soares' Socialists and of the center-left Popular Democrats—parties supported by about two-thirds of the voters in April—dramatize for the world the widening gap between the Portuguese people and the Moscow-backed military-civilian minority that has seized most of the levers of power."

The attack on the democratic rights of the SP was cited: "The seizure of República clearly was the means chosen by the Communist leader, Alvaro Cunhal, to force a show-down and military repudiation of the April Constituent Assembly elections, which gave the Communists and their fellow-traveling party together only 18 per cent of the vote."

Also noted were statements by Alvaro Cunhal indicating a contempt for elections. For this, the *Times* drew on an interview Cunhal gave to the notorious Italian poison pen Oriana Fallaci, an interview it featured in its Sunday magazine of July 13. Cunhal claims this interview was doctored, and that is not unlikely. However, similar statements were recorded by more reputable journalists in *Le Monde*.

Thus, the *Times* was able to portray the Portuguese Stalinist leader as a cynical, sinister subversive, confident of his ability to impose a dictatorship over the masses.

But it was a horror movie with the promise of a happy ending: "... the struggle between Portugal's democrats and totalitarians is not over."

The *Times* recommended making it clear that economic aid would be "conditional on continued freedom." However: "Even more

important, the United States and its NATO allies need to make it plain to Moscow that the Soviet Union will be held responsible if Portugal's Communists continue on their present path and that the West's democracies cannot accept imposition of Communism there by force or subversion."

So, the *Times* recommended keeping a wary eye on the Portuguese CP and Moscow but did not raise an alarm or begin to prepare the American public for "drastic action."

Some columnists thought that even if the worst happened, it would be no disaster. Clayton Fritchey said in the July 17 *New York Post*:

"Portugal may or may not go Marxist, but even if it does there is no reason to believe it will necessarily end up a satellite of Moscow. If the radical left wing takes over completely, Portugal (like Yugoslavia, Romania, China and Cuba) will probably turn into an independent Communist country, with nationalism—more than ideology—dominating Portuguese foreign policy."

In its early days the Cuban revolution presented quite a different problem. Then, the rebel regime threatened to inspire revolution throughout the hemisphere. The liberal columnist did not really look at the question from a consistent capitalist point of view, but he understood that Stalinism poses only a limited problem for imperialism.

The right-wing *New York Times* columnist C.L. Sulzberger could be expected to have a sharper nose for a "Communist threat." He was the one who first blew the whistle on the liberal Papandreou government in Greece in the mid-1960s and helped prepare the way for the military take-over.

However, in his column in the July 19 *Times* Sulzberger, not without a certain sympathy, painted a picture of a moderate reform experiment sinking under the pressure of economic crisis:

"Economically the country is hard hit. Although wages have been doubled, they still average little more than \$40 weekly because this is an underdeveloped land. Assorted labor troubles have caused shutdowns; production has suffered; some foreign plants have closed; and the A.F.M. [Armed Forces Movement] decrees that workers shall not be discharged.

"As a result, factories produce goods they cannot sell; inventories have climbed to an unhealthy degree; and firms threatened with bankruptcy are bailed out by nationalizations. Workers are still on payrolls but the Government is acquiring ownership of uneconomic properties as long-term disaster shapes up."

Sulzberger even took a friendly attitude toward the junta's nationalizing Portugal's reactionary financial institutions: "... the A.F.M. has taken some genuine revolutionary steps. It nationalized banks and insurance companies which loomed large on the

### Summer Schedule

The last issue of *Intercontinental Press* before our summer break will be the issue dated August 4. We will resume our regular schedule with the issue dated September 8.

dictatorship's horizon because of Salazar's financial bias." In fact he portrayed the military as rather sluggish and conservative:

"This move was well received; most people correctly blamed giant private institutions for Portugal's over-all backwardness. The A.F.M. also began land reforms.

"But few important other social or economic moves have been made and freedom is vanishing. There are increased mutterings asking what the revolution is about."

Sulzberger's conclusion was that the military was going to the right and not to the left:

"Because of these factors the revolution marks time as the A.F.M. seemingly consolidates military dictatorship while talking about austerity, wage restraints and the production battle."

One bourgeois editor, Dieter Wild of *Der Spiegel*, did paint a frightening picture of developments in Portugal. He focused on the ultraleft demonstration July 16 at the Palácio São Bento:

"The tightly packed crowd . . . chanted not only 'Long live the working class!' 'Death to fascism!' and 'Strengthen the AFM!' but also 'Dissolve the Constituent Assembly!' This slogan was also on some signs, and no doubt was left that this was the real aim of the demonstration.

"The small, bizarre world of grass-roots organizations, workers and tenants committees, revolutionary soldiers, Maoists, Trotskyists, and anarchists wanted to overawe the massive Socialist party, which the day before yesterday mobilized 40,000 persons to stand up against the military.

"The crowd in front of São Bento was not frightening, but the military government was." Perhaps the German editor wanted to remind his readers of the notorious Prussian plebiscite in the 1930s when the ultraleft Communist party joined with the Nazis against the Social Democrats, who were defending their parliamentary positions under bourgeois democracy. □

### Those Clear Mountain Streams

Crater Lake National Park, high in Oregon's Cascade Mountains, was closed indefinitely July 11 after an estimated 500 to 1,000 tourists and National Park Service employees became ill. According to a Park Service spokesman, "There have been many severe cases of cramps, vomiting and other internal ailments."

Investigators called in from the Public Health Service quickly located the problem: raw sewage in the mountain spring water that is used in the park's main lodge and campground.

The 6,000 visitors who have entered the park since it opened in mid-June were urged to seek medical attention.

July 28, 1975

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

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, Ernest Harsch, Caroline Lund, Judy White.

Business Manager: Reba Hansen.

Assistant Business Manager: Steven Warshell.

Copy Editor: Mary Roche.

Technical Staff: Robert Des Verney, Paul Deveze, Larry Ingram, James M. Morgan, Earl Williams.

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Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guémenée, 75004, Paris, France.

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# Stalinists Split Ranks of Portuguese Workers

By Gerry Foley

Spearheading a fresh attack by the Portuguese military junta on popular sovereignty and the democratic rights of the masses, the Communist party and its ultraleft allies used force on Friday and Saturday, July 18 and 19, in trying to prevent Socialist party rallies from being held.

In Oporto on Friday the gangs mobilized by the Stalinist bureaucratic machine, along with ultraleftists, tried to barricade the city against an allegedly impending assault of reactionary putschists led by the SP. The relatively small force under the command of the Stalinists was apparently overwhelmed by a huge crowd.

"... the barricades were quickly demolished," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger wrote in a July 19 dispatch from Lisbon. "While the Socialists were assembling some 70,000 people in a soccer stadium, the communists could rally only about 4,000 in the central square."

The Stalinists and their allies got less than 10 percent of the vote in the April 25 elections in this northern industrial area. However, they hold strong positions in the labor movement there. The CP minister of labor in the first provisional government was an official in the bank workers union in Oporto. The metalworkers union has been under firm CP control in the north, while in Lisbon the Stalinists have faced strong opposition from an anarcho-sindicalist current.

However, even with the support of the government on a local and national level and with the leverage of their strong bureaucratic positions, the Stalinists proved unable to block a mobilization of the masses infuriated by what appeared to them to be an attempt by the CP and the ultralefts to impose dictatorial control.

It is possible that rightists joined the rally. The antidemocratic campaign of the Stalinists and the ultralefts had, after all, offered them a golden opportunity to rebuild a mass base for reaction. Although anti-Communism was discredited after the fall of the Caetano regime, the bureaucratic maneuvers of the Stalinists have been reviving it in a more virulent form. Moreover, the attempts by the Stalinists and ultralefts to smear the SP by claiming that it is the rallying ground of the right can become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

However, if these claims are accepted, the July 18 events in Oporto, the main industrial center in the northern two-thirds of

Portugal, would mean that reaction was already triumphant in the greater part of the country and that the "progressives" were hemmed into a few enclaves.

Furthermore, this would mean that in the decisive working-class center, the Lisbon-Setúbal complex at the mouth of the Tejo River, the masses would be at least deeply split if not completely dominated by the "reactionaries."

In the other red area, the center of the agricultural proletariat in Alentejo Province to the east of Lisbon, there are no indications as yet of how the latest crisis has affected the population. The fact that under the present regime landless peasants have been able to carry out an extensive land reform may have convinced them that they have too great a stake in maintaining the present government to risk protesting arbitrary measures. But in this region as a whole the SP got a somewhat higher vote than the CP.

In the Lisbon-Setúbal area, street clashes between the two workers parties could be expected to have the most disastrous effects. The SP gained one of its highest electoral scores in Lisbon, and it edged out the CP even in Setúbal, the main Stalinist stronghold. However, during the election campaign both parties succeeded in mobilizing up to 100,000 persons in their rallies.

Despite the danger that clashes between crowds of CP and SP supporters would have under these circumstances, the Stalinist party leadership went all out on July 18 and 19 to try to physically prevent a Socialist rally from being held in central Lisbon.

"It is now evident that the SP leadership has transformed its party into an openly oppositionist party leading the struggle against the Portuguese revolutionary process and openly fighting the Armed Forces Movement and the Revolutionary Council, openly fighting the tenants and workers committees," the CP regional committee said in a July 16 communiqué.

It continued: "The PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party] regional committee appeals to the toilers of the city and the countryside, to the small farmers, businessmen and industrialists, to the sincere Catholics, and all authentic revolutionists, to all progressive forces.

"Build a powerful barrier against the counterrevolution."

On July 19 Giniger cabled from the Portuguese capital: "Last night Alvaro Cu-

nhal, the Communist secretary general, exhorted a party youth rally to use 'all means within their reach' to impede what he and other Communists have called a 'march on Lisbon.'

"A few hours later the Communists began setting up roadblocks in the Lisbon area."

The military security forces command denounced the Stalinists' action as "unjustified" and took over the checkpoints themselves. In this way, the military leaders may have averted open warfare between the SP supporters on one side and the Stalinists and their ultraleft allies on the other.

However, the military security command, Copcon (Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command), played its usual balancing game. Even though it conceded that vigilante action by the Stalinists and ultralefts was not justified by any rightist threat, and thus indicated the true nature of this operation as a sectarian power play, Copcon still maintained the checkpoints and apparently allowed the vigilantes to try to intimidate the crowds going to the SP rally.

"The extensive search of vehicles ostensibly was to halt arms from coming into Lisbon," Giniger wrote. "But communist and far-left groups that accompanied the soldiers also appeared anxious to discourage an influx of Socialist supporters for the rally."

Despite the pressure from the junta and attempts at intimidation by the Stalinist and ultraleft vigilantes, more than 80,000 persons reportedly concentrated at the SP rally.

Speaking to the crowd, SP leader Mário Soares called on the military to reveal how many weapons they had found at their checkpoints. He ridiculed the claims of the Stalinists and ultraleftists that the rally represented a reactionary march on Lisbon to overthrow the government.

Reports in the international press indicated that Soares's ridicule was likely to prove quite effective. For example, Giniger wrote:

"While soldiers searched cars and trucks, youthful vigilantes wearing red armbands stood watching. But at one checkpoint they participated in the search. Motorists submitted meekly. A soldier could report only two pistols found during a morning's work under the hot sun."

During the rightist coup attempts on September 28, 1974, and March 11, 1975, similar vigilante groups played a decisive

role in defeating reaction. However, the attempt of the Stalinists and the ultralefts to call a similar mobilization to prevent the largest workers party in the country from exercising its democratic rights threatens to discredit such action among broad masses of the population.

This sectarian maneuver was the most effective way possible to undermine mass response to a real rightist danger and to make any appeals for resisting such a threat appear nothing more than calls to battle in a sectarian war among the left parties. By resorting to such methods to defend its privileged relationship with the military junta, the CP made it absolutely clear where the primary responsibility lies for the split in the Portuguese working class.

### Revival of the 'Third Period'

In its attempt to maintain its position as the mass organizer of the military regime, that is, to carry out a conservative, openly class-collaborationist policy, the Portuguese CP has returned to the methods of the "Third Period," the ultraleft adventurist phase of Stalinism.

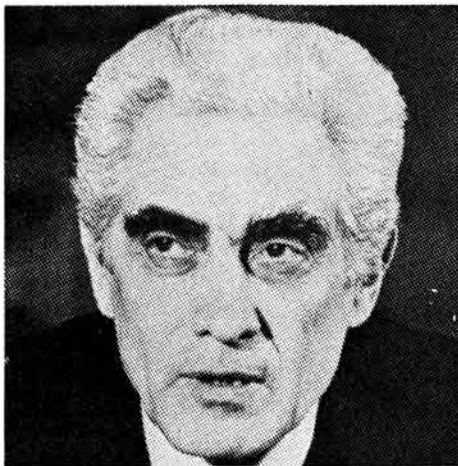
In this phase, from 1928 to 1934, the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union reacted to the failure of opportunist policies in the Soviet Union itself and in China by going on an adventurist jag. Now the same methods are being used in the context of a right-opportunist policy both in Portugal and internationally. This is a new confirmation that arbitrary and sectarian methods, and thus adventurism, are lodged in the very nature of Stalinism.

The antidemocratic concept of gaining and holding influence and positions through bureaucratic maneuvering has brought the pro-Moscow Stalinists in Portugal into convergence with the adventurist ultraleft groups, which also have a fundamentally antidemocratic notion of how to fight for socialism. The ultraleftists think that by their daring and élan small groups can draw the broad masses behind them in an assault on the capitalist system.

Fundamentally, the two conceptions are similar both in their logic and in their class roots. Seldom, however, has this underlying identity been demonstrated so clearly in action as it has in Portugal in the alliance that has developed between a power-hungry Stalinist bureaucracy and a motley train of ultraleft groups.

Some of the ultraleft groups that claim to be anti-Stalinist have been hard put to explain this convergence. In order to get around the difficulty, they have tried to claim that the Portuguese CP is not a typical Stalinist party because of its tradition in the resistance to Salazarism and the swamping of its disciplined cadres by a mass of still un-Stalinized recent recruits.

There is no basis in fact, however, for such apologetic "theories." How can the Portuguese CP be an exception in the Stalinist camp when the Kremlin has backed it to the hilt in its sectarian course,



Portugal: L'An 1

CP LEADER CUNHAL: Calls for "militant solidarity" with bourgeois MFA.

when the Soviet press and the most servile Stalinist parties such as the American CP have echoed its campaign against the Socialist party?

For example, the U.S. Stalinist paper the *Daily World* wrote in its July 18 issue:

"Wednesday's [July 16] SP rally protesting against what they called the 'Communist—AFM dictatorship' was a failure, with only one-tenth of the turnout predicted by the SP organizers. This tended to reinforce observations that the SP has some passive support but finds it difficult to mobilize its members for any kind of action."

The sectarian frenzy that culminated in the adventures of July 18 and 19 was given impetus by the July 8 decision of the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement on building "people's grass-roots democracy." (See text of plan in *Intercontinental Press*, July 21, p. 1050.) The ultraleftists interpreted this as a move toward proclaiming the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

The Stalinists saw it as a definitive rebuff to the SP. This was to be the end of the SP's pretensions to a voice in governing the country just because it won by far the largest vote in the April 25 elections. The Stalinists' greater reliability and effectiveness as mass organizers had finally been given its just reward.

### Moscow's Stamp of Approval

The Stalinist-controlled union federation, Intersindical, called a demonstration for July 10 to "support the Armed Forces Movement" and its plan. A Tass dispatch in the July 11 issue of *Pravda* gave a full report of the Portuguese CP's position.

"Democratic public opinion in Portugal has hailed the plan accepted by the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement to create a system of people's mass organizations in the country based on the principle of unity of all progressive forces in the Portuguese revolution.

"In a communiqué published here, the Political Committee of the CC of the PCP has stressed that the new programmatic document of the AFM upholds the revolutionary course this movement has chosen and promotes the further development of the revolutionary process in the country.

"At a time when the reactionary forces are trying to hold back the Portuguese revolution, the statement says, the AFM's reaffirmation of its alliance has exceptional importance. The same is true of its reaffirmation of the decisiveness of the 'battle for production,' the necessity for establishing effective workers control, and the need for strengthening and purging the state apparatus. Equally important was its reaffirmation of the role the progressive parties have to play.

"The approval of this programmatic document, the statement notes further on, plays an exceptionally important role in consolidating the revolutionary process and lays the foundations of the future democratic socialist Portuguese state.

"The PCP proposes to establish, within the system of people's mass organizations, militant solidarity among all participants regardless of their political views.

"The PCP calls on the workers of the country to take an active part in the demonstration that is being organized in Lisbon to support the decisions of the AFM Assembly."

On the demonstration itself, *Pravda* had the following comment, under the headline "The People Support the Democratic Transformations":

"The participants expressed their firm determination to oppose any plot against the alliance of the toiling masses with the AFM. Massive participation by workers in the demonstration showed the failure of the attempt by the bourgeois parties and the SP to undermine this alliance. These parties had tried vainly to persuade the Lisbon workers not to attend.

"With the aim of increasing political tensions in the country, the Portuguese SP withdrew from the coalition government. As a pretext it offered its disagreement with the AFM's naming a new editor and a special committee to run the daily *República*.

"As is well known, the conflict at *República*, whose administration was under SP control, was engendered by the systematic publication in the paper's pages of provocative and anti-Communist material. To express their protest against this course, the

workers refused to print the paper.

"However, the real reason for the SP's move was its disagreement with the AFM's decisions about establishing a system of mass organizations in the country. The SP has openly opposed this plan, which received wide approval from all of democratic public opinion and from the trade unions."

The July 16 *Pravda* reported the PCP's denunciation of the SP protests under the headline: "Stop the Plots of the Counterrevolutionaries."

In the July 15 *Izvestia*, the editors referred to a report from their Lisbon correspondent:

"Reports in Portugal in recent days have testified to a step-up in subversive activity by the opponents of the revolutionary transformations in the country. The hall of the São Bento palace, where the Constituent Assembly is meeting, has also become an arena of sharp political struggle between the democratic forces and the bourgeois parties, which are trying to turn this forum into a platform for counterrevolution. The leaders of the Portuguese Socialist party have openly gone over to the camp of the opponents of the revolution. In the Constituent Assembly, SP deputy Carlos [sic] Arnault made slanderous attacks on the Armed Forces Movement."

#### In the Constituent Assembly

In fact, the CP and its ultraleft allies opened a campaign immediately after the publication of the "people's grass-roots democracy" plan, pressing for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, the only national body with any democratic legitimacy. They seized on a protest against arbitrary arrests by the military to stage a walkout.

The July 12 issue of *Portugal Socialista*, the weekly SP organ, printed a transcript of the session where this occurred. António Arnault was ending his speech: "An old comrade in the antifascist struggle who spent bitter years in the dungeons of the political police came out on the streets with me to celebrate the victorious revolution. He was jailed on May 28 . . . at 7:00 in the morning and not at 5:00 in the afternoon like Lorca. Militarized forces surrounded his house and dragged him out of bed. They took him to the Coimbra penitentiary. According to the warrant signed by the military authorities he was accused of belonging to an 'association of malefactors' . . ."

"Recently on a Sunday I tried to visit him as his lawyer, at his request and that of his wife. The prison guards told me that he had been turned over to the armed forces and that only they could authorize a visit. A guard took it on himself to make a telephone call asking the necessary permission.

But incredibly, without any explanation, this was refused."

The transcript continued: "Note: at this point the deputies of the MDP/CDE<sup>1</sup> left the hall.

"*Arnault*: I see my comrades of the MDP/CDE leaving the hall. That is their problem. But this antifascist comrade I have been talking about used to be an activist in the MDP/CPE.

"*Note*: Boos from the assembly and the galleries.

"*Chairman*: I call for the attention of the assembly. I call for the attention of the assembly. Let the speaker speak.

"*Note*: Shouts of 'Down with reaction!' 'Down with reaction!' 'Down with reaction!'

"*Arnault*: Calm, my friends, calm.

"*Note*: At this point the PCP deputies left the hall. Various voices were heard shouting: 'Fascist!' 'Fascist!' Applause. Whistles. Demonstrations in the galleries.

"*Chairman*: I call for the attention of the assembly.

"*Arnault*: On the Communist party benches there is a comrade who has been a guest in my home many times.

"Mr. Chairman, now that the Communist deputies, or to be more exact, the deputies of the Communist party, have left the hall, those who are against freedom, I only want to say before we continue that there are people sitting on the Communist benches who have been guests in my home. In the harsh years they sought shelter in the modest home of an antifascist comrade like themselves, and now they are leaving this assembly. They are showing that they have no feeling or understanding of the word 'freedom.'

"Why are these deputies leaving the hall? One day the Portuguese people will answer that question.

"*Note*: Applause, foot-stamping.

"*Chairman*: I inform the speaker that he has two minutes to end his remarks.

"*Arnault*: I call the attention of the chairman respectfully to the fact that he should not have included the time taken up by the applause or the demonstrations of the MDP/CDE or the PCP.

"*Chairman*: You will get a short extension.

"*Américo Duarte, delegate of the União Democrática do Povo*:<sup>2</sup> Long live the working class!

"*Note*: Cheers from the galleries.

"*Chairman*: The galleries are not permitted to demonstrate.

1. Movimento Democrático Português-Comissão Democrática Eleitoral—Portuguese Democratic Movement-Democratic Election Committee. This was the old "antifascist front" that the CP converted into a petty-bourgeois front organization.

2. People's Democratic Union, a Maoist organization with a syndicalist line, the most opportunist of the ultraleft Maoist groups.

"*Note*: At this point the UDP deputy leaves the hall. Furious demonstrations in the galleries."

Arnault's "antifascist friend" was apparently a member of the MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party, a Maoist group).

#### The Purged República

This incident was referred to in an editorial in the July 16 issue of the new *República* under the headline: "Soldier of the People, Put the Politicians to Work in Moncorvo." The "nonpartisanized" paper said: "When a deputy of parliamentary democracy wants to eliminate his most capable adversary, he uses the most servile minority and makes deals with the most renegade extremists.

"When the same deputy tries to eliminate the most cohesive and dynamic minority in the revolution, he does not hesitate to throw himself at the feet of his most incompetent adversary and ask him the 'favor' of friendship."

The same issue of the "purged" *República* was, however, prepared to take an indulgent attitude toward the "patriotic" wing of the bourgeois Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party), which, four days after the SP, was preparing to leave the government:

"The Political Committee of the PPD reportedly has decided to leave the government in a dramatic meeting in which the minority group led by Dr. Sá Borges, the present minister of social affairs (considered the leader of the left wing of the party), did not succeed in getting his view accepted, a view that would have given the national interest primacy over the interests of the parties."

The article was entitled: "Government of National Liberation." It went on to note: "The PCP is favorable to a nonparty government of military officers and independent personalities.

"Everything indicates that the AFM will emerge from the present reshuffling with a stronger image as a movement of national liberation and a builder of socialism according to the lines of the recent Plan of Political Action."

The new *República* gave prominence to furious protests by military officers against Soares's temerity in questioning the representativeness of the AFM bodies and the "revolutionary legitimacy" of the military government.

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In fact, while it is difficult to determine how much of a role elections play in the selection of these bodies, it is absolutely clear that any democratic aspects are strictly limited and secondary. As the directive for "giving form" to the AFM in the army published in the July 11 issue of the Armed Forces Movement bulletin shows, the "sovietistic" military are determined to replace any representative committees in the services as quickly as possible with the kind of totalitarian transmission belts they outlined in their "people's grass-roots democracy" plan.

The purged *República* got a wider circulation than usual, but not in Portugal. The first issue of the new paper was translated into Italian and run as a special supplement in *Lotta Continua*, the paper of an Italian ultraleft group of the same name.

This group sent a special message to the festival of support for the "*República* workers" on July 11. The statement said, among other things:

"The bourgeoisie, all the opportunists, the reformists, and the revisionists raised a howl against us. They said that this initiative [putting out the translation of *República*] was provocative. The PCI [Italian Communist party] tops are at the peak of their shameful policy of compromise with the bourgeoisie. Berlinguer, alongside Soares, condemned the revolutionary positions adopted by the last AFM assembly.

"The Portuguese revolutionary process has separated all the reformists from the revolutionists throughout Europe. All the revolutionary forces, both military and civilian, must not delude themselves. The confrontation with imperialism, European capitalism, and Social Democracy will be very violent and can only be won by the largest possible mass mobilization.

"The only possibility for victory in the revolution in Portugal as in Italy will come from a policy of national independence through a common struggle against the imperialist forces."

#### The July 16 Demonstration

The festival in Lisbon was organized by the Brigada de Apoio aos Trabalhadores (Brigade to Support the Workers), which gave special thanks to the Liga de União e Acção Revolucionária (League for Revolutionary Unity and Action), the Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado-Brigadas Revolucionárias (Revolutionary party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades), and the UDP. It described itself as made up of "nonparty individuals with revolutionary commitment."

A few days later, on July 16, thousands of demonstrators marched to the Palácio São Bento to call for the "dictatorship of the proletariat." The demonstration was called by the "unitary grass-roots organizations

(tenants and workers committees)," according to the July 17 issue of *Diário de Notícias*, one of the CP-controlled morning papers. It was also supported by the ultraleft groups and the most radicalized units in the armed forces such as RALis, the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (the target of the March 11 coup), and the Queluz and Pontinha regiments.

The Stalinist-dominated daily noted that it had been told by official sources that General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho had authorized the presence of military personnel at the demonstration but that some military representatives said this report could not be confirmed.

"The slogans 'AFM—People's Power,' and 'Soldiers Always, Always at the Side of the People,' coming simultaneously with the arrival of tanks, buses, and other military vehicles from RALis, the Queluz and Pontinha regiments, the military police, and other units marked the high point of the demonstration. . . .

"After a few minutes of slogans, several speakers from the tenants and workers committees took the microphone. Following remarks about the 'rightists of the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party],' the 'scum of the PPD,' and 'the counterrevolutionaries of the SP,' and after saying that it was 'urgent to win national independence and carry out an agrarian reform throughout the country,' the speaker ended by hailing 'working-class unity.' He also noted that it was 'urgent to get rid of the professional politicians who are vainly wringing their hands about our dictatorship. They have to go into the garbage can of history.' "

This must have been one of the most tragically aberrant demonstrations in the history of modern revolutions. It assembled the most radicalized elements in the Portuguese upsurge. These vanguard elements did not, however, come to the Palácio São Bento to support any mass struggle or demand any concrete gain for the masses.

Coming to hail measures that denied the workers any independent decision-making power whatsoever, they ended up calling on the military junta to turn power over "to the workers" in general, in the abstract. Not even the most deluded ultralefts could have thought that the forces represented at the demonstration could form a workers government for Portugal.

The July 16 demonstration was a wild display of ultraleft fantasies. It further isolated the most radicalized elements and helped discredit the embryonic forms of workers power that have been developing. After this, it will be hard for any workers or tenants committee to gain acceptance as a genuinely representative body that can unite workers and poor masses in struggle.

The leaders of such formations have associated them with an attempt to impose a "dictatorship of the proletariat" against the will of the majority of the working class and the toiling masses. They have consigned the majority of the working class in the country to the outer darkness as "reactionaries." At the same time, they, and others like them, have reduced the most advanced organizations of the workers, soldiers, and sailors to the status of pawns in the hands of the rising Napoleon of the AFM, General de Carvalho.

#### General on a White Horse

This adroit balancer, who has co-opted the most radical regiments through his Copcon supercommand, is the most likely beneficiary of the midsummer madness of the ultralefts and the frenzied factionalism of the Stalinists. He alone has been able, at least to some extent, to appeal to all sides. He even seized on the crisis of July 18-19 to mend some fences by releasing the MRPP members still held in prison. He defended the SP against the CP and the ultraleft, but still allowed the "vigilantes" to remain as auxiliaries at the checkpoints around Lisbon.

The charismatic general, the leader of the April 25 coup, has the ultraleft in his pocket. He was able to block with the CP in pushing through "grass-roots democracy" and still differentiate himself from the Stalinists. "Senhor Soares, if he had to make the choice, is thought to prefer General de Carvalho because he is not bound to the disciplined phalanx of the Communist party. . . ." the *Economist* noted in its July 19 issue.

In the July 19 Lisbon rally Soares demanded the resignation of Premier Vasco Gonçalves, who has been identified with the CP. At the same time, there were reports of new moves to oust Gonçalves in the Revolutionary Council.

Perhaps de Carvalho would be acceptable to the SP as a substitute. Soares, like Cunhal, has said he would accept a purely military government as long as he did not think it was hostile to the SP. A token rebuff to the CP would be immensely popular with the great majority of the people but would not interfere with the consolidation of military rule. The ultralefts would be delighted, and the "comandante" himself could slowly let the air out of their balloon.

In any case, the Portuguese bourgeoisie now has several options. The radicalized elements have isolated themselves. The working class is profoundly and bitterly split. The mid-July incidents made a mockery of the ultraleft fantasies about "progressive military officers" setting up "soviets" that would unite the workers above the heads of the parties. □

### What Stand to Take on Seizure of 'República'?

By Dick Fidler

The military regime's closure of *República*, the Lisbon daily that reflected the views of the Socialist party, gave rise to divergent reactions in the international workers movement. This was quite natural, for an important issue was involved—the relation between democratic rights and the struggle for socialism. Each current was compelled to state where it stood on the question of freedom of the press.

The Social Democratic parties quickly sided with their Portuguese cothinkers. The French Socialist party, for example, mounted a campaign in defense of *República*. The immediate objective of the campaign was to present the French Social Democrats as sterling defenders of democracy in contrast to the French Stalinists, who sought to place the shutting down of the Lisbon daily in the most favorable light possible.<sup>1</sup>

Like the French Stalinists, most of the Communist parties repeated the arguments of the Portuguese CP in support of the closure.<sup>2</sup> However, some differences did appear. The Italian and Spanish parties, for instance, were critical of the action taken by the Portuguese military junta.

