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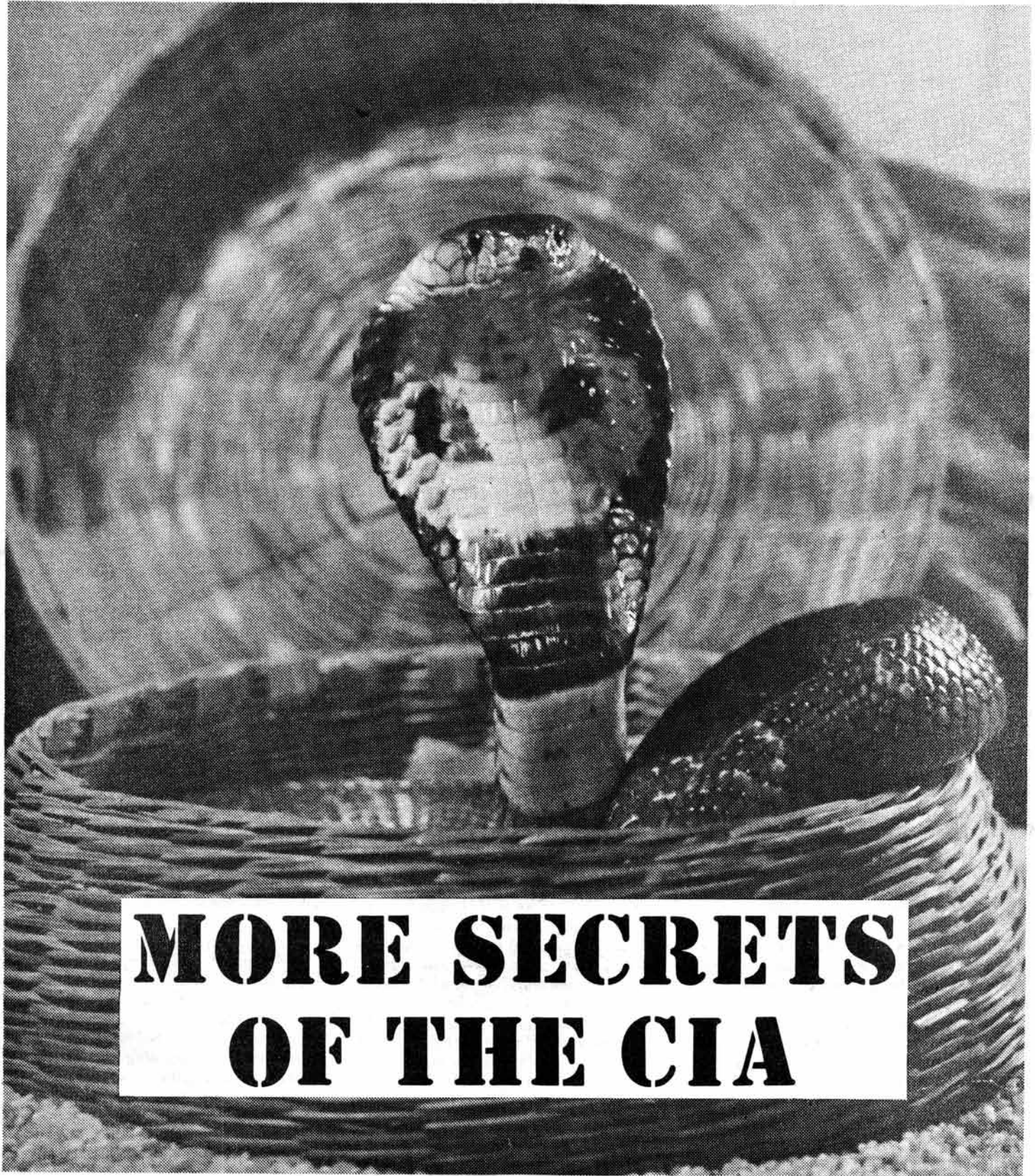
the Americas

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**MORE SECRETS
OF THE CIA**

The Case for Granting a Visa to Hugo Blanco

The State Department threatens to sabotage Hugo Blanco's planned speaking tour of the United States by not granting him a visa. Although Blanco applied for the visa in July, he has been subject to delays by U.S. authorities, who refuse to make a definite response to his application. Blanco, who now lives in exile in Sweden, gained international prominence as a leader of the Peruvian peasant movement.

The tour's sponsor—the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA)*—launched a campaign September 17 to protest the blatant denial of the constitutional rights of American citizens that is involved in the State Department's inaction.

Blanco's tour was scheduled to begin September 25, but the first week's speaking engagements have already had to be canceled. More serious, however, is the threat that the long delay means Blanco's application for a visa will be turned down altogether.

Blanco's firsthand experience with political repression in Latin America—the subject of his tour—began in 1963. In that year, he was arrested as the result of his success in organizing peasant unions among the impoverished Quechua Indians in the department of Cuzco.

He was imprisoned for three years before he was finally brought to trial, accused along with other union leaders on frame-up charges involving the murder of three police officers and "subversion of all kinds." Upon conviction, he was sentenced to twenty-five years imprisonment. When Blanco appealed this harsh sentence, the prosecution demanded that he be sentenced to death.

A worldwide campaign was launched to save Blanco's life and win his release. This was finally accomplished when the Peruvian military regime granted him and some other revolutionary-minded leaders amnesty in 1970.

Fearing Blanco's stature as a revolutionary leader of the peasant masses, the Velasco Alvarado government refused to allow him to return to Cuzco after his release. Restricted to Lima, Blanco waged a campaign for the release of prisoners who had not been included in the amnesty. He also actively supported a national teachers' strike.

The government retaliated by deporting Blanco to Mexico. He left that country in June 1972 to go to Argentina, where he was arrested by the Lanusse dictatorship in July and held without charges for three months. After being released, Blanco was deported to Chile, where he lived until the military coup of September 1973. When the coup took place, Blanco, along with hundreds of others, sought refuge in the Swedish embassy, where he was granted asylum and offered residence in Stockholm.

Since then he has lived in exile in Europe, devoting the major part of his time to the defense of victims of the Chile coup and of other Latin American political prisoners.

While in prison, Blanco wrote *Land or Death*, a book dealing with the peasant movement he led. It has been acclaimed by the U.S. trade publication *Library Journal* as "necessary reading for those involved with contemporary Latin America." The American Library Association publication *Choice* named the work an outstanding academic book for 1972. Blanco has also made major written contributions to two anthologies on Chile.

In view of these qualifications, academic departments at more than a dozen U.S. universities invited Blanco to speak on the topic, "Today's Latin America: Continent Without Justice."

In addition, Blanco's publisher and literary agent, Pathfinder Press of New York, asked that time be set aside for them to consult with the author while he is in the United States.

A State Department refusal to grant Blanco a visa to lecture in the United States would be a clear violation of the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment guarantee of free speech, since the American public would be deprived of the opportunity to hear Blanco's views. The right to hear controversial speakers is a vital ingredient of the First Amendment right to full and open debate of political issues. It cannot be separated from other First Amendment rights of free assembly, press, and speech.

A representative of Kissinger's office told Pathfinder Press September 22 that Washington considered Blanco ineligible for a U.S. visa on the basis of the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran-Walter Act. However, she said that a final decision in the matter rested with Kissinger himself.

The immigration act gives Washington unrestricted power to keep any individual

out of the country on political grounds.

That this gag law is in gross violation of the U.S. Constitution was recognized in a 1971 three-judge federal court decision in the visa case of Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel.

Ruling in favor of granting Mandel admission to the United States, the majority of the court wrote that the First Amendment "reflects the total retention by the people as sovereign to themselves of the right to free and open debate of political questions."

The court expressed sympathy for the administration's concern with "the threat of international Communism," but placed the First Amendment guarantee of free expression above any apprehension about the dangers of subversion resulting from the admittance of individuals preaching revolutionary ideas.

The decision was later overruled by the U.S. Supreme Court, but there is an element in the Blanco visa fight that was not a factor in 1971.

The continued delay of Blanco's visa also violates the American public's rights as defined by the August 1 Helsinki Agreement, the principal signers of which were Gerald Ford and Leonid Brezhnev. The provisions of this latest product of détente were intended, as President Ford put it, to "affirm the most fundamental human rights, liberty of thought, conscience and faith; the exercise of civil and political rights; the rights of minorities.

"They call for a freer flow of information, ideas and people, greater scope for the press, cultural and educational exchange. . . ."

Sections of the agreement guarantee the rights of authors, publishers, and audiences to free exchange of information and stipulate the right to "travel for personal or professional reasons" to achieve such goals.

Kissinger's office made no comment when asked if denial of a visa to Blanco would not be an immediate violation of these accords, which Ford insisted the United States did not consider to be " clichés or empty phrases."

In its statement announcing the campaign of protest, the USLA singled out what is undoubtedly one of Washington's concerns:

"In light of Secretary of State Kissinger's recent testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence accepting major responsibility for the State Dept. in planning the overthrow of the Chilean government of Salvador Allende by various means, including 'covert' CIA activity, we can only conclude that the State Dept. fears further embarrassment over the Chile coup and doesn't want Mr. Blanco touring the U.S. giving his eyewitness account of the impact of the coup on the people of Chile."

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

A September 9 letter from USLA Co-chairperson Dore Ashton on behalf of the groups and individuals who have invited Blanco to speak characterized the delay as "intolerable and in the worst Watergate tradition of harassment of individuals or organizations whose views the Government disagreed with."

USLA's protest campaign has received broad support from civil libertarians and university circles. Among the letters sent to the State Department were the following:

- From U.S. Congressman from Maryland Parren Mitchell: "American citizens have the right to hear the views of this noted political personality."

- From U.S. Congressman from Massachusetts Michael Harrington: "It is my understanding that Mr. Blanco has encountered a good deal of difficulty in receiving his visa, including having to list every country he has visited for the past sixteen years." He urged "swift consideration and approval" of the visa application.

- From Minnesota State Representative Phyllis L. Kahn: "As I understand, the reason for this refusal is the belief by your department that Mr. Blanco as a socialist should not be spreading this political philosophy throughout the country. If this is true, I consider this to be an outrageous abrogation of the constitutional right of our citizens' right to free speech."

Protest letters to the State Department have also been sent from Thomas M. Davies, Jr., chairman of the Latin American Lecture Series at San Diego State University; Professor Richard Fagan of Stanford University; Richard Falk, acting director of the Center of International Studies at Princeton University; Rev. G.G. Grant of Loyola University; Yates Hofner, dean of Monteith College at Wayne State University; Professor Michael Predmore of the University of Washington; and Ramona Ripston, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California.

Pathfinder Press has sent a mailing requesting action to the U.S. publishing industry, pointing out the importance to the entire industry of assuring Washington's compliance with the freedom-to-travel provisions of the Helsinki Agreement.

Only continued public pressure from supporters of civil liberties can force Washington to respect the right of the American people to hear Hugo Blanco. □

Refugees Threaten to Burn Themselves If They Are Not Returned to Vietnam

Twenty Vietnamese refugees at Camp Pendleton, California, have threatened to burn themselves to death in protest if they are not allowed to return to Vietnam. A State Department spokesman said September 16 that they and thirty other refugees would be flown to Guam within a week.

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Reveal Secret CIA Arsenal of Deadly Poisons

By Michael Baumann

In startling new revelations, testimony before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency spent \$3 million over eighteen years to develop some of the deadliest poisons known to science. Two teaspoonfuls of one CIA poison, a shellfish toxin, is capable of killing hundreds of thousands of persons. There is no known antidote.

It has further been revealed, through a report in the *Washington Post*, that former CIA agent E. Howard Hunt informed associates that he had received orders to poison Washington columnist Jack Anderson.

The Senate hearings, which are continuing, have also made public the following activities of the White House murder squad that goes by the name of the CIA:

- In addition to the shellfish toxin, the CIA maintained an arsenal of poisons that included cobra venom, strychnine, and cyanide. It also developed a powerful dart gun capable of firing poison pellets 100 meters in near silence.

- It stockpiled substances that would cause such deadly diseases as tuberculosis, anthrax, valley fever, salmonella food poisoning, and smallpox. It also kept a ready supply of a substance that causes abortions in animals, as well as a wide range of "incapacitating" materials that are capable of lowering blood pressure, causing temporary amnesia, impairing kidney functioning, and causing excruciating pain.

- In the mid-1960s the agency carried out a dry run for mass murder in which it filled a sector of the New York subway system with a simulated poison gas.

- In 1969 the CIA carried out a similar experiment, this time to test the effectiveness of poisoning the central drinking water system of an entire office building.

- The CIA ignored a 1970 White House order to destroy the toxins. The current explanation for the failure to comply with the directive is that no written commands reached the "middle level" of the CIA bureaucracy. Former CIA director Richard Helms and former deputy director for "covert operations" Thomas Karamessines said in testimony September 17 that they were "surprised" to learn five years later that the order had not been carried out.

According to a report by Jack Anderson September 15, the secret cache of poisons was only a small part of the CIA's assassination equipment.



Herblock/New York Post

"The Senate intelligence committee," he wrote, "has evidence that exploding light bulbs, silencer-equipped machine guns built into attache cases, and dozens of other James Bond-style assassination weapons have been purchased in recent years by U.S. intelligence agencies.

"This secret arsenal of exotic murder devices includes deadly but seemingly innocent household items and intricate remote control explosive systems for blowing up unsuspecting victims from miles away.

"The committee has documentation on these weapons, as well as firsthand information on another U.S. intelligence enterprise: a domestically trained assassination team whose members learn how to kill without leaving clues."

The committee allegedly has been unable to find proof that the devices were put into use. "But," Anderson said, "our sources commented acidly, 'If they weren't interested in killing, what do they need these things for? You don't use a light bulb that'll blow a head off to read the paper by.'"

The Senate investigators do not appear to have exerted themselves in investigating the matter: "For six months," Anderson learned from his sources, ". . . the committee has been sitting on the evidence of the assassination weapons and murder squad. Some senators obviously were not even

aware that the material was in the committee files."

The White House plot to murder Anderson himself was reported on the front page of the *Washington Post* September 21. Staff writer Bob Woodward gave the following details:

"E. Howard Hunt Jr. told associates after the [June 1972] Watergate break-in that he was ordered in December, 1971, or January, 1972, to assassinate syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, according to reliable sources.

"According to the sources, Hunt told his former CIA associates that the order was canceled at the last minute—but only after a plan had been devised to make Anderson's death appear accidental.

"His alleged plan involved the use of a poison to be obtained from a former CIA physician, said the sources, who added that the poison was a variety that would leave no trace during a routine medical examination or autopsy.

"Hunt told the sources Anderson was to be assassinated because he was publishing sensitive national security information in his daily newspaper column, based on top secret documents that were coming into Anderson's possession. . . .

"Hunt told associates after the Watergate arrests in June, 1972, that the order to assassinate Anderson came from a senior official in the Nixon White House. . . .

"Planning for the assassination extended over several days, the sources said. . . ."

Woodward said he was unable to learn why the assassination was called off at the last minute. It is known, however, that this was the second time Anderson was targeted for a White House assassination. The way in which he was first marked for murder provides an illuminating glimpse into the workings of the "world's greatest democracy."

The Hunt assassination plan, Woodward said, is separate from "a previously reported incident in which Watergate conspirator G. Gordon Liddy apparently thought he had been ordered to kill Anderson.

"The Liddy incident, according to testimony before the Senate Watergate Committee, was triggered by a chance remark by former President Nixon's deputy campaign director, Jeb Stuart Magruder, who expressed a desire to 'get rid' of Anderson. Liddy apparently took him literally, but Magruder soon made it clear that he was not serious, according to Watergate testimony."

Further confirmation that the CIA's murderous activities are not confined to foreign operations came in the disclosure of an army report to the CIA on how to use biological-warfare techniques to attack a Washington drinking-water system. A dispatch from Washington in the September 18 *New York Post* reported:

"This latest plan was described yesterday by Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.) summarizing an Army report to the CIA on a test conducted between June 1, 1968 and June 1, 1969.

"The site of this test was the water system of the Food and Drug Administration building in Washington, D.C.

"A non-toxin was introduced into the system using the technique a saboteur might use," Hart reported.

"Neither the occupants nor the operating personnel were advised that the test was planned. Those conducting the test went without challenge and were undetected.

"The conclusion they reached was that it would be possible to develop simple guidelines for planning an attack on a group of people that work in a building constructed with a circulatory chilled water drinking system."

A second CIA experiment in techniques of mass murder came to light September 16, when it was revealed that the agency secretly used the New York subway system to test the vulnerability of subways to a biological-warfare attack.

The test, according to a CIA memorandum made public at the Senate committee hearing that day, "provided a means of assessing the threat of infection to subway passengers" and demonstrated how to use such an attack "offensively."

The memo, which was written in October 1967, did not say when the test was performed or how long it lasted. It does, however, make quite clear why the test was carried out:

"In anticipation of a future need for information and to establish a capability, a study of vulnerability of subway systems to covert attack was conducted.

"The suitability of the systems was assessed and evaluated covertly, utilizing the New York City subways as the *trial model*.

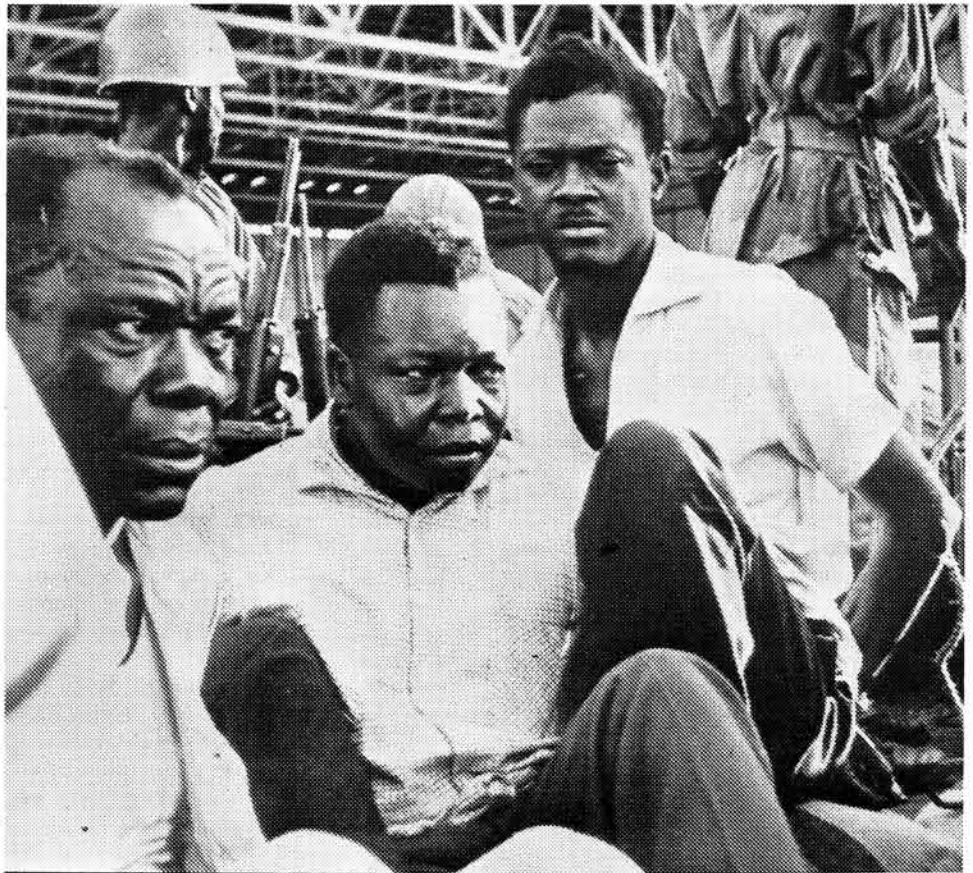
"Results provided information on distribution and concentration of organisms which are obtained. The data provided a means of assessing the threat of infection to subway passengers. The study provided a *threat model* and information on ease of dissemination and methods of delivery which could be used offensively." (Emphasis added.)

The memo did not note whether New York had been chosen for the trial run because passengers would likely be unable to detect additional fumes of a less than lethal nature.

Charles Senseny, the secret-weapons expert who directed the experiment, testified before the Senate committee September 18.

According to a September 19 United Press International dispatch, he "described how he led a group of about 20 operatives who

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Lumumba (right) with two aides, after capture by Mobutu's troops in December 1960.

dropped phony light bulbs containing a harmless gas onto the subway tracks. He said monitoring equipment showed the gas spread through an area between 14th and 58th streets." That section of the city includes one of New York's heaviest concentrations of office buildings.

Senseny, who works for the army's "Special Operations Division," also invents assassination devices. According to the UPI dispatch: "Weapons he helped develop, Senseny said, ranged from dart guns concealed in canes and umbrellas to exploding aerosol cans and the gas-filled light bulbs.

"The CIA frequently borrowed such weapons but he did not know for what purpose," Senseny told the Senate panel. . . ."