For revolutionary Marxists, the *República* affair brought into focus a number of key issues besides the relation of democratic rights to the struggle for socialism. These include the role of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and of the mass reformist parties—the SP and CP—in the Portuguese revolution, and the nature of the Portuguese government.

These questions have been discussed in various articles in recent issues of *Intercontinental Press*. In addition, *Intercontinental Press* provided the text of an article written by Leon Trotsky in 1938, explaining why the Fourth International is so insistent on defending freedom of the press as a broad democratic right.<sup>3</sup> Trotsky's statement of the basic principles involved in this question applies with striking force to the case of *República*.

The response to the *República* affair also

revealed a diversity of views among the various international currents claiming adherence to revolutionary Marxism, if not Trotskyism. Here is a sampling of opinions:

#### 'Obvious Error in Political Judgment'

*Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle), a formation that goes by the name of its weekly newspaper, originated in a split in the French Trotskyist movement at the beginning of World War II. It differs with the Fourth International on a number of points. It characterizes the East European states, for instance, as bourgeois, not workers states, arguing that they were established in a "cold" way, without mass revolutionary upsurges by the workers. In contrast to the Fourth International, *Lutte Ouvrière* is strongly opposed to all varieties of nationalism, including the nationalism of oppressed nations. In addition, it espouses "workerism"—the view that activity in the industrial working class and mobilization around economic demands should constitute the primary, if not exclusive, orientation of a revolutionary organization.

*Lutte Ouvrière* has loose ties outside of France with such organizations as the International Socialists in Britain, the Spartakusbund in West Germany, Lotta Comunista in Italy, and the "Fourth International Group" in Japan.

Readers of *Lutte Ouvrière* had to wait almost a month before learning its position on the *República* affair. It is true that the May 24 issue (four days after the seizure) carried a headline "The Crisis in Portugal" on page 1, with a photo of a soldier standing guard outside the *República* offices; but the editorial on Portugal, signed by Arlette Laguiller, did not mention the gagging of the SP daily, and was limited to a vague, indecisive analysis of the general political situation.

The military officers, Laguiller held, had decided that parliamentary democracy was impossible. However, they were not seeking to replace it with a proletarian alternative. At any moment a military coup "fomented by the section of the army that opposes the MFA" could occur.

As for the working class, it had never been so ill-prepared to counter such a threat. Mário Soares, the head of the Socialist party, represented the "moderate bourgeoisie." The Communist party was disarming the masses by spreading illu-

sions in democracy and the army.

Only a dictatorship of the proletariat, Laguiller said, could "disarm the army, expropriate the landlords and the trusts, and curtail the reaction."

As for the period between now and the future dictatorship of the proletariat, *Lutte Ouvrière* either had nothing to offer in the way of program or did not consider this to be of key importance in relation to the gagging of *República*.

The next two issues of *Lutte Ouvrière* did not mention the battle over *República*. The May 31 issue discussed the MFA's proposal to establish a civilian mass movement under its guidance. "Some will undoubtedly interpret this as a move to the left," Laguiller said. "But what is being prepared is not a move to the left by the MFA but the militarization of the popular committees."

In its June 14 issue, *Lutte Ouvrière* published a brief article by Colette Bernard entitled "The *República* Affair." According to Bernard, the regime had made "an obvious error in political judgment" in closing down *República*. The question had "quickly assumed political proportions out of all relation to the importance of the incident. By evacuating both the workers and the journalists, the MFA did not give due weight to the parties involved. And the Socialist party could justly consider the sealing of its printshop as a blow to freedom of the press."

But the issue had now been resolved. The MFA had retreated in face of the SP's mobilization, as could have been predicted. The whole incident had served to illustrate the nature of the real problem in Portugal, which is "not freedom of the press, but rather the question of what form of regime there should be: a military government in which the MFA plays a bonapartist role, or a parliamentary democracy in which the Socialist party would be the dominant party."

#### Portugal Too Poor for Democracy

In the following issue of *Lutte Ouvrière*, Georges Kaldy analyzed the MFA's June 21 statement in support of "pluralism," which was generally interpreted as support for parliamentary democracy. "But the present crisis illustrates precisely that the famous 'pluralist concept,' that is, parliamentary democracy, is in an impasse.

"By clinging to its democratic illusions,

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1. See "French Left Debates Issues in 'República' Affair," *Intercontinental Press*, June 23, p. 864.

2. See "What They Said in Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, and Havana," *Intercontinental Press*, June 30, p. 904.

3. See "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class," *Intercontinental Press*, June 9, p. 799.



trying to square the circle, that is, to combine parliamentarism with a military regime, the MFA condemns itself to impotence."

Kaldy concluded that Portugal is heading toward a dictatorship of a bonapartist type. "Whether it is 'progressive' or frankly reactionary, it will in any case be a military dictatorship."

For all its ambiguity, *Lutte Ouvrière's* approach to the conflict over *República* was rooted in a definite political line, explained in some detail in a May 10 supplement devoted to the situation in Portugal.

*Lutte Ouvrière* acknowledged that the workers had won some gains following the overthrow of the Caetano regime; "that is, a certain freedom to organize, a certain freedom of expression."

But *Lutte Ouvrière* apparently saw little point to vigorously defending those freedoms when they come under attack. "... there is no possible basis for bourgeois democracy in Portugal. The poverty of the country, the pressure of the surrounding imperialist powers, the crying social inequality, and the poverty of the masses will inevitably lead to the establishment of a dictatorship."

Thus, it would be incorrect to support the SP's defense of its democratic rights. "... opposing the MFA in the name of an impossible parliamentary democracy, the Socialist party will inevitably become the spokesman for the most reactionary circles" that oppose the MFA from the right.

On the other hand, if the MFA were to decide to rule in its own name without the collaboration of the existing political parties, it would "inevitably suppress democratic rights. . . ."

The workers "need an independent policy," *Lutte Ouvrière* said, although it failed to indicate what such a policy would involve. It did, however, emphasize that in "any confrontation" between the MFA and "reactionary political forces," as in "an attempt by the imperialist bourgeoisie or the national big bourgeoisie to strangle the economy," the workers should "support the MFA."

It is not clear how *Lutte Ouvrière* reconciles this position with its characterization of the policy of the MFA, as advanced in the same issue: "The aim of the MFA officers is only to detach a bit of the Portuguese state apparatus from the influence of imperialism and the direct hold of particular sectors so that this apparatus can more effectively defend the long-term, general interests of the bourgeoisie."

Another interpretation of the course of the MFA has been offered by *Combat Communiste*, a group that recently split from *Lutte Ouvrière*.<sup>4</sup> In the May issue of



Informations Ouvrières

Closure of "República" raises key issue of democratic rights in struggle for socialism.

*Combat Communiste*, the leaders of the group argued that while "a Portuguese Pinochet" might emerge, it is also possible that "a complete fusion between the CP and the MFA within the state apparatus" could

result in establishment of "a Castro-type regime in which the private bourgeoisie would be totally eliminated. The private bosses—those at least who indicated their willingness to cooperate—would become salaried officials incorporated into the Stalinist and military bureaucracy. This would not be an original phenomenon: it already occurred in Cuba, where the CP fused with Castro's movement."

The main difference in the internal dispute centered on how to characterize the Soviet state. The group that now publishes *Combat Communiste* held that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist," while *Lutte Ouvrière* maintained that the Soviet Union remains a workers state—the only one in the world, the East European countries, China, etc., being "state capitalist."

But such a state would still be bourgeois, *Combat Communiste* said. After all, the bourgeoisie is not "limited to private bour-

4. The group may have been expelled. To an outside observer, the circumstances are unclear.

geois proprietors." The key factor in the evolution of the situation, it said, could well be the position of the CP, which—like all Communist parties—is seeking to establish a state-capitalist society. This is also the goal of a section of the Portuguese military; hence its collaboration with the CP.

#### **Pablo: MFA Playing 'Vanguard Role'**

The position taken by Michel Raptis on the situation in Portugal is worth noting. Under the pen name of M. Pablo, Raptis was one of the central leaders of the Fourth International in the post-World War II period and headed one of the factions during the ten-year split in the international. He participated in the 1963 reunification, but he had already developed differences that were to lead him to split in 1965 and launch the Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire.

The AMR soon gave up calling itself "Trotskyist," saying that the term no longer had any precise meaning. The main slogan of the AMR is "self-management," an organizational device to safeguard the workers under socialism from delegating undue powers to bodies representing their interests.

Raptis likewise developed a negative position on the task of building a Leninist party. For example, an editorial in the December 1974 issue of the AMR's occasional publication *Sous le Drapeau du Socialisme* analyzing the documents of the world congress of the Fourth International held in 1974 criticized both the International Majority Tendency and the Leninist-Trotskyist Faction for holding the "outdated" and "sectarian" view that future mass revolutionary parties must be based on the Trotskyist program and be part of the Fourth International.

In February 1975, the AMR entered the centrist Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party), where some of its members now hold important positions.

The PSU's position on the *República* case was expressed in the May 31-June 7 issue of its weekly *Tribune Socialiste*. The effort of the Portuguese Socialist party to mobilize support against the seizure of *República* was dangerous, the PSU paper held, since it could become the center of forces opposed to the revolution. That meant opposition to the MFA, which, according to the previous issue of the PSU paper, is heading toward a "definitive break with capitalism."

The thinking behind this position was outlined in the May 23-31 issue of *Tribune Socialiste* by Maurice Najman, one of Raptis's collaborators in the AMR.

The military junta had issued a statement May 27 announcing its intention to bypass the political parties and establish direct relations with the people through grassroots structures. Najman hailed the decision as representing "a new stage in the

radicalization of the Portuguese revolution. Once again, the revolutionary wing of the MFA has taken the initiative, and has now succeeded in guaranteeing its hegemony in the Movement."

Najman described the MFA as follows: "... a military team, of petty-bourgeois origin, pragmatic but subject to the influences of the world revolutionary process—the Chilean experience, the liberation struggle in the colonies, the new class struggles in Europe for workers control and self-management—is radicalizing in tune with the objective dynamic of the process, and is playing an undeniable vanguard role. In its search for a 'model' in the transition to socialism that rejects the Social Democratic and Stalinist options—both of them defended in Portugal by leaderships that are particularly caricatural—this conjunctural political vanguard is seeking an organic linkup with the clearest expressions of the social vanguard: the working class and the workers in general."

Najman was of the opinion that the mass committees envisaged by the MFA leaders could develop into "a real 'soviet-type' dual power that will pose many questions in relation to the present 'occupation' of the bourgeois state by (often) the same officers who are now holding out this option."

He expressed some doubts about the MFA's proposal to "go beyond the party system" by establishing its own "liberation movement." After all, he said, if the new power structures were to be effective organs of people's power, "their function cannot be that of a 'civilian MFA' or a 'Movement'; that would be to underrate them as organs of power."

Such organs were still in an "embryonic" stage of development, Najman said. "In these conditions—unless the MFA is considered to be a party, which is another debatable question—there is a danger that the alliance of the people with the MFA beyond the existing parties will sow confusion in the ranks of the working class and the people. . . ."

Najman suggested that the military officers should perhaps revive their previous plans to establish "a mass revolutionary socialist formation."

#### **Like Peru?**

That Najman reflects Raptis's views quite faithfully can be judged from the following anecdote told by the Swiss journalist Joëlle Kuntz in her book *Les Fusils et les Urnes*: "In Lisbon, toward the end of July, I met Michel Raptis, alias Pablo.

"What do you think of this new situation?" I asked.

"Thrilling."

"Then you support the MFA?"

"Critical support! You know, Marx

himself could be in power, and I would still give him critical support. . . ."

It is possible that Raptis and his cothinkers are applying to imperialist Portugal the conclusions they have already drawn with respect to the military regime in semicolonial Peru.

In the December 1974 issue of *Sous le Drapeau du Socialisme*, Najman described the Velasco Alvarado regime as "bonapartist 'sui generis,' of the type Nasser inaugurated in Egypt. . . ."

He said that such regimes, "replacing the old oligarchical and 'comprador' bourgeoisie, are led to transcend the limits of this class, thereby creating an opening that helps to activate revolutionary social forces."

The creation of mass organizations by the Peruvian military junta to support its policies bore a "formal resemblance" to soviets, Najman said. But the "class nature of the regime was not always clearly defined."

Revolutionary Marxists, Najman held, should adopt a policy of "conjunctural alliance with the national-revolutionary sectors of the army and the pauperized petty bourgeoisie, through an orientation of critical support to the regime," while of course developing a "transitional program of self-management."

It is to be hoped that in coming articles, Raptis and his collaborators will explain how it happened that a bourgeois military officer caste in imperialist Portugal came to be transformed into the key instrument for bringing about the transition from capitalism to a system of workers self-management.

#### **Healy: No Duty to Defend Free Press**

The *República* affair also caught the attention of the commentators of the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP), a British organization best known for the talents and qualifications of its general secretary, Gerry Healy. Healy, at one time a figure of some promise in the Fourth International, refused to participate in the 1963 reunification of the two main tendencies of the world Trotskyist movement. Among the political differences that led him to separate were his rejection of the importance of the colonial revolution and his novel concept of the nature of the state in Cuba, which he maintains is capitalist. As he views it, no revolution occurred in Cuba and the country is headed by a bourgeois bonapartist regime, Castro being just another Batista.

The WRP is the main component of the rump "International Committee," which includes small groups of cothinkers in a few countries besides Britain.

With regard to the seizure of *República*, Cliff Slaughter voiced the Healyite view in

the June 7 issue of *Workers Press*: "It is not the duty of Marxists to uphold the bourgeois principle of the 'free Press', but it is essential for any revolutionary movement to struggle with workers within the camp of social democracy to win them to the revolution."

"In Portugal today," Slaughter said, "what is necessary is a clear tactic of united front in defence of democratic rights against the repressive measures of the bourgeois state."

While Slaughter is correct on the need to defend democratic rights against repressive measures, it is obscure why he denies that this amounts to a defense of the "bourgeois principle" of freedom of the press, one of the historic conquests of the bourgeois revolution against feudalism. Slaughter clearly differs from the position set forth by Trotsky in "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class."

In a statement in the June 17 issue of *Workers Press*, the Healyites took a commendable position in denouncing the arrests of members of the Maoist MRPP<sup>5</sup> and "the Stalinists' attempts to prevent Socialist Party views being expressed in the newspaper 'Republica'."

"By encouraging the military Bonapartists in Portugal to smash the MRPP, the Stalinists are opening the door to counter-revolution as blatantly as in any of the historic betrayals of the working class perpetrated by Stalinism."

The Healyites pictured Portugal as currently undergoing massive repression: "Opponents are being herded into prisons and driven towards physical liquidation in the name of an open military dictatorship."

The statement added:

"The military officers remain the same bourgeois caste they were before the April 25 seizure of power. Under the 50-year rule of Salazar and Caetano, right up until April 1974, they propped up the fascist state and fought a long colonial war in three countries in Africa. . . .

"The AFM is conducting a demagogic Bonapartist policy in Portugal, pouring out endless propaganda in favour of the corporate state in nationwide campaigns which go under the phoney title of 'cultural dynamization'."

The Healyites seem to think that the gains made by the workers since the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship are simply part of the new regime's maneuvers as it heads toward "corporatism."

"The Bonapartist gestures of a national minimum wage, upper limits to salaries, 'workers' participation' in the management of taken-over firms and factories, have

nothing in common with socialism and are designed to distract workers from a real struggle for workers' power and a planned economy."

Apart from its call to defend the democratic rights of workers, the statement had little to suggest on what should be done concretely in Portugal. As the Healyites see it, the Constituent Assembly has "no power," since it "was castrated by the AFM before it was even elected."

Nevertheless, despite the unfortunate operation performed on the Portuguese parliamentary body, the Healyites urged "Trotskyists in Portugal" to call on the CP and SP leaders "to use their majority in the Constituent Assembly to legislate a programme for socialism, the freeing of political prisoners (except for the fascists and counter-revolutionaries) and the parasites [sic] of democratic rights for all workers' organizations."

The statement specified, however, that this demand was intended simply "to complete the exposure of the leaders of the Stalinist and Social Democratic workers' parties."

The statement added: "Only by uniting the existing tenants' committees, factory and farm committees, and other genuine working class bodies, into workers and peasants' soviets, can the workers in Portugal advance to the taking of power and the smashing of the capitalist state once and for all."

#### **Marcy: Revolution Precludes Freedom of the Press**

Another sectarian grouping that felt obliged to comment on the *República* case was the Workers World party, headed by Sam Marcy. This pro-Maoist current split from the Socialist Workers party in 1959. The Marcyites supported the Kremlin's suppression of the workers uprising in Hungary in 1956 and the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

In the June 27 issue of the weekly *Workers World*, Sam Marcy discussed the seizure of *República* and the question of freedom of the press.

"Without question," he conceded, "the struggle for democratic rights in a bourgeois society includes above all the right of working class organizations to publish their own newspapers, magazines, etc., without interference from the capitalist government."

But "Portugal is now in the throes of a revolutionary situation." And "the seizure of Republica by the printers and other employees is merely part and parcel of the general trend of seizures and occupations by the workers."

Moreover, the military regime is contributing to the advances of the masses. The nationalization legislation it has enacted,

for example, "gives the workers as well as some landless peasants *an impetus to go much further than the law permitted*. And the government has done nothing to discourage it or has been unable to do so."

Marcy also stressed the presence of "radical elements in the AFM, some of whom are to the left of the CP and really do espouse the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Since Soares and the Socialist party reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, "he, as leader of his party, and the paper which espouses his line, are counterrevolutionary. Rejecting the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the very time when the Portuguese proletariat is emerging in struggle to exercise and elevate itself to be the ruling class is treacherous."

Thus "those who are sincerely concerned with the fate of the Portuguese proletariat should not shed tears over the seizure of Republica by the workers, even if it was done under the leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party."

The issue is simple—in Marcy's opinion "freedom of the press" stands in the way of "the progress of the Portuguese Revolution."

#### **Robertson: Sees Hope in Maoists**

In contrast to the pro-Maoist Marcyites, the Spartacist League sought to come closer to a Trotskyist position in the *República* affair.

The Spartacist League is an American sect headed by James Robertson, who was once a member of the Socialist Workers party. The Spartacists, who call for "rebuilding the Fourth International," have a few supporters in several countries.

The June 20 issue of the Spartacist fortnightly newspaper *Workers Vanguard* came out against the Portuguese military's closure of *República*. "Marxists must oppose such arbitrary restrictions of freedom of the press by the bourgeois state, even if the newspaper in question is a capitalist paper. The same laws used to repress bourgeois opposition (even when it is more rightist than a left-leaning regime), will be used against socialists and the workers movement with infinitely greater ferocity."

Lest anyone draw the wrong conclusions from the reference to "a left-leaning regime," the article emphasized that "far from representing in any way a body similar to the soldiers' committees in the Russian Revolution, the Armed Forces Movement represents the officer corps of a bourgeois army. No amount of 'leftist' or 'socialist' rhetoric will change its character as a *bourgeois* formation."

On the particular point of defense of freedom of the press, the *Workers Vanguard* based its position on Trotsky's article "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class." The July 18 issue quoted rather

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

extensively from Trotsky's article, naturally without revealing where the editors, who are research specialists, found it. (They would not want their readers to know a good thing like *Intercontinental Press*.)

Having made the record on *República*, the June 20 *Workers Vanguard* got down to the nitty gritty. The favorite weapon in Robertson's arsenal, it should be explained, is argumentation directed at another sect. The hope is to win a favorable ear or two.

In this case, the target was the MRPP, described by *Workers Vanguard* as "quite left within the Maoist spectrum."

The MRPP had been singled out for repression by the regime, the paper said, because it is "one of the few groups whose militants have not been educated in cowardly grovelling before the MFA's threats."

There is a grain of truth in this. While the MRPP militants have been educated to grovel before Mao and Stalin, they stood firm against the April 25 elections to the Constituent Assembly, denouncing them as an "electoral farce." *Workers Vanguard* might also consider it to be a mark in favor of the Maoists that they do not grovel before any demand to seek clarity. One of the favorite slogans of the group, for instance, is "Neither fascism nor social fascism—a people's government."

"To be sure," *Workers Vanguard* admitted, "the MRPP is indeed sectarian," and even "aggressively pro-Stalin." It is looking "for an alternative alliance with bourgeois forces for the first stage of the two-stage revolution. . . ."

"This is the road to abject defeat, comrades," the Spartacist editor chided his "aggressively pro-Stalin" hopefuls. Those among them who aspire to be revolutionists "must directly confront the Trotskyist bogey they fear so much."

The advice is excellent. No doubt *Workers Vanguard* will keep its readers informed on the progress the Maoists make as the best hope in the Portuguese revolution. □

## Rockefeller Report Exposed as Another Cover-up

### New CIA Documents: 20 Years of Spying on SWP

By Caroline Lund



Herblock/Washington Post

Secret documents recording the Central Intelligence Agency's drive against the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance show that the Rockefeller Commission's report on domestic CIA operations was just another White House cover-up.

The 396 pages of documents, released under court order July 7 by the CIA's Office of Security, show that CIA spying on the SWP dates back at least to 1950, barely three years after the agency was founded.

The new disclosures expose as a lie the Rockefeller Commission's claim that CIA domestic operations were limited to a program called Operation CHAOS that began in 1967.

The new documents also flatly contradict Rockefeller's report on another point. The vice-president claimed that the CIA Office of Security "used no infiltrators, penetrators, or monitors" against domestic dissident groups after 1968. The newly released papers reveal, however, that CIA undercover agents were operating inside the SWP and YSA as recently as 1970.

In fact, the Rockefeller report did not mention a word about the CIA's campaign against the SWP. This raises the obvious question of what other crimes were "overlooked."

The new documents were obtained as part of a \$27 million suit filed two years ago by the SWP and YSA. The suit demands an end to all government surveillance and harassment of the American Trotskyists and others victimized for their views.

The papers were released at a news conference July 16 by the Political Rights Defense Fund, the organization that is publicizing and raising funds for the suit. The PRDF is supported by a broad spectrum of individuals, political organizations, civil-rights leaders, and trade-union locals and officials.

Attorneys for the suit are Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan. Boudin successfully defended Daniel Ellsberg in the Pentagon Papers case.

The CIA documents are only the latest installment of secret-police records that have been forced into the open through the suit. In March, the PRDF released 3,138 pages of secret Federal Bureau of Investigation files obtained through the suit. "It is one of the largest disclosures of internal F.B.I. workings in the history of the bureau," the *New York Times* commented.

These initial files centered on the FBI's "SWP Disruption Program." The program was part of a broader campaign aimed at disrupting and "neutralizing" Black organizations and radical groups.

In June, the FBI turned over 256 more pages on its operations against the SWP and YSA from the agency's category "Cointelpro-New Left."

The documents released July 7 concern only the activities of the CIA's Office of Security. Still to come from the agency are documents on the SWP and YSA from Operation CHAOS, a disruption program carried out against Black, antiwar, and radical organizations.

All the papers released so far have been heavily censored. In addition, the CIA refused to release a number of items requested by the SWP, a cover-up that will be challenged in a future legal action.

The documents released so far show that the CIA was highly concerned about the SWP's election campaigns. Some of the material consists simply of SWP election platforms and clippings from newspapers reporting the vote totals received by SWP candidates. For example, one of the items cites a *New York Times* report on presidential election totals, saying: "Farrell Dobbs [the SWP presidential candidate] polled 10,306 votes in seven states as against

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Dobbs' 1948 total of 13,613 in twel [sic] states."

Other items reveal spying on the activities of the Young Socialist Alliance. In March 1961 the CIA's Boston office submitted a report on a demonstration organized by the YSA to protest the murder of Congolese premier and liberation fighter Patrice Lumumba.

The report included two newspaper photographs of the demonstrators, and a copy of a YSA leaflet for the demonstration. The leaflet was headed: "We protest the murder of Lumumba; We accuse the Belgian and U.S. Imperialists; We accuse the United Nations."

Peter Camejo, the SWP's candidate for president in 1976 and formerly a leader of the YSA, said in response to the newly released documents:

"... it's true, as the CIA says in its files, that we participated in demonstrations in 1961 to protest the murder of Patrice Lumumba. But the criminals are not the people who protested the murder of Lumumba, but the people who murdered him—and the CIA is the prime suspect."

Another object of the CIA's attention was the YSA's participation in the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, a key force in the largest antiwar demonstrations. A memo to the CIA's deputy director of security in December 1969 stated:

"Since the splintering of SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] last summer at Chicago, the YSA (mostly via the Student Mobe) is coming on strong and presently represents the 'best guess' for leadership in the radical left youth movement for the early 1970s.

"SWP/YSA/SMC targets are clear," the memo states.

Other documents contain reports on public meetings held by the YSA in defense of the Cuban revolution and the Palestine liberation struggle.

One week after the release of the new CIA documents, FBI Director Clarence Kelley held a news conference—a rare occurrence—to admit for the first time that the FBI carried out burglaries to secure "information relative to the security of the nation." Burglary of party headquarters and members' homes is one of the crimes charged against the FBI and CIA in the SWP and YSA suit.

At the same news conference, Kelley defended the FBI Cointelpro operations that got an SWP member, Evelyn Sell, dismissed from her teaching position in Texas because she had once run for office as an SWP candidate. The truth about why Sell lost her job was revealed in the "Cointelpro-New Left" documents obtained by the SWP and YSA in June. Several other SWP members who are teachers have also

## 'A Crime Against All Our Liberties'

The following is a sampling of editorial comment on FBI and CIA harassment of the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance.

"Since its budgets are buried in the budgets of others, nobody will ever know exactly how many millions of dollars have been expended over the decades to keep the CIA afloat and prospering. Millions upon billions is a rough estimate.

"For this outgo Americans were led to believe they could always sleep well at night, knowing that the Agency was always keeping its best weather eye on the likes of Castro, Trujillo, Stalin, Allende, Mossadegh, Ho Chi Minh.

"And, it must be added, Farrell Dobbs.

"Yes, Farrell Dobbs, sometime presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, an intense if miniscule arm of the body politic that has had a curious fascination both for the FBI and the CIA. In the latter case the SWP has now gone to court and obtained material of proof. . . ." *New York Post*, July 17.

"Disclosures in the last few days about the tactics of the so-called counterintelligence program of the federal Bureau of

Investigation indicate that the agency not only violated the law but stooped to police state methods in opposing individuals and organizations whose views were not acceptable. . . ." *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 25.

"The Bill of Rights must apply to all, including the Socialist Workers Party. . . ." *Kansas City Times*, March 21.

"It is not necessary that one adhere to the programs of the Socialist Workers Party to realize that such tactics could be used against any political organization." *Detroit Free Press*, March 21.

"From those papers emerges a portrait of the FBI officials involved—including the late J. Edgar Hoover—that looks ominously like a self-assigned political police force flouting the U.S. Constitution." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, March 23.

"It is a crime against all our liberties. For, as the American Civil Liberties Union constantly reminds us, what may be done to one may be done to all. You could be next." Binghamton, New York, *Sun-Bulletin*, March 22.

been targets of FBI pressure on their employers.

Such operations, Kelley claimed, were not designed to "damage the reputation" of their victims, but rather "to do something that would ultimately . . . benefit the nation." He did not explain how the dismissal of Sell—whom even the FBI noted had a reputation as "an intelligent, excellent teacher who was well qualified in her field"—would aid the nation.

The initiative taken by the SWP and YSA in their suit has brought unusual publicity for the party and youth organization. Each installment of secret documents forced out of the government's files has received major coverage in the daily press as well as on national network television news programs.

Local SWP and YSA news conferences exposing FBI or CIA crimes in specific cities have often received front-page treatment. Articles on the revelations have appeared in the Black press and campus press, and the documents have been the topic of commentaries by syndicated columnists.

Numerous dailies have carried editorials on the suit. An example is the editorial in

the June 26 issue of the *Huntington, West Virginia, Advertiser*.

Citing the various methods of harassment carried out under the FBI's Cointelpro operations, the editors state: "Of these actions, the attempts to have the teachers fired are much more significant than many of the other recently disclosed illegal and quasi-legal activities of the CIA, FBI and Internal Revenue Service.

"The sole basis for the campaign against the teachers was their affiliation with a perfectly legal political organization, the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers Party.

"... Because the political views of the teachers did not match the FBI's interpretation of acceptability in political beliefs, the FBI deliberately mounted a secret smear campaign. . . .

"Such obnoxious and outrageous acts are much more dangerous to the fabric of our nation than are any set of political beliefs."

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# Nationalist Groups on Brink of Civil War in Angola

By Ernest Harsch

The Portuguese military junta's Revolutionary Council held an emergency session July 14 as the fighting flared again between rival nationalist groups in Angola. The council later announced that it had discussed reinforcing its army of 24,000 troops still stationed in the colony.

"Some 2,000 men consisting of an infantry battalion, an armored battalion and an artillery battalion, plus some paratroop and marine units, were reported to have been earmarked for Angola," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger said in a July 15 dispatch from Lisbon.

According to a United Press International dispatch, a Portuguese military representative in Luanda, Angola's capital, said July 15 that two planeloads of Portuguese reinforcements had already arrived in Angola.

A Portuguese air force major in Lisbon, José Costa Martins, claimed the reinforcements would be used only to maintain Lisbon's "neutrality" in Angola until the colony is granted independence next November 11. "Active neutrality" is the phrase used by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) to cover continued intervention in Angola. The aim of the MFA is to safeguard Lisbon's imperialist interests there and to ensure that an independent Angola remains tied to the capitalist market.

Before leaving Lisbon for Angola July 13, Portuguese Foreign Minister Maj. Ernesto Melo Antunes said that the Portuguese troops in Angola might have to intervene in the fighting to prevent "massacres."