He would do well to study the following item, taken from a September 15 dispatch in the *New York Times*:

"The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence has heard testimony that the Central Intelligence Agency transferred poison to an African outpost in 1961 for use in killing Patrice Lumumba, the Congolese leader, but that the poison was never administered, sources familiar with the testimony said today."

The information came from an authoritative source—the agent who was in charge of the poison once it reached Africa. He

contradicted previous reports that the CIA only studied the "feasibility" of killing Lumumba. The *Times* dispatch gave the following summary of his account:

"The testimony in the hands of the committee, according to sources familiar with it, makes it appear that the plans went further than mere 'feasibility.' This testimony indicated that a poison was prepared in the biochemical section of the [CIA] technical services division and transported to the United States intelligence officer in Africa. The plan to kill Mr. Lumumba was halted before the poison could be turned over to those who would have administered it, the sources said."

Why CIA Marked Lumumba for Murder

To understand the full meaning of that last sentence it is necessary to recall the final months of Lumumba's life—the period in which he was marked for death by the CIA.

In June 1960, at age thirty-four, Lumumba was the only Congolese leader with a national following. As head of the biggest party, the National Congolese Movement, he won a majority in the parliament and became premier when the Congo (now called Zaïre) became independent June 30.

The Belgian imperialists, unable to reconcile themselves to the loss of the Congo's

riches, refused to withdraw their troops. The stakes were enormous.

Most of the Congo's mineral resources were located in Katanga Province and were owned by a giant U.S.-British-Belgian-controlled monopoly, the Union Minière du Haut Katanga. In 1960, with annual sales of \$200 million, Union Minière produced 60% of the uranium in the West, 73% of the cobalt, and 10% of the copper. It also had twenty-four affiliates, including hydroelectric plants, chemical factories, and railroads. A sizeable share of it was owned by Wall Street interests—mainly the Rockefeller family.

After independence, the Belgian imperialists began to stir up a civil war through native agents like Moïse Tshombe. Instead of consolidating his government and meeting the counterrevolutionary threat head on, Lumumba made the tragic mistake of asking the United Nations to send in troops. In this he apparently relied on Soviet advice; at least the Soviet delegates to the UN voted for the motion.

Lumumba asked the UN to disarm the Belgian troops and get them out of the country. Instead, the "peace-keeping forces" disarmed the Congolese troops, leaving them at the mercy of the fully armed Belgians. The UN weakened and blocked Lumumba while the imperialists methodically strengthened their base.

The Belgian policy was to prevent the formation of a strong central government by any means. The reasoning was simple: Under a strong government the proimperialist forces, being in a minority, would have had to give way before the freedom-seeking majority.

In accordance with this policy the Belgian puppet Tshombe declared Katanga Province to be a separate country. Since he represented few Congolese, Tshombe recruited large numbers of mercenaries from abroad. The Congolese they terrorized had a name for these troops: "the Frightfuls." As one of the mercenaries said in a sober moment, "People don't like us. We get good pay for killing women and children." (Quoted in a February 5, 1961, Associated Press dispatch from Katanga.)

While Tshombe hired mercenaries, President Kasavubu in Leopoldville set up a military dictatorship under Mobutu, the present ruler of Zaïre. Lumumba was deposed. He was later arrested—along with Minister of Youth Maurice Mpolo and Senate Vice-president Joseph Okito—and handed over to Tshombe. The three were sent to Elisabethville (now Lubumbashi) for "safekeeping" aboard a DC-4 plane.

Lumumba, *Time* magazine reported at the time, was "blindfolded and shackled" to the two others.

"En route," said *Time*, "the guards pummeled Lumumba so severely that the alarmed pilot went back to the cabin to

warn against damage to the plane."

Upon arrival, the prisoners were again beaten. "The Katanga cops fell on all three, dropped them to the ground in a hail of swinging rifle butts. Then they flung Lumumba into a waiting Jeep. With four gendarmes sitting on him, Lumumba was whisked off to a new and secret jail."

On February 10, 1961, Munongo, the Katangan minister of the interior, announced that Lumumba and his aides had "escaped."

The original story was that Lumumba and the two aides overpowered "two guards" at the "farmhouse" where they were being held. The story was so incredible that a different one was handed out the following day:

"A number of men with light brown skins" were said to have suddenly appeared at the farmhouse and "ordered" the guards to release the former premier. The "brown skins" were alleged to be UN Moroccan troops.

On February 12, the Katangan provincial government changed its story again. This time it reported that the three martyrs had been "massacred" by the inhabitants of an unnamed "village" after they had "escaped" from protective custody.

The "Moroccan troops" vanished as quickly as they had been invented. Lumumba and his aides were caught alone, according to the new official story, by villagers who "thought the fugitives had arms."

In his announcement of the triple murder, Munongo refused to reveal the name of the village or the site of the victims' graves. The bodies, he said, were "buried immediately at a place we do not intend to reveal."

Victim of Secret Toxin Was Told He Had a Cold

In 1951 William A. Boyles, who was doing research for the U.S. Army at its biological warfare laboratory at Fort Detrick, Maryland, contracted an illness. According to the account his daughter gave reporters September 20, the illness was dismissed by army doctors as a common cold and Boyles was denied admission to a military hospital. When his fever got high, a private physician took him to a public hospital. The doctor was then reprimanded for bringing in a patient "with such a contagious disease." Boyles died shortly after.

The army disclosed September 19 that Boyles had actually died of anthrax, a bacteriological infection carried by cattle. At the time of Boyles's death, however, the army falsified his death certificate, stating that he had died of pneumonia. An army spokesman said he believed the army officials involved had lied out of concern for

Few believed this story. Joseph Hansen, in the February 20, 1961, issue of the American revolutionary-socialist weekly the *Militant*, charged that Lumumba, Mpolo, and Okito were murdered in cold blood.

The merciless beating they received in Elisabethville occurred "just 23 days before the alleged escape," he wrote. "Some simple questions are suggested: Were 23 days sufficient for the three victims to recover from the terrible beating? Were their broken bones knitted firmly enough to permit them to use a mysterious 'piece of iron' to carve through the sandstone wall of the implausible 'farmhouse' and then club their two guards (only two guards!) with 'tree limbs' conveniently at hand, as the official story claims? Or were they clubbed to death 23 days earlier?"

"It seems most likely that the three prisoners were murdered on delivery at Elisabethville. This would explain Tshombe's persistent and enigmatic refusal to permit either Red Cross or UN officials to visit his captives. The three had been buried."

Later that year the United Nations appointed a commission to investigate. It concluded that the weight of evidence was against the official version. The commission said it believed Lumumba and his two aides were killed on January 17, not February 12, and that "in all probability" Munongo and Tshombe were witnesses to the murder.

And, it might be added, in all probability the reason why the CIA plan to poison Lumumba was halted was because the puppet rulers of the Congo supported by the White House had already bludgeoned him to death. □

"national security." Most of the biological warfare research carried out at Fort Detrick is classified as secret.

Boyles was not the only victim at Fort Detrick. Joel Eugene Willard, an electrician, also died of anthrax in 1958. In 1964, Albert Nickel, an animal caretaker, was killed by Bolivian hemorrhagic fever, a virus found in rodents in Bolivia. When Willard first became ill, he was simply told to take an aspirin.

An army spokesman said that another reason for the cover-up of the deaths was to avoid "alarming" the residents of nearby Frederick, who might have opposed the continuation of the secret experiments. "There was no effort to cover up the deaths," he said, "but they didn't put the true cause of death. That would have scared the hell out of the people of Frederick." □

Luder Sworn In as Acting President of Argentina

By Judy White

After weeks of rumors and denials, on September 13 Isabel Martínez de Perón took a leave of absence from the presidency of Argentina. Although the leave is scheduled to last approximately forty-five days, there are strong doubts that Perón will ever return to the Casa Rosada.

Senate President Italo Luder was sworn in as acting head of state for the duration of her absence.

The extended period of uncertainty before the leave was granted to Perón was the result of differences in Argentine ruling circles over how to relieve the economic, political, and social crisis that has been convulsing the country since late June.

The differences took the form of a public debate over the question of what powers Luder, the constitutionally designated presidential stand-in, should have. The verticalist wing of the Peronists—led by former army colonel Interior Minister Vicente Damasco and Perón's private secretary, Julio González—wanted them circumscribed as much as possible. They insisted that Luder have no powers to make changes in top administration personnel.

However, on his first full day as president, September 15, Luder removed Damasco, Defense Minister Jorge Garrido, and press secretary Cesáreo González from the administration.

The main bourgeois opposition paper in the country, *La Opinión*, seemed pleased over Luder's assumption of presidential powers. A September 12 article said:

"Unsectarian, progressive, imbued with intellectual and ideological rigor, Luder is one of those who listened attentively to the 'late [Juan] Perón.' He is confident of achieving national unity by means of aims common to the great majority."

The Buenos Aires daily *La Nación* was more reserved in its approval. But it pointed out editorially in the September 15 international edition that Luder had strong support from the opposition parties in parliament—especially from the Unión Cívica Radical, the main bourgeois opposition party—and from the trade-union bureaucracy.

Most important of all was the question of support from the military, which Luder also has. In a speech at a military celebration September 13, Gen. Rosendo Fraga made it clear that the military was not yet ready to carry out a coup. Speaking of the troops' participation in antiguerrilla operations in Tucumán, he said:

"If this military effort is indispensable to preserve the Republic, as the high command has stated repeatedly, it is no less true that it is not enough in and of itself to solve the problem of subversion. Since subversion is the consequence of many varied factors, it will quickly and definitively be uprooted when the causes are removed and when all Argentines, bar none, are mobilized to defend the principles that guide us."

Angel Robledo has emerged as the most powerful figure in the new regime. Named as Luder's interior minister, he is also serving as foreign minister and de facto head of the Justicialist party. He has become the spokesman for the liberal wing of the Peronists, stating that he favors elections as a tactic for combating "subversion."

Robledo called for the resignation of the rightist governor of Córdoba, Raúl Lacabanne, who was installed by the Peronists when the provincial government was placed under trusteeship in 1974. Robledo has also come out against the death penalty, which is currently under discussion in relation to new repressive legislation.

The first new effort of the government in the "struggle against subversion" was a September 8 decree banning the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla group, and any front group the Montoneros might form. An agency to centralize "antisubversion" efforts by all intelligence services and to plan an overall "antiguerrilla campaign" was also formed.

On September 10 Army Commander in Chief Gen. Jorge Videla announced to the parliament that he was completing the draft of another "antisubversive" law to be called the National Defense Law. The draft contains provisions for setting up military tribunals to try persons charged under the act. Some charges carry a sentence of death.

Two days later, the Interior Ministry announced it had completed a study of steps to be taken to root out guerrillas "of the left and right."

Along with publication of this announcement, the English-language daily *Buenos Aires Herald* issued its own compilation of the victims of political terrorism since July 1, 1974. The paper reported that 705 victims have died. This includes 379 leftists, 150 rightists or members of the repressive

forces, 19 businessmen, and 35 persons without known political affiliation. In addition, the bodies of 122 unidentified victims have been found.

Meanwhile, the economic crisis that lies at the heart of the Argentine governmental paralysis shows no signs of abating.

On September 15 the peso was devalued 3.4 percent, the sixth devaluation in eight months.

The budget deficit from January through July was 28.8 billion pesos, up 149 percent over the same period last year. Economics Minister Antonio Cafiero's trip to the United States in search of economic aid resulted in \$820 million in credits, but Argentina has a \$10 billion foreign debt.

Inflation is now broadly acknowledged to have soared to an annual rate of 400 percent.

The latest price-control policy, announced September 15, freezes the prices of only forty-seven products.

Unemployment in the capital rose from 2.3 percent in April to 6 percent in August. For the areas outside Buenos Aires, where unemployment is always higher, no figures are available.

La Nación, in its September 15 international edition, spelled out the meaning of the crisis for the trade-union ranks:

"If the consumer price index exceeds approximately 11 percent this month, the average raise negotiated in the controversial collective-bargaining agreements [of June 1975—*IP*]—calculated to be 122 percent—could be neutralized."

An editorial detailed the implications for the ruling class and trade-union bureaucrats:

"Going beyond the uneasiness that currently marks the nation and, in particular, administration circles, the obligations of the sector that represents the work force must be taken into account at all junctures. This is nothing new. The labor movement—with a glaring Peronist majority in its structures—must constantly divide its attention and even its loyalties between its political convictions and urgent, pressing needs in some cases.

"Thus, despite contrary expectations and more or less sincere optimism, the moment approaches—in the judgment of the majority of labor leaders—in which once again the question of wages and their relation to prices must be dealt with." □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50
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'Political Tourists' Given a Lesson in 'Democratic Rights'

By F.L. Derry

"Political Tourism Rises in Portugal" ran the headline in a September 6 *New York Times* dispatch from Lisbon. "Visitors Swarm In to View Revolution in Action—Some Play Real Part."

These tourists were described by correspondent Marvine Howe as "students from Britain and Italy, professors from Germany, political exiles from Bolivia, Chile and Brazil, and a sprinkling of United States radicals. . . ."

"The keynote is practical politics: participation in political demonstrations, visits to political parties and factories, volunteer work on farm cooperatives."

Howe visited a tent city set up behind Lisbon University, housing almost 1,000 persons. She seemed unaware, however, of the much larger camp in Monsanto Park at the other end of Lisbon.

Not having visited this larger camp, she mistakenly believed that the largest group of tourists was from Germany. In fact, by far the largest group of political tourists was from France, and of these a large number were members or sympathizers of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.

Monsanto Park is a huge sprawling affair that once belonged to a nearby monastery. Part of the park has been turned into a campground and trailer park. About 5,000 persons were there in July, many of them permanent residents in the trailer park.

Portuguese workers mingle with refugees from Franco's Spain. Former PIDE (secret police) agents and others associated with the Salazarist regime live there, having left their more comfortable homes to await a change in the political climate. This summer saw the addition of hundreds of young political activists, in tents and sleeping bags, from all over Europe.

In the middle of July the French Trotskyists at the camp set up a literature table at the campground. They sold revolutionary literature in a number of languages and publicized the latest meetings and rallies in Lisbon. Only on the last day in July did any serious problem develop.

Sometimes the nature of big events is revealed most clearly in the everyday unnoticed struggles that together go to make up a situation of mass ferment. Such was the case in the struggle that took place when the manager of the campground demanded the literature be removed be-

cause it was "commercial activity." To justify his demand he produced a rule book printed in 1967 under the Salazarist dictatorship. The Trotskyists refused to move.

A large crowd gathered to debate the issues presented by this threat to democratic rights. For the next five hours as many as 100 persons were to be found at any given moment, milling around the table and discussing the question in Portuguese, French, and English. Sentiment was overwhelmingly against the manager, who was viewed by the crowd as being a reactionary.

The debate rapidly took on the character of a confrontation among the Portuguese residents of the camp as well as between them and the French revolutionists on the question of democratic rights.

"We have enough trouble with the CDS [Centro Democrático Social—Social Democratic Center, the right-wing bourgeois party]," claimed a middle-aged Portuguese man. "These people are outsiders and shouldn't be interfering. It's just causing trouble, and we've got too much of it as it is."

"Everyone's got the right to speak, don't they?" someone countered. "They're only distributing literature. The rules of the camp are fascist. The manager's a fascist."

"Look," the middle-aged man replied, "if they distribute their literature, what about the CDS? And the PPD [Partido Popular Democrático—Democratic People's party, the main bourgeois party]?"

"Everyone should have the right," someone answered. "That's what we fought for, isn't it?"

A woman in a bathing suit on her way to the pool stopped to listen. She started to defend the LCR, first in Portuguese then in French. "The rules are fascist and the manager is a fascist," she said.

Later she spoke separately to some of us from the LCR. "I'm in the Communist party, and the people here have no understanding of real proletarian internationalism. Besides, we have an alliance with the Trotskyists, with the LCI [Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League] in Portugal."

"No, that's not true," replied a member of the French LCR. "That was only a maneuver on the part of the PCP [Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party]." The debate drifted off into the question of united fronts. I returned to the main discussion on who should have democratic rights.

Later the manager returned with the campground guards. When the guards began to destroy the literature on the table, the crowd turned on the manager, pinning him to a wall and demanding in a number of languages that he leave the literature alone. He escaped only with the arrival of four military jeeps carrying about twenty-five soldiers from Copcon [Comando Operacional do Continente—Mainland Portugal Operations Command, the regime's military security force].

The soldiers, instead of attacking the crowd, began to take part in the discussions. Many of them sported "Che Guevara" haircuts and beards, and except for their uniforms were soon indistinguishable from the rest of the crowd.

The manager pointed me out to the commanding officer, claiming that I was the ringleader. Although I had not even been working at the table I agreed to explain the problem to him.

"The manager has been trying to enforce the 1967 Salazarist rules," I said. "We oppose these rules and want to continue distributing literature that helps to explain and defend the revolutionary process in Portugal to all the international visitors who are here."

"The profound involvement of the Portuguese masses in all political affairs, and the broad democratic rights that have helped bring about and defend this mass mobilization, are the real source of strength of the revolutionary movement."

"If we allow the manager to turn the clock back and begin to restrict some democratic rights, it will only help to disarm and demobilize the entire movement in Portugal. The same arguments that claim too much democracy in the camp will only cause a lot of turmoil and division will be used tomorrow in Portugal as a whole to limit dissent, reestablish censorship, and ban groups that are considered too militant."

The officer from Copcon responded that he too disagreed with the "fascist laws." "In Portugal, we do not have any laws that go back before April 25. However, we do not yet have any other laws for the campgrounds. While we completely disagree with these rules, why don't you just agree to obey them until the management gets around to adopting new ones?"

This we refused to do. It soon became clear that the crowd supported our rights.

After more than an hour of debate the soldiers withdrew, promising to get a ruling from higher Copcon authorities. It came within half an hour—the Salazarist rules were to be enforced, and the table had to be closed down.

The manager then demanded that I be taken to his office for a “private” meeting. The crowd gathered around me to make sure that the campground guards would cause no problems. Finally, the Copcon officer agreed to personally accompany me to make sure I returned unharmed.

The crowd was extremely suspicious of the manager’s intentions. The woman who had previously identified herself as a member of the PCP reiterated her view that the manager was a reactionary, that he was harboring PIDE agents in the camp, and that he had to be stopped.

It was only in the private meeting of myself, the manager, the Copcon officer, and one of the campground guards that the real reason behind the incident became clear.

The manager, after demanding my expulsion from the campground, introduced himself as being “probably more left” than me. He was, in fact, “not a reactionary but a Communist” and a member of the PCP. Furthermore, it quickly became clear that this was known to the Copcon officer. The two had apparently collaborated on similar occasions in the past.

To top it off, the officer said he did not disagree with the 1967 Salazarist regulations, as he had told the crowd outside. Quite the contrary: There was too much dissent already on the campgrounds, he believed, and the laws would help “avoid trouble.”

“Don’t those same arguments apply to Portugal as a whole?” I asked. “Isn’t the logic of that to restrict all democratic rights throughout the country?”

He admitted, with a chuckle, that “there is a certain tendency in the army like that.”

That closed all further debate on the subject. I was expelled from the campground. □

10 Million Behind Bars Worldwide

The world’s prison population has climbed to ten million, Gerhard Mueller reported September 1. Mueller is the executive secretary of the fifth United Nations conference on crime, held recently in Geneva.

The percentage of prisoners in the population varies a great deal from country to country. For example, he said, proportional to the population, the number of prisoners is twice as high in the United States as in Belgium and the Netherlands.

The proportion is the same for Poland and the United States, he said.

Missiles for Nuclear Warheads

Washington’s Secret Pledges to Israel

When the Sinai disengagement accord was signed by Egypt and Israel September 4, it was touted as a big step toward peace in the Mideast and a major concession by the Zionists.

The reality, of course, is that the deal left Israel in occupation of more than 85 percent of the Sinai, guaranteed Israel a U.S. military and economic aid package variously estimated at \$2.4 to \$3.3 billion for the first year alone, and placed as many as 200 American “technicians” in the buffer zone.

Observers have already likened the provisions to the stationing of the first U.S. “advisers” in Vietnam, and with good reason. As *Time* magazine explained in its September 8 issue, “Through a detailed series of public and thus far secret agreements . . . the U.S. has offered Israel what amounts to an unofficial security pact, one that all but mandates American intervention in case fighting should break out again.

“Says one high Israeli official: ‘This is a defense agreement between the U.S. and Israel—even if the text doesn’t say that outright.’”

Further confirmation came when the secret accords—some of them, at least—were reported in the press. Columnist Jack Anderson disclosed a number of the secret provisions September 16. The full texts of three documents relating to the accord were published in the *New York Times* the next day.