The MFA's forces had already taken part in the clashes, according to a Reuters dispatch filed the day before. "Portuguese troops and a joint force of the three nationalist movements sought to quell the fighting," the British news agency reported. "Some of the troops were ordered to shoot on sight any armed civilians." On July 14, it was reported that ten Portuguese soldiers had been wounded in the fighting.

Unrest in Portugal itself makes it difficult for the MFA to intervene massively in Angola. "The dispatch of more troops," Giniger noted, "was considered an almost desperate measure because of its unpopularity both with the troops themselves and the civilian population."

If the MFA is unable to control the situation in Angola, the junta may turn to its imperialist allies. On July 13 Major Antunes said the MFA might ask the



Manchester Guardian

United Nations to intervene. The dispatch of such a UN "peace keeping" force would be a major setback for the Angolan independence struggle.

The resumption of armed clashes in Luanda between the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and the Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) began July 9, marking a complete breakdown of the cease-fire accords reached June 19. They soon escalated into major battles in which automatic weapons, bazookas, and heavy mortars were used. Some reports described the situation in the city as one of "open war."

It appears that the MPLA launched a concerted drive to force its main rival from Luanda, where many of the clashes between the feuding nationalists have taken place since the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA (União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) entered a coalition regime with the Portuguese in January.

The FNLA offices in Luanda were reported to have been destroyed after five days of fighting. In addition, the July 15 *Washington Post* reported, FNLA "bases were set on fire as mortar and artillery bombardments continued in the city." By July 14, most of the FNLA's military forces were reported to have been driven out of the capital, with the

exception of several hundred troops garrisoned in the São Pedro da Barra Fort overlooking Luanda harbor. As of July 19, the fort was under an MPLA siege.

In a July 16 dispatch from Luanda, *New York Times* reporter Charles Mohr said the MPLA appeared to have gained control of the *muçecas*, the African slum areas surrounding Luanda. "One indication of its [the MPLA's] new dominance," Mohr said, "was last evening's national radio broadcast, which carried only its political statements."

It was estimated that 300 persons, most of them civilians, have been killed since the fighting resumed on July 9. About 1,500 were thought to have been wounded.

"Life in Luanda was reported to have come to a halt," *Manchester Guardian* correspondent António de Figueiredo said in a July 14 dispatch from Lisbon, "with many buildings on fire and only one hospital still in operation. Food supplies were completely disrupted and many hotels, restaurants, and other services had had to close."

Thousands of refugees, both African and Portuguese, fled the *muçecas* for the downtown area. In addition, many of the Bakongo living in Luanda were reported to be fleeing the city for northern Angola. (The FNLA gets much of its support from the Bakongo.)

The FNLA charged July 11 that the MPLA had provoked the fighting. It put its military units throughout the country on a "permanent state of alert" and ordered its troops to "resist the military coup launched by Lisbon and its agents in Angola."

The National Defense Council, on which the three nationalist groups and the Portuguese are represented, condemned the MPLA for the recent clashes. However, the Portuguese high commissioner in Angola, Gen. Silva Cardoso, also accused the FNLA of attacking civilians.

Although the bulk of the FNLA's forces were driven from Luanda for the time being, Interior Minister N'gola Kabangu and other FNLA leaders in the coalition regime remained in the city, participating in talks with the MPLA, UNITA, and Portuguese officials.

Charles Mohr reported from Luanda July 17, "Well-informed sources said they believed that only a face-saving formula that would permit the political leaders of the locally defeated National Front [FNLA] to remain in the city could prevent a breakup of the transitional coalition government, which was formed to prepare for full independence from Portugal on Nov. 11."

Whatever temporary agreements the rival nationalist groups may sign, the expulsion of the FNLA units from Luanda has thrown the fragile coalition regime into a crisis that may be the prelude to full-scale civil war. □

## Demands Mount for Ouster of Perón

By Judy White

The concessions made by President Isabel Martínez de Perón at the beginning of July have not restored tranquility to Argentina.

Struggles over wages and demands for a reorganization of the government continue to mount, involving new sectors of the population.

Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo was forced to resign July 18, and right-wing strongman José López Rega felt forced to leave the country the following day.

There are reports that the president herself will request an "indefinite leave of absence" if indeed she remains in control long enough to do so.

Sectors of the bourgeoisie protested the Rodrigo austerity program, claiming they faced bankruptcy and threatening to close down if the plan was not scrapped.

Strikes began again July 10, two days after the president announced she would ratify newly negotiated collective-bargaining agreements that far exceeded the government's proposed 50% wage-increase ceiling.

"Although the central leaderships of the 'leading' trade unions abstained from confirming or denying the job actions in the province of Buenos Aires, a survey carried out by reporters for *La Opinión* made it possible to verify that there was a massive work stoppage in the big plants in Avellaneda, Quilmes, Lanus, La Matanza, Tres de Febrero, San Martín, and Zona Norte," the July 11 issue of the Buenos Aires daily reported.

"In addition to demanding publication of the executive decree formalizing recognition of the various negotiated contracts, several internal factory commissions came out against donating a day's pay each month to the state, as promised by the executive committee of the CGT, and demanded payment of back wages."

In their announcement ending the forty-eight-hour general strike of the previous week, CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) bureaucrats committed federation workers in private industry to make a monthly donation of a day's pay "to contribute to the strengthening of the national economy."

*La Opinión* quoted the labor ministry as saying that the situation was "identical to that of last week, when, during the days prior to the forty-eight-hour strike called by the labor federation, in most factories

spontaneous strikes occurred."

Auto workers at General Motors and Ford struck because they opposed the wage settlements made by the bureaucrats of SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades). The settlement—for an 84% raise—was reached without agreement from the ranks, who demanded a raise of 100%.

Moreover, the GM workers were striking to protest terrorist attacks made on the homes of local union leaders who had challenged the SMATA bureaucrats' unilateral action.

The overwhelming concern of all sectors of the union movement is the rampant inflation that threatens to erase the wage gains of up to 130% just won.

The Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos (INDEC—National Institute of Statistics and Censuses) reported a 21.1% inflation rate for June as compared with May 1975.

However, Horacio Chaves Paz, analyzing the INDEC report in the July 11 issue of *La Opinión*, said:

"These figures do not appear to be confirmed in daily experience. The reality in retail shops would seem to reveal much higher percentages than those reported officially."

An examination of prices of a series of common consumer goods (e.g., detergent, shoes, blue jeans, cooking oil, wooden matches, aspirin) showed price rises ranging from 100% to 277% for the period since the Rodrigo Plan was instituted June 5.

Chaves quoted a well-known economist who said that for the first time he had "no choice but to criticize them [official price indexes] without qualification. . . . Today everyone is talking about 150 percent," although "it is possible that it may not be as bad as all that."

If inflation has not gotten as bad as all that yet, it promises to soon. Telephone, telegraph, and mail rates rose as much as 200% in early July, and as of July 1 rents in the capital rose 91.1% or more. On July 15 the peso was devalued by 18%, the second devaluation in forty-one days.

Within the Peronist administration the crisis continued to deepen. The cabinet appointed by Isabel Perón July 11 consisted of cronies of López Rega, although the astrologer himself was forced to step down.

On July 16 virtually the entire economics ministry staff resigned, followed by the resignation of the economics minister himself two days later.

Students and the 300,000-member teachers union, the Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina, called for the resignation of Education Minister Oscar Ivanissevich. Leaders of several political parties interviewed by the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín* denounced Ivanissevich's regime as one "based on the repression of students; the firing of thousands of teachers; the stultification of teaching . . . the lack of attention to teacher demands; and the prohibition of student unions, restricting a constructive dialogue between students and authorities."

Jesús E. Porta, chairman of the Chamber of Deputies committee on penal legislation, called July 10 for political trials for Rodrigo and López Rega for "transgressions in the exercise of their functions." Such trials are tantamount to impeachment.

The charges against López Rega were made more explicit four days later when attorney Miguel Radrizzani Goni filed a suit against the former minister in federal court. He quoted an unpublished army report on the right-wing murder gang, the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance (AAA), as saying, "López Rega belongs to the general command of the Argentine Anti-Peronist Alliance [*sic*] as political supervisor."

Radrizzani named the chief bodyguards of the president and López Rega as the military heads of the AAA.

The charges pointed out that the openly fascist magazines *El Caudillo*, now closed, and its replacement, *El Puntal*, "provided with a great amount of advertising of the Ministry of Social Welfare, dedicated themselves in a permanent and uninterrupted form to a campaign of promotion, support, and apology for the AAA," according to a report in the July 15 *Washington Post*.

The fact that the source of this information is the army is very significant. The armed forces have maintained a low profile throughout the recent crisis, attempting to put forward a semblance of neutrality. But the fact is that it was the army that put the finger on López Rega. And when he made it clear he had plans to maintain his control over the regime even without an official post, it was the armed forces that sent in the elite Granaderos regiment to replace his personal troops in guarding the presidential residence.

In case Isabel still did not get the message, the armed forces sent a delegation of cabinet members to tell her in person July 18 that López Rega had to go.

The following day López Rega, along with various thugs, was on a plane to Brazil. □

### 100,000 in Madras Protest Dictatorial Rule

By Ernest Harsch

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's June 26 dictatorial coup met with a huge protest demonstration in early July in Madras, India's fourth largest city and the capital of the southern state of Tamil Nadu. The state's ruling party, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK—Dravidian Advancement Association), organized a rally of 100,000 persons, according to a July 12 dispatch from Madras by *New York Times* correspondent Eric Pace.

"One by one," a report in the July 21 issue of *Newsweek* magazine said, "leaders of the state's ruling party denounced Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's two-week-old crackdown on civil rights and political dissent. At the end, the mass of men in loose cotton clothes and women in brilliant saris rose from the hot Madras sands and repeated a solemn pledge: 'We will not hesitate to take prompt steps to prevent the downfall of democracy in India . . . Long live democracy, the people's rule!'"

The DMK, which came to power in Tamil Nadu in 1971, has in the past advocated the secession of Tamil Nadu and other Dravidian areas (Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, and Karnataka states) from the Indian federation. Based on the Dravidian nationalist movement, it has opposed the domination of the southern areas by the northern Aryans and is traditionally hostile to political interference in the state by the central government in New Delhi.

On June 29, the DMK passed a resolution denouncing the state of emergency. "The recent approach adopted by the ruling Congress and the methods practiced by the Prime Minister have tended to put out the light of democracy and lead the country into the gloom of dictatorship," the resolution said.

"Misery continues to torment the lives of the downtrodden, poor, helpless and working people. No benefit has accrued to them despite the center [New Delhi] having announced long lists of assurances. Mrs. Gandhi has inaugurated the advent of dictatorship, casting an everlasting slur on the Indian people."

Although the DMK appointed an official censor, he has reportedly interfered very little with the Tamil-language newspapers, which continue to criticize the repression.

The DMK's opposition to Gandhi's ending of democracy has been cautious and it has complied with some of the emergency decrees. Parades have been banned and at least twenty-two persons were reported to



Mauldin/Chicago Sun-Times

have been arrested as of July 12 for being members of organizations outlawed by Gandhi. In addition, seven persons were arrested July 11 for planning a demonstration in favor of Tamil Nadu independence.

DMK supporters have attacked the state Congress party, as well as a rival Dravidian nationalist party, the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (ADMK—Dravidian Advancement Association [Anna]), for being "stooges helping Mrs Gandhi to suppress Indian liberties."

The Congress party executive in Tamil Nadu passed a resolution July 6 calling on Gandhi to intervene in the state to bring the state government "into line with the discipline of the emergency." But as of July 18, there have been no reports that Gandhi has sent troops, police, or paramilitary units to Tamil Nadu.

Despite the rigid censorship, reports of other protests against the state of emergency have continued to appear.

On July 9, opposition parties, led by the Communist party of India (Marxist) (CPI[M]), marched through cities in the southern state of Kerala in defiance of the decree banning public demonstrations. About 100 members of the CPI(M) were arrested, including E.M.S. Namboodiripad, a former chief minister of Kerala and a top

leader of the party, and A.K. Gopalan, the head of the CPI(M)'s parliamentary caucus. The chief minister of Kerala is Achuta Menon, a leader of the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI), which supports Gandhi's coup.

In defiance of the censorship, underground newspapers have appeared in such cities as New Delhi, Bombay, and Ahmedabad. According to the July 7 *London Times*, "The brief news sheets [in New Delhi] claimed that there have been widespread demonstrations in many states including Bihar, Maharashtra and Kerala. They also claimed that the Socialist International had sent a cable to Mrs Gandhi protesting against the Government's 'undemocratic steps.'"

In Gujarat state, 100 lawyers issued a denunciation of the state of emergency. "Any government which promulgates Draconian orders to gag the mouth of the press forfeits its claim to be democratic," the lawyers declared.

Employees of the *Times of India* met in Bombay and passed a resolution stating, "We will not cooperate in the publication of Government propaganda, untruthful items and malicious attacks on the leaders of the Democratic opposition as well as in the dissemination of tendentious editorials."

In face of the protests, Gandhi has continued to tighten her control. On July 12 she said that the number of persons arrested since June 26 was "very meager"—compared with India's total population of about 600 million.

The censored press has admitted that more than 5,000 persons have been arrested so far in the crackdown. Hans Janitschek, the general secretary of the Socialist International, said in London that according to reliable Indian sources about 10,000 persons were arrested in the first week of the state of emergency. An underground newspaper in New Delhi cited by the *London Times* gave a figure of 20,000 arrests.

Police carried out a predawn raid on several student dormitories at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi July 8. "The police roused students, checked their identification papers and took about 50 to a police station for interrogation," the July 9 *Washington Post* reported. "P.S. Bhinder, deputy inspector general of police, said 15 were jailed and the rest released."

Those arrested were reportedly supporters of the imprisoned anticorruption movement leader Jaya Prakash Narayan or of the CPI(M). D.P. Tripathi, a member of the CPI(M) and the president of the student union at the university, was reported to have escaped the police cordon around the campus.

An amendment to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act was announced July 16, instituting surveillance of university students and giving the police powers to



arrest foreigners and hold them without trial for up to two years.

Special detention camps have reportedly been set up throughout India to hold the thousands of political prisoners.

Government authorities in Bihar state admitted that several persons were killed in clashes with police on June 29 and July 1. Another account reported that four civilians and two police were killed near Arrah, sixty miles west of Patna, the state capital.

The authorities labeled those killed as "Naxalites," a popular term for members of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist) (CPI(ML)), which is one of the groups banned by Gandhi. Although it is not known whether the victims were actually members of the CPI(ML), a report by Martin Woollacott in the July 12 *Manchester Guardian Weekly* noted that "poor peasant movements in Bihar are automatically classified 'Naxalite' and the State and the central police have been waging war on them ever since they began to grow in the mid-60s."

Arvind Narayan Das described similar clashes in Bihar in the June 14 *Bombay Economic and Political Weekly*, the last issue of the magazine published before the imposition of censorship.

He reported that in the past two years the Central Reserve Police and the Border Security Force—in alliance with the landlords—have carried out a virtual reign of terror against movements of poor peasants and agricultural workers in the Patna and Bhojpur districts of the state. Dozens were killed, including the leader of an agricultural workers' strike. The dead peasants, many of whom were Harijans (untouchables), were then branded "Naxalites." The most recent incident in Das's account, in which eighteen villagers were killed, took place only three weeks before the imposition of the state of emergency.

"'Naxalism' has become a very convenient bogey to be raised by the propertied classes and the State to suppress any kind of dissent," Das noted.

Gandhi has also imposed new censorship rules to patch up the loopholes in the original regulations issued June 26. In the first few days of the state of emergency, some newspapers, as a form of protest, published quotes on democracy by such leaders of the Indian independence struggle as Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the poet Rabindranath Tagore. Now quotations from their writings are also censored.

"Even Mrs Gandhi's speeches delivered before the emergency are subject to censorship," the July 5 *London Times* reported.

A movie that parodied Gandhi has been banned, and some bookstore managers have removed controversial titles from their shelves in anticipation of the banning of

books. A reporter for the *London Financial Times* was barred from the country as an "undesirable," and foreign journalists seeking to receive new visas or extend old ones



Jaq/Reprinted from Informations Ouvrières

#### INDIRA GANDHI

are now required to sign pledges that they will abide by the censorship regulations.

The Ford administration is collaborating with Gandhi in enforcing the censorship. *Chicago Daily News* correspondent Bob Tamarkin reported in a July 9 dispatch from New Delhi: "The U.S. embassy is beginning to put pressure on American correspondents covering India's state of emergency by quietly suggesting that they abide by the strict censorship rules that have been imposed on both foreign and local press."

Gandhi's Stalinist allies apparently think that her crackdown on freedom of the press has not been hard enough. Denzil Peiris reported in the July 18 *Hong Kong weekly Far Eastern Economic Review* that the CPI released a statement demanding that newspapers be "cleaned of Jan Sangh elements." If Gandhi did initiate such a purge of news personnel, it would not be limited to supporters of the rightist Jan Sangh, but would probably include anyone, whether of the right or the left, who did not submit to Gandhi's dictates.

In addition to blocking news of protest actions against Gandhi's dictatorial rule, the strict censorship and the regime's

refusal to list the names of those arrested are designed to spread confusion and fear among the Indian populace.

"Fear is palpable in India today," *Washington Post* reporter Lewis Simons said in the July 14 issue. "One could almost feel it within hours after the first pre-dawn arrests began. By the time I was forced to leave the country [he was expelled July 1], it had intensified, with the certain knowledge that one could be arrested at home or on the streets, thrown into jail and never have the right to appeal to the courts."

Some of the regime's actions seem specifically aimed at heightening this atmosphere of insecurity. In Patna, some passersby were arrested for stopping to read slogans painted on a wall. Passengers on trains who have been overheard making antigovernment remarks have reportedly been taken to police stations for warnings.

There are a number of indications that Gandhi intends to rule by dictatorial means for some time to come.

A government official announced that Parliament would hold a week-long session beginning July 21, reportedly to approve the state of emergency. Under the Indian constitution, the president (at the prime minister's orders) can declare a state of emergency for only two months. An extension has to be voted on by Parliament, which has the power to extend it for six months at a time. Since the Congress party and its allies control both houses of Parliament, such an extension is virtually assured. Moreover, about twenty opposition members of Parliament are under arrest.

In an interview published in the July 13 *London Sunday Times*, Gandhi was asked whether the elections scheduled for February 1976 would be held. "I cannot say," she replied. When asked how long the state of emergency would be in effect, she said, "How can I say now? It would be lifted whenever conditions are normal and the emergency is not required." □

#### For Meritorious Service

The Roman Emperor Caligula is said to have appointed his horse a consul. Not to be outdone, the rulers of the Kremlin have awarded one of the Soviet Union's highest honors to their official news agency, Tass.

Tass modestly reported the event in a brief dispatch July 11:

"By the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the telegraph agency of the Soviet Union [Tass] today was awarded the Order of the October Revolution for merits in propaganda of home and foreign policy of the Soviet state, for the wide informing of the Soviet people and the world public on the economic, political and spiritual life of socialist society."

### What Happened to Cambodia's Urban Population?

By Peter Green

Three months after the victorious liberation forces marched into Pnompenh, Cambodia remains cut off from the rest of the world. No foreign journalists were allowed to stay in the country. The only sources of news are the broadcasts of the official government radio station or the reports of refugees who have made their way across the border into Thailand or Vietnam.

Apparently even Peking is cut off. The only reports on Cambodia appearing in the Chinese news agency bulletin, Hsinhua, have been based on Cambodian radio broadcasts.

American ruling circles and their propagandists have had a field day. Henry Kissinger piously stated June 24 that "there has been a rather terrible toll of civilians inflicted." A column by Jack Anderson and Les Whitten in the June 23 *Washington Post* talked about a Cambodian "death march." In a June 26 editorial, the *Christian Science Monitor* appealed to the "conscience of the world" and compared the situation in Cambodia to that under the Nazis.

In view of the ban on foreign reporters, it is difficult to puncture these assessments. However, some additional information has trickled out since the first accounts of the evacuation of the cities appeared in the world press. Some of the new bits of information have been made public by various intelligence agencies on the basis of interviews with refugees. In general these accounts substantiate previous reports but must be considered with reservations until they can be verified from independent sources.

A case in point is the account given by David Andelman in the June 13 *New York Times*.

It is based on the stories of refugees who headed north along Route 5 out of Pnompenh. At the first checkpoint, those with motorized vehicles were forced to abandon them, Andelman said. "Tires were slashed and cars disabled. Some refugees saw the soldiers making sandals from the tires.

"Those forced to abandon their cars and take to the roads on foot were told that the Government wanted to eliminate private motorized transport to cut down on the consumption of petroleum and the reliance on foreign assistance that such consumption produced."

Twenty miles north of Pnompenh at the Prek Kdam ferry crossing where Route 6 joins the road, the liberation forces had

established a mammoth sorting center, assigning some of the refugees to continue north toward Pursat and others to go east to Kompong Cham. For the first leg of the march to Prek Kdam, "there was considerable evidence of Communist soldiers, all heavily armed, prodding the marchers along, keeping them from turning back," said Andelman. But after this the strict control began to melt away.

The refugees who were interviewed said they had been well treated and had never seen evidence of brutality on the part of the Communist officers. Neither did they go without basic food, particularly rice, which had been stored at various points along the line of march.

However, in the areas where the marchers were to be resettled, it was a different matter. Several refugees reported seeing children with the swollen bellies that indicate malnutrition. There was also a severe shortage of drinking water. And in several of the heavily resettled areas, epidemics of cholera had broken out, they said.

A further problem was lack of farm tools and of dikes and irrigation networks in the previously uncultivated areas, where some of the refugees were assigned. According to Andelman, "with the rainy season started, most of the rice to be harvested in November and December must already be planted."

"If it is not in yet, they are in big, big trouble," said one Thai agricultural expert. "They may have stocked away enough to last them until the first harvest. Even that, I doubt. They will probably need help to get them through September and October. But if they don't have the crop in now, next year could be very bad."

It is on the basis of such accounts that some Western relief officials estimate that Cambodia is suffering from famine conditions and that more than one million Cambodians may die of starvation or hunger-related diseases in the next eighteen months.

Several things indicate that the evacuation of the cities had been planned by the liberation forces well before the final capture of Pnompenh. Andelman reported that at the Prek Kdam checkpoint, each refugee was given an identity card, clearly prepared in advance.

Another account is that of two French priests who were evacuated from Cambodia,

which appeared in the May 30 issue of the Paris Catholic daily, *La Croix*:

"These evacuations were not the result of chance or improvisation," said one of them, Father Destombes. "Since the beginning of the war the Khmer Rouge deported the population when they took control of a region. . . . Not just the towns, but the villages and the isolated houses in the countryside have been systematically emptied and burned. . . ."

A quite detailed account of the evacuation of Pnompenh was given by Bernard Hazebrouck, a young French teacher married to a Cambodian woman. He told his story to the Paris weekly *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

When the liberation forces entered Pnompenh, he at first refused to seek refuge in the French embassy and set out on the trek to the countryside with his family, pushing before him his Peugeot 404 laden with supplies. All his neighborhood was being herded south. Progress was slow, and after five days they reached Takhmau, about ten miles from Pnompenh, where the liberation forces had established a sorting center and thousands of refugees were getting their instructions on where to go. Here he was told that he had to return to the capital, which he agreed to do as long as he could take his family with him. Still pushing his car, he arrived back in Pnompenh after another five days.

His experiences along the route backed up some of the reports from journalists who had remained in Pnompenh for a short period following the take-over. The evacuation was carried out indiscriminately, he said, with a good deal of suffering resulting. He saw hospital patients who had been dragged out of their beds, old people, and pregnant women. He gave a lift to one woman who couldn't go any further, and fed her. After two days, however, she did not want to continue because she wanted to be reunited with her husband, who had left in the other direction. She remained by the side of the road.

Many families were separated, Hazebrouck said, because persons who were working in another suburb on the day the city was taken over were unable to return to their homes.

When he arrived back in Pnompenh, his Cambodian family was not allowed into the French embassy, so they all camped in the car in the street for a few days until the liberation forces allowed them to occupy a deserted villa in the area.

The villa soon became a gathering place for the liberation forces soldiers, he said. At first they came to ask the women of the family if they could sew trousers. "The young Khmers stayed there," he said, "talking about their lives in the country, discussing the price of pigs and how they all worked in the fields."

At the villa he met one of his former

pupils, who had been one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement in Pnompenh and who had disappeared some months before the fall of the city.

"I reproached him strongly for the conduct of the revolutionaries, particularly the brutal evacuation of the cities," Hazebrouck said. "He explained that he also was sad, because his parents had to take to the road and he had no news of them. But, according to him, it was indispensable for the success of the revolution: 'Afterwards, everything will be much better.'

"What would the city of Pnompenh be converted into? He explained that it would be an administrative and military center, whose population would work in light industry. Little by little it would be repopulated with technicians to get the main services functioning again and to do specialized work. All those living in the city who were 'unproductive' from now on would work in the fields, in the countryside. In fact in the days that followed we saw the return of small groups of technicians, electricians, sanitation employees, railway workers, all with the obvious intention of putting the main services of the city back in order."

Reconstruction is certainly getting under way, but there have been no reports of how much progress has been made, even from Pnompenh Radio itself. The radio has broadcast frequent reports of a population working hard to produce more rice, catch more fish, breed more livestock and poultry, increase production of rubber and salt, and produce more food of every kind. The emphasis is on exhortations and statements of intent, however, and the radio does not say what results have been obtained.

A June 18 broadcast reported by Hsinhua said: "... the Cambodian people and their revolutionary army will adopt the slogan: 'Holding the gun in one hand and the hoe in the other.' To restore economy and build their country, they are making full use of the time to do the following things: grow crops in the rainy season, and promote the campaign for irrigation works to tackle completely the water problem; reopen all transportation lines to rehabilitate economy; reorganize life in the cities and turn them into productive cities, especially for industrial production; reorganize life in the rural areas, promote the unity-to-increase-production campaign, change the outlook of the countryside and raise the people's living standard."

The broadcast said that the people and the army are giving priority to the restoration of industry and transportation. "They are sure to bring about a leap forward in agricultural production and are determined to turn Cambodia, which is backward in agriculture, into a country with a modern agriculture and then a country with modern industry and agriculture."

The leadership of the liberation forces evacuated the cities not merely to carry out an economic plan or to ensure the rapid restoration of agricultural production. They portrayed it as a "purification" process, a cultural revolution of an extreme variety.

"The Cambodians have all left for the forests to clear away and rebuild a new Cambodia," said the priest quoted by *La Croix*. "It is necessary to wipe out all traces of the capitalism that built these towns and organized these villages. The new man must tear himself loose from his whole past to be born again through working on the land: 'Man must relearn that he is born from a grain of rice,' a Khmer Rouge told us. 'Cambodians had forgotten that fact under the former regime.'

"It is also necessary to forget the old culture completely. For example, after taking the capital, the Khmer Rouge carried out book burnings. The ten thousand volumes on Cambodia in the magnificent French library of the Far East were burned."

Reeducation centers for officers and officials of the Lon Nol regime have reportedly been set up. Travel has been severely restricted; to travel outside even the smallest administrative district a permit is needed.

Foreigners were ordered out of the country shortly after the liberation of Pnompenh on April 17. A large number of ethnic Vietnamese and Chinese residents—most of whom held Cambodian citizenship—still remain, but many have reportedly fled to South Vietnam. According to Allan Dawson of United Press International in Saigon, only one other known foreigner is still in Cambodia—the French wife of a Cambodian man.

Pnompenh Radio announced June 8 that the use of all foreign languages was banned. It said Cambodia had to struggle to preserve its customs and traditional way of

life, and Khmer folk music and crafts such as weaving were to be promoted.

The revolutionary government has been stressing the need to be self-sufficient in everything. The radio reported that the Pnompenh units of the armed forces had launched a campaign to achieve self-sufficiency in grain and vegetables by the end of the rainy season.

Border fighting with both Thailand and South Vietnam has been reported. According to the June 29 issue of *Le Monde*, Vietnamese troops have occupied the Wai Islands, claimed by both Cambodia and Vietnam. These incidents might have prompted the following broadcast from Radio Pnompenh June 27, also reported in the June 29 *Le Monde*:

"In all circumstances, our people will defend their honor, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity against imperialists and others. The Cambodian people have a sense of honor when it comes to defending their independence. They don't beg for aid, either from the American imperialists, or from other imperialists. . . . We want to have friendly relations with neighboring countries. . . . We want to resolve our problems with them in a spirit of solidarity and mutual understanding."

*Le Monde* commented that tension appears high between Pnompenh and Hanoi. "The radio editorial clearly indicates that the difference is not only territorial but ideological. The Khmer 'model' hardly seems to be to the taste of the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam] or Hanoi, and Pnompenh condemned rather explicitly the appeal by the Vietnamese for Western assistance.

"The unity of the Indochinese peoples, pledged at the Canton conference in 1970, experienced some difficulties during the war," *Le Monde* continued. "It has not withstood the outbreak of peace." □

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# Lessons of the Ashkelon Dockers' Strike

By M. Halevy

JERUSALEM—The strike by workers at the main fuel depot in the port of Ashkelon has ended. They were unable to hold out alone against the state apparatus and all its institutions—Histadrut, the entire spectrum of Zionist parties—and a significant section of the working class.

Despite the fact that it ended in a defeat, the strike has set an example. Both the methods of struggle used in it and the limits imposed on it give an indication of what strikes called by the Israeli working class in the near future will be like.

The coming strikes will be called in response to the considerable drop in workers' buying power and to the massive unemployment whose first signs are already being felt. And if Israeli workers want to prevent the social crisis of the Zionist state from being resolved at their expense, they will have to draw the lessons of the Ashkelon strike.

The strike began in mid-March when the bosses of the Oléoduc Eilat-Ashkelon Company announced that more than half the workers would be laid off. They immediately went out on strike but agreed to return to work after the courts, the police, and Histadrut stepped in.