Washington’s secret pledges to Israel, contained in a sixteen-point “memorandum,” go far beyond anything publicly disclosed at the time the accord was signed. Even more sinister, however, is an “addendum on arms,” entitled “Assurances From the United States Government to Israel,” which reads as follows:

“ . . . The United States is resolved to continue to maintain Israel’s defensive strength through the supply of advanced types of equipment, such as the F-16 aircraft. The United States Government agrees to an early meeting to undertake a joint study of high technology and sophisticated items, including the Pershing ground-to-ground missiles with conventional warheads, with the view to giving a positive response. The U.S. Administration will submit annually for approval by the U.S. Congress a request for military and economic assistance in order to help meet Israel’s economic and military needs.”

Pershing missiles are designed to carry nuclear warheads a distance of up to 460 miles, which is far enough to level Cairo or

the Aswan Dam. Although the secret agreement stipulated only “conventional warheads,” the implication, according to Anderson’s sources, was that the Israelis would be able to attach their own nuclear warheads. Experts have reported that Israel has developed its own supply of nuclear weapons.

The main pledges contained in the memorandum are as follows:

- Washington agreed to be “fully responsive . . . on an on-going and long-term basis, to Israel’s military equipment and other defense requirements, to its energy requirements and to its economic needs.”

- It was agreed to conduct a “joint study by military experts” of Israel’s 1976 needs “within three weeks.” Washington promised to “view Israel’s requests sympathetically, including its request for advanced and sophisticated weapons.”

- Within two months, the White House and Israel agreed to “conclude the contingency plan for a military supply operation to Israel in an emergency situation.”

- The secret accords also stipulate “that the next agreement with Egypt should be a final peace agreement.”

- Washington stated that it “shares the Israeli position that under existing political circumstances negotiations with Jordan will be directed toward an over-all peace settlement.”

- Washington pledged to “view with particular gravity threats to Israel’s security or sovereignty by a world power.” In the event of such a threat, Washington promised to “consult promptly with the Government of Israel with respect to what support, diplomatic or otherwise, or assistance it can lend to Israel in accordance with its constitutional practices.”

The “Assurances From the United States Government to Egypt,” consisting of three points, were of a much more modest character:

- “1. The United States intends to make a serious effort to help bring about further negotiations between Syria and Israel, in the first instance through diplomatic channels.

- “2. In the event of an Israeli violation of the agreement, the United States is prepared to consult with Egypt as to the significance of the violation and possible remedial action by the United States.

- “3. The United States will provide technical assistance to Egypt for the Egyptian early-warning station.” □

The Women's Movement in Italy Today

[The following interview was given to *Intercontinental Press* in Naples by Titti Marrone, a member of the Women's Commission of the Gruppi Communisti Rivoluzionari (CGR—Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International).]

* * *

Question. Can you give a brief historical description of the struggle for women's rights in Italy?

Answer. It took a long time before the women's movement emerged in Italy. This was due to several factors, among them the belatedness of the bourgeois revolution, the retarded development of industry, the influence of the Catholic church, and the twenty years of fascist rule. These conditions resulted in a very paternalistic society in which it was difficult for women's consciousness to arise. Nonetheless, there are some developments to note in earlier years.

The woman question was first really raised by Anna Kuliscioff in 1890. She was a member of the Socialist party, and like the SP, she raised the problem in a humanitarian and moral way.

The first women's groups arose at the beginning of the twentieth century. They took their inspiration from the American suffragists, but they did not really succeed in influencing large numbers of women.

At the turn of the century, women began to enter industry in small numbers. Women from the textile and tobacco industries and women agricultural workers began to organize against the low salaries and long hours they were forced to work. Just before the outbreak of World War I, women participated in antiwar struggles.

After the war, the great majority of women were forced out of the labor market. A law passed in 1919 (supported by the Socialist party!) excluded women from political activity and prohibited them from assuming public office. Then there was the rise of the fascist movement in the 1920s.

Q. Can you give some examples of what happened under fascism?

A. In the early years, the fascists pretended to be interested in the problems of women. But after 1926 they revealed their true colors. In 1927 the salaries of women workers were reduced to 50 percent of those of men. After the crisis of 1929, laws were

established to further limit the possibility of women working. Employers who hired women were forced to pay a fine. In the public sector it was decided that women workers could not exceed 10 percent of the total work force. The various fascist associations actively propagandized the role of women as wives and mothers only, and elevated the role of the family. Mussolini launched a program to increase the size of the population, and along with it, the creed that women must be only the progenitors of the human race.

The fascists also made use of Catholicism. The church said that women should have many children because in numbers there is power. The church in Italy was granted virtual control over the educational system and established different norms of education for women. Women students had to pay a 50 percent higher tax than male students to receive their education.

Women won the right to vote only in 1945. In 1946, the postwar civil codes rejected the idea of supremacy of the male over the female; but the penal codes retain some of the old fascist laws, including, for example, those forbidding abortion.

Q. How did the current-day women's struggles develop?

A. Women began to radicalize in the latter half of the 1960s. There had been a notable increase in the number of women in industry during the years of the "Economic Miracle," which helped propel women into the economy. The educational level of the mass of Italians was increasing, and more and more women attended secondary schools and universities.

The origin of the women's movement coincided with a period of mass student radicalization. From the outset there were a series of themes common to both struggles, such as opposition to repression, authoritarianism, the family, the general conditions of youth, especially in the schools. So, for a time, the women's movement did not assume a distinct character but was a component of the general student movement.

But although the student movement had developed a very wide platform, many of the special needs of women were lost in this broad general movement—for example, the problem women have in finding jobs after leaving school, which is much more difficult than it is for men. So, in 1969 and 1970, women began to form their own groups

separate from the student movement.

The early women's groups were all small. They developed best in the areas where the student movement was at its highest pitch—in the north and central cities. In the south, where the student movement was weaker, and the economic and social conditions are more backward, it was more difficult for women's consciousness to develop.

Q. What kinds of women joined these groups? What kinds of activities did they carry out?

A. A wide variety of women entered these groups. Some were students who had come to the women's movement through their work in the student movement. Some were under the influence of radical feminism from the United States; they had translated a number of books and documents from the radical feminist movement there.

Many of the early groups were counterculturalist and proposed to separate themselves entirely from the male world. Many declared themselves to be apolitical. But all the groups were usually involved in consciousness-raising because they saw this as a means of developing individual awareness in women.

In some groups women began to understand the need to tie together women's work and work in the labor movement, and Marxism began to have a wider influence. They began to turn outward in their perspectives. Where at first documents and magazines had only been circulated within the small groups, now some groups began to reach out.

Q. One of the most publicized Italian women's organizations is the MLD [Movimento di Liberazione della Donna—Women's Liberation Movement]. How did it begin?

A. It was formed in 1971, in Rome, as a result of the activity of the Radical party, a bourgeois party. The MLD established headquarters in almost every major city in the country. It was the first group that organized demonstrations, mainly to popularize some of the demands of the women's liberation movement. In a few years they grew to about 2,000 members.

They were critical of the consciousness-raising groups and did not advocate that women should separate from men. They were the first group to launch a campaign to defend the right to divorce. After this campaign, the principal axis of their work became the abortion issue. But their perspective was limited to a battle "against public opinion" or a propaganda campaign. The liberal politicians of the Radical party always dominated their perspective, and

the thrust of their work was always around civil liberties.

After 1972, women from the extraparliamentary groups began to enter the organization. This created contradictions within the MLD because the women from the left-wing groups tried to point out that the struggle of women was not merely a democratic struggle. Most of these women were from the PDUP [Partito d'Unità Proletaria—Party of Proletarian Unity], with a sprinkling from almost every other group. Inside the MLD, PDUP members began to fight for the autonomy of the women's movement, but this was mainly a fight against the hegemony of the Radical party inside the MLD.

In April 1975, the MLD split. One group, keeping the name MLD, continued to follow the line of the Radical party. The other group, MLD-Autonomo [MLD-A—MLD-Independent], identified with the PDUP. The PDUP only fought for the autonomy of the women's movement insofar as it served their limited aims. Within the MLD-A, they imposed their own line and recruited heavily.

Q. Are there any national women's liberation organizations that influence large numbers of women?

A. I think it is proper to say that the women's movement is just emerging today. There are no groups that have a strategy for struggle or that influence large masses of women. Instead there is a process of radicalization, especially among petty-bourgeois layers, on the woman question. Students, white-collar workers, and teachers are organizing themselves into small collectives that do not have ties with one

another, and that are not united for action.

These collectives can be categorized in two ways: On the one hand there are a number of apolitical collectives that concentrate on consciousness-raising and have an antimale approach. They have no outside work and are opposed to the various left groups.

On the other hand there are the political feminist collectives whose members come from the various left groups. These women are very critical of the attitude of the extraparliamentary groups, saying that they perpetuate the traditional roles of men and women in the organizations. In other words, they say that women are relegated to work as secretaries while men do the talking and the political work.

These groups do have outside political work. The women do political work in the schools, universities, or the factories, depending on the line of their left groups. These collectives are growing because of the general radicalization today in Italy, in which women are becoming more and more political.

Q. What kind of impact did the struggle around the divorce referendum have on women? Did the various women's groups play any role in mobilizing support for the right to divorce?

A. The struggle around the divorce referendum was not only a women's issue, but also a complex political struggle between the left and the right in Italy. In January 1974, a law was passed in Parliament allowing divorce. It had been presented by the Socialist party. The Christian Democratic party tried to get a referendum on the ballot to annul the law. Not all of the Christian Democrats supported the referendum. It was the right wing, the wing closest to the fascists, that organized the collection of the 500,000 signatures needed to get the referendum on the ballot.

The Christian Democrats made an alliance with the MSI [Movimento Sociale Italiano—Italian Social Movement, the neofascist party]. Their themes in the struggle to annul the divorce laws were "against divorce, against Communism, against feminism, and against hippies." The Vatican and the Catholic church supported the referendum. Priests made propaganda for the referendum in the churches. So the campaign to save the divorce law was seen by all the political parties as a confrontation with the Christian Democrats.

Even the parties that were in favor of retaining the divorce law did not emphasize the question of the condition of women. The Socialist party posed the question in a humanitarian and libertarian way, trying to restore its position by gaining the votes of women. The CP got involved in the

divorce struggle despite itself. It was pushing for the "historic compromise" and didn't want to exacerbate the confrontation with the Christian Democratic party. Therefore they spoke very little about the condition of women.

Nevertheless, this was an opening for the women's groups to enter the discussion. For the first time the various groups could come out into the open and carry out a battle for women's consciousness. The groups began to gain more of a hearing. There was a deluge of books, pamphlets, and leaflets on the woman question. The first demonstrations took place, although they were never very large and were more on the order of picket lines with signs. The influence of these women's groups on women who went to vote was much greater than their actual memberships.

Despite the approach of the parliamentary parties, many women who went to vote understood and felt the importance of this for them as women. The number of "No" votes cast—that is, in favor of protecting the divorce law—was 59 percent of the total, and the pre-election polls indicated that women were highly favorable to this position.

Q. What is the situation in Italy regarding abortion?

A. There are three million clandestine abortions in Italy every year. The law forbidding abortion is the one put into effect by the fascists. Women who have abortions are found guilty of a "crime against the race." Abortion is punishable by one to five years in prison. Both the woman and the doctor can be punished.

Moreover, contraceptives are not legal. Contraceptives can be obtained at most pharmacies, but they are not widely available. Many women in the south do not use contraceptives at all because they have been taught by the church that it is a mortal sin.

In this situation there are many doctors who make 300,000 lire [about US\$500] for each clandestine abortion. It is calculated that these doctors profit to the extent of 700 billion lire [more than US\$1 billion] each year.

The conditions in which women are forced to obtain illegal abortions are very dangerous, because dilation and curettage is the most common method. And women who cannot pay for doctors must provide for themselves. I don't think I have to describe the methods they use. They are pretty common all over the world.

Q. When did the present upsurge of support for the right to abortion begin?

A. The discussions on the question of abortion began in the autumn of 1974. After

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the victory over the referendum against divorce, the Radical party and the feminist groups campaigned for abortion, mostly through various magazines such as *L'Espresso*. The problem exploded in January 1975, when a fascist member of Parliament denounced a Radical party abortion clinic in Florence, and the police raided it.

Sixty women were arrested, along with Gianfranco Spadaccia, national secretary of the Radical party; Adele Faccio, who was in charge of the center in Florence; and the doctor charged with performing the abortions. The bourgeois press immediately began a campaign of denunciation against the Radical party and the "communists" who, they said, were "eating babies."

The Communist party said almost nothing, but the various extraparliamentary left groups, the Radical party, and the Socialist party began a campaign in their press demanding the release of the women who were arrested. The battle for abortion immediately began to gain the attention of many women in the country.

Today we have the campaign around the abortion referendum. If successful, the referendum will annul Italy's old law, but it cannot present a new law. So there is the risk, even if the referendum wins, that the government will succeed in passing another reactionary law in Parliament. In anticipation of this fight, seven proposals on abortion are now in Parliament from the seven different parties.

Q. What is the position of the CP on the referendum?

A. The CP does not really support the campaign for abortion. The UDI [Unione Donne Italiane—Italian Women's Union, a women's organization controlled by the CP] says the problem is not the right to abortion, but rather contraception. The CP has this position because it doesn't want trouble with the Christian Democrats. For us, it is very important to criticize this clearly. We consider free and legal abortion a necessity for women, not because we like to have abortions, but because in the Italian situation today abortion is an urgent problem for women.

Q. What is the GCR doing in the campaign for the abortion referendum?

A. The GCR supports the referendum, at the same time criticizing its limits. We say that women cannot depend on the Parliament to give them a new law, but that they must organize and struggle for the right to abortion.

Our comrades have entered into united-front committees that have been built around the demand for free and legal abortion. Here in Naples, we've organized

the collection of signatures at the university and leafleted at the general-strike demonstration on May 24 asking women workers to sign the referendum (while pointing out its limits). In our high-school work we've organized discussions on abortion and raised the question of the referendum.

Q. Can you assess the impact of the abortion struggle on women in Italy?

A. I feel that the struggle for abortion has

been particularly important for the birth of the women's movement in Italy. In fact, really just since January of this year many, many women have joined the women's movement. They have entered the movement with the objective of fighting for free and legal abortions. Today we can talk about the struggle of women for abortion, denounce the oppression of women as it relates to abortion, and raise a whole series of other questions concerning the condition of women in general. □

Government Backs Down After Protests in Bangkok

Thai Students Force Release of Arrested Peasants

The first major student protests in Bangkok to be held in support of peasant struggles were staged in early August.

The actions followed several months of protests by the Farmers Federation of Thailand (FFT) and other peasant groups, which sent delegations to Bangkok to present their demands to Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj. The peasants called for the distribution of land to the landless, the dropping of all court cases against peasants, the release of peasants arrested on trespassing charges, the scrapping of the former government's land reform legislation, and the lifting of martial law in the outlying provinces. The imposition of martial law made it illegal for the peasants to demonstrate.

Since May, six members of the FFT have been killed by unknown gunmen. Several other peasants have also been murdered.

Intha Sriboonruang, the deputy president of the FFT, told a reporter that "the farmers were slain because of conflicts involving either the diversion of Government funds to villages or land disputes with local capitalists." In addition, he noted that the murders had been carried out with impunity "because Thailand is under a tyrannical Government whose members are big landlords. The police and local Government officials are also serving the capitalists and allowing the murders to continue as if the lives of the people are like fish or vegetables."

A few days later he, too, was gunned down and killed.

On August 4, eight peasants and a student were arrested in Chiang Mai in northern Thailand. One student leader told *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter Norman Peagam, "On the one hand they are killing the farmers and on the other they are arresting them—in both cases to create fear and to discourage them from getting involved in politics."

Students staged protests in Chiang Mai and Bangkok in defense of the peasants. The National Student Center of Thailand, which organized some of the student protests that led to the downfall of the military dictatorship in October 1973, demanded the release of the arrested peasants and called for police action to arrest the gunmen. Several thousand students and others demonstrated in front of Thammasat University, and most universities and several teachers colleges went on strike. Some labor unions supported the actions, according to the August 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

On August 14 Kukrit conceded to the protesters' demand and released the arrested student and peasants.

An indication of the growing political polarization in the country was the counter-demonstration five days later by more than 1,000 police, who denounced "mob rule" and demanded the rearrest of the peasant activists. The police stormed and sacked Kukrit's home. The regime took no action against the police. □

Exiled Peronists Say AAA Operates Under Protection of Argentine Regime

More than 420 persons have been killed by terrorist violence in Argentina since the beginning of 1975, according to a report in the September 9 *Le Monde*.

In a news conference September 17 in Mexico City three exiled left Peronists protested the continuing wave of rightist terror. Rodolfo Puigros and Raul Laguzzi, former rectors of the University of Buenos Aires, and Montonero leader Alberto Camps denounced the actions of the most active ultraright murder gang, the Argentine Anticommunist Alliance, and said the AAA operated under the protection of the Argentine government.

Georg Jungclas: February 22, 1902—September 11, 1975

[The following statement was issued September 11 by the Political Bureau of the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—International Marxist Group), the German section of the Fourth International. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Georg “Schorsch” Jungclas died today in the early morning hours at the age of seventy-three.

The German workers movement, as well as the international movement, has lost a comrade. Georg Jungclas, perhaps more than anyone else, embodied revolutionary continuity. He was active in the German and international working-class movement for more than half a century. His activity was directed to the struggle for a socialist—and thus humane—society. He carried out this struggle consistently: against capitalist society, against fascism, against restoration and rearmament, and also against bureaucratic and Stalinist currents in the workers movement. This is best illustrated in the basic facts of his life.

Georg Jungclas was born February 22, 1902, in Halberstadt near Magdeburg. Before the war he was a member of the Social Democratic youth organization in Hamburg. However his group was disbanded by the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany] leadership, and later, during the First World War, by the military command, because of the group’s antibureaucratic and antimilitarist policies. In the last years of the war Schorsch worked underground.

In the period of the rise of the German revolution, Georg Jungclas stood in the front lines. In 1919 he joined the newly founded Communist party. During the revolt in central Germany in March 1921, he took part in the occupation of the Blom and Voss shipyards in Hamburg/Altona. In the “Hamburg Uprising” two years later, Schorsch participated in the occupation of the police station of Hamburg-Eimsbüttel.

For all revolutionists, the years 1924 to 1933 were above all marked by the struggle against the Stalinization of the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—Communist party of Germany] and against fascism. When the growing influence of the Stalinist bureaucracy cast its first shadow on the German Communist party, Georg Jungclas took the side of the Zinoviev (head of the Communist International, later executed by Stalin) group. In 1928 he was expelled from the KPD for his antibureau-



Caroline Lund/Intercontinental Press

GEORG JUNGCLAS

cratic stand and joined the Leninbund. In 1930 he, together with other comrades, founded the Left Opposition in Germany, the organization of German Communists who supported Leon Trotsky. Schorsch met Leon Trotsky for the first time in 1932. He accompanied the latter to Copenhagen, where Trotsky delivered his famous speech in defense of the October revolution.

After the fascists took power, Georg Jungclas worked for a short time underground and then emigrated to Denmark. In Copenhagen he built a group comprised of German emigrants. Following the German invasion of Denmark he was active in the resistance movement for four years. In 1944, while in the midst of preparations for the “Danish people’s strike,” he was arrested by the Gestapo and sent to the concentration camps in Germany (Hamburg, Berlin, Bayreuth).

Schorsch continued his revolutionary activity immediately after the Second World War. He played a leading role from the very beginning in the construction of a German section of the Fourth International. The newspapers *Unser Weg* [Our Path], *die Internationale* [The International], *Sozialistische Politik* [Socialist Politics], and *Freies Algerien* [Free Algeria] were strongly marked by his contributions. The struggle against German rearmament had a very special meaning to him, as did the antimilitarist movements such as the “ohne mich”

SWP Message

[The Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party sent the following message to Helene Jungclas, Georg Jungclas’s widow, and the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten* September 19.]

* * *

No working-class leader in Western Europe has kept aloft the red banner of revolutionary Marxism so tenaciously as Comrade Georg Jungclas. His life and his work will remain as an inspiring example of courage and conviction. The Socialist Workers Party salutes the memory of this staunch veteran of the class struggle with whom we have collaborated for so many decades in the world Trotskyist movement.

Long Live the GIM.

Long Live the Fourth International.

* Those who wish to send messages of condolence may address them to Helene Jungclas, Hermann-Löns Strasse 19, 5159 Sindorf, West Germany.

[“count me out”] movement, the Paulskirchen movement, and the anti-nuclear-weapon movement, as well as the movement of solidarity with the Algerian revolution.

Schorsch Jungclas was secretary of the German section of the Fourth International until 1967 and is a longtime member of the leadership bodies of the Fourth International. His main goal was always to build a revolutionary party of the proletariat in Germany—a party that holds upright the banner of revolutionary Marxism against the Social Democratic and Stalinist currents.

Schorsch was among the best and most steadfast of revolutionists. He was respected by the German left and by revolutionary Marxists throughout the world for his courage and his firmly principled conduct through half a century. Schorsch embodied the unbroken continuity of the best traditions of the German socialist and communist movement.