An agreement was signed between the bosses and the members of the Dock Workers Committee. Among other things it called for the establishment of a commission that would decide whether there was good cause for the layoffs and what part of the work would go to a private contractor the company wanted to hire to do the job. Heading the commission was one of the leaders of Histadrut.

The commission's findings clearly favored the company. But the company's chief executive, Reserve Gen. A. Botser, refused to accept its recommendations, mainly those concerning the private contractor.

The dock workers knew that their right to work was at stake and that General Botser had long ago decided to increase profits at their expense. They decided to go back out on strike to fight the layoffs. This decision—lining up sixty-six dock workers against the Zionist state—led to a test of strength unparalleled since the maritime strike of 1952.

According to the law, delegates representing the dock workers were supposed to appear before the labor court to receive formal notice that their strike was illegal,

which it clearly was since it had not received the approval of Histadrut. However, after going into hiding to avoid being served with a summons, the delegates decided to return to the method of struggle they had tried in the previous strike. They seized the convoy boats and set out for sea.

This plunged them further into illegality. On two occasions they forcibly prevented strikebreakers hired by the private contractor from docking oil tankers. At the same time they issued statements—of which only garbled excerpts were published by the press—stressing their determination to continue the struggle until they received guarantees that there would be no layoffs.

Lined up against the Ashkelon strikers were all the forces of reaction that could be mustered. The government declared war on the Ashkelon "saboteurs." Histadrut excluded them from its "trade union" organizations. The press was unanimous in denouncing them and demanding the use of force to obtain respect for "trade-union order." A special session of the Knesset was devoted to the strike, and apart from the Communist party and the "left Zionists" of Moked, the members called for the use of the most forceful means possible against these enemies of the people and the state.

While the debate was under way, a virtual naval battle took place in Ashkelon harbor as police in patrol boats tried to arrest the strikers. The police launches were put out of commission, one of them cut almost in half by the strikers, and a number of policemen took a plunge into the sea. The police began to fire into the air. In parliament, the use of the police was approved. The pathetic cries of [Itshak] Ben-Aharon, former secretary of Histadrut, against the use of armed force were lost in the reactionary hysteria of his associates in the Labor party.

The use of the police and the firing of the shots had a contradictory effect on the working class. Some organized sectors, including the dockers, the miners at Temna, and the merchant marine, reacted in a positive way, some going so far as to threaten to walk off the job if it happened again. But the bulk of the workers held the Ashkelon strikers responsible for the police being called in, and criticized them for having dared to defend themselves and confront the police. As for the Histadrut leadership, it was unable to avoid lodging a verbal complaint against the use of force in a labor conflict, but continued to attack the strikers.

No more attempts were made to arrest the strikers on the high sea, but the tanker port of Ashkelon remained under a "state of siege" and the manhunt against the sixty-six longshoremen continued. By the end of the strike about twenty of them were already behind bars. Most of them had been arrested during crew changes on the boats or when meeting their comrades at a rendezvous along the coast to replenish their supplies.

As the days passed it became increasingly clear that the strikers remained isolated, that the government had made a firm decision to break them, and that the strike would end in a defeat. On June 9 the strikers gave in. Those who had not already been arrested were indicted not only for having taken over the company's boats in the current strike but also retroactively for having done so during the strike in March.

Furthermore, the company demanded that the four strike delegates pay about \$100,000 in damages and interest. Negotiations between the company and representatives of Histadrut continued, but the strikers were defeated and will have to accept the layoffs of their comrades.

Despite its defeat, the Ashkelon dock workers' strike has a significance that goes far beyond this specific conflict. Although it was a "small" strike, it is one of the half-dozen social conflicts in the twenty-eight-year history of the Zionist state that have left their mark in the class struggle.

First of all, it was a militant strike. A new generation of worker militants that emerged during the boom period following the 1967 war is beginning to enter the arena. This new generation is different from the one that preceded it. It is made up of workers who were either born in or grew up in Israel. They have much looser ties with Histadrut and were brought up to believe that the state "belongs to them," that they are in no way obligated to shoulder the cost of the capitalists' economic crisis.

At the same time, they do not have the class consciousness (overlaid with a musty veneer of populism) that marked the first generation of worker militants, educated in Western and Eastern Europe. This latter characteristic—populism—was, however, present throughout the Ashkelon strike. The high degree of militancy was reflected more in courageous and exemplary actions than in efforts to bring about a favorable relationship of forces, the precondition for any victory. The Ashkelon dockers have serious doubts about Histadrut, but this has not yet led to a consciousness of the need to establish independent forms of working-class organization.

The most significant factor in the Ashkelon strike was the isolation of the strikers. This itself can be traced to two factors. First, the lack of preparation in this regard

by the strikers themselves. Second, the extremely low level of working-class solidarity, owing to the lack of working-class organs on one hand and the effectiveness of government propaganda on the other.

That explains why the government had no great difficulty in breaking the strike. This despite the fact that the strike raised issues of national significance—the question of layoffs, which affects the entire working class; and the use of the police—and should have led to the mobilization of the entire Israeli work force.

Atomization of the working class and integrating it into the “National Union” remain the chief goal of the Zionist state. And although sectors of the working class continue to step outside the framework of this “National Union” to defend their immediate interests, they do not have an overall understanding of the need to assert themselves as a class that stands in opposition to the “national interest.”

This atomization and the lack of even the most elementary working-class solidarity give the left groups a responsibility that is out of proportion to their actual strength. This was demonstrated during the Ashkelon strike, just as it was during the Ashdod strike in 1969.

There was a difference, however. In 1969, in the midst of a war of attrition mounted by the government, only the anti-Zionists of Matzpen supported the strikers, who were under attack from all the political parties and the population as a whole. This time, a common front was established, the Committee for the Defense of the Ashkelon Strikers. It included not only the anti-Zionist groups but also the “socialist Zionists” of the Sia’h and student supporters of Moked.

The committee was the only organization—apart from the CP, which spoke out in the Knesset and the Histadrut Central Committee—to defend the strikers unconditionally and to organize protests and solidarity on their behalf. Despite the 7,000 leaflets that were distributed at factory gates and in the universities, the solidarity demonstration drew no more than about 200 persons, including the wives of the strikers. But this demonstration was the only concrete expression of solidarity with the Ashkelon workers.

In addition to their participation in the support committee, the revolutionary Marxists of the Revolutionary Communist League (Matzpen) put forward their own position in a leaflet that was distributed in large quantities. It focused on two points.

- Working-class solidarity and independent organization of the workers, based on delegated committees independent of Histadrut.

- A sliding scale of hours and wages to eliminate massive unemployment.

In its statement, the RCL also sought to show the link between the workers’ social

situation and their demands on the one hand, and the Zionist state on the other. To point up the contradiction between the interests of the workers and the interests of the state, the RCL raised the slogan: “A people that oppresses another people cannot be free.”

The political and openly anti-Zionist content of the RCL’s statement clearly demarcated the group from the economism and reformism of the other left groups. This was noticed by the strikers, who, in their contacts with RCL members, for the first time caught a glimpse of an overall solution to the problems that concern them.

In confronting for the first time the full weight of the Zionist state, the Ashkelon workers—like the Ashdod workers before them—were accused of being traitors to the national cause, and thus found themselves compelled to view their problems in a political framework. And, as happened with the Ashdod dockers, the Ashkelon longshoremen will from now on see political questions in a different light.

“It is going to be a hot summer,” the secretary-general of the Histadrut said. In point of fact, beginning in July the tax reform, the renewal of contracts, and the cost-of-living bonus will bring the workers into contact with the government and the bosses. But as Ygal Sh’hori, a longshoremen’s delegate, told us: “It will be a hot summer if the workers draw the lessons of our defeat and unite to respond to the bosses’ attack.”

Unity of the workers—outside of and in opposition to Histadrut—would certainly assure their ability to defend their living standard and jobs. But this unity requires development of consciousness of their interests as a class, that is, the demystification of Zionist propaganda and its slogans of “national unity” and “national interest.” At present only the anti-Zionist revolutionists are prepared to mount an active propaganda campaign around this theme. This makes their intervention into the present crisis of Zionist society ten times more important: □

### Smith Regime Announces New Drive Against Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters

The white racist Smith regime in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) announced July 11 that it would step up its counterinsurgency operations against the African rebels. A government official urged all whites to volunteer for service in the drive against the freedom fighters.

Some of the African nationalist leaders were released from prison in December to participate in negotiations with the racist regime. But according to one white official quoted by an American journalist, “I would not be surprised to see the re-arrest of the black nationalist leaders and imposition of martial law.”

## 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.

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

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

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## The Parties of the 'Popular Unity' Continue to Flounder

By Jean-Pierre Beauvais

[The following article, the third in a series of four, appeared in the May 23 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly, *Rouge*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Economic crisis; the impoverishment of an entire people; a working class that more than ever must pay the cost of the September 11, 1973, coup; repression; big and small maneuvers by a bourgeois opposition looking toward the Christian Democracy—the left seems to have little place in the tableau of the Chilean situation we have drawn so far.

In reality, in spite of the numerous declarations made abroad by the "leaders" or "representatives" of the parties that made up the Popular Unity, it is an unfortunate fact that these parties, with the exception of the Communist party, are too weak—sometimes so weak as to be nonexistent—and too divided to play any role whatsoever in the present circumstances.

The situation is almost identical for the Christian Left, the Radical party, or the two MAPUs [Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria—Movement for United People's Action, and Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria-Obrero y Campesino—Workers and Peasants Movement for United People's Action]. Here and there isolated militants who belonged to one or another of these groups continue to participate in individual discussions or small meetings. By means of fleeting contacts that are often broken off by the repression, plans for reorganizing are sketched out without anything very concrete coming of them.

As for the Socialist party, without being qualitatively different, it is in a situation of another sort. First, those who to any degree claim to be SP supporters are clearly more numerous than the adherents of the Christian Left, MAPU, or the Radical party. To be sure, that merely reflects the previous situation in the Unidad Popular, where the SP was a mass party with forces that were infinitely superior to those of these organizations. And in fact the SP's incredible political heterogeneity before the coup is now accentuated, sharpened, and made more sectarian among the survivors. The most elaborate form of centralization that a part of these SP militants are equipped with is a "coordination" of several regional



Christian Science Monitor

leaderships, a coordination lacking any political homogeneity.

For the Communist party, it is quite a different matter. Greatly weakened, and encompassing a small number of forces compared with what it had two years ago, it has been able to rebuild a genuine national structure in spite of the death or dispersion of a large number of its secondary cadres. Evidence of this is its monthly publication, which, although mimeographed and poorly distributed, is the best source of information on the concrete situation of the working class in a number of plants throughout the country. In spite of its weaknesses, its influence and its audience remain large thanks to the daily broadcasts from Radio Moscow, the most listened-to station in Chile, in which its exiled leaders are regularly heard.

What lessons do these organizations draw from the historical events in which they were the protagonists and the victims? Basically, none.

*Apart from their respective organizational difficulties, that is where their essential weakness lies.*

The immediate tasks for the Chilean workers movement can be none other than the realignment and reorganization of the workers movement, starting from the experience accumulated during the three years

of the UP and from a comprehensive balance sheet of the defeat that resulted. But the remnants of the SP continue to tear themselves apart in confused debates that often degenerate into personal conflicts or squabbles over authority.

The representatives of the "coordination" inside the country claim to be in the "left" of the SP. They are reportedly critical of General Secretary Altamirano, judging his activity in exile to be opportunist. But that does not go very far. They view concessions and tactical regroupments as necessary to maintain the unity of a party whose overall strategy of the past years—within the framework and bosom of the UP—they accepted unquestioningly. According to these comrades, they should have gone further in 1973 and made fewer concessions. As for the independent organization of the workers and arming them on a massive scale, they say they are in agreement, but it is clear they are not. "The problem was elsewhere," they say. "It was in the CP's reformist orientation and the weight this party had in the working class."

For its part the CP carries out its line with a wonderful perseverance, almost as though nothing had happened. Its orientation is to regroup all the antifascists, whatever the price. From which flows its barely disguised support to the activities of the Christian Democrats, and the instructions given to militants here and there to back concretely the Christian Democrats' efforts to reorganize among working-class circles.

For the CP leadership, the defeat of the UP was due primarily to the action of ultralefts, both outside the UP (certainly the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left]) and inside (a large part of the SP).

In tossing the ball up to each other like this again, the CP and the so-called left sectors of the SP continue to play an old game, useful to both. In the framework of the UP, to say that one was too reformist and the other was too "impatient" is to avoid posing the fundamental question—the strategy of the UP, that is, the peaceful and gradual road to socialism.

Hearing representatives of these parties speak—or rather in the case of the SP the representatives of the remnants, the ghosts, of the party—one cannot help experiencing a feeling of unreality. The defeat, the tears

and blood shed by the Chilean workers since September 11, 1973, the repression they have to face each day, has done little or nothing to open their eyes.

*They continue down the same road, down the same dead end, more concerned with justifying themselves in the eyes of their followers and preserving a clear conscience than in beginning to draw the lessons of a reality that they helped create and of which they are the victims.*

In this situation the responsibilities and tasks of revolutionary militants are more immense than ever. Not because they can pose an alternative to the junta's regime in the short or medium term, but because the possibility of successful struggles by the Chilean workers will depend—in the long term, unfortunately—on their role and the part they will play in the process of rebuilding the workers movement.

The junta has understood that well. The political police, the spearhead of the repression, concentrates its attack against the revolutionists, and above all against the MIR, its *bête noire*. This has had serious consequences. The loss of militants and political cadres, including some of the best, has been considerable. To a large extent the organization is mobilized to preserve its own continued existence, its own survival, which reduces its capacity for intervention accordingly. All these factors have created a situation that makes it particularly difficult to work out precise orientations, which is a necessary condition for an effective political intervention to reorganize the workers movement.

[Next: Pinochet's Campaign to Crush the MIR]

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## CGT Urges International Support for Defense Campaign

### Union Leaders Face Frame-up in Santo Domingo

By Judy White

The July 17 court hearing for the central leaders of the Dominican Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Workers Federation) revealed the out-and-out frame-up the Balaguer government is trying to manufacture against the federation.

Arrested June 5 and accused of plotting to overthrow the government were CGT General Secretary Francisco Antonio Santos, Education Secretary Julio de Peña Valdez, and Grievance Secretary Eugenio Pérez Cepeda. Also charged were three other CGT leaders and MPD (Movimiento Popular Dominicano—Dominican People's Movement) leader David Onelio Espailat.

During the hearing, however, secret-police member Lt. Luis Antonio Mañón, who had signed the complaint against them, could not produce so much as a clue as to where the CGT leaders had held "subversive" meetings or what methods they allegedly were planning to use to overthrow Balaguer.

What Mañón did assert was that the accused belonged to the "far left," although according to a report in the July 18 issue of the Santo Domingo daily *Listín Diario*, he could not explain the meaning of the phrase.

Aside from the defendants, Mañón was the only one to testify at the hearing. Nonetheless, the judge refused to rule that the defendants were being unjustly held and ordered them returned to jail.

The CGT has requested international support for their campaign to free the union leaders. In a July 1 appeal to American organizations concerned with defending democratic rights, the CGT executive board said:

"It is obvious that the persecution against us flows from our status as a trade-union organization with a clear action program and our daily activity of uncompromising defense of the workers' interests. This is particularly true because we are directly confronting multinationals that are draining our country's wealth with the approval of the government of Dr. Joaquín Balaguer. At the head of the anti-working-class, antinational offensive of these multinationals is *Gulf and Western*. Others, like *Falconbridge*, *Codal*, *Compañía Dominicana de Teléfonos*, follow in its footsteps.

"Faced with the starvation, hunger, and lack of democratic freedoms our workers and people suffer, with the chronic unemployment and uncontrolled rise in the cost of living, it is logical that progressive union

organizations would raise protests and demands. The current government does not permit this, although in order to stop it they have to trample on their own laws.

"This is the reason why our compañeros have been jailed, why other leaders are persecuted, why our central offices are under strict surveillance by the secret service of the national police."

One focus of CGT organizing has been among workers in the sugar industry, the most important industry in the Dominican economy. In the course of this drive, the federation has clashed with the state, which owns twelve of the sixteen sugar refineries on the island, and with *Gulf and Western*.

The CGT has charged refinery administrators with not paying the legally established minimum wage; withholding promised bonuses; and organizing a campaign to harass union supporters through threats of death and imprisonment.

In addition, in recent months the Balaguer regime has suspended the legal status of more than 300 CGT unions, including the sugar workers local at the *Gulf and Western*-owned refinery in La Romana.

A letter from Santos and Cepeda, published in the June 14 issue of the Dominican daily *La Noticia*, described the conditions the unionists now face.

"Tell the public that the authorities have us locked up in a cell that is filthy, full of bedbugs, spiders, and other insects that are immune to our intensive cleaning efforts.

"They have put us in with gangsters, thugs, common criminals, and even with men who appear to be getting ready to listen to supposed conversations that they can present to the courts. . . ."

The CGT has made an appeal for united actions to prevent their leaders from spending years in jail. The federation has asked the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners\* to coordinate these efforts in the United States. □

\* USLA, 156 Fifth Avenue, Suite 600, New York, New York 10010.

### British Inflation Hits Record 26.1%

Britain's inflation rate rose to still another record level in June, according to figures released by the government July 18. June consumer prices were 26.1% higher than the levels a year ago and were 1.9% above the May record. Some economists in London predict that the inflation rate could climb to as high as 30% in the next few months.

## Iranian Stalinists Hail Shah's Betrayal of Kurds

By Majid Namvar

According to an announcement by Iran's foreign minister, Abbas Khalatbari, June 14, "all differences between Iran and Iraq are settled." Among the main points of the eighty-page treaty signed in Baghdad June 13, he said, was an agreement to prevent "infiltration from either state to the other, through cooperative security actions."

Since the signing of the initial accord between the two regimes March 5, the Iranian government-controlled press has dealt with various aspects of the agreement with much fanfare. The emphasis has tended to be on Baghdad's willingness to curb activities in Iraq directed against the shah.

Jumping on the shah's bandwagon, the pro-Moscow Tudeh (Communist) party of Iran has also greeted the March 5 accord, hailing the resulting setback to the Kurdish national minority in Iraq as "a victory for peace and progress." In an article headlined "Defeat of Imperialist Plot Is a Victory for Peace and Progress," *Mardom* (no. 133), the fortnightly organ of the Tudeh party, published in exile, gave the following assessment of the Baghdad-Tehran accord:

"Normalization of the relationship between Iran and Iraq; ending the armed resistance by the Kurdish reaction in northern Iraq; and the establishment of peace in the border area of the two countries will all help reduce the existing tension in this region."

Before signing the March 5 accord in Algiers, the shah had provided military assistance to the Kurdish rebels fighting for autonomy in Iraq. This was intended primarily to weaken his neighboring rival power. It had the added benefit of putting pressure on the Baghdad regime for a settlement, favorable to the shah, of a long-standing dispute over navigation rights in the Shatt-al-Arab waterway, which forms part of the border between the two countries.

The shah's aid to the Kurds was immediately halted with the signing of the Algiers accord. From his point of view, such assistance had always been a double-edged blade. While useful against Baghdad, it also helped pave the way for the Kurdish national movement to spread beyond the Iraqi borders and encourage a similar rebellion in Iranian Kurdistan.

The shah expressed this fear early this year in an interview in the Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Siasseh* (reprinted in the January 11



Het Parool

issue of the Tehran daily *Kayhan*). When asked about his views on the Kurdish struggle for autonomy, the shah said: "The talk has always been about Kurdish autonomy inside Iraq, not outside of that country. . . . in any case, we don't support the idea of a separatist Kurdistan."

In April, in a display of good faith toward the Iraqi dictatorship, the shah made clear his attitude toward the Kurdish rebels when he ordered the execution of two Kurds who had hijacked an Iraqi plane and flown it to Tehran.

Following the line of Moscow's support to the Iraqi regime's effort to crush the Kurdish struggle, both the Tudeh party and the Iraqi Communist party have praised the policies of what they claim is a "progressive" regime in Baghdad. In the case of the Iraqi CP, which has held two posts in the cabinet since May 1972, the local Stalinists have in fact assumed direct responsibility for the campaign to destroy the Kurdish liberation struggle.

The Iranian Stalinists, on the other hand, have been able to display their support to the Iraqi regime only by waging a slander campaign in their press against the Kurdish freedom fighters.

Following the resumption of open warfare between the Iraqi army and the Kurdish guerrilla forces in March 1974, the Tudeh party tried to explain how the Kurds, in fighting against their national oppression, were being used as a "tool of imperialism." The Tudeh party even claimed that Kurdish discontent was a direct result of imperialist agitation.

The April 1974 issue of *Mardom* (no. 108) carried a statement by the Tudeh Central Committee, outlining the Stalinists' argument:

We all know that some differences on how to

solve the national question have existed between the Iraqi Kurds and the central government. Since the establishment of the present Iraqi regime, these age-old differences, which have often led to bloody fighting, have entered the stage of principled and rational solution.

. . . Giving the right of self-determination to Iraqi Kurdistan, as recently announced by the government, has resulted from the republic's correct policy and is a positive and progressive act.

But the American and British imperialists and local reactionaries, including the shah of Iran, are determined enemies of any peaceful solution of the Arab-Kurdish conflict.

By manipulating the right wing of the Kurdish Democratic party, these reactionary forces are trying to divert the party from its correct path and compel it to reject the peaceful road and the autonomy proposal, and instead move toward bloodshed and killing.

This is a theme frequently played in the Tudeh press. In it, the Iranian Stalinists follow their usual practice of distorting the facts, both in terms of their description of the policy of the Iraqi regime and in terms of their "explanation" of the motor force behind the Kurdish struggle.

In regard to the "autonomy" plan Baghdad proposed in March 1974, readers of *Mardom* are not likely to learn about a number of clauses that were not part of the original agreement between the government and the Kurdish nationalists. In fact, it was the inclusion of these clauses and the government's refusal to abide by the autonomy agreement it signed with the Kurds in 1970 that led to the breakdown of the four-year truce.

Included in what Tudeh calls the "right of self-determination to Iraqi Kurdistan" were such strings as granting the Iraqi government power to arbitrarily select the head of the Kurdish executive council; power to dissolve the Kurdish legislative council; and acceptance of its refusal to recognize the Kurds' demand for establishing definite regional borders.

Baghdad's violation of these basic points prepared the ground for further assault on the Kurdish national movement. The Iraqi regime's final offensive, begun after the signing of the initial agreement with the shah, was hailed by the Iranian Stalinists in *Mardom*, no. 133:

"Before fleeing they [the Kurdish leaders] made a useless attempt to stop the advance of the Iraqi army. But it was late, too late! In a telegram signed by the 'Political



Bureau' of the Iraqi party of Kurdistan, this reactionary group asked [Iraqi President] Hassan al-Bakr to agree to a settlement of differences through negotiations. In reply, the Iraqi government reaffirmed the 1974 autonomy terms and asked them to take advantage of the general amnesty and surrender themselves to the Iraqi officials."

Baghdad's rulers predictably rejected proposals for negotiations, and on March 7 six divisions of the Iraqi army began the attack that eventually defeated the Kurdish guerrilla forces.

In explaining the social basis for the Kurdish rebellion, the Tudeh party has resorted to further distortion of the facts. It argues that imperialist "manipulation" ignited the flames of Kurdish nationalist sentiment; and it ascribes the widespread support of the freedom struggle to "demagogic slogans" used by the "Kurdish reactionary group."

Even the Stalinists should know that something more powerful than "demagogic slogans" is needed to arouse the masses of an oppressed nationality. The fact is that the Kurds, whose homeland is divided between Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria, and the Soviet Armenian Republic, are an oppressed population. They speak a language that is different from the "official" languages used in those countries and have their own distinct history and culture. The basis of their discontent is that they have been denied their right to self-determination.

For example, the oppression of the Kurdish people in Iran takes a very concrete form. Although they number between three and four million, the Iranian Kurds are deprived of the elementary rights of teaching their language in schools or publishing books in it.

In concluding their declaration of support to the shah's deal with the Iraqi regime, the Tudeh party seized the opportunity to draw a lesson for the Kurdish masses of Iran:

"... the defeat of the Kurdish reaction on the one hand, and the government's application of the autonomy terms on the other, is a warning to the Kurdish people in Iran. It shows that in multinational countries the only way for nationalities to achieve their national rights... is to collaborate with the progressive and democratic forces."

The Tudeh party's betrayal of the Kurdish struggle in favor of support to such "progressive forces" as the Iraqi Baathist dictatorship coincides with what we have been accustomed to expect from them. If the narrow diplomatic interests of the Kremlin bureaucracy call for abandoning the most elementary principles of proletarian internationalism and stabbing the Kurdish movement in the back, the Iranian Stalinists are prepared to help give the blade a twist. □

## 600,000 Face Starvation

### Who Is Growing Fat From Haiti's Famine?



Revolution Socialiste

As many as 600,000 persons out of a population of more than five million are threatened with starvation in Haiti, which has been stricken by drought for the past year. People are already dying from the famine; some livestock has also starved to death. The hardest-hit area is the northwest, but famine conditions are spreading across the north.

Although the prospect of disaster was obvious for many months, Haiti's President for Life Jean-Claude ("Baby Doc") Duvalier did not formally declare a food emergency until the end of May. The regime admitted at that time that more than 300,000 persons were in a desperate situation. It attributed the famine to a "natural catastrophe."

But the drought was merely the last straw. For decades the Haitian people, ruled by a corrupt, dictatorial regime, have suffered a series of catastrophes: an average annual income of \$70; urban unemployment standing at 60 percent; an illiteracy rate of 90 percent; a life expectancy of thirty-three years.

Roads are almost nonexistent, and no effort has been made to improve agricultural methods. Nearly all the good farmland is owned by American sugar growers or the Duvalier family and their friends. Eighty percent of the people have to try to eke out an existence on tiny plots, mostly in hilly regions.

Not all Haitians are suffering from the country's "natural catastrophe," however. In fact, some are growing fat from it.

Jean-Claude Duvalier himself is managing quite well. Barry Newman reported in the March 25 *Wall Street Journal* that he "still cuts the figure of an overstuffed artillery shell dressed in a shiny sharkskin suit." The Duvalier dynasty is the most obvious and direct beneficiary of the abject

poverty and degradation of the mass of Haitians.

Newman described the setup as "one of the most colossal examples of institutionalized graft anywhere." The Haitian government has failed, "year after year, to include in its budgets \$10 million to \$20 million of the revenues it takes in, by the estimate of U.S. government sources. As far as anybody can tell, the money is deposited in the private accounts of the Duvalier family. It amounts to between 20% and 40% of the government's total expenditures."

Meanwhile, the regime uses budgeted funds for such things as a \$3 million mausoleum for "Papa Doc" Duvalier and a \$5 million outlay to host preliminary World Cup soccer matches.

The regime is squeezing money directly out of the famine as well. After complaints from international aid officials about extensive theft of food sent from abroad as famine relief, Duvalier arrested twenty of the country's leading businessmen and the chief of the customs bureau.

According to a report by Greg Chamberlain in the June 28 *Manchester Guardian*, their detention "is regarded as more of a scapegoat to appease the aid bodies rather than a display of honesty by the Duvalier regime, which has itself long been involved in food profiteering through a semi-autonomous State body, the Regie du Tabac which is personally controlled by the late Papa Doc's widow."

For Haitians, the Duvalier dictatorship has meant poverty, brutal repression, and starvation. For international companies in search of cheap labor it has meant an easy buck. Wages of \$1.30 a day for manual laborers have attracted 150 companies to the country in the last four years, most of them from the United States.

One profit-making scheme was reportedly discontinued following international publicity that was even too embarrassing for the Baby Doc dictatorship: An American company that bought blood from destitute Haitians at \$3 a liter and resold it in Chicago at \$25 a liter was forced to close up shop. □

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## How the 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act Has Eroded Democratic Rights in Britain

[Catherine Scorer is Northern Ireland Officer of the National Council for Civil Liberties (NCCL). She gave the following interview to Tony Hodges and Brian Lyons in London.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the government was given powers to proscribe organizations. Could you explain how this clause of the act has been applied?*

*Answer.* Section 1 of the act gave the home secretary [Roy Jenkins] the power to ban any organization. You may not belong to a proscribed organization, raise or receive money or goods on behalf of it, or support it in any other way. It is illegal to meet with more than two people from a proscribed organization even if you did not know that the organization was banned or that the meeting was held by a banned organization. The maximum penalties for this offence are an unlimited fine or five years imprisonment.

It is also an offence to display, carry, or wear in public anything which might show that you are a member or supporter of a banned organization, even if you are not. This act is in fact far more specific than the Public Order Act.<sup>1</sup> It actually says that you cannot wear any emblem or uniform or any other garment which would identify you as a member of a proscribed organization. It is only under Section 1 of the act that a person can be charged and brought to court. The attorney general must give his consent before a trial occurs, but once a person is actually tried, it is in open court. You have the right to legal representation and can defend yourself. There has been only one case brought to court under this section, and it is obvious that the government is having difficulty in proving guilt.

*Q. Was it just the Provisional Irish Republican Army that was banned?*

A. No, both the "Official" IRA and the Provisional IRA.

*Q. And Sinn Féin<sup>2</sup> also?*

A. Sinn Féin is not banned but you still have the problem of what exactly constitutes support for the IRA. For example, organizations like Green Cross, which is a registered charity organization, give money to relatives of internees. Many of these are members of the Provisionals, so the problem exists as to whether it is legal or not to support families of IRA members.

*Q. Is it legal to sell the "United Irishman" and other republican newspapers?*

A. It is still legal to support the idea of a united Ireland and the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. It could be dangerous though to sell papers like *An Phoblacht* and *Republican News*<sup>3</sup> which have military coverage. There might be a very strong case for prosecuting sellers of these newspapers even though they are not proven members of the IRA.

*Q. One case has actually been brought under this section of the act?*

A. Yes. James Fegan was found guilty at Glasgow Sheriff Court on February 10 for soliciting support for the IRA. He was offering posters which said: "Join the People's Army, the Provisionals." This is what he was trying to sell when he was actually picked up by the police.

Then he was found with a number of other posters which read, "Brit Thugs Out, Victory to the IRA, Freedom '74" and "This Soldier Could Be Standing Beside You, Watch What You Say."

Fegan, who admitted that he was a Sinn Féin member, was originally given a sentence of six months and fined £200 [£1=US\$2.20]. This was withdrawn when the sheriff heard that it was his first offence. The sentence was then deferred for a week without bail. After his background report was considered, Fegan was still given the six months jail sentence but was also fined £400.

2. The "Official" Sinn Féin is the political wing of the "Official" republican movement. The Provisional Sinn Féin is the political wing of the Provisional republican movement.

3. The *United Irishman* is the newspaper of the "Official" Sinn Féin. *An Phoblacht* and *Republican News* are organs of the Provisional Sinn Féin.

The sheriff said that the offence was basically incitement of others to kill their fellow men because of their different religious beliefs!

Fegan's sentence was the maximum provided by the act. Two of Fegan's friends were similarly charged, but the charges were dropped and both freed, so obviously there was not enough evidence against them.

*Q. The second section of the act allows the government to serve "exclusion orders." What does this mean and how has it been applied?*

A. This section of the act gives the home secretary the power to exclude from Great Britain or from the United Kingdom as a whole<sup>4</sup> any person he thinks is involved in terrorism. He can also prevent people from entering Britain on the same basis. He can "exclude" a U.K. citizen who has been in this country for less than twenty years and a non-U.K. citizen no matter how long that person has been living in Britain. So if an Irish person from the South of Ireland has been living in Britain for fifty years, he or she could still be "excluded."

The right to appeal against an exclusion order is very limited. Within forty-eight hours of an exclusion order being served the victim can make representations to the home secretary. He has an adviser who considers the appeal, and based on an oral interview with the defendant, makes a recommendation to the home secretary for a final decision. The penalty in the magistrates court for breaking an exclusion order is a £400 fine and/or six months imprisonment. In the Crown Court it is an unlimited fine and/or five years imprisonment.

There have been a number of exclusion-order cases. I think that about fifty orders have been issued. A number of orders have been issued against people already out of the U.K. on a visit. For example, many Sinn Féin supporters in Britain who traveled to Ireland for the McDade funeral<sup>5</sup> were unable to return because exclusion orders had been issued against them while they were at the funeral. There have also been thirty-six people who have actually been served with exclusion orders and removed from the country.

*Q. So that is thirty-six who were in Britain who were deported and about nine who were already out of the country and had orders issued against them?*

4. Great Britain does not include Northern Ireland. The "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland" does.

5. James McDade was a republican accidentally killed in Coventry last October while carrying a bomb. His brother had previously been shot dead by the British army.

A. Yes. There is the case of George Lynch from Birmingham Sinn Féin, who made a trip to Dublin. He wrote to the Northern Ireland Office asking if he would be harassed on his return. He thought that if he would be raided immediately after he came home, he would rather stay in Ireland. The Home Office replied saying: "We are hereby sending you a notice of exclusion and you have forty-eight hours to make your representation." So it obviously wasn't worth his while coming back.

There are really two groups of people being held under the act—those whom the police already know as members of Sinn Féin or Clann na h-Eireann, the political wing of the "Officials" in Britain, and Irish people not involved in political activity whom the police have picked up in general swoops, held for seven days, and eventually served with an exclusion order.

Of the first group, nearly all the people involved in the republican movement have decided to make representations. Quite a high proportion of those who have fought it have been successful. The last count was 5 out of 11, which is pretty good.

There is a much higher number in the other group—about 70 percent—who have not made representation because they do not know what is happening. These could be people from republican areas of Belfast who have just come over to find a job. For no reason at all they get held for seven days and told that they will be sent back. They are not politically committed and don't think it is really worthwhile fighting it.

Take the case of Albert O'Rawe, who came over from Belfast. He had a family of seven and was working as a porter in London for seven years. Fifteen policemen came to his house at 5:30 a.m. on the morning of November 30 just after the act had been passed. After arresting a young Irishman they originally came for, they started searching the rest of the house. When they found £200 in cash and a picture of Michael Gaughan, the Irishman who died on hunger strike in an English jail, O'Rawe was also taken away for questioning. The police assured his wife that he would not be held long. O'Rawe was detained for seven days and served with an exclusion order.

Apart from supporting the Green Cross, the only known evidence against O'Rawe was a conviction when he was in the IRA—thirty-three years ago in Ireland! For that he was sentenced at the time to ten years imprisonment and since then he has had no connection with the republican movement.

O'Rawe was questioned by the police for three days about his family connections and friendships in Belfast, and was left in solitary confinement for the remaining four days without further questioning. Although he fought the exclusion order, O'Rawe never knew what the evidence against him was or what he was being charged with. His appeal

## What Is the 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act?

The Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions Act) was passed by the British Labour government last November. It was rammed through Parliament in a matter of days after bombs exploded in Birmingham, killing twenty persons and injuring many others.

But as sectors of the capitalist press and the National Council for Civil Liberties pointed out, the "antiterrorist" laws were being prepared by the British government long before the Birmingham bombings occurred.

The law was introduced at a time of deepening conflict in Northern Ireland and growing sentiment in Britain for withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. It was accompanied by a well-orchestrated campaign of anti-Irish chauvinism, signaling an attempt by the imperialist rulers at Westminster to escalate their drive against the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland while reducing the threat of large-scale opposition from the British population.

The "antiterrorist" legislation is thus a blatant warning to all Irish people living in Britain that opposition to imperialist oppression of Ireland is punishable by deportation, lengthy imprisonment, financial hardship, or a week's grilling by the cops. It also represents a major assault on civil liberties in general.

- The law effectively curtails the right to speak, sell newspapers, or demonstrate peacefully if such activity can be construed as support to terrorism.

- The act's definition of terrorism as the "use of violence for political ends" narrows the distinction between "emergency powers" and established legal procedure. The definition is a vague generalization that extends far beyond individual bombings.

- The new law gives the police powers of search, arrest, and detention without warrant, charge, or trial. These powers could well be extended to other cases.

Violations of civil liberties such as these form part of a growing international pattern of repressive legislation introduced under the guise of "preventing terrorism." In the same month the new law was passed in Britain, the West German government introduced similar legislation, using the assassination of Judge Günter von Drenkmann as the main pretext.

To this can be added the "antiterrorist" law used by the Canadian government in 1970 and the repressive legislation used to imprison, torture, and murder freedom fighters in Iran, South Africa, Sri Lanka, and Chile, to name only a few countries.

Experience has shown that unless a vigorous campaign is launched against such laws, precedents are set making it easier for violations of democratic rights to be extended and broadened. As the National Council for Civil Liberties has noted, the Prevention of Terrorism Act was itself largely based on repressive legislation passed by Westminster for use in Northern Ireland. The lack of opposition to this legislation from the British labour movement helped pave the way for the extension of the measures to Britain itself, although in a different form.

The case studies referred to in the accompanying interview are only part of the research work carried out by the NCCL since the introduction of the "antiterrorist" act. A more complete account is available from the National Council for Civil Liberties, 186 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, England.

—Tony Hodges and Brian Lyons

failed and he was sent back to Northern Ireland.

*Q. The main point is that he was served with an exclusion order with no evidence whatever of any offence?*

A. You never know what the police evidence is. When the NCCL saw Jenkins and Tony Lester, Jenkins's political assistant, it was suggested to us that the victims of exclusion orders would find out the evidence against them in the interview with the "adviser" during representation. But it subsequently became clear that the adviser himself never looks at the evidence before

interviewing the victim. So really there is absolutely no check at all.

Our objection to the exclusion-order process is that in many ways it is as bad as internment. With internment at least you are given some vague notion of why you are held, even if it is just that you are a member of the IRA and held meetings in your house. You have got some sort of idea. But with exclusion orders, no evidence has to be given at all. Although the criterion is that you must have been involved in "the preparation, commission or instigation" of terrorist offences, it has become clear that you can be excluded also on the basis of past involvement before the act was passed.

Take the case of Gerry Doherty, a member



Andrew Wiard/Report

Three hundred persons marched through Kilburn July 5, for repeal of "Terrorism" act.

of Clann na h-Eireann, who was once convicted for possessing a firearm and served a jail sentence. It was obvious that this was taken into account when he was excluded. When a journalist I know contacted Lord Harris at the Home Office, Lord Harris's reply was that all these people are criminals—"not the sort we want in this country."

*Q. What proportion of the people excluded under the act are "Officials"?*

A. The "Officials" began a cease-fire three years ago and yet they are bearing quite a large part of this. Gerry Doherty, Danny Ryan, Jim Flynn, and Brendan Phelan have been excluded out of a total of fifty. That is less than 10 percent, but all the deported Clann members were major leaders in their movement.

*Q. So that is an attempt to strike a blow at Clann, to undermine what should be perfectly legal political activity?*

A. Yes, but at Sinn Féin as well, though particularly at Clann, who are bitterly opposed to the bombing campaign in this country. They can see that it has antagonized the British working class. Clann was one of the first organizations to condemn the Birmingham bombings. I think they are almost more bitter against the Provisionals than against the British government.

*Q. What about the powers of arrest and detention?*

A. Section 3 of the act gives the police powers to arrest, search, and detain. The act extends police powers to allow them to hold anyone for seven days for questioning. The

police could hold someone for forty-eight hours before this act was passed. Now the police can apply to the home secretary for a further five days' extension. No such applications have been turned down as yet, although it is highly unlikely that Jenkins examines any evidence at all. The police just say that they want the extension and they get it.

Greater powers are also given to immigration officers to detain persons at ports of entry. You can be held by any examining officer at a port of entry for seven days and a further five days with the permission of the home secretary, making a total of twelve days' detention without trial or charge.

*Q. Detention is without any charge at all?*

A. Yes, that is right. The police must only "reasonably suspect that you are concerned in the commission, preparation and instigation of acts of terrorism." For example, when a policeman was shot in Hammersmith, London, they immediately rounded up a lot of people for questioning. They claimed they had found a bomb factory. The rumour is that the bomb factory was a myth created by the police to allow them to make sweeping arrests.

*Q. How many were arrested?*

A. About fifty in all, of whom thirty-five were held for the full seven days.

*Q. Were these people charged with involvement with the bomb factory?*

A. No, they were just held for questioning. The police announced the bomb factory just to create a good climate for arrest and detention. They had already said that the

person who shot the policeman had an Irish accent and this also helped them to make the arrests. I think that even if they found a piece of wire they would say that they found a bomb factory.

Under this section the police can also take any "reasonable" steps to obtain identification. This includes photographing you, measuring you, and taking your fingerprints without your consent and without a court order. This gives a license to the police to use force to get your fingerprints, for example. Under this clause anyone can be stopped and searched by a police officer without a warrant, allegedly to find out whether you are carrying any documents or article which could provide evidence that you are liable to arrest under the act.

A police officer is empowered also without a warrant to search premises and every person found on the premises. All they need is permission from a police superintendent. Any officer who sees anything which gives "reasonable" grounds for suspicion of an offence under the act can take that away with him.

*Q. How has this section of the act been applied?*

A. About 541 people have been held under the act. The arrests have been carried out in waves. There were large numbers of arrests after the Guildford bombing, the shooting in Southampton, and the Hammersmith shooting.<sup>6</sup> There have also been arrests of people selling papers and making collections.

Immediately after the act came into force, the police first arrested about ten people in connection with the Guildford bombing. The number was small at first, but those detained were forced to give the names of their Irish friends. Many of those subsequently detained were from North London, where there is a large Irish community. The police were mainly looking for information and did not actually suspect that those they picked up were involved with the IRA.

We have been told by a number of people who were held that they were mainly asked who their drinking companions were, why they had come over here, what jobs they had, and who their friends were. The police went through their address books and took all the names of friends mentioned in the interrogation. On this basis further swoops were made and roughly fifty people were picked up in all. Only nineteen of these were eventually charged, and of these, charges were dropped against four and a murder charge was

6. The Guildford bombings occurred on October 5, before the act was introduced. Five people were killed and sixty-five were injured. The shooting in Southampton was the killing of a policeman in December 1974. The Hammersmith shooting is explained earlier in the interview.

dropped against a fifth—after they had been held in custody for almost two and a half months.

One boy was questioned for three days, only very briefly on the bombing itself. He was actually serving in a bar at the time of the bombing and had several witnesses to prove it. Nevertheless he was held for a further four days, and an hour before the full seven days were up he was told: "You can go now."

*Q. Why was that, just to intimidate people?*

A. I think so. Once they have applied for the five-day extension they keep them for the full five days. Maybe they think someone will suddenly produce a lot of information for them. This boy who was held the full seven days had obviously missed a week's work. He returned to his work the following Monday and at 7:00 a.m. on Tuesday he was picked up again by two different policemen who were allegedly inquiring into the murder of Kenneth Lennon.<sup>7</sup>

He was taken to Epsom police station and interrogated about the name P. Lennon, which was in the address book inspected by the Guildford police. The police then asked him a series of questions he had already answered at Guildford. He was eventually released at the end of the morning.

This person was not involved with the republican movement and was initially quite prepared to cooperate with the police. All the same he was held for seven days, and all the people he mentioned were then picked up. His girl friend was picked up, his girl friend's sister, and other people in his house.

*Q. Have these arrests and interrogations been directed against people in other movements like the Troops Out Movement?<sup>8</sup>*

A. As far as I know the act has been directed entirely against Irish people. I don't know of a single English person who has been held. Irish people, whether or not they are involved in political activity, have been affected rather than English political activists. There was a case in Swansea of a woman who had been involved in "Official" Sinn Féin and the Gaelic Athletics Association in the South of Ireland. She was picked up and eventually lost her job. She was generally harassed by the police just because she was Irish. There are many other examples where the general rule has been that if you are Irish

and working class, then you are a potential "terrorist" and can be held for seven days. I think the police are careful not to extend it to English people.

*Q. Could you say something about how the law in the North of Ireland set precedents for this law in Britain?*

A. Well, they have had emergency legislation in Northern Ireland since 1922. First of all they had the Special Powers Act, which

was renewed annually until 1933. It was then renewed until 1973, when the Emergency Provisions Act came into force and superseded it. One of the things we are anxious about is that this does not happen to this emergency legislation. Emergency provisions have a habit of becoming very permanent. The problem is that if the present attitude of the British government continues, the question of Northern Ireland will not disappear. I can just see this act becoming permanent. □

## Fumigate It First

## Watch Out When Eating Grain From the U.S.

Recent investigations into the American grain-shipping industry have unearthed some unsavory practices by companies trying to squeeze even greater profits from their grain deals with customers abroad.

To save on ship-cleaning costs and reduce port charges to a minimum, grain-shipping companies operating out of New Orleans and other ports have been bribing inspectors to falsely certify that ships are clean and grain is uncontaminated. Some of the ships used to transport grain had just been taken out of service as oil tankers.

In spite of reports of such practices going back many years and complaints from overseas buyers, Washington has turned a blind eye. According to an Agriculture Department report prepared in 1973, "It has not been the practice of the Grain Division to inform the Food and Drug Administration of grain found to contain deleterious substances such as mercury-treated kernels, crotalaria seeds, aflatoxin or adulterants such as rodent excreta and insect-damaged kernels."

Mercury, crotalaria seeds, and aflatoxin are poisonous.

A group of European grain company executives complained that soybean meal shipped from the U.S. often showed low protein content and high percentage of fibres when analyzed, indicating that hulls had been ground in with the beans. One of them said that American soybean meal often contained as much as 2 percent lime.

"That's a good profit for them when they can buy lime for four dollars a ton," he said. Soybean meal now sells for more than \$120 a ton and at times has sold for nearly \$300.

Foreign buyers report that U.S. grading regulations allow a ship to carry as much as 10 percent of off-grade grain, or even sour grain and trash, without having its official grading certificate lowered. Thus companies would load a ship to about 90 percent capacity, check the grading of the

grain aboard, and then complete the loading with poor grain, or anything else that happened to be on hand, to make their 10 percent "quota."

Other complaints included charges that food sent as drought and famine relief to the African Sahelian region and Ethiopia in 1974 contained misgraded or even diseased material, and that in 1973 the American companies sent India 72,000 tons of corn that was so worm-eaten it had to be fumigated on arrival.

In addition to shipping adulterated grain, the companies make enormous extra profits by bribing inspectors to issue certificates for short-weighted cargoes or to classify a grain shipment at a higher grade than it actually is. □

### 150,000 Greek Cypriots Demonstrate

An estimated 150,000 demonstrators gathered in Nicosia July 15 to mark the anniversary of the coup inspired by the Greek junta that overthrew the Makarios government and resulted in Turkey's invasion of Cyprus.

President Makarios, who fled during the coup but returned in December, told the cheering crowd that his government will not give up its struggle to reunite Cyprus in "full independence and territorial integrity."

### Kremlin Grants Visa to Elena Bonner

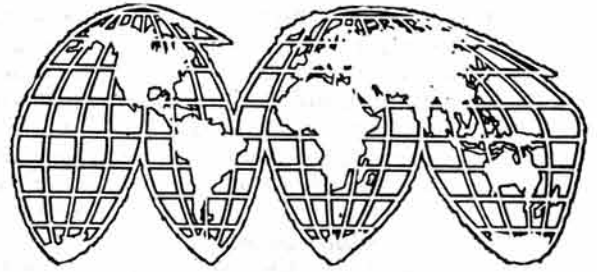
Dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov reported July 18 that the Kremlin had granted a visa to his wife, Elena Bonner, to go to Italy for treatment of an eye condition that threatens to destroy her vision.

Sakharov told Western reporters in Moscow that the about-face was "completely unexpected." The visa was granted one day after her application had been rejected for a second time.

7. Kenneth Lennon was hired by British Intelligence as an agent provocateur. After giving a detailed statement to the NCCL in April 1974 that revealed his role, he was murdered.

8. The Troops Out Movement is a British campaign for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland.

# AROUND THE WORLD



## Peruvian Military Junta Sets New Restrictions on Press

Seven daily newspapers taken over by the Peruvian government one year ago are scheduled to be turned over to workers and peasants organizations July 27. That was the promise made by the Velasco Alvarado regime at the time the papers were seized.

Now Velasco has added two qualifications. First, the regime will name the editor in chief of each paper for the coming year. Second, the editor in chief is to name the news editor.

According to a July 3 Associated Press dispatch from Lima, Velasco said the measures were necessary because the papers had been "infiltrated" in the past year by persons hostile to "the revolution."

## Libyan Press Agency Denies Report of Attempt to Assassinate Qaddafi

The reported attempt to kill Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi in June was simply the accidental explosion of an old bomb, the official Libyan news agency ARNA reported July 15.

The *London Daily Mail* reported earlier in July that a rocket fired from a plane narrowly missed the platform from which Qaddafi and members of the Revolutionary Command Council were reviewing a military parade June 11.

ARNA said a report prepared by two German experts, commissioned by the government, proved that the explosion was caused by the accidental explosion of a 220-pound leftover World War II bomb, buried beneath the platform.

## FBI Admits 'a Few' Burglaries

Clarence Kelley, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, admitted July 14 that the FBI had conducted "a few" burglaries of foreign embassies in the past decade. He said the break-ins by "black-bag teams" dated from the Second World War, although he refused to name the embassies or domestic groups that were the targets of the break-ins. He claimed that all burglaries, except those in the interests of "national security," were halted in 1966.

The July 28 issue of *Newsweek* magazine revealed some of the details of the break-ins. It said the FBI conducted 1,500 burglaries, foreign embassies being among the

chief targets. In recent years the FBI broke into an average of one foreign embassy a month.

In one Arab mission, *Newsweek* said, the FBI burglars met Israeli agents already there, saluted, and left.

## Foreign Creditors Drain \$1 Billion a Year From Egypt

Egypt's balance-of-payments deficit for this year will be about \$3 billion. To stay solvent the Sadat government is depending on cash gifts from other Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, as well as a program of long-term, low-interest loans from Western Europe, Japan, and the United States. Egypt at present pays about \$1 billion a year to service and pay back short-term and high-interest loans obtained from private banks.

In an effort to stave off social unrest, the regime is importing twice as much this year as it did in 1974. In turn the 1974 imports were twice as large as those in 1973. More than \$1.5 billion is being spent on importing basic foods like sugar, tea, and wheat, which are then resold at an average of one-tenth the purchase value.

## Italian CP Protests Prague's Attack on Philosopher Karel Kosik

A police raid on the home of Czechoslovak philosopher Karel Kosik by the Stalinist regime in Prague has prompted protests from French writer and philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and the Italian Communist party.

Police entered Kosik's home on April 28 and after a six-hour search confiscated more than a thousand pages of an unpublished philosophical manuscript. They accused him of concealing writings that would show he was engaged in criminal action of "subversion against the Republic," a charge that carries a one- to five-year prison sentence.

Kosik was a longtime member of the Czechoslovak Communist party—until his expulsion in 1969—and one of its acknowledged leading theoreticians until his removal from the faculty of philosophy at Prague's Charles University in 1970. He was one among some fifty intellectuals subjected to new police harassment earlier this year. He reported that the police also confiscated the manuscripts of the writers

Ivan Klima and Ludvig Vaculik.

Following the police raid, Kosik wrote to Sartre and described the situation of himself and others who had come under government attack.

He felt, he wrote, as if he were "buried alive." He was reduced to nothing, unable to attend scholarly meetings or accept invitations to lecture at European universities.

"I do not exist. . . . All my publications are banned from bookshops and public libraries in Czechoslovakia, and my protests are not answered. Yet, for the police I do exist. . . . I have committed no crime, so why am I suspect, of what am I guilty?"

The Italian Communist party, with its heart set on a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats, felt compelled to register a protest. An editorial article in the July 15 issue of the party's paper, *L'Unità*, said the confiscation was not only "an open violation of the freedom of cultural activity which should be one of the foundations of socialist democracy," but also "an intervention which hits at the work of an intellectual at the very moment that it is being created."

*L'Unità* said that Kosik's case was not an isolated one, but represented "the condition of dozens of intellectuals deprived of their teaching posts, banned from institutes of research, rendered unable to work and also placed in great material difficulties."

## Hanoi Seeks Trade With U.S.

Officials in Hanoi told a visiting American banker that they want to develop trade relations with the United States. Louis Saubolle, a vice-president and Asia representative of the Bank of America, America's biggest bank, visited Hanoi, Haiphong, and the Red River delta at the invitation of the North Vietnamese Chamber of Commerce.

Saubolle said that the North Vietnamese stressed several times that "they are willing to develop mutually beneficial trade with American corporations." He said they also told him they hoped "similar friendly and useful" visits could be held "in the near future."

In a statement issued in Hong Kong July 18 on his return, Saubolle said that in addition to the North Vietnamese Chamber

of Commerce, he met with the national import-export corporations and the Bank of Foreign Trade of Vietnam. He said "there is a very definite market in Vietnam for goods and materials which she can only obtain from foreign sources and which she needs to further her industrialization."

### British MPs Up Their Pay An 'Austere' \$53 a Week

The British Labour government proposed July 16 that the pay for members of the House of Commons be raised \$53 a week to \$12,650 a year. The proposal came five days after Prime Minister Harold Wilson called for limiting pay increases for British workers to \$13.20 a week.

Arthur Scargill, leader of the Yorkshire miners, said he would recommend that trade unionists follow the legislators' example.

"I am certain that the £1,250 a year increase which the M.P.'s have just been awarded—or awarded to themselves—will be perfectly acceptable to every other member of the trade union movement," he said. "I shall be heartily recommending that they follow the glowing examples set by the M.P.'s."

### Advice From the Great Helmsman

A series of illustrated manuals dealing with contraception, sterilization, and the sexual problems of teen-agers have become hot items in Peking's bookstores. The prefaces to the booklets include inspirational quotations from the writings of Mao Tsetung.

A July 19 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Peking described the contents of one of the manuals: "A manual for teen-agers says masturbation by men and women results in overstimulation of the brain, dizziness, insomnia, general weakness and 'the erosion of revolutionary will.'"

"As a deterrent, young people are urged to devote full attention to 'hard study of the works of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.'"

### 7 Activists in Peasant Struggle Found Murdered in Honduras

The bodies of seven persons involved in the Honduran land-reform movement were found in a well in the eastern part of the country, according to a July 18 government announcement. One of those killed, Rev. Michael Jerome Cypher, was named barely two weeks before as the most wanted man in Honduras. He was accused of inciting a peasant rebellion.

Cypher and the others disappeared at the time of a June 25 clash between Honduran troops and a peasant demonstration of 12,000. The peasants were marching on the capital demanding implementation of land-reform promises.

Although the government of Col. Juan Alberto Melger Castro promised speedy land reform when he came to power April 31, peasant federations have accused the regime of being more sympathetic to the interests of the landowners than to agrarian reform.

Most land in Honduras is in the hands of about 100 cattle-raising families and the U.S. banana companies United Brands and Standard Fruit. Eighty-seven percent of the country's three million people are peasants living at a subsistence level.

### Chilean SP and Christian Democrats Sign Call for 'Antifascist Front'

At a meeting in Caracas July 11 the Chilean Socialist party and several other parties that backed the Popular Unity government of former President Salvador Allende joined with the Christian Democratic party to sign a joint declaration.

The document stated that its signers would work together for the restoration of a "just and socialist democracy in Chile." It calls for an "antifascist front" against the Pinochet dictatorship that would exclude only "collaborators with the junta."

Among the fifteen signers of the "Declaration of Caracas" were two former presidents of the Christian Democratic party, Bernardo Leighton and Renan Fuentealba. Signing for the Socialist party were two former presidents, Ancieto Rodríguez and Clodomiro Almeyda. Sergio Bitar of the Christian Leftist party and Anselmo Sule of the Radical party also signed the declaration.

The Chilean Communist party was not invited to the meeting, which was arranged by a West German-funded Social Democratic foundation.

### CIA Makes Leisurely Study of Mail from Soviet Union

The Central Intelligence Agency intercepted and held for three years more than 100 pieces of mail sent from the Soviet Union to the United States in 1972. CIA Director William Colby said in a letter to Postmaster General Benjamin Bailar that the mail had been "found" on a shelf in a CIA office and asked that the letters and postcards be delivered to the intended recipients.

Colby said the CIA accidentally shipped the parcel of mail to one of its Latin American offices.

### White House Economists Say Everything Looks Rosy

The economic slump is over, according to White House economists. To justify this optimism they cite a 0.4% increase in industrial production in June. However,



Pierotti/New York Post

industrial production is still 12.6% below June 1974, and the economy is running at about 65% of its capacity. According to official statistics, about eight million workers remain unemployed. This figure, however, does not include the millions who have given up hope of finding work.

### Writers Demand Perón Regime Release Brazilian Poet Paulo Paranagua

More than fifty well-known artists, writers, and scholars have issued an appeal in behalf of Paulo Paranagua, a young Brazilian surrealist film critic and poet whose arrest was announced by the Argentine police May 22.

Paranagua is at present imprisoned along with eleven other persons\* arrested at the same time. All are charged with complicity in an "international subversive plot."

Among those who have demanded the release of Paranagua and the others are Simone de Beauvoir, Henri Cartier Bresson, Gabriel García Márquez, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Julio Cortázar.

They request that protests be sent to María Isabel de Perón, President of the Argentine Republic, Casa Rosada, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Copies of all protests should be sent to Gérard Tourtrol, 119 rue de Rome, 75017 Paris, France.

\*In the press release accompanying the appeal, their names are given as María Regina Pilla, Flavio Koutzii, Manuel Rallis, Carlos Alvarez, Susana Lobosco, Norma Espindola, Julia Venaglio, María Méndez, Julio Ramos, Raúl Rodríguez, and Ingrid Rorff. A slightly different list was given in the summary of the police communiqué printed in the May 23 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 9, p. 772.)

## The Communist Party of Canada

Reviewed by Ian Angus

[The following review appeared in the June 16 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*. It has been abridged slightly for reasons of space.]

\* \* \*

Since its founding in 1921, the Communist party of Canada has played an important role in the Canadian left and labor movements. Yet there has never been an adequate history of the party. Two

*Tim Buck: A Conscience for Canada*, by Oscar Ryan. Toronto: Progress Books, 1975. 302 pp. Cloth \$9.95. Paper \$4.95.

*The Communist Party in Canada: A History*, by Ivan Avakumovic. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975. 302 pp. Paper \$5.95.

recently published books attempt to fill this gap.

Ivan Avakumovic's *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* tries to present an objective account of the party over the past fifty-four years. His book, written from a liberal academic point of view, includes a great deal of factual material drawn primarily from CP newspapers and magazines.

Oscar Ryan, on the other hand, appears as the official party biographer of Tim Buck, the man who headed the CP for thirty-two years, longer than any other Western CP leader, longer even than Stalin. Ryan's primary source is Buck himself—his book consists largely of quotations from Buck's works, strung together with stock phrases about Buck's political brilliance.

One might think that Ryan, a member of the CP for fifty years, would provide more facts and information than Avakumovic, an outsider. But the opposite is the case.

Throughout Ryan's book, major events are distorted and misrepresented. Particularly embarrassing events are simply omitted.

In 1956, for example, the majority of the CP's National Executive Committee voted

to ask for Buck's resignation. No honest biographer would omit that—but Ryan does. One must turn to Avakumovic's book to learn the story. Similarly, Ryan's book says nothing about the CP's campaign, under Buck's leadership, in support of Social Credit in Alberta in 1938. Such events find no place in a work of abject hero-worship such as Ryan has written. His book is dishonest from beginning to end.

But although these books are very different, both make the same fundamental error in examining the Communist party of Canada. Both assume that the party which bears the name Communist today is the same one that was founded by a small group of revolutionary socialists in Guelph in 1921.