We have lost a comrade. But his life and his struggle were not in vain; he will continue to be an example for us. And his goals are our goals. For us, his death can only bid us: Struggle on! □

Why 'Peaceful Coexistence' With Israel Won't Work

By Tamara Nir

JERUSALEM—The Palestine Liberation Organization's representative in London (the ambassador for the future Palestinian state) has almost completely achieved his objective. A few months ago, Said Hammami (who is not just anyone, but an official representative of the Palestinian resistance movement) issued a position paper whose significance was not missed by either those in high places or the different left tendencies around the world. [The full text of Hammami's paper is printed elsewhere in this issue.]

The aim of his paper was to convince the American and European capitalists and the Zionist and Arab regimes of the seriousness of the new Palestinian strategy of peaceful coexistence. Its objective was to demonstrate that the PLO has given up its plans to liberate Palestine, has come over to the "realist" camp, and is ready to accept the existence of the state of Israel and the theft from the Palestinians of a part of their country.

The favorable reception the article received in the capitalist camp indicates that Hammami passed his test successfully. Only the state of Israel remains to be convinced by him—apart from the insignificant "left Zionist" currents. Even his success with the latter is doubtful—given the fact that Meir Pa'il,¹ who at first was attracted by the article, quickly reconsidered his plans to meet with Hammami.

The wide coverage that Hammami's article received in the Israeli press makes it necessary to state our views and point out the negative implications of the PLO's new strategy.

A New Strategy

"I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand."

Hammami began his article with this quote from Yassir Arafat's speech to the United Nations. But while Arafat spoke to the UN still bearing both the freedom fighter's gun and the olive branch of the "peaceful solution," Hammami, for his part, has definitively chosen between the two. He has let fall the freedom fighter's gun and is proudly waving the olive branch of capitulation to Zionism and imperialism.

The contradiction between the gun and

the olive branch symbolizes the fundamental contradiction the resistance has faced since it took up the struggle to liberate Palestine. On the one hand, it waged a war against Zionism and formed an integral part of the anti-imperialist mass movement. On the other hand, the resistance based itself on the strategy of "nonintervention in the internal affairs of the Arab regimes," in a period when the Arab capitalists were growing stronger and when the anti-imperialist mass movement in the Arab region was at an ebb. After the October war the strengthening of imperialism in the region further restricted the resistance leadership's margin of maneuver.

Hammami's article expresses a clear stand in favor of integration within the framework of imperialist strategy for the region. It is the clearest and most extreme expression of the PLO's political turn in the direction of abandoning the struggle against Zionism and imperialism, which was the revolutionary content of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

The reader who is familiar with the articles and speeches of the Palestinian resistance leaders will notice that the word "imperialism" does not appear even once in Hammami's article. *But there is nothing astonishing in the disappearance of anti-imperialist slogans from an article addressed to the imperialist forces, for it is precisely to them that Hammami is laying out his new strategy.* They are the only ones who can grant to the leadership of the resistance the Palestinian state they so desire.

It is from this standpoint that Hammami develops his "Palestinian strategy of peaceful coexistence," which is nothing but a strategy for liquidation of the Palestinian resistance and conciliation with Zionism.

Conciliation With Zionism

What does the strategy proposed by Hammami consist of?

Hammami defines the Zionist movement as a colonizing movement, and the state of Israel as a "racist, exclusive Zionist State." Up to here we can only agree. He also expresses the hope that "some day, sooner or later, Israel, as it exists today . . . will indeed disappear."

But how, according to Hammami, will the state of Israel disappear? First, he explains to us *how the Zionist state will not disappear*: it will not disappear through

struggle, or at least that is what he hopes.

To be sure, "Whatever settlement may emerge from Geneva or elsewhere will continue to be criticised and condemned by Palestinians so long as it envisages the continued existence of a racist state in Israel. . . ."

But, "before anyone runs away with the idea that what I am saying is confirmation of Israeli and Zionist allegations about the hopeless intransigence of the Palestinians and their determination to wreck the present hopes of peace in the Middle East, I would like to observe that it is by no means unheard of for a government or a country or a people to have to live with a state of affairs of which it does not approve, while continuing to declare its opposition to that state of affairs and its determination to do what it can to change it."

Hammami knows perfectly well that the leadership of the future Palestinian state will be forced to denounce the Zionist state. The Arab masses and in particular the Palestinian masses will not accept its existence. He promises (or suggests) that he will be satisfied with verbal denunciations. Imperialism has nothing to fear! If Hammami's strategy is accepted, the leaders of the new state will disarm the Palestinian fighter. Nevertheless, from time to time they will issue declarations against the state of Israel (which King Hussein also does). But such declarations have never swept any country from the stage of history.

And by way of concretizing what such opposition to the state of Israel will be like, Hammami gives us the example of the opposition by the bourgeois democracies to the South African and Rhodesian regimes: "If it is right for Western democracies to look forward to a day when white supremacy in South Africa and Rhodesia will be replaced by a form of democratic rule under which white, black and colored people belonging to those countries will live together in peace and as equals, it is just as legitimate for us Palestinians to look forward to a day when Zionist supremacy in Israel will be replaced by a democratic system in which Jews, Moslems and Christians belonging to this land will live together in peace and equality. If we continue to proclaim this as our aim we are *not* sabotaging peace . . . anymore than the British Government and indeed the United Nations are sabotaging peace when they

1. Member of Israeli Knesset representing the Moked party.—IP



Some of the countless Palestinian prisoners held in Israeli jails. Said Hammami's "peaceful coexistence" would leave them there to rot.

call for an end to white racist rule in Rhodesia."

Have no fears! Israel will not crumble if its relations with the Palestinian government are to be the same as those between the British government and Rhodesia.

Before going on to the question of "how Zionism will be done away with," Hammami is obliged to justify the armed struggle that the Palestinians are waging against Israel: "is there not ample evidence that it was only when the Palestinians resorted to armed struggle that the rest of the world began taking them seriously?"

Of that there can be no doubt! Likewise there can be no doubt that imperialism takes Hammami seriously because of the armed struggle of the Palestinian masses, and will be ready to support Hammami and his ilk insofar as they prove capable of liquidating that armed struggle. Hammami's message is clear: Those who kindled the flame of the Palestinian struggle are the only ones able to put out the fire. The road

to be followed is simple: They will cross over to the other side of the barricades.

Opportunism and Naïveté

The qualitative turn the PLO undertook after 1967, when Fateh took the leadership of the organization, was characterized by three elements.

First, with Fateh in the leadership the Palestinian national liberation struggle was no longer directed by the Arab governments as in Shuqayri's² time, but by the Palestinians themselves.

Second, whereas previously PLO activity was concentrated above all on propaganda and diplomacy, Fateh relied on the mobilization (partial at least) of the Palestinian masses and saw the struggle within the framework of the colonial peoples' fight against imperialism.

Third, and above all, Fateh translated its

2. Ahmad ash-Shuqayri, head of the PLO from 1964 to 1967.—*IP*

slogans into deeds. It was not content with merely justifying armed struggle, but led it.

It is true that the Palestinian armed struggle has not been effective and could not be so without being integrated into a political strategy aimed at mobilizing the exploited masses in the Arab countries on the side of the Palestinian struggle and developing the class struggle in all the countries in the region.

The principle of nonintervention into the internal affairs of the Arab countries was the exact opposite of this strategy. But even these serious limitations in the PLO's strategy do not change the fact that the Palestinian struggle after 1967 represented a very big step forward for the anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist struggle in the Arab East.

Hammami's liquidationist strategy, however, constitutes a brake on the struggle of the Palestinian masses against Zionism and imperialism.

After having thoroughly explained that according to his strategy Israel will not be

made to disappear through armed struggle and that Israel has nothing to fear from antiracist declarations, what road does he propose for removing the Zionist state and restoring to the Palestinian people their national rights?

First of all, Hammami asserts, the Palestinians must "secure a massive injection of external aid for the economic and social development of the Palestinian State with a view to putting it, in time, on an equal footing with Israel in terms of industrial, technological and educational progress." The second task, he says, must be to promote the "ingathering" and resettlement of Palestinian exiles.

There is not a shadow of doubt that the aid that will flow from the oil-producing countries will be the most effective guarantee of the link between the future Palestinian state apparatus and the interests of reactionary forces in the region and throughout the world.

It is true, Hammami states, that the coexistence plan does run up against a few problems, as for example the Zionist regime's expansionist dynamic, but international guarantees would allow such problems to be surmounted. The central idea of his strategy is to desegregate the state of Israel from the inside.

"Up to now, the momentum of Zionism has been maintained by the fear of insecurity, by anti-Semitism (real or alleged), by threats of genocide and extermination and so on. Once stability and peace are ensured the momentum will be lost and the whole idea of political Zionism will lose much of its appeal. . . ." The article describes how the external aid to Israel will diminish, economic crises will multiply, and emigration will increase.

If Hammami were content to confine himself to the example of the social situation on the eve of the 1967 war, we could still carry on some sort of discussion with him. But he surpasses himself and touches on the absurd when he asserts that in Israel today emigration is "almost as large" as immigration and that "already a growing number of Israelis are alive to the need for a new and more constructive attitude towards the Palestinians. . . ."

We have no wish to get involved here in a discussion about the facts he puts forward but would like to ask how he explains that it is precisely today, after a war Israel failed to win, that "a new wind is blowing within Israel, a wind of truth and disillusionment"?

The feeling that "the sands are beginning to run out for them" did not develop among Israelis after a period of peaceful coexistence, but precisely after the blows that Israel received during the October war. The recognition that Palestine is a reality that cannot be ignored only developed after the resistance movement's prolonged struggle.

In fact Hammami is only looking for excuses for his strategy of coexistence with Zionist colonialism. He does not believe that peaceful coexistence between the Palestinian state and the Israeli state will lead to the collapse of the latter. Quite simply he hopes that over time his people will stop "dreaming" about the realization of their national rights in the whole of Palestine.

For Hammami and his sort the Palestinian struggle has gained what they want: a situation where he and his bureaucratic cronies in the PLO can staff "embassies in Washington and London, Paris and Moscow," indeed even representatives "seated . . . in the United Nations." The dream that Yassir Arafat spoke of, the dream of a free and united Palestine, is in reality the dream and aspiration of the Palestinian masses. Hammami's dream is an ambassadorship in London. To achieve that objective, he is ready to sell himself and to sell the Palestinian cause to whomever can fulfill his dream the most quickly—American imperialism and the Arab capitalists.

But one question remains: How can Hammami be so certain that the state of Israel will accept his strategy, so sure that American imperialism will put its trust in him and exert sufficient pressure on Israel for the latter to agree to pull back and relinquish the territory for establishing a Palestinian state on the West Bank? Isn't he deluding himself?