That assumption is wrong.

The total transformation of the CP is simple to demonstrate. In 1921 the Workers party of Canada (later renamed Communist party) declared:

"Class against class is the order of the day and we who are the subjected class must learn to fight just as viciously as our oppressors."

At the CP's 1974 convention, party leader, William Kashtan, declared: "Some comrades want to skip over the struggle for democratic aims, for an alliance with other classes, for an anti-monopoly government, and struggle directly for socialism. Essentially they want a class versus class position, a point of view the international communist movement moved away from many years ago."

This reversal can be dated with precision. It took place between 1928 and 1930, when the CP went through the greatest crisis in its history.

Prior to the fall of 1928, the best-known leaders of the Communist party of Canada were: Maurice Spector, party chairman and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International; Jack MacDonald, national secretary and one of Canada's best-known radical unionists; Florence Custance, leader of the Women's Labor Leagues and of the Canadian Labor Defense League; and William Moriarty, the party's national organizer.

Spector was expelled in 1928; Custance was removed from the National Executive



in 1929 and died a month later; Moriarty was expelled in 1929; and MacDonald was expelled in 1930.

These were only the most prominent victims of the purge. The entire leadership of the Finnish Organization, the largest ethnic organization supporting the CP, was expelled.

F.J. Peel, the editor of Canada's first Communist newspaper, was expelled, as were other founders of the party, including R. Shoemith and J. Margolese.

Between 1929 and 1931 party membership fell from 2,876 to 1,385, cut in half.

If only Canada is considered, this crisis is incomprehensible. But it did not originate in Canada—it began in the Soviet Union. It was caused by the victory of Stalinism in the USSR.

The leaders of the 1917 Russian revolution never believed that workers power would remain isolated in one country for many years. They knew that one country, particularly a backward and impoverished country like Russia, could not advance far on the long road to socialism alone. Continued isolation, they feared, could lead to the destruction of workers democracy in Russia. They looked to the international revolution to prevent this.

But a series of revolutionary opportunities in Europe were missed or mishandled and the Russian workers state remained isolated. This isolation, and the country's extreme poverty, became the basis for the growth of a layer of privileged bureaucrats—administrators and specialists—whose lifestyle was far removed from that of the immense majority of workers and peasants.

This privileged layer took over the Soviet state and the Communist party, and began remaking it in their own, conservative image. All who opposed them were driven out of the party as "Trotskyists"—in the 1930s hundreds of thousands were imprisoned and murdered for the crime of opposing or criticizing Joseph Stalin, political spokesman for the bureaucrats.

(Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* provides the most complete explanation of the nature and role of the bureaucratic caste in the USSR.)

The bureaucrats wanted no more revolu-



tionary upheavals—narrowly nationalistic and conservative, they sought to defend their privileges by defending the status quo around the world. To do this they had to remake the Communist International. Every party faced a crisis such as the Canadian CP experienced, as those who would not accept dictation from Stalin were eliminated.

In every party there was resistance to Stalinization, but the Communist parties were inexperienced and few understood the real stakes involved. There were always men like Tim Buck, prepared to sacrifice political principle for their own political careers.

Buck and Stewart Smith formed a pro-Stalin faction behind the backs of the party leadership, with the Kremlin's full support. It was only after the expulsion or demoralization of the party's leaders that Buck became national secretary in July 1929. With Smith's assistance, Buck carried out the conversion of the CP from a revolutionary party to a servile instrument of Stalin's foreign policy.

The depths to which a party bearing the once-proud name of Communist could sink were revealed during World War II, when Buck's party broke strikes and campaigned for a no-strike pledge, campaigned in favor of conscription, and called for the election of Liberal party candidates—all to suit the needs of Stalin's foreign policy.

(The Communist party today is still proud of the vile and reactionary role it played during the war. Ryan quotes with pride Buck's explanation of how the Canadian CP provided recruits for the U.S. Office of Strategic Services, a spy organization that was later renamed the Central Intelligence Agency!)

For anyone interested in the history of the Canadian labor movement, these books are worth reading.

But neither book is the history of the CP which needs to be written. The history we need will explain the nature of Canadian Stalinism—and its origins in the degeneration of the Russian revolution. It will understand the party's conversion from revolution to procapitalist reformism.

And it will show how the program of revolution survived in the organization founded by expelled CP leaders Jack MacDonald and Maurice Spector, the organization which survives today as the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The history we need will be inspired by the words of American revolutionist James Cannon, words which were written twenty-one years ago, but which could have been written in direct response to Ryan's book:

"Stalinism is the most misunderstood phenomenon of our time. Most ludicrous of all is the widespread impression that these

representatives of reaction and stranglers of revolutions are secretly plotting revolution on a world-wide scale. . . .

"The proletarian revolutionist is one thing and the Stalinist functionary is another. They are not only different in their aims and purposes. There is a profound difference in their mentalities and in their methods of expressing them. The revolutionist is a democrat, organizing opposition to the power of the present day, and striving to create a new power of the people. The functionary is merely a bureaucrat, always and everywhere serving an existing power.

"The revolutionist is a thorough-going radical and is personally disinterested; he

wants to change the social order in the interest of all, and considers it beneath his dignity to seek personal advantage. The bureaucrat, in all organizations, and under all conditions, is profoundly conservative and merely selfish; he strives to preserve the *status quo* in the interest of his privileges.

"The revolutionist trusts the masses because they are the makers of revolutions. The bureaucrat fears them for the same reason. The bureaucrat gives orders like a policeman. The revolutionist tries to explain things like a teacher. The bureaucrat lies to the people. The revolutionist believes the truth will make them free, and tells it." □

## Shahak Interviewed in 'Journal of Palestine Studies'

### 'You Cannot Have a Humane Zionism'

"You Cannot Have a Humane Zionism" is the title of an interview with Dr. Israel Shahak featured in the spring 1975 issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies*.\*

Dr. Shahak, the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights, has come under intense pressure in Israel for his outspoken denunciation of Zionism and defense of its Palestinian victims.

"Since they began this real witch-hunt against me," Shahak said in the interview, "the situation has been quite bad. For instance, there was a debate on the radio about me which I heard in which it was proposed to execute me. That was on December 2. The man who said that was Rony Nikolinski, the former chairman of the Israeli Student Association and the present chairman of the young Herut Party, the party of Mr. [Menachem] Begin. On the same programme I was 'defended'—if that is the right word—by Mr. Uri Avnery who said that it is not in the interest of Israel to execute Shahak, because he is too well-known."

Shahak teaches organic chemistry at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He said that he has few problems with the students or other faculty members.

"But outside university, on the other hand, people come to me in the street,

usually unknown people, and use the worst possible terms, let's say: "Are you Professor Shahak?"

"Yes, I am."

"When will you hang yourself?" Or,

"Do you know that there are very good Jews who are prepared to help you finish your life?"

That kind of treatment has become frequent, Shahak said. "But the most unusual thing was a leader and a choir.

"The leader asked, 'Why is the face of Shahak so ugly? 'You know, they mean these marks. (*Shahak pointed to marks on his face, which is badly scarred. He was in a Nazi concentration camp during World War II.*) And the choir answered, 'Because it is Arab work, Arab work, Arab work.' You know that in Israel 'Arab work' is the synonym for the most ugly things. If you order a table from a carpenter and it is not good, you say to him, 'What did you do, a piece of Arab work?' If the street is dirty, you say, 'Arab work.'"

The same issue of the *Journal of Palestine Studies* contains an article, "Human Rights in Israel," that Shahak submitted to *Haaretz*, a leading Israeli daily. The article, although originally accepted for publication as an answer to the many slanders about Shahak printed in the Israeli press, was never printed.

Other features of interest in the current issue of the journal include an interview with Maxime Rodinson, "Zionism and the Palestine Problem Today"; a review of the racist way Arabs are portrayed in American high-school textbooks; and an article analyzing Noam Chomsky's views on the Middle East. □

\*Single copies cost \$3.75 (£1.50). A subscription (four issues a year) costs \$15 (£6). A reduced rate of \$9 (£3.60) is available for students.

Orders should be sent to *Journal of Palestine Studies*, P.O.B. 11-7164, Beirut, Lebanon. Residents of the United States and Canada may send orders to P.O.B. 329, R.D. 1, Oxford, Pennsylvania 19363. In Britain, write to ASP Distributors, 7 Bishopsthorpe Road, London SE26 4NZ, England.

# OUT NOW!

## Chapter 7

# The SDS Default and the Birth of the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam

By Fred Halstead

The new antiwar movement was barely born when it faced a crisis of leadership on a national level. At first this emerged as a crisis within SDS. The practical significance of the SDS call for a March on Washington against the war in Vietnam was precisely that it came from an organization viewed at the time as an accepted part of the old peace movement. This made possible a broad unity in action none of the small radical and pacifist groups could inspire on their own.<sup>1</sup>

The success of the March on Washington placed SDS on center stage nationally. Not only were all the radical groups that wanted to be part of the new movement willing to follow its lead,

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With this chapter we continue the serialization of **Out Now!—A Participant's Account of the American Antiwar Movement** by Fred Halstead. Copyright © 1976 by the Anchor Foundation, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed by permission. To be published by Monad Press.

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reluctantly or not, but so were tens of thousands of unaffiliated youth, disaffected liberals, and most of the older peace groups. For the moment SANE had lost hegemony even within the moderate wing of the movement—first because of its failure to take the initiative on the Vietnam issue and then for its failure to support the March on Washington.

SDS had the authority, but it needed to use it. Unfortunately, both for SDS and for the new antiwar movement, the moment was lost. It is one of the ironies of the 1960s that though SDS

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1. In the San Francisco Bay Area the local SDS was too small and weak to take the lead on the April 17 march held in solidarity with the one in Washington. The ad hoc committee which organized it proved unable to maintain the unity characteristic of the Washington affair. The committee split shortly before the demonstration after a Du Bois Club motion was passed excluding certain radical slogans and speakers. Interestingly the "immediate withdrawal" slogan was not among those excluded.

Les Evans, then YSA chairman in San Francisco, recalls: "A big meeting was held at a house in Berkeley. . . . Agreement had been reached on some points and others were still under debate when one of the Du Bois leaders announced that it was impossible to come to any agreement with PL and the YSA and that the minority at the meeting should get out of the house, which was private property (it belonged to someone supporting the Du Bois side in the debate)." (Letter to the author, May 16, 1975.)

PL, the YSA, and the Afro-American Committee for African and Asian Solidarity held a separate and smaller march. Shortly thereafter the local YSA concluded that the split had been a mistake. According to Syd Stapleton, then a YSA leader in Berkeley, "We didn't understand what they understood back East, that this could be the beginning of a big, ongoing movement against the war, that the important thing was to remain inside it, building a left wing inside it. The Du Bois Clubs one-upped us at a meeting, so we organized a competing march. It was a piece of sectarian idiocy." (Letter to the author, May 19, 1975.)

helped give birth to the new antiwar movement with its call for the March on Washington, and this more than any other activity built SDS nationally, nevertheless after the April 17 event SDS never again took a major national antiwar initiative, nor did it ever again play an important national role in the new antiwar movement. This was its default in spite of the fact that most SDS chapters were involved in local antiwar activity and responded positively to national initiatives from elsewhere, initiatives either downplayed or actually opposed by the SDS national office.

In part this was due to a general crisis in which the SDS national office found itself in the summer of 1965. It didn't initiate much of anything else either.

Signs of this were present in the SDS National Council meeting which took place in Washington April 18, the day following the march. Clark Kissinger reported this meeting as "one of the most pleasant and productive in recent SDS history."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, following the march, the atmosphere was euphoric and there were ideas aplenty proposed on what to do next. But almost nothing specific was done, except to decide to move the national office to Chicago. Carl Oglesby, who had been in SDS only a few months but who had spoken well at the Ann Arbor teach-in, was hired to head up a Research, Information and Publications project to provide literature on Vietnam and other questions. It was also agreed to cooperate with the professors then organizing the national teach-in. But there was no decision for any plan for a new national initiative or focus for Vietnam activity.

Kissinger proposed a campaign of leafleting military bases and induction centers, urging young men not to register for the draft, not to report if already registered, or to refuse to continue to serve if already drafted. The object was to court arrest and then have the SDSers defend themselves on the grounds of the Nuremberg Doctrine flowing from the trials of Nazi war criminals at the end of World War II.

The suggestion was promptly labeled "Kissinger's Kamakazi plan" and was referred to a committee for further study with the admonition that before any such thing could be implemented the membership would have to be polled. The general idea of an SDS draft-resistance campaign was kicked around for the next six months, greatly modified in various statements put out by SDS spokesmen, but never implemented. It received widespread publicity in the media and as a result of attacks on SDS by congressmen and government officials. But when the referendum was finally held in the fall the proposal was defeated by a vote of 279 to 234 with 35 abstentions, approximately one-fourth of the paid-up membership having voted, according to Paul Booth.<sup>3</sup> The defeat of the proposal received very little media coverage,

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2. Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS* (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), pp. 193-94.

3. *National Secretary's Report* (SDS) by Paul Booth, November 1965. (Copy in author's files.)

however, and the general impression was left that SDS was in the leadership of a draft-resistance movement. But that just wasn't so.

At the April 18 meeting Hayden suggested a call for a new Continental Congress to meet in the summer. This wasn't even referred to a committee but simply dropped.

The SDS convention that summer, held June 9-13 in Kewadin, Michigan, decided that SDS would not take a leading role in the new antiwar movement. In part this was due to the influence of the "new guard" of SDSers for whom resistance to any kind of centralized structure or initiative was becoming a matter of principle. (An example of this was the fact that the post of national secretary, which when occupied by Kissinger played a crucial role in launching the March on Washington, was not filled at this convention.)

But the "old guard" also opposed an antiwar focus on the grounds that the demonstrations and similar activity could not stop the war, that they were a diversion from the more important community work such as the ERAP projects, and that the key strategy was to build a grass-roots radical base over an extended period of time which could eventually "stop the seventh war from now," as the phrase current in SDS circles put it.

Years later, many SDSers of 1965 would look back on this decision as perhaps SDS's biggest mistake. Kissinger recalls that at the time the leading figures in SDS were preoccupied with the experience of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in its community projects in the South, and had the idea that SDS could reproduce something like that in the North and among white as well as Black poor.<sup>4</sup>

Sale quotes Todd Gitlin on the SDS default as follows:

"Our failure of leadership—which was undeniable—was a reflection of the fact that our hearts were not on the campuses. . . . We were just plain stupid. . . . The leadership was already a closed elite, we didn't *understand* what an antiwar movement would be, we didn't have any *feel* for it. My own feeling then was that it was a big abstraction . . . because that kind of movement is so big, because I couldn't see what it would be, day to day. What we surrendered then was the chance for an anti-imperialist peace movement."<sup>5</sup>

In this vacuum, SANE itself, now under great pressure from its own ranks to do something on Vietnam,<sup>6</sup> would attempt to reestablish hegemony in the antiwar movement by at last mounting a campaign on the issue, though within the confines of the old exclusionary policy and of a political line that specifically avoided outright opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam.

Willy-nilly, forces to the left of SANE moved to provide a national focus for the new movement on a more radical and nonexclusive basis. But so great was the expectation that SDS would itself do this sooner or later that those who eventually filled this vacuum were not aware at first that this is what they were heading into.

The process can be traced to the Berkeley Vietnam Day at which several prominent militant pacifists including Dave Dellinger, Staughton Lynd, and Bob Parris spoke. Each advocated a

campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience against the war, invoking the fresh experience of the campaign of Southern Blacks against *de jure* segregation. Lynd's talk received probably the greatest applause at the entire Berkeley event. In it he argued against the strategy of seeking social change through "coalition politics," that is, through the Democratic Party, and in favor of the development of an extraparliamentary opposition.

Referring to an article by Michael Harrington in which the Social Democratic leader had said that an escalation of the war in Vietnam would tend to bury the social reforms of Johnson's so-called Great Society and antipoverty programs, Lynd said:

"We need to say to Mr. Harrington, and Mr. Rustin, that escalation has now occurred and that coalition politics in this situation means coalition with the Marines. Is there an alternative? I think the alternative is nonviolent revolution. And for the benefit of the FBI men present, I would like to make it clear that what I mean is not the violent overthrow of the United States government, but the non-violent retirement from office of the present administration. And further, that the way to bring this about is the creation of civil disobedience so massive and so persistent that the Tuesday Lunch Club that is running this country—Johnson, McNamara, Bundy and Rusk—will forthwith resign."<sup>7</sup>

Lynd also raised a variation of the Continental Congress idea. He suggested "that there might convene in Washington . . . a new Continental Congress drawn from the community unions, freedom parties, and campus protests . . . which would say to one another . . . : 'This is a moment of crisis, our government does not represent us. Let us come together and consider what needs to be done.'"

A month after Lynd's speech, on June 20, a meeting was held in Washington, D.C., which initiated a call for an Assembly of Unrepresented People to be held in the capital August 6 to 9, the twentieth anniversary of the dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The June 20 meeting was organized by the Washington Action Project (WAP), a summer-long program of opposition to the Vietnam war being coordinated by Bob Parris and Eric Weinberger. Weinberger was a member of CNVA and a veteran of many arrests in civil rights protests in Tennessee.

By the time the call to the Assembly of Unrepresented People was distributed in July the proposal had been greatly modified from the Continental Congress idea. At most this affair would be a preliminary to such a larger undertaking. The August event was designed not to be massive, but as a gathering of activists who would hold workshops on various issues in the overall movement for social change, and support or participate in some symbolic civil disobedience actions.

On August 6, representatives of the CNVA, the War Resisters League, the *Catholic Worker*, and the Student Peace Union were to attempt to present to the president a "Declaration of Conscience" committing some 6,000 signers to "conscientious refusal to cooperate with the United States Government in the prosecution of the war in Vietnam."<sup>8</sup>

On August 7-8 workshops were scheduled on the grass around the Washington Monument, and on August 9 a march to the capitol to read a Declaration of Peace in the halls of Congress, or as close as they could get, sitting down in nonviolent civil disobedience at the point where they were stopped.

The Assembly went off more or less as planned, with some 2,000 persons participating at one point or another during the four

4. Author's interview with Clark Kissinger, October 16, 1973. Taped.

5. Sale, *SDS*, p. 214, emphasis in original.

6. For example, an April 18 letter to the national SANE office from Abe Bloom, vice-chairman of Washington SANE, said: "This is being written the day after the great demonstration in Washington. Twenty thousand students and others demonstrated for peace in Vietnam. It was very sad to those of us in SANE, that every publicity release mentioning names of organizations sponsoring and supporting the demonstration had a big blank where SANE should have been. It was the most significant peace action that ever took place in Washington, and National SANE was not part of it. Whatever reasons or policies led to our abstention must be wrong and need reevaluation." (Copy in the Library of Social History, New York, Bloom file.)

7. *We Accuse* (Berkeley: Diablo Press, 1965), p. 156.

8. The same document had been presented at the White House April 28, 1965, when only 4,500 had signed. Signers included A. Philip Randolph, SNCC Chairman John Lewis, W.H. Ferry of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Rev. Philip Berrigan, Bayard Rustin, and A.J. Muste.

days. It culminated in a march August 9 of some 750 persons toward the capitol, with 350 being arrested when they sat down after police stopped them. The sit-down served as the final session of the Assembly. It was conducted surrounded by police and their vans which took seven hours to haul everyone to jail. This was the largest mass arrest in Washington history up to that time.

The event received considerable publicity, and angry denunciation in Congress, much of it misdirected at SDS. The cover of the next week's issue of *Life* magazine carried a photograph of Dellinger, Parris, and Lynd doused with red paint thrown by a heckler. A member of the American Nazi Party who had thrown the paint was released on \$10 bail, while Dellinger drew forty-five days in jail for his part in the sit-down.

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The most significant result of the Assembly, however, grew out of the fact that it gathered together a number of leading antiwar activists from around the country and marked the point at which SDS was bypassed on the antiwar issue.

The call to the Assembly was signed by some thirty movement activists including Dellinger, Lynd, Parris, Weinberger, and Donna Allen, who was prominent in the Washington area Women Strike for Peace. Also listed as signers of the call were several SDSers including Carl Oglesby, Dena Clamage, and Mel McDonald. Oglesby had taken off on a tour of Asia shortly after being elected SDS president in June and wasn't around the SDS national office during the six weeks prior to the Assembly. Clamage and McDonald were volunteers in the SDS national office who more or less on their own and in spite of the Kewadin convention tried to provide some coordination of Vietnam activity from the Chicago SDS headquarters. But apparently they had minimal influence on this matter with those in charge of the national office. The SDS *Worklist* mailing of July 28, 1965, carried a statement dissociating SDS from the Washington Assembly and discouraging attendance at it.

The SDS national office once again missed a chance to play a central role in the new antiwar movement, because, as it turned out, the Assembly of Unrepresented People gave birth to the first of the national coordinating bodies of the anti-Vietnam-war movement, the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam (NCC).

In this regard there is an interesting error in Sale's generally accurate account of the SDS role. Says Sale:

"After the failure of the Kewadin convention to push SDS into becoming the coordinating antiwar organization in the Movement, a group of independent antiwar activists (among them Staughton Lynd, David Dellinger, Robert Parris Moses, and Stanley Aronowitz) got together to establish a National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam—the organization that, in many guises over the years, became the coordinator of most of the major marches of the decade—and its first action was the August march."<sup>9</sup>

Aside from being so compressed as to conceal more than it reveals about the history of the antiwar movement, this statement implies that the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam was formed and then it called the August event. The opposite is true. The call to the August Assembly came first. The NCC was formed at a workshop at the Assembly, a workshop which had not even been scheduled prior to the event. This workshop resulted from a separate line of development which also had its origin in the Berkeley Vietnam Day.

The success of that great teach-in inspired its organizers to set up the Vietnam Day Committee (VDC) cochaired by Jerry Rubin and Stephen Smale, which for the next year was the major antiwar group in the San Francisco Bay Area. In line with

Rubin's emphasis on the importance of international opposition to the U.S. role in Vietnam, the VDC developed the idea of International Days of Protest to be held October 15 and 16 in as many countries and in as many U.S. cities as possible.

In late June the VDC set up an International Committee "to establish contacts with organizations and individuals abroad to publicize among them the forthcoming international protest."<sup>10</sup>

At this time the VDC activists still looked to SDS for national coordination within the United States. A VDC mailing of this period declares: "The Vietnam Day Committee in Berkeley, California, has called October 15 and 16 to be International Days of Protest against American Military Intervention. We plan a community protest meeting in Berkeley on October 15 to be followed by massive civil disobedience on October 16.

"SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) has been invited by us to organize simultaneous regional meetings and to establish October 15 and 16 as days of national focus of Vietnam protest activity. The SDS Vietnam Committee [presumably Clamage and McDonald] has warmly accepted this idea and is recommending it to the National Council of SDS, which meets in midsummer. Their approval is expected to be a formality."<sup>11</sup>

But no such approval was forthcoming. By the beginning of August the VDC was still on its own in building the October 15-16 protests within the United States. In spite of the fact that the VDC was then in the midst of a series of demonstrations attempting to stop troop trains passing through the East Bay area—a project close to Rubin's heart—Rubin took off for Washington to attend the Assembly of Unrepresented People with the specific purpose of appealing to the movement activists who would be gathered there for support to the idea of spreading the October 15-16 actions across the United States.

The agenda for the Assembly called for two sets of workshops: one dealt with different issues such as civil liberties, civil rights, poverty, free universities, etc.; another set dealt with Vietnam and was to be divided according to constituency—students, professional people, trade unionists, etc. There was no provision for a workshop on national coordination or national focus of antiwar activity.

In part this was due to the multi-issue approach of the initiators and organizers of the Assembly. They viewed it as concerned with the whole gamut of social problems facing America, not simply the war. It would indeed have been presumptuous of them to attempt to set up a form for the national direction of the entire *Movement* in the broad sense of that term, especially since many of them at that time looked to SDS itself as the best channel for such a development.

At the opening general meeting of the Assembly, before the workshops began, Parris cautioned: "This is only the beginning. It's entirely open. . . . Let's concentrate on what it is you want to do, and begin to learn about what others are doing. If this coordination happens, we'll feel justified."<sup>12</sup>

But the lack of provision for a discussion of a national antiwar focus was also due to the still widespread assumption that SDS would sooner or later take the initiative on this issue. The decision of the Kewadin convention to avoid this was not well understood at the time even among local SDS chapters, let alone outside the organization.

Rubin shared the general "new left" aversion to a single-issue, ad-hoc approach to the Vietnam activity. At one point in the

10. VDC report on International Days of Protest, "The International Protest Movement Against American Intervention in Vietnam," p. 1. (Copy in author's files.)

11. "News from VDC on October 15-16," undated. (Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley.)

12. *The Militant*, August 23, 1965.

9. Sale, *SDS*, p. 220.

discussions he declared: "But the students are not 'single issue' oriented. They oppose the system." What was needed, he said, "is a permanent radical organization . . . based on the principle of nonexclusion."<sup>13</sup> But Rubin was not willing to wait for SDS, or anyone else, to take the initiative nationally on the burning issue of the war. He wasn't about to leave the field to the establishment-oriented liberals of SANE either. The VDC had already taken the first step, as far as he was concerned, and everyone ought to get behind broadening the effort nationally.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were unique among the organized radical tendencies in their approach to this question. They were, of course, a multi-issue political tendency, but in their view the best way to build a massive movement against U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war was to focus on that issue and attempt to involve everyone opposed to the war, regardless of their views on other matters. You couldn't do that if people willing to oppose the war were also required to take positions they didn't necessarily agree with on other questions in order to participate in the antiwar formations. So they favored the development of a united front of all tendencies against the war, of single-issue antiwar committees locally, and of a single-issue national coordination of antiwar activity.

In spite of this difference with the initiators of August 6-9 the YSA caught the logic of the dynamic that had been set in motion by the calling of the Assembly in the context of rapid development of antiwar sentiment. In a July 5 communication from the YSA national office to the membership, Doug Jenness, director of the YSA's antiwar activity at the time, declared:

"No matter how SDS, SNCC, Lynd and others characterize the [Assembly] workshop sessions and no matter what they expect them to accomplish or not to accomplish, these workshops will likely take the form of a national conference of the leading people in the antiwar committees throughout the country. The coming together of the activists, organizers and leaders of the current antiwar movement in Washington to discuss, and hopefully decide where the antiwar movement should go, is an important event. A call for the next major mass action will most likely be issued from this gathering."<sup>14</sup>

But the YSAers also shared the illusion that SDS still had the initiative, could still be expected to move on the Vietnam issue, and should not or could not be bypassed. This contributed to a costly tactical error by the YSA. Shortly after sending off the July 5 letter, Doug Jenness recalls: "I attended a planning meeting of the Assembly at 5 Beekman St. [the Manhattan address which housed the national offices of several radical pacifist groups as well as *Liberation* magazine] that gave me the impression that it was totally disorganized and wouldn't really come off. After giving an impressionistic report [to the YSA leadership] it was agreed that I should write a letter scaling down the participation we had projected on July 5."<sup>15</sup>

The letter, dated July 15, 1965, declared: "The preparation for this event has been very poorly organized. No arrangements for transportation have been made, very little publicity has gone out, and many other organizational details have not been carried out. SDS, which supports the action and is planning to participate, is not willing to carry organizational burdens. Therefore it is likely that the Assembly will not be very large."<sup>16</sup> It recommended that YSAers from the West Coast not attend because of the cost, those from the Midwest should go only if their antiwar committees could pay the fare (which insured almost no attendance, since

such committees rarely had much money), and that East Coast YSAers who could make it inexpensively should concentrate on selling literature with only token attendance at workshops.

The night of August 6, however, before the workshops scheduled to begin the next day, one YSAer did meet with Rubin. He was Dick Roberts, then a reporter for the socialist weekly the *Militant* and a former activist at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. Roberts recalls:

"I was tremendously enthusiastic about the idea of building a coordinating committee to nationally organize the antiwar movement. I had no trouble persuading Jerry Rubin of the value it would have."<sup>17</sup>

Rubin then succeeded in arranging a previously unscheduled workshop on national Vietnam action where he could raise the October 15-16 proposal. This workshop was attended by between 75 and 200 people, depending on the time of day, most of whom were student antiwar activists. Some SDSers were present, but, aside from McDonald, played no role. Lynd, Parris, and Dellinger, the main initiators of the Assembly, likewise played no active role in this workshop. Stanley Aronowitz, one of the editors of *Studies on the Left* and a somewhat critical adult supporter of SDS, did take an active part, as did Irving Beinin, the business manager of the *National Guardian* and an activist in Manhattan's Lower East Side Mobilization for Peace Action. The Du Bois Club had a sizable presence. A handful of YSAers were there, only three of whom were delegates from antiwar committees.

Two central disputes took place in the workshop. Rubin's proposal to organize nationally the October 15-16 International Days of Protest was counterposed to a proposal by the Du Bois Clubs to simply support an action being planned for Washington, D.C., on October 15 by SANE and the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA). This was entirely consistent with the general approach of the CP tendency which favored "coalition politics" in the Democratic Party and followed the lead of the liberals in general, and SANE in particular, in the peace movement. The CP tendency was, of course, opposed to its own exclusion, but aside from this it agreed essentially with SANE's strategy—to attempt to convince the liberal establishment to negotiate rather than escalate. The Rubin proposal won handily.

The second dispute was over where the office of the new coordinating committee was to be located. Both Chicago and Madison, Wisconsin, were proposed. This involved which political tendencies would have most influence in the national office, though the arguments were not put that bluntly. The Du Bois Clubs supported Madison, where they had strong influence in the local University of Wisconsin antiwar committee headed by Frank Emspak. Emspak's name was widely known because of his late father, Julius Emspak, a top official of the United Electrical Workers and one of the most prominent Stalinist trade union leaders of the 1940s.

Most of the others present, including Rubin, McDonald, and the YSAers, supported Chicago, in part for the obvious reason that it was a much more important and central city but also because the SDS national office was located there. At first the Chicago proposal carried when McDonald said he thought office space could be assured in the Illinois metropolis. But later, presumably after checking with the SDS national office, McDonald reported that he was unable to promise an office.

"At this point," Jenness recalls, "Emspak immediately piped up and said that there were facilities available in Madison. . . . We had no alternative to present, and we had no comrade from Chicago present to pipe up and say 'yes, there are facilities available in Chicago.'"<sup>18</sup>

Thus the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in

13. Ibid.

14. Letter from YSA national office to membership by Doug Jenness, July 5, 1965. (Copy in author's files.)

15. Letter to the author by Doug Jenness, October 4, 1973.

16. Letter from YSA national office by Doug Jenness, July 15, 1965. (Copy in author's files.)

17. Letter to the author by Dick Roberts, October 2, 1973.

18. Jenness October 4, 1973, letter to author.

Vietnam (NCC) was set up with its headquarters in Madison and Frank Emspak as national coordinator. A steering committee of thirty-four persons was designated, most of them simply the delegates from local committees who happened to be present at the workshop. Some nationally known figures like Dellinger were co-opted to the steering committee by acclamation. It was understood that at this point the committee was a more or less accidental body so it was agreed that its tasks would not be to set policy, but merely to put out a national call for October 15-16 and coordinate activities, that newly formed antiwar groups or those not present at the founding workshop could add representatives, and that a national convention would be held in November on Thanksgiving weekend. A meeting of the steering committee, open to observers from all groups opposed to the war, was scheduled for September 18 in Ann Arbor to prepare for the convention.

As far as the Vietnam issue was concerned, SDS had been bypassed, though it took some time for this fact to sink in.

What is more, the older ideological tendencies, particularly the

Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party—and the youth groups allied with them—were beginning to play a more central role in the new movement. And for want of someone to volunteer office space in Chicago, the CP tendency now had dominant influence in the national office of the NCC.

The report on the Assembly by Jenness to the YSA National Executive Committee declared:

"This first step toward organizing the antiwar movement on a national basis points to the necessity for the YSA to become as involved as possible in the antiwar movement. The norm should be that every member of the YSA should belong to an antiwar committee and the main thrust of local work should be antiwar work." The report ended with this wistful comment: "As long as the antiwar movement is ascending, it is better to err on the side of over involvement if we must err at all."<sup>19</sup>

[Next chapter: *The First International Days of Protest*]

19. Report from Jenness to YSA NEC, August 15, 1965.

## Systematic Expulsion of Palestinians Under Way

### Zionists Step Up Colonization of West Bank



Jerusalem Times

DR. HANNA NASIR

The Israeli regime is making a systematic attempt to destroy all trace of local political leadership in the occupied West Bank, Dr. Hanna Nasir charged June 19. Nasir, the former president of Bir Zeit College in the West Bank, was deported last November without warning or trial.

Israeli authorities alleged that Nasir encouraged students at the college to take part in demonstrations protesting Israeli occupation of their homeland. He is currently on a speaking tour of the United States and Canada to expose Israeli treatment of

Palestinians living in the occupied territories.

Israel has deported more than 1,500 persons from the West Bank since 1967 and has jailed hundreds more "administrative detainees" without charge or trial, some for several years.

According to Nasir, most of those deported are "well-educated and hold responsible jobs in their communities, many of them professionals." Thus these methods "have really deprived the area of its own indigenous leadership."

"Now Israel says that political leadership should be developed in the West Bank," he said, "but the moment they hear a dissident Arab voice, that person is immediately deported."

Nasir is demanding that the Zionists allow him to return and answer any charges against him in court. Many of the other deportees would join him in demanding a trial, he said. His protest has been transmitted to the Israeli government through the Red Cross and the World Council of Churches.

The summary deportation of Palestinians is "an important humanitarian issue," he said. "I would rather be in jail in my country among my people than a free man outside its borders."

The Israeli occupation was also denounced at a news conference in Paris June 24 by Dr. Israel Shahak, the chairman of the Israel League for Human and Civil Rights. Shahak accused the Zionist regime of adopting a policy of colonization for the occupied territories.

Shahak cited repeated declarations by the

Israeli authorities asserting that once a settlement is established in the occupied territories, it cannot be abandoned. He named several new settlements in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, Sinai, and Golan Heights.

The Gaza Strip has already been divided by two new zones of Israeli settlement, he said, and near Jerusalem the new villages are linked by roads and even railroads. He said the government offers substantial loans to encourage Israeli families to settle in the new colonies near Hebron on the West Bank. □

#### U.S. Colonel Freed in Beirut

Black U.S. Army Col. Ernest Morgan, kidnapped in Lebanon June 29 by a group calling itself the Revolutionary Socialist Action Organization, was released unharmed on July 12. The kidnapers, who had threatened to kill Morgan unless the U.S. embassy distributed a large quantity of food and clothing to an impoverished district of Beirut, said they released him because he had confessed to being a spy and because the United States had paid the ransom.

Morgan denied he was a spy and the embassy denied it had paid any ransom. Some food was distributed in Beirut.

Many Black organizations in the United States made direct appeals for his safety. After his release, Morgan expressed his "sincere thanks" to these groups.

"I might add that these [appeals] had a profound effect on the people who were controlling me," he said.

### Lotta Continua's Turn and Its Spontanéist Past

By. F. Turigliatto

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of *Bandiera Rossa*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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In the recent period, Lotta Continua [LC—the Struggle Continues]<sup>1</sup> has had some notable organizational successes. It is the strongest group in the Italian far left and the one that most fully expresses both the limitations and positive features of the radicalization that has occurred during these last combative years. Its involvement in struggles and its search for a revolutionary political perspective has impelled the LC in its latest phase to try to make a rounded interpretation of its history and to systematize its political and theoretical framework in the light of the turn it has been carrying out these last three years.

The LC has made an effort to place the experience it has gained in the Italian situation in a broader and more international context, utilizing the most significant experiences of the international workers movement since 1968. I won't go back over their basic theoretical analyses here, or these international experiences, or their errors and failings. What I want to do in this article is to point up how the LC has utilized those experiences—i.e., Chile and Portugal—that have presented the most similarities with the Italian situation, enabling them to put to use the political categories they have been developing on the basis of Italian experience alone.

The general political framework of the LC's perspectives is well known, but I think it is better to summarize it so as to be absolutely clear.

Like the Chilean bourgeoisie and Christian Democrats in 1970, the Italian bourgeoisie and Christian Democrats are on the brink of economic and political bankruptcy.

In Chile, according to the LC, the Allende government formed a necessary bridge in the political situation, representing a kind of trusteeship of bankrupt capitalism. In this prolonged crisis, the proletariat failed to develop an adequate tactic for organizing itself effectively. The imperial-

ists, on the other hand, succeeded in reorganizing themselves and stepped into the place of Chilean capitalism, picking up its chips and managing to deal a defeat to the workers movement.

In Portugal, the LC maintains, the social process that is going on now is not dissimilar. However, the working-class movement is making its weight felt more strongly, so that the reformists and the armed forces themselves have been put under constraint. Thus, at least a part of the MFA [Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement] has been transforming itself into a locomotive of the revolutionary process.

In Italy, therefore, we are on the brink of the collapse of the Christian Democrats' old way of managing capitalism. The workers have achieved sufficient self-guidance as a class not only to lead to the overturn of the Christian Democratic "system" but also to force the Communist party, which will be catapulted into the government, to carry forward the "working class program" expressed by the struggles.

The crisis of capitalism will continue to deepen. Capitalism will enter into a period of prolonged crisis in which the revolutionary party, the LC, will be able, unlike the MIR,<sup>2</sup> to perfect a correct tactic toward the bourgeoisie and especially the reformists, the necessary strategy already being the common property of the working class itself.

I don't want to examine here the implications in an international context of this reductive and simplistic analysis. I will just point out that it is an incorrect notion to equate the Chilean bourgeoisie with the Italian, which, however well or badly, represents a highly developed capitalist country and which is therefore tied to imperialism in a way different from that of the bourgeoisies of underdeveloped and semideveloped countries. This is a conception that in the future could lead the LC into dangerous deviations regarding the questions of national independence and neutralism. (In fact, such deviations were already present in its congress documents.) Behind this notion lies a series of grave political and theoretical errors. Let us consider the principal ones.

There is very little clarity on the conception of the revolutionary crisis and its resolution in any of the writings of the LC. This comes from the fact that the LC does not have a Leninist understanding of the revolutionary crisis, of the precipitation of a political situation, limited in time, in which the bourgeoisie can no longer use its instruments of exploitation and domination, in which the workers no longer accept the yoke of the bosses and develop organs of an alternative power. In such periods, the question of seizing power is posed, for a relatively brief interval, after which either the bourgeois state apparatus is effectively destroyed, or the organs of incipient workers power fade and the consciousness of the class ebbs.

It seems that on the basis of the Italian situation—that is, a situation of instability and continuous struggles that has lasted for six years, a situation made possible by the international context of a general rise of the world revolution—the LC has developed the notion of a prolonged, permanent crisis. This notion, however, fails to take into account that within this general context, there was only one specifically prerevolutionary period in Italy, which lasted from the end of 1969 into early 1970. Likewise, it fails to take into account that the process in Italy never reached the level of a full-fledged revolutionary phase, as existed in France in 1968.

The conception of a prolonged crisis, as understood by the LC, could lead those who hold it to lose sight of the fact that only if the present critical situation escalates into a full-fledged revolutionary crisis will it lead to a qualitative leap in the consciousness of the masses of workers—to a dual-power situation in which the seizure of power would be put concretely on the agenda.

The LC's distorted conception of the revolutionary crisis leaves the door open, moreover, to new, if more sophisticated, forms of gradualism (as have already been put forward by the LC, for example, in the case of the "Take the Cities" campaign).

This interpretation of ours is corroborated by the LC's conception of the way the workers' consciousness develops. As they see it, this consciousness does not develop in sudden leaps but through a steady maturing. Or still worse, they think that the workers achieved consciousness once and for all in 1969.

It was certainly no accident that the LC has failed, within this conception of a prolonged crisis (even though its analysis is that big confrontations are on the agenda and it claims its objective is revolution), to advance slogans pointing up the fact that the workers need united democratic structures from the bottom up that would form a coherent system, that is, workers power, the

1. The group publishes the daily newspaper with the same name.—IP

2. Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left, a Chilean left-centrist formation.—IP

highest crystallization of anticapitalist consciousness. The emergence of organs of this type is essential to lead to a leap in consciousness of the need to overthrow the bourgeois state (a consciousness that we would remind the LC comrades does not yet exist among the broad masses), or to lead to the formation of adequate structures to counterpose to the bourgeois state and to administer the new workers power.

In Portugal, the strength of the workers movement has undoubtedly been very great but it has not yet found the capacity to develop independent councils based on the masses in the factories, the only instruments that could enable the class to free itself from the paralyzing tutelage of the reformists, and still more of the MFA. (Although unless the workers can do this, sooner or later the bourgeoisie will regain its strength and inflict a defeat on them.) The LC thinks that working-class independence has taken its highest form in Portugal, although no force on the far left is able to provide the "tactic" (as the LC would be doing in Italy). Thus it is not by chance that the LC has come in the last analysis to believe that a positive development of the revolutionary process can be assured by the MFA!

These considerations bring us to the other aspect of the LC's fundamental theoretical weakness, which at bottom reveals the organization's spontanist origins—the conception of working-class self-guidance. In an election rally not long ago in Turin, the birthplace of many spontanist theories, Sofri [an LC leader] spoke very clearly on this question. According to him, working-class self-guidance in both strategy and politics has been an accomplished and constant fact since 1969. As for the possibility that such self-guidance could be reversed, no attention was given to it. In fact, Sofri explained that the working class has a complete proletarian program that is already being carried forward in today's struggles.

No one denies that in these last years, through an almost uninterrupted series of struggles, the consciousness of the working class as a whole has grown and reached a level unparalleled in Italy in the last thirty years at least. No one denies either that a substantial vanguard has developed that has a strong anticapitalist and antireformist consciousness, that is trying to systematize the experience it has gained into a strategy so as to achieve a rounded view of the class confrontation. These are essential facts that enable us to characterize this situation as highly favorable for a positive outcome to the crisis of capitalism, for the formation of a revolutionary party.

However, these developments cannot be mistaken for a general collapse of the reformists' hegemony over the proletariat in the fields of strategy, politics, and organiza-

tion, even if this hegemony is no longer as firm as it once was. We have no doubt that on many occasions in these last years the vanguard has been able to take initiatives that have led broad masses to throw off the control of the reformists. But these developments, which are very important and should be extended, have so far been only episodic.

There is also another question—that is, whether the levels of consciousness achieved to date can be considered as attained once and for all, whether the bourgeoisie and the reformists still have the means for making a comeback, whether, for lack of an adequate response, the crisis and the rise of unemployment may not provoke dangerous symptoms of a retreat and a general ebb in class consciousness.

Proclaiming the existence of a development that is still limited and partial is no help whatever. What does advance the process is striving to assure that this anticapitalist and antibureaucratic consciousness, widespread today, finds a political and strategic framework that can give it form, finds the way to a new leap forward. This new leap must take the form of organizational structures for the vanguard and the masses that can impel a qualitative advance in struggles and pose the question of power. Otherwise, there will inevitably be a retreat from the levels already attained.

In order to promote and stimulate a process of this type, to close ranks politically and organizationally with the advanced workers and the whole of the class, the tasks of the revolutionary vanguard today are to carry forward these objectives, to give impetus to the struggles, and to develop the necessary organizational means.

However, the LC's basic contradiction consists in the fact that, on the one hand, it thinks that working-class self-guidance has been achieved and the workers already have a strategy and program, and on the other hand, it has made the obvious observation that the bureaucracies still exist and are substantial enough to force it to deal with them and develop a tactic toward them. The fact is that although the movement has come into conflict with the established bourgeois framework and thrown the reformists off balance on a number of occasions, it has not been able to develop an overall strategic view or a political solution. And so it has finally come to follow the path laid out by the bureaucracies.

The cause of all this lies precisely in the fact that the break with the reformists took place in empirical and episodic forms and did not lead to the formation of an alternative strategic leadership.

The contradiction in which it is caught has led the LC to distort reality and to commit a series of opportunist errors with respect to the PCI [Partito Comunista Ita-

liano—Italian Communist party]. In fact, the LC has come to see as demonstrations of working-class self-guidance events that were exactly the opposite, that in reality reflected the PCI and the unions regaining or maintaining their control. You need only think of the episodes in the antifascist mobilization in Milan on March 7 that was sparked by commando-squad attacks in Rome during the Lollo trial, and the trade-union demonstration in Milan on April 22.

Obviously, if every development is seen in the light of working-class self-guidance, initiatives by the reformists come to be mistaken for actions brought about by the strength of the movement. The rapprochement with the PCI gets its theoretical and political justification from the presumed working-class power that the PCI is supposedly bringing to bear behind the LC's own strategic schemes. If we consider that the LC has come to think that once in the government the PCI will be forced to advance the objectives of the working class, we can see what opportunistic backsliding the LC's present political conceptions can lead to.

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the LC has been duplicating a series of attitudes and slogans projected by the PCI in the past. The resolution of the LC national congress says explicitly that it is necessary to pick up everything the revisionists have dropped by the wayside. This would be quite correct if it referred to the past of a party that had not already succumbed to Stalinist and reformist degeneration. But the slogans picked up are those of the 1950s, when the PCI was advancing a line not fundamentally different from the present one; a different national and international context simply led it to give a tougher tone to some of its positions.

Now, let's take up a third question.

The LC maintains that the development of the social crisis and the working-class movement must necessarily go through a phase with the Communist party in the government. As the resolution referred to above puts it: "A change in the system of government in our country before the conditions are ripe for a struggle for workers power is inevitably destined to involve the ouster of the Christian Democrats by a left government whose axis can only be the PCI."

This formulation leaves room for some equivocations in defining the governmental formula, because the LC has suddenly found itself facing a rather pressing question—the problem of the PCI entering the government through the "historic compromise." Doubtless it might not be very clear for activists and vanguard workers how the alliance between the PCI and the main bourgeois party could promote the dynamic of the working-class movement.

This question was resolved in too hasty



and incomplete a way by the LC. It has ruled out the possibility and practicality of the historic compromise, based on the belief that the bourgeoisie and the Christian Democrats have taken the contrary option and on the view that because of the crisis the capitalists today are unable to offer any substantial reforms.

While all of this is true, it suffers from incompleteness (in fact, in the Turin rally Sofri ended up by formulating three governmental possibilities, government by the PCI alone, by the PCI with the left, by the PCI with the Christian Democrats).

It is a fact that for an entire phase, because of the absence of the political and economic prerequisites, the bourgeoisie cannot implement an extensive policy of reform in alliance with the PCI that could assure control of the masses. But this does not mean that in the medium term we should exclude the possibility of another version of the historic compromise. By this, I mean the possibility that the crisis may throw the bourgeoisie into an untenable position, to the breaking point, where the only way it could try to gain time and survive, to prevent a direct confrontation at a time when its apparatus was disintegrating, would be by allying itself with the PCI, which would seek by every means to confine the movement within legalistic bounds.

This version is also a possibility. The conditions for it do not exist today and the bourgeoisie is doing everything possible to avoid such an eventuality. But it would be absurd to maintain that a sharpening of the contradictions and the class confrontation could not impose a variant of this type.

We firmly believe that a governmental alliance between the Christian Democrats and the PCI would by no means be a favorable development for the working-class movement or one that could facilitate the workers' struggle. Nor do we think that a reformist government of the left forces would necessarily promote this struggle, and it is still less likely that such a shamelessly class-collaborationist government would do so. We have no doubt that such a situation would be unstable and would create other maladjustments. We have no doubt that the mobilization of the masses would tend continually to upset the framework in which the PCI operates and bring strong pressures to bear on the party.

However, if the PCI were in the government in such conditions, this would be a strong source of confusion; it would create great illusions among the masses. The power that the reformists could then exercise over the working-class movement could entrap it in an entangling alliance. This power could hold back the struggles and contain them, if only for a brief period. But this would be a period in which the bourgeoisie could muster its strength to get

over the most critical moment and to develop new instruments, while the workers movement on the other hand would go into a phase of disillusionment and decline. We cannot forget the repressive role the reformists themselves can play, even though, in view of the present relationship of forces between the masses and the bureaucracies, they can hardly become the hangmen of the revolution that they were in Spain in 1936 or in Germany in 1918.

The LC comrades cannot forget that this, in general, was the role played by the PCI in the postwar government, and that this was the role of the reformists in Chile. There is no doubt that the reformists' presence in the government, in the last analysis, sharpened the contradictions, and that they proved unable to confine the working class within the limits imposed by the political and economic agreement with the bourgeoisie that preceded Allende's election.

But the reformists and their associates ended up suspended in midair between the bourgeoisie, which no longer was willing to make deals with them, and the masses of workers, who had broken through the dikes and were on the march for their own objectives, without any leadership, politically and militarily disarmed by their own parties. Finally, the lack of an alternative strategy, the result of the lack of a revolutionary leadership within the class, precipitated the confrontation in the worst possible conditions and led to a catastrophic defeat.

And today in Portugal, isn't *the manner* of the reformists' participation in the government an element of severe weakness and confusion for the workers movement? Couldn't this give the bourgeoisie time to reorganize itself?

However, the LC's analysis is all the more undialectical, lacking in perspectives, and thus dangerous, insofar as it gives no indication of the need for the workers to develop their own organs of power in the factories and in society. It is such organs that would make it possible to deepen the crisis in the relationship between the masses and the state apparatus, between the masses and the reformists, to reinforce an anticapitalist consciousness. Such bodies would be the indispensable support of any workers government; they could take the initiatives suited to breaking all the bourgeoisie's strong points.

Finally, I want to call attention to a further bit of schematism in the LC's analysis. The analysis of the economic and political crisis in progress today in the country is often linked simply to the crisis of the Christian Democracy. At times the crisis of the state is seen only as a result of the Christian Democrats' problems. The emergence from the political primitivism that characterized the LC for many years,

when it could not see beyond the factory, has now led this group to another oversimplification. Starting from the correct observation that today the Christian Democrats are the main party of the bourgeoisie, it ends up by confusing this party with the bourgeoisie as such and by interpreting the political struggle against the bourgeoisie exclusively in terms of a struggle against the Christian Democrats.

There is no doubt that weakening the Christian Democrats today means sharpening the contradictions of the bourgeoisie. But reducing the political struggle simply to fighting the Christian Democrats suggests an underlying theoretical and analytical weakness regarding the relationship between the means of production, social classes, and their specific political expressions. It suggests a lack of understanding that the crisis capitalism has been experiencing in these last years is a general crisis of social relations striking bourgeois society at all its levels. □

### All the Comforts of Home

Officers in the navy and marine corps are provided with government-paid servants to fix their meals, do their laundry, make their beds, and shine their shoes. According to the General Accounting Office, 8,416 enlisted men are assigned to pick up after the officers. A ship's commander sometimes assigns himself as many as six personal servants. The GAO report notes that the servants cost taxpayers \$84 million a year.

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## El Episodio de 'República': Políticas de División

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 12 de junio de *Combate*, órgano central de la Liga Comunista (organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional en España). Lleva la fecha del 9 de junio y la firma de E.A.]

\* \* \*

*El atentado contra un periódico obrero— como contra cualquier organización o derecho de los trabajadores—es un atentado contra todo el movimiento obrero, que ha forjado con su esfuerzo esos instrumentos de lucha.*

Sin embargo, la dirección del PC portugués es responsable del intento de arrebatarse al Partido Socialista el diario *República*. Si no lo impulsó directamente, por lo menos lo favoreció con la deseducación que crea su forma de atacar al PS. Y sobre todo, en lugar de defender a brazo partido el derecho del PS a conservar el periódico, en los hechos ha apoyado la intentona, en convivencia con sectores militares deseosos de acallar la voz de un partido obrero.

Sin duda, la actuación del PCP en este caso entra dentro de su palabrería sobre la supuesta "dinámica revolucionaria impulsada por el MFA" que estaría por encima de la democracia formal burguesa. Todo el mundo sabe que, sin embargo, el PCP es el enemigo más acérrimo de la formación de comités de fábrica, órganos de democracia directa de masas que son los únicos que pueden dar base a unas formas democráticas superiores.

Pero hay más. El hecho del *República*— como antes el apoyo a la restricción del derecho de huelga y la política de "unicidad" sindical—deja claro que en nombre de la "revolución" ese partido se está uniendo a representantes de la burguesía como el MFA para atacar las libertades, los periódicos, los derechos más elementales de la clase obrera.

A esa agresión, el PS contrapone una campaña por la "libertad de prensa" dentro de una democracia "pluralista" como la de Europa Occidental.

En Europa Occidental, la "libertad de prensa" es el derecho de los monopolios y de su Estado a manipular la información. La prensa franquista y toda la reacción europea han apoyado la campaña de Soares. Curiosamente, por los mismos días un banquero que defiende ese tipo de "libertad" expulsaba al director y toda la redacción del semanario *Destino*. Sólo que en este caso no se trataba de una "imposición de los obreros" sino del derecho de propiedad. El "demócrata" Pujol<sup>2</sup> había decidido echar a

los redactores porque, según él, pretendían dejar oír, entre otras muchas voces, la del PCE,<sup>3</sup> el partido mayoritario en el movimiento obrero, perseguido por el franquismo. Y no es un caso aislado: los escándalos de represión contra periodistas se vienen repitiendo en la prensa de la "oposición democrática" española. Publicaciones en que el PSOE<sup>4</sup> consigue cierta influencia no se distinguen por una excesiva tolerancia.

En Portugal, como las masas han forzado a los capitalistas a retirar un tanto sus zarpas de la prensa, la "libertad" de ésta consiste en que está controlada por el MFA como representante de la burguesía. Y el PS junto con el PC, firmó un acuerdo en que reconocía al MFA ésta y otros muchos "derechos" a pisotear la libertad de los trabajadores. Están en el Gobierno de coalición para avalar tales atentados.

Pero para Soares, la amenaza más inmediata para las libertades en Portugal no viene del MFA, ni de los partidos burgueses dirigidos por salazaristas, (PPD, CDS . . .), ni del fascismo . . . sino del PCP. En la campaña del *República* como en otras ocasiones el PS, en nombre del socialismo, se ha unido al PPD y al CDS para presionar y atraer al MFA y marginar . . . al partido que cuenta con el apoyo de la mayor parte del proletariado. "Solicitados por el PC (y por el PPD) no tenemos más que un verdadero aliado: el MFA," había dicho Soares.

En definitiva, ambos partidos rivalizan en servilismo respecto de los jefes militares. Mientras se combaten públicamente dividiendo a la clase, se dan la mano para ayudar al MFA a reprimir al MRPP,<sup>5</sup> a los soldados que no quieren defender al imperialismo en Angola. Y sobre todo, para oponerse a huelgas como la de Química y Hostelería. Ambos cumplen la consigna del MFA, que llama "al pueblo portugués y a los partidos políticos para consolidar la unidad nacional frente a la dura tarea de reconstrucción." Esta reconstrucción consiste en imponer al proletariado la superexplotación capitalista llamada "batalla de la producción."

Unirse a la burguesía, dividir a los trabajadores y oprimidos: es la tarea de

ala "liberal" de la burguesía española.

3. Partido Comunista de España.

4. Partido Socialista Obrero Español.

5. Partido Popular Democrático, Centro Democrático Social.

6. Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado.

todos los frentes populares. El beneficiario es siempre la burguesía:

• El MFA ve favorecidos sus deseos de elevarse por encima de unos partidos obreros a los que hoy no puede suprimir, utilizándolos como correas de transmisión para imponer a los trabajadores las agresiones capitalistas.

• Los partidos burgueses pescan en río revuelto y capitalizan la desmoralización de sectores de la pequeña burguesía desengañados de los partidos de la clase obrera.

• Y, en definitiva, se abre paso al fascismo, que así puede denunciar el "caos de los partidos" (Cunhal le da la razón) y la "amenaza de una dictadura de Moscú" (Soares le da la razón). Precisamente mientras el PC y el PS andaban en la greña con el caso *República*, se ha producido el inicio de actos terroristas del ELP<sup>7</sup> fascista.

Cada paso en la traición combinada del PCP y el PSP resalta más claro la necesidad de luchar por la unidad del movimiento obrero, construyendo a través de esa lucha el partido revolucionario que el proletariado portugués se merece. Por un frente único del PC y del PS para luchar contra la reacción capitalista: contra el fascismo y contra el MFA que le abre el camino, contra todos los ataques a las libertades, a las organizaciones de los trabajadores y oprimidos. . . . Contra la batalla capitalista de la producción.

Era esa lucha contra la reacción burguesa lo que buscaba el instinto de clase de los trabajadores de *República*. No son ellos los responsables de que ese instinto haya sido desviado y deformado, llevándoles a intentar suprimir un periódico considerado por decenas de miles de trabajadores socialistas como un arma de esa misma lucha.

La democracia obrera (que en este caso enseñaba que un pequeño grupo de obreros no era quien para quitar el periódico a un partido obrero con amplia audiencia de masas) es indispensable para la lucha unida de toda la clase, por los intereses de la clase entera. Para derrotar a la reacción es vital luchar por la democracia obrera entre los partidos y en los sindicatos, y desarrollar formas de democracia directa en las fábricas y centros de trabajo. Sólo así es posible unir a la clase y tejer la más firme alianza con las demás víctimas de las agresiones capitalistas: los campesinos, los soldados, la juventud . . . el pueblo de Angola. □

7. Ejército de Libertação Portuguesa.

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

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1. Movimento das Forças Armadas.

2. Jordi Pujol, banquero catalán representante del

## The 'República' Episode: Divisive Politics

[The following article appeared in the June 12 issue of *Combate*, the central organ of the Liga Comunista (Communist League), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Spain. Signed by E.A., the article is dated June 9.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*The attack against a working-class newspaper—as in the case of any organization or right of the workers—is an attack against the entire workers movement, which has forged such instruments of struggle through its own efforts.*

However, the leadership of the Portuguese Communist party is responsible for the attempted seizure of the daily *República* from the Socialist party. Even if it did not promote it directly, the miseducation provided by its method of attacking the SP paved the way for the seizure. And, above all, instead of uncompromisingly defending the right of the SP to keep the paper, the PCP acted to support the seizure along with sectors of the military who want to silence a workers party.

Doubtless, the PCP actions in this case are in harmony with its rhetoric about the so-called "revolutionary dynamic promoted by the MFA,"<sup>1</sup> which is supposed to be above formal bourgeois democracy. Nonetheless, everyone knows that the PCP is the staunchest opponent of the formation of factory committees—mass organizations of direct democracy, which are the only thing that can provide the basis for higher forms of democracy.

But there is more to this. The *República* affair, like the PCP's previous support to restrictions on the right to strike and to the policy of "one unionism," makes it clear that in the name of "revolution," this party is joining representatives of the bourgeoisie like the MFA to attack the freedoms, newspapers, and most basic rights of the working class.

The SP counterposes to such aggression a campaign for "freedom of the press" within a "pluralistic" democracy like that in Western Europe.

In Western Europe "freedom of the press" is the right of the monopolies and their

state to manipulate information. The Francoist press and all European reactionaries have supported Soares's campaign. Curiously, during the same days, a banker who defends that type of "freedom" fired the publisher and the whole editorial board of the weekly *Destino*. Only in this case it was not a question of "something imposed by the workers." It was a case of the rights of ownership. The "democrat" Pujol<sup>2</sup> had decided to kick out the editors because, according to him, they were trying to let the voice of the PCE<sup>3</sup>—among many others—the voice of the majority party in the workers movement and one that is persecuted by Franco, be heard. And this is not an isolated case: The scandalous repression of journalists is repeated over and over again in the press of the Spanish "democratic opposition." Publications in which the PSOE<sup>4</sup> has a certain influence are not marked by a great tolerance for other views.

In Portugal, since the masses have forced the capitalists to loosen their grip on the press somewhat, "freedom" means that it is controlled by the MFA acting as the bourgeoisie's representative. And the SP along with the CP signed an agreement recognizing the MFA's right to trample this and many other rights of the workers. They are in the coalition government to endorse such outrages.

But to Soares the most immediate threat to freedoms in Portugal does not come from the MFA, the bourgeois parties led by Salazarists (PPD, CDS<sup>5</sup> . . .), or from the fascists. It comes from the PCP. In the *República* campaign as on other occasions, the SP, in the name of socialism, has united with the PPD and the CDS to pressure and appeal to the MFA and to exclude the party that has the support of the largest section of the proletariat. "Pursued by the CP (and by the PPD), we have but one true ally: the MFA," Soares said.

In short, the two parties are rivals in servility to the military chiefs. While they

2. Jordi Pujol, a Catalan banker associated with the "liberal" wing of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

3. Partido Comunista de España—Spanish Communist party.

4. Partido Socialista Obrero Español—Spanish Socialist Workers party.

5. Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party; Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center.

fight publicly, dividing the working class, they lend a hand to help the MFA repress the MRPP<sup>6</sup> and the soldiers who do not want to defend imperialism in Angola. And, above all, in opposition to strikes like those of the chemical and hotel workers, both are carrying out the MFA's slogan calling on "the Portuguese people and the political parties to consolidate national unity in view of the difficult task of reconstruction." This reconstruction consists of imposing capitalist superexploitation in the so-called "battle for production" on the proletariat.

To unite with the bourgeoisie, to divide the workers and oppressed—that is the task of all popular fronts. The beneficiary is always the bourgeoisie:

- The MFA is encouraged in its desire to go over the heads of some workers parties that it cannot suppress at the moment. Thus it can utilize them as transmission belts to force the workers to accept capitalist aggressions.

- The bourgeois parties fish in the troubled waters and capitalize on the demoralization of some sectors of the petty bourgeoisie that are disillusioned with the working-class parties.

- And, in short, the way is opened for the fascists to denounce the "chaos of political parties" (Cunhal offers proof) and the "threat of a Moscow dictatorship" (Soares offers proof). Precisely while the CP and SP were squabbling over the *República* affair, the fascist ELP<sup>7</sup> began to carry out terrorist actions.

Each step in the combined betrayal by the PCP and PSP projects more clearly the need to fight for the unity of the workers movement, and in the course of that struggle, to construct a revolutionary party worthy of the Portuguese proletariat. For a united front of the CP and SP to fight against capitalist reaction; against fascism and against the MFA, which opens the way for it; against all attacks on the freedoms and organizations of the workers and the oppressed. Against the capitalist battle for production.

Such a battle against bourgeois reaction was what the workers of *República* sought with their class instinct. They are not responsible for the fact that that instinct has been derailed and deformed, leading them to try to suppress a newspaper considered by tens of thousands of socialist workers as a weapon in that very struggle.

*Workers democracy* (which in this case showed that it was not up to a small group of workers to take away the newspaper of a

1. Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement.

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

7. Exército de Libertação Portuguesa—Portuguese Liberation Army.

workers party with a broad mass audience) is indispensable for the unity of the entire class in the struggle for its common interests. To defeat the reactionaries it is

vital to fight for workers democracy in the parties and trade unions, and to develop forms of direct democracy in the factories and work centers. Only thus is it possible to

unite the class and cement the firmest alliance with the other victims of capitalist aggression: the peasants, the soldiers, the youth, the people of Angola. □

## Directive on the Reorganization of the Portuguese Army

[The following directive was published in the July 11 issue of *Movimento—Boletim Informativo das Forças Armadas*, the fortnightly organ of the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement). It was not specified whether the directive came from the Revolutionary Council, which is both the leadership of the MFA and the real government of Portugal, or from the army command. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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### For a Democratic Army: Directive on the Democratic Organization of the MFA in the Military Units and Establishments

#### 01. Preamble

a. In order to give form to the MFA at every echelon of the army, and in pursuance of the "Principles and Lines of Action" approved by the Revolutionary Council on March 27, 1975, Assembleias de Delegados de Unidade [ADU—Unit Delegate Assemblies] of the MFA are to be established in all units and their detachments in mainland Portugal and on the islands.

b. The representative and leading bodies of the MFA in the military units and detachments act in collaboration with the respective commands but are not to be confused with them. The ADUs are bodies that advise and support the command. They are intended to assist the command in dealing with problems that concern the fulfillment of the unit's mission by proposing actions and activities and taking steps that will help to build an efficient, cohesive, and democratic army in the service of the people and national independence and one that can conform to the socialist and pluralist society that we want to construct.

c. The commander of the unit will be the ex officio chairman of the ADU. This body will also include any delegates to the AMFA [Assembleia do Movimento das Forças Armadas—Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement] who may be in the unit or detachment (see point 02.a.1 of this directive), as well as representatives of all categories—the ranks, noncommissioned officers, and officers.

Besides full representativeness of the ADUs, this will guarantee a high degree of initiative, along with innovative ferment within the army and a mutually beneficial intimate contact with all the commands,

without which the revolutionary impulse would not be able to bear fruit.

d. It is important, moreover, to stress that the ADUs in no way challenge the authority of commanders and their responsibility for decisions. The commanders, for their part, should be the leading activists of the MFA, always bearing in mind that the aim is not to restore an outmoded military institution but to create a new one. That is, the objective is to advance toward a competent, democratic, and revolutionary army dedicated to the service of the people and capable of conforming to the socialist society we want to build.

e. Carrying out the present directive will help to make the armed forces a great patriotic, democratic, and socialist force, and as such a major pillar of the people's gains and the Portuguese Revolution.

f. Serious and conscientious execution of this action program will contribute decisively to establishing a competent hierarchy and genuine discipline in the armed forces, discipline that comes from willing and conscious cooperation. It will reinforce the ties of friendship, fraternity, and sincere collaboration among all military personnel without distinction of rank. This will build up a natural barrier against all maneuvers aimed at disrupting the unity of cohesiveness of the armed forces.

g. In their spheres of activity, the ADUs are governed by:

1. The general principles of the Portuguese Revolution already defined, which are intended to serve as guides in achieving a multiparty socialist society and guaranteeing national independence.

2. The principle of nonpartisanship in the armed forces, which rejects all attempts at infiltration and control by the political parties.

#### 02. Organization

a. In all military units, training schools, and detachments ADUs should be built, with the following composition:

1. The commander, who presides over the officers down the chain of command to, and including, the subunit. Military personnel representing all classes, including both professionals and draftees.

2. Grupo Dinamizador da Unidade [GDU—Unit Political Education Group], which is directed by the Grupo Dinamizador do Exército [GDE—Army Political Education Group] and is made up of:

• The official delegate of the MFA in the unit.

• The delegate or delegates to the AMFA.  
• Military personnel appointed directly by the GDE, which will set a minimum and maximum number for each unit.

b. The officers that make up the chain of command are the following:

• The lieutenant commander.  
• The director of education.  
• The commanders of battalions or operational groups, training groups, or the commanders of operational or training subunits (companies, squadrons, or batteries).

c. The military representatives of all classes mentioned in point 1 are to be elected in the following manner:

Every class (i.e., officers, noncommissioned officers, and privates) is to elect three persons for every vacancy to be filled for each class in the group of military

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representatives referred to in point 1. The elements thus elected will constitute an electoral college and from their number will choose representatives to fill the vacancies for the various classes.

d. The number of privates elected in the manner prescribed in the preceding paragraph can never be less than the total number of officers and sergeants elected.

The number of representatives to be elected for each class will be set by the Grupo Dinamizador in accordance with the size of the unit roster and the magnitude of the tasks to be accomplished.

### 03. Mission

#### a. The ADU.

As a body advising and supporting the commander and as the interpreter of the spirit of the MFA in the unit, the Assembleia de Delegados da Unidade is empowered to discuss and propose activities and actions, as well as adopt measures, pursuant to the following objectives:

##### 1. In the area of *internal education*:

(a) Educating military personnel culturally and politically along nonparty lines but in the spirit of the Revolution.

(b) Promoting active and voluntary participation of all military personnel in rational use of their free time.

(c) Strengthening the cohesiveness and esprit de corps of all military personnel among themselves and around the MFA.

(d) Strengthening the discipline of the unit and helping in the application of this discipline as a consultative organ of the command in accordance with rules to be set later.

(e) Assuring the welfare of military personnel and improvement of the various aspects of their living conditions, namely housing, food, and hygiene.

(f) Promoting cultural, recreational, and sport activities.

##### 2. In the area of *external education*:

(a) Conducting effective campaigns of cultural education and civic action that will be determined by the GDE and CODICE, or, in the case of detachments, by the units under whose authority they come.

(b) Conducting, on their own initiative and in liaison with superior officers, other campaigns of cultural education and civic action that may be considered opportune on the local level.

(c) Establish proper relations with the people and the civilian authorities.

#### b. GDU.

The GDUs have the following specific tasks:

1. To assure the internal education of the unit.

2. To establish permanent liaison between the units and the higher bodies of the MFA.

### 04. Functioning

#### a. The ADUs are to meet:

1. In normal course, once a month.

2. In special session:

(a) On the initiative of the commander.

(b) On the recommendation of the MFA delegate or the delegate or delegates to the MFA assembly.

(c) On the recommendation of at least one-third of the military personnel elected to represent the classes (see point 2.c).

b. General assemblies of military personnel or meetings of classes can be held in the units or detachments when this is necessary to carry out the tasks assigned to the ADUs, on the initiative of these bodies, the GDU, or the military personnel. Such meetings must be reported to the command and to the GDU.

c. In order to carry out the established objectives more effectively, the ADUs may form working groups, such as teams for internal and external education, and appoint whatever persons are needed for this.

d. The ADUs will receive directives from the GDE, but in general these will be limited to setting the general lines of action, leaving a considerable room for the creative spirit and initiative of the ADUs and thus giving them a wide latitude in their activity.

e. Without detracting from the specific responsibility of the command, each ADU is collectively responsible for any abuses or errors it may commit as well as for the activity of any working groups it may create.

f. The ADUs will communicate with higher levels of authority through the chain of command. However, when the circumstances require, they can contact the GDE directly, while informing the intermediate levels of command. Special reports should be sent to the Regiao Militar [RM—Military Region] on experiences that are thought to be of particular interest. Such reports should include an account of the results and any pertinent suggestions that should be considered by higher authorities.

g. The ADUs are forbidden to give press conferences and issue public communiqués, in accordance with the rule laid down in the GDE's Circular No.5 of April 10, 1975.

h. Members of the GDUs can participate in all meetings held in the unit that are authorized by the command.

i. In their activities, the ADUs will strive to adjust to the normal schedule of the respective units.

### 05. Final Provisions

a. With the formation of the ADUs, the EIIRPs cease all functions, along with whatever committees, teams, or councils, etc., may exist in the military units or

detachments (with the exception of delegates to the Comissão Nacional de Sargentos [National Noncommissioned Officers Committee]. All activities of these now abolished organizations that have a recognized usefulness will be taken over immediately by the ADUs.

b. Commanders of units and detachments are ordered to carry out this directive, which they are to bring to the attention of all military personnel under their command. They will facilitate and promote the work of the ADUs, participating in these bodies as ex officio members.

c. Work in the structures of the MFA must be carried on with a real activist spirit—*every member of the armed forces is an activist in the MFA*.

d. As mentioned in point 01.a, the present directive concerns only military units and their detachments. However, while the spirit of this directive can be considered a guide for institutions and other military bodies, it is recognized that the norms established here are not totally applicable to these establishments, given the different situations and peculiarities of the various military institutions and other existing bodies. Thus, on the basis of the present directive, the directors or heads of establishments and other military bodies must send proposals to the EME (GDE) for study in the formulation of specific directives. □

### Ukrainian Political Prisoners Hold One-Day Hunger Strike

A group of Ukrainian political prisoners issued an appeal in defense of Ukrainian women political prisoners and announced a one-day hunger strike, according to issue No. 35 of the Soviet samizdat publication *Chronicle of Current Events*. Among the signatories were Zoryan Popadyuk, Vasyl Ovsiiyenko, Kuzma Matviyiv, Vasyl Dolishny, Ihor Kravtsov, and Roman Senyuk. The latter four have not been heard of previously in the West.

The prisoners urged all who "value freedom" to demand that the International Congress of Women—due to meet this October in Berlin—work for the release of such women as Stefaniya Shabatura, Iryna Stasiv-Kalynets, Nadia Svitlychna, Nina Strokata, and Iryna Senyuk. The appeal said that the confinement of women in camps under harsh conditions is incompatible with the norms of common human rights and is a crime against freedom and democracy.

The appeal ends with the following declaration: "To underline the importance of our demands, we, a group of Ukrainian political prisoners in Mordovian concentration camps, announce a one-day hunger strike for March 8, 1975."

## For Immediate, Unconditional Withdrawal From All Israeli-Occupied Territories

[The following article appeared as an editorial in the June 1 issue of the Israeli Trotskyist publication *Matzpen Marxist*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

June 1967-June 1975. Eight years that mark a turning point in the history of the state of Israel. A turning point that began with "the greatest victory of all time" and that is ending with the deepest social and political crisis Israel has ever known.

This transition from victory to crisis is not accidental. The 1973 war and the earthquake that shook the state of Israel are the direct result of the 1967 war and the occupation. And that is why even in 1967, when the vast majority of Israeli Jews were celebrating the "victory festival," we—a quite small group of anti-Zionist socialists—were able to foresee the political developments that we are living through today.

It is true that the 1967 war enabled Israel to conquer territory, markets, and access to supplies of cheap handmade goods. It also paved the way for an unprecedented military and industrial buildup. But on the other hand, it completely blinded the population and the leaders of Israel to the social and political reality they were living in.

In the occupied territories, this social reality took the form of a struggle and armed action against the Israeli occupation. This struggle itself was insufficient to liberate the territories, to be sure. It did, however, serve as a catalyst for the mobilization of the masses of the whole region against the state of Israel and blocked any political stabilization of the region. This reality was also reflected in the increasing isolation of Israel throughout the world, including in the imperialist countries, whose governments were not ready to pay the price for Israel's unrealistic, rosy-hued dreams.

This was the context in which the October 1973 war and the serious *political defeat* of the state of Israel occurred. At the very least this war had a profound effect on the Israeli population. Some of those who eight years ago still refused to accept the necessity to return the conquered territories today raise questions *about the very possibility of the state of Israel continuing to exist!* This change on the part of the Israeli Jewish population should not be underestimated, but at the same time no hasty conclusions should be drawn.

It is not an accident that many persons, both Jews and Arabs, drew wrong conclusions from the last war and the political

situation that followed. Many saw the American efforts to reach a "settlement" and the numerous trips by Kissinger as an alternative to the Palestinian struggle and a sure road to the liberation of the territories occupied by Zionism. The welcome given Yasir Arafat at the United Nations and the various plans for a "Palestinian state" on the West Bank have created the illusion that the Israeli occupation is coming to an end. Many Palestinians have already substituted the diplomat's dinner jacket for the "freedom-fighter's gun," and showy negotiations with the leaders of imperialist powers for the mobilization of the Arab masses.

As for the Israeli anti-Zionists, many have started to neglect the struggle against the occupation. In place of militant and unconditional solidarity with the Palestinian fighters, they are beginning to talk of more "realistic" proposals for negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians and to advise moderation to the Palestinians.

But Israel does not give any impression of wanting to give up the occupied territories. On the contrary, it is planning new colonizations and strengthening the civil and military administration on the West Bank. Washington's difficulties in putting effective pressure on Israel and Kissinger's recent setbacks are reopening the eyes of those who tied their hopes to an imperialist settlement. For an unavoidable fact dominates the situation: *More than a year and a half after the October war, the Israeli occupation continues.*

That is why after a period of relative calm—to be sure, a result of the Israeli repression but also of the illusions spread by the Palestinian leadership—the Palestinian people's struggle and resistance are on the rise again. After the strikes and demonstrations by high-school students at the end of last year, today we are seeing a renewed upsurge of armed actions and of acts of resistance of all sorts.

The new wave of resistance is proof that the population of the occupied territories is beginning to understand that the surest road to ridding itself of the Israeli occupation is through its own struggle and not through Kissinger's diplomatic exercises.

The resistance should serve as a reminder that the occupation continues, and with it, a new wave of Israeli terror. The deportations, jailings, and other measures used by the Israeli authorities have increased this year. The current repression against the Palestinian resistance in the occupied territories can be divided into two main categories:

- Decades-long prison terms for Palesti-

nians captured after carrying out actions against the Israeli occupation.

- Administrative imprisonment and expulsion for the leaders and militants of the unarmed resistance who have become better organized and carried out more activities since October 1973.

In spite of the effective methods employed by the Zionist occupation, in spite of the various pressures and dangers, the resistance has not been smashed in the occupied territories. Through different roads and by varied means, thousands of Palestinians have been organized against Israel. Hundreds of them have fallen during the past eight years, dozens have been expelled from their country and torn from their families, and thousands have been imprisoned in Israeli jails for long terms.

These prisoners, detainees, and deportees are in the front line of the Palestinian struggle. They are the ones who have shown the way forward for the resistance and the struggle, even when demoralization and an attitude of resignation affected many Palestinians, often the best of them. They are also proof that even the most acute oppression cannot hold back the legitimate resistance of an occupied people and their struggle to free themselves from their oppressors.

The Palestinian resistance movement in the occupied territories has never had any significant help from the Israeli population. Israelis have shut their ears and remained silent in face of the oppression of the Palestinian-Arab people during the past eight years.

There are only a few hundred persons who have refused to accept the occupation, the expulsions, the collective punishments, the dynamiting of houses. These few hundred have not been able to tie the hands of the leaders of the state and force them to end the repression and the occupation. In spite of that, the Palestinian militants hold in great esteem this limited and modest struggle by those Jews who have not been willing to accept the occupation and who have done their best to unmask before the Jewish population the real nature of the Zionist regime.

But the aim in struggling against the occupation is not to win the thanks of the Palestinians nor to become worthy of their respect. *We have fought because it is in the fundamental interest of the Israelis themselves*, because only the common struggle of Palestinians and Jews against the Zionist regime can put an end to the bloody conflict and allow both peoples to live together in mutual respect of each other's rights. Unyielding struggle against the occupation has been and will be not only in the Palestinians' interests but also in our own.

Eight years after the June 1967 war, there is still not a real opposition movement against the Zionist occupation on the part

of the Israeli population. Our most elementary duty is unceasingly to express our total solidarity with the Palestinian struggle. On this occasion, June 5, 1975, we call on the Israeli left to organize a week of solidarity with those who have been deported and with the political prisoners. It is one of the ways we can concretely express our unconditional support to the Palestinian struggle.

- Solidarity with the deported Palestinians!

- Solidarity with those held under administrative detention, for whom the authorities are incapable of even providing reasons for their imprisonment!

- Solidarity with the Palestinian political prisoners sentenced by the occupation forces for their just and legitimate struggle!

On this occasion we must once again express our total solidarity with those anti-Zionist Jewish political prisoners who have chosen the road of the Palestinian resistance as their method of struggle and have consequently been sentenced to long prison terms. Beyond our differences over what road to follow in this struggle, we will continue to be in total solidarity with them. We regard them as comrades in the common fight and pledge to fight for their immediate liberation, together with that of all the other political prisoners.

- *Free all the political prisoners!*
- *Allow all those expelled to return!*
- *For the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied territories!*

### Israel, South Africa Strengthen Ties

Israel and South Africa have more in common than their shared system of apartheid rule. The two countries are steadily expanding their economic, political, and military ties.

Former Israeli Intelligence Chief Gen. Meir Amit reported July 7 that senior Israeli military officers visit South Africa regularly to lecture on modern warfare and counterinsurgency techniques.

Amit, who now heads the large Israeli corporation Koor Industries, called attention to the Zionists' military link with the white racist regime while on a business and lecture tour of South Africa.

He also disclosed several Israeli-South African economic projects. These include the participation by the state-owned South African Railways in a railroad project in Israel; construction of an Israeli plant in South Africa to desalinate sea water; a joint venture in manufacturing agricultural chemicals, scheduled to open in South Africa next year; and a depot for storing oil under "tight security conditions" being built in Israel with South African assistance.

July 28, 1975

## International Protests Called for August 1

### Free the Political Prisoners in Dominica!

[The following communiqué was issued by the Movement for a New Dominica<sup>1</sup> July 8.]

\* \* \*

The Movement for a New Dominica is calling upon all our Comrades outside of Dominica who are opposed to the exploitation of man by man and who are committed to changing the system that perpetuates this injustice, to support our just protest against political repression and disregard for our constitutional rights and freedoms here in Dominica.

On August 1st, 1975, the people of Dominica will march through the streets of Roseau to demand the true freedom that should have been granted to them exactly 141 years ago on that same day. This demonstration will be carried out against a background of the erosion of our constitutional right and freedoms, the enactment of more and more violent laws against the citizens of Dominica, the unleashing of the forces of physical violence upon the youth of the State, and the brutal repression of the more politically advanced groups among the population.

In the last three years we have seen the passing of the "Seditious Act," a law to prevent the freedom of speech in this country, the C.S.A. Act, a law to transform government workers, citizens of the State, into unwilling tools of a politically violent government, the Race Relations Act, an insult to the hard-fought struggles of the ex-slaves against their white masters, and the Dread Act, perhaps the greatest barbarity in the history of law-making, which gives any man the power to kill another man on sight, on the mere suspicion that he belongs to an unlawful society, the definition of which is open to the whims and fancies of madmen.

More immediately, we have witnessed the wicked frame-up of Desmond Trotter, a highly conscious youth, for years in the forefront of the struggle against oppression in this country, sentenced to hang for the killing of a white man; more recently the murder of two young men up in the hills by members of the Defence Force (their crime remains a mystery); the continued harassment of members of MND who have been stopped and searched at gunpoint without warrant; finally, the deliberate and brutal beating of innocent youth whose only crime

1. 6 Canal Lane, Goodwill, Dominica.—IP

is that they happen to be alive in Dominica at this particular stage in her history.

MND is organising a delegation to go to the Premier prior to the demonstration and make the following demands:

The repeal of the "Dread Act."

The release of all prisoners held under the Act and of all other political prisoners.

The setting up of an *independent, non-partisan* commission of enquiry into police brutality and erosion of our constitutional rights.

The setting up of an *independent, non-partisan* commission of enquiry into corruption in the Public Service.

A repeal of all other Acts contrary to the constitution of Dominica, e.g., the Seditious Act, the C.S.A. Act, and the Race Relations Act.

These demands *will be reiterated* at the mass demonstration on August 1st. We are therefore calling on those overseas groups to which this paper is addressed to support us in two ways: (1) To organise a public demonstration<sup>2</sup> of solidarity with our struggle here in Dominica in their countries on the same day. (2) To send statements of solidarity which should arrive here by 21st July to be read out at the demonstration and publicised some time before the latter. Broad community support is being generated.

In the true spirit of struggle and brotherhood we expect your support in any way possible. We would be happy to reply to any additional questions coming from you re the situation in Dominica and hope that our links with each other continue to strengthen. □

2. At Eastern Caribbean Commission, Caribbean Tourist Information Bureaus, British High Commissions, and United Nations Headquarters, N.Y.C.

### Banzer Regime Jails 33 for Labor 'Agitation'

The Bolivian military dictatorship of Gen. Hugo Banzer Suárez arrested thirty-three persons, including three Spanish Roman Catholic nuns, for allegedly trying to organize a general strike. The regime said most of the arrests were made July 14 in Oruro, 125 miles south of the capital La Paz, where "a second stage of agitation" intended to create confrontations between workers and the government was being planned. Those arrested reportedly included a number of labor leaders.

# FROM OUR READERS

A reader in Fayetteville, Arkansas, who happened to be reading the recommendations on news and opinion magazines in *Magazines for Libraries*, thought we might be interested in the following notation on Intercontinental Press:

"Committed to the political philosophy of Trotsky, a typical 24-page weekly issue concerns itself with such matters as anti-war demonstrations, an analysis of President Nixon's economic policies, a study of the 'Mexican Left,' and reports from the world around on activities of interest to the political or social activist. The newspaper/magazine is carefully edited, the material usually written by the editor or taken from the world's press. Despite the obvious bias, the reports are accurate, well written, and of considerable help to anyone trying to keep up with national and international politics and movements. There is little or none of the 'hysteria' often associated with this type of publication. It can be recommended for larger public and academic libraries, particularly the latter, where there is an imaginative political-social science program."

We don't know what issue that appeared in. Possibly it was before Nixon's hasty departure from Washington. The recommendation also includes a slight error. A typical issue runs to 32 or 48 pages. Nonetheless we thought that item was worth citing for our highest award button: *Right on!*

Through a circuitous route, a letter from S.F. in Tel Aviv, written in Russian, reached us. We thought it might be of interest to some of our readers, so here's a translation:

"By chance I saw in Tel Aviv the four-volume edition of the *Bulletin of the Opposition* published in New York.

"As a former supporter of the *Opposition* referred to above in the Soviet Union since 1927, I was imprisoned in the USSR in prisons, exile, and in concentration camps for approximately 18 years, until 1946 when I was set free on account of a pact between General Sikorsky (of the newly established Polish government) and Stalin, and was repatriated to Poland.

"Since 1970 I have lived in Israel. I receive no pension either from Poland or from the Soviet Union. I have turned 76, am ill, and live exclusively from a modest sustainer. . . .

"I am very interested in acquiring the four-volume *Bulletin of the Opposition* mentioned above and also the Platform of

the *Opposition* 83 [Declaration of the 83], which I also signed at that time.

"I very much regret that because of the material conditions I cannot acquire these publications at their full price.

"I ask you to charge me a low price or send me these books as a gift, which I thank you for in advance, and I hope that you will not refuse my request."

The *Bulletin of the Opposition* was published under Trotsky's editorship and contains many articles by him and other leading members of the *Opposition*. For S.F. it must have been a moving experience to learn about it after the terrible years of prison and exile in which he had no way of knowing the fate of his comrades in the *Opposition* or what had happened to the movement he joined in 1927 against Stalin's usurpation of power.

We have begun to take up a collection in New York to make it possible for S.F. to get that gift. For those who would like to contribute, please make out your check to Reba Hansen, care of Intercontinental Press, or send some folding money.

S.M. of Tiverton, Rhode Island, sent for a copy of the July 14 *Intercontinental Press*. He is interested in the series on Chile by Jean-Pierre Beauvais which "may prove helpful to my studies on imperialism."

P.K. of Bloomington, Indiana, writes that he "had planned to let the sub run out and spend the \$ on Deutscher's Trotsky trilogy, but I'm enjoying Red Fred's series on the antiwar movement too much to have to wait till next year when his book comes out."

So the \$ were enclosed for renewal. No libraries in Bloomington where you can borrow or read Deutscher's trilogy?

G.C. of Nottingham, England, sent us the following query:

"In a recent discussion with a Maoist who roundly denounced the Soviet Union's lack of military aid to the Vietnamese, he became somewhat disturbed on learning Peking's lack of aid. After twisting and turning somewhat uncomfortably, his last-ditch stand was *Intercontinental Press's* figures (quoted in June 2nd ICP) were unsubstantiated and didn't give any source of China's military aid. (He seems to accept the ones for Moscow.) Therefore could *Intercontinental Press* give the source of the figures for the military aid of both Peking and Moscow to Vietnam, please."

An Associated Press dispatch from Washington, dated April 12, 1972, gave the

following estimates "prepared within the intelligence community" (this would include all sources available to the White House):

"The Russians shipped \$505-million in arms to North Vietnam in 1967, \$70-million in 1970 and \$100-million in 1971. Soviet economic assistance amounted to \$200-million in 1967, \$345-million in 1970 and \$315-million in 1971.

"Total Soviet military-economic aid was \$705-million in 1967, \$415-million in 1970, and \$415-million again in 1971. . . .

"Military assistance from China was \$145-million in 1967, \$85-million in 1970 and \$75-million in 1971, while Chinese economic help in these years was \$80-million, \$60-million and \$100-million, respectively."

"Economic assistance from East European countries came to \$90-million in 1967, \$205-million in 1970 and \$185-million in 1971. . . ."

The accuracy of these estimates has never been denied by either Peking or Moscow.

Thomas Boushier of Norman, Oklahoma, sent us the following note:

"The Forced Evacuation of Cambodia's Cities' [in the May 19 issue] was one of the most deeply moving, but at the same time, highly objective pieces of literature that I've read in a long, long time. The effect Hansen produces in the reader was enhanced by the context Peter Green had established in earlier articles. Thus, I suspect that that one article will never fail to serve me as an example of the necessity for a *critical* Marxist understanding of events for quite some time. . . .

"Moreover, without the *Intercontinental Press*, I suspect that I'd know virtually nothing about what's going on in Portugal; with it, I feel as if I can about 'sense' the way things are unfolding there."

In her column of June 18, the syndicated columnist Harriet Van Horne made some telling points on one of our favorite subjects:

"From the outset, the new Postal Service has been tainted with scandal and distinguished by the kind of performance that would be hilarious were it not so damaging.

"Elmer Klassen, the first Postmaster General under the new corporation, engaged in numerous shady deals, hired his old cronies from American Can Co. at unprecedented postal salaries, and maintained a sybaritic life style (two chauffeurs, a \$50,000 kitchen in his private office), all at taxpayer expense.

"Meantime, a man in Ellsworth, Maine, proved that a pair of oxen drawing the mail in a wagon could get it there faster than the Postal Service. And some wit suggested to Congress last year that a special Christmas stamp be issued, saying, 'O Lord, Deliver Me!'" □