But anyone who reads his article carefully will see that the premise of his brilliant strategy is that the role of the state of Israel as the policeman for imperialism in the Arab East is drawing to a close. That policeman is no longer necessary: The Arab regimes, including the Palestinian regime, will handle the job nicely.

But it is here that he is mistaken. It is here that one sees the naïveté of a militant turned bureaucrat. As is the case with all bureaucrats, Hammami's world is limited to

negotiations and agreements between the bigwigs of the world. There is no longer any room for the masses, for their struggles and interests. That is the "realism" the PLO leaders are so proud of, the realism of the established order. But American imperialism is much less naïve. Its realism is not built upon ignorance of the masses and the class struggle, but rather on a permanent preoccupation with them.

Imperialism knows for a fact that it will still be much better for it to make use of the military bastion that goes by the name of Israel. The Palestinian state will become a powderkeg long before the Israeli state, and that is why imperialism cannot bank everything on Hammami and his friends. By the same token, it cannot count on the Arab capitalists being able to hold back indefinitely the class struggle in their countries and the victory of the socialist revolution in the Arab region.

In this sense Hammami's strategy is not only a stab in the back for the Palestinian resistance, but a counterrevolutionary strategy for all the exploited in the Arab East. And that includes the Israeli workers, because a revolutionary strategy toward the Israeli workers must necessarily be built upon the reality of the class struggle. This reality demands that the Israeli workers be shown clearly that the existence of the state of Israel—with or without a Palestinian state—will necessarily breed new wars and new victims. Hammami does exactly the opposite. And that is the least of his crimes.

I would like to add a few words for those left Zionists, semi-Zionists, or a-Zionists who are going into raptures over Hammami's article. His call for a dialogue with the Israelis is not addressed to you. His call is directed toward the camp of the "doves" who are in a position to help prod the Israeli government into accepting the American diktats. In the world of Hammami's realism, there is no place for you. □

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AROUND THE WORLD



Peruvian Trotskyists Released

Six Peruvian Trotskyists arrested in June on charges of membership in an illegal organization were freed September 8 by the Morales Bermúdez regime. However, four of the six—including Francisco Montes, editor of the Trotskyist fortnightly *Palabra Socialista*—still face trial on charges of “disturbing the peace.”

Montes said *Palabra Socialista* will resume publication.

Morgentaler Refused Parole

The National Parole Board of Canada turned down a request for parole for Dr. Henry Morgentaler September 8. Morgentaler is in prison on charges of having performed illegal abortions, despite the fact that he has twice been acquitted by juries.

Parole board official Claude Bouchard cited Morgentaler’s “behavior in jail” as grounds for denying his request for parole. Bouchard also suggested that Morgentaler “could be a danger to society.” “Some people consider abortion murder,” he said.

Morgentaler is still recovering from a heart attack suffered when he was brutalized by prison guards.

Statements protesting the parole board’s decision have been issued by the Canadian Association for Repeal of the Abortion Laws (CARAL) and by Doctors for Repeal.

CARAL has called a protest rally for October 19 to demand amnesty for Morgentaler and has appealed to groups across Canada to undertake similar actions.

Amalrik Forced to Leave Moscow

Soviet dissident Andrei Amalrik, who was released from exile in Siberia in May, has been forced by Soviet authorities to leave Moscow. Arrested in May 1970 for his dissident activities, particularly the publication abroad of his book *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, Amalrik spent five years in prison and exile.

Upon his release, he hoped to return to his Moscow apartment, where his wife lives, but the Soviet authorities refused to give him a residence permit. In late July he was given seventy-two hours to leave Moscow. Amalrik refused. On September 13 he was arrested and released the next morning. He then found a room in a cottage fifty miles outside of Moscow.

In an interview in September with the

Moscow correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*, Amalrik said, “They won’t let me live in peace anywhere. Either they will force me to disavow what I have written, or they will put me in prison.”

Papua New Guinea Gains Independence

The former Australian colony of Papua New Guinea was officially granted independence September 16. The new state, consisting of 2.6 million inhabitants, will remain a part of the British Commonwealth. Independence was celebrated by a ceremony at the capital, Port Moresby, where the Australian flag was lowered and the new flag formally raised.

Sir John Guise, Papua New Guinea’s first governor-general, told the gathering that it was important that people realized the spirit in which the flag was being lowered.

“We are lowering it,” he said, “not tearing it down.”

The Australian governor-general, who was there to receive the lowered flag, cautioned that the ceremony did not mark the end of Australia’s involvement in Papua New Guinea. Australia, he said, “remains deeply and irrevocably committed to Papua New Guinea.”

461,000 Were Given Walking Papers in 1968 Purge of Czechoslovak CP

Almost half a million persons lost membership in the Czechoslovak Communist party following the Soviet invasion in 1968, party secretary Vasil Bilak has been quoted as saying. In an interview published recently by the Czechoslovak party newspaper, *Rude Pravo*, Bilak said 70,934 members were expelled and 390,817 had their party cards canceled.

Labor Party Loses Ground in Norway

The Norwegian Labor party lost some ground in the municipal and regional elections held September 14-15. It took 38.3% of the votes, 3% down from the local elections in 1971, but up 3% from the legislative elections in 1973.

While the Labor party remains the largest in the country, it lost the municipalities of Oslo, Bergen, and Trondheim to the “nonsocialist” opposition parties. They received a total of 50.3% of the votes and are growing.

The biggest success came for the Conservatives, who got 21.9% of the votes, followed by their allies, the Popular Christian party, which got 11.3%. The two Liberal parties got only 6.3% and lost most of their municipal seats.

The alliance of independent Social Democrats and Communists, who did not succeed in forming a single political party as previously projected, won 5.3% of the votes, less than half the total it received in the 1973 legislative elections.

Franco’s Courts Hand Down More Death Sentences

A military court in Madrid sentenced three men and two women to death September 18. The five were charged with shooting a policeman August 16. They were identified as follows: Ramón García Sanz, 27, a welder; Manuel Canaveras, 21, a student; José-Luis Sánchez Bravo, 21, a student; Concepción Tristán López, 21, a nurse; and María Jesús Dasca Penellas, 20, a student. Tristán López and Dasca Penellas are both pregnant.

The prosecution claimed the five had acknowledged membership in the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriótico (FRAP—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front). The defendants denied membership in the group, charging that the confessions had been extracted under torture.

An alleged Basque separatist leader, Juan Paredes Manot, was also sentenced to death by a military court in Barcelona. He is the eleventh activist condemned to death in Spain in the past month.

Growing Discontent in Ghana as Cost of Living Soars

The deteriorating economic conditions in Ghana have led to the lowest popularity rating for the military regime of Col. Ignatius Acheampong since it came to power in a January 1972 coup, according to a September 20 Associated Press dispatch from Accra.

The cost of living in the West African country has continued to soar. Ghana’s oil bill has increased from \$92 million in 1973 to \$195 million this year. Combined with a 30 percent increase in the gasoline tax, the higher oil bill has pushed up transport costs and the price of kerosene, widely used for cooking.

The Second International Days of Protest

By Fred Halstead

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee had originally been formed for one action only, the October 16, 1965, New York march. It did not reconstitute itself formally until after the NCC convention, and its first activity after that was a meeting January 16 at Manhattan Center at which 4,500 persons heard reports from Staughton Lynd, Tom Hayden, and Herbert Aptheker, who had just returned from a trip to North Vietnam. A.J. Muste chaired the meeting.

In those days for an American to travel to Hanoi was akin to an act of civil disobedience, and there was some danger the three men might be prosecuted on one charge or another. To organize a meeting for them was in itself an act of defiance of the administration's attempts to create prowar fever. The meeting also served to launch the Parade Committee's plans for the Second International Days of Protest, which is the way the March 25-26 demonstrations came to be advertised after Rubin's December 9 press conference in San Francisco.

During the "peace offensive," members of the Parade Committee organized an ad hoc Times Square Demonstration Committee to respond quickly if the bombing of the North resumed. The ad

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.

hoc form was used because some participants planned civil disobedience and the Parade Committee itself contained some groups which didn't wish to be associated with that type of action. The Parade Committee staff and office, however, was made available to the ad hoc group. When the bombing resumption was announced, some of the pacifist groups immediately began a twenty-four-hour vigil at the United Nations, while the staff got on the phones. The next evening, February 1, a thousand people marched from the UN to Times Square, where they ringed the Allied Chemical building and the armed forces recruiting station in the center of the square. Thirty-two persons were arrested for sitting down in the slushy snow on Broadway and snarling rush-hour traffic for ten blocks.

Significantly, the police were careful in their handling of those arrested. This was in marked contrast to previous incidents in Times Square, where since 1963 the authorities had banned large demonstrations, and police had clubbed those who disobeyed the edict. The difference this time was due in part to the influence of A.J. Muste, who had made careful preparations for the civil disobedience, and whose presence seemed to have a certain calming effect on the police; but it also signified an awareness by the city authorities that they were dealing now with a movement that had far wider sympathy than before.

Although New York SANE did not participate in this action, a

committee of Veterans for Peace, originally formed to support the SANE march in November, did. These were mainly veterans of World War II, older and on the moderate side in politics. One of these, Ed Bloch, led the march wearing a faded Marine Corps uniform with a bronze star and a purple heart pinned to his chest.

Vets for Peace was one of some eighty groups that participated in Parade Committee activities in this period. The number would grow to 150 before the year was out. Another was Veterans and Reservists to End the War in Vietnam, composed largely of veterans and current reservists. Its membership was more radical. The Vets for Peace would frequently carry American flags. Vets and Reservists would carry only the thirteen-star version, from the period of the American Revolution.

The presence of these groups made it morally much more difficult for certain pseudopatriotic groups of right-wing veterans to heckle or attack Parade Committee activities, and they were frequently used to lead demonstrations or marches in areas where attacks might be expected.

Shortly after the Times Square demonstration, Muste showed the Parade Committee staff an invitation some friend of his had received in the mail to attend a banquet February 23 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel sponsored by the Freedom House foundation. It stated that President Johnson would appear and be presented with an award inscribed: "Freedom at home was never more widely shared nor aggression more wisely resisted than under his leadership."¹

The night of the banquet, February 23, the Parade Committee held a demonstration of 5,000 outside the hotel and Muste presented our own "Freedom Award" to Elizabeth Sutherland of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who took it on behalf of Julian Bond, the former SNCC activist who had been elected to the Georgia state legislature but had been deprived of his seat because he refused to dissociate himself from a SNCC statement opposing the war and the draft.

From then on demonstrations plagued President Johnson almost every time he ventured out for a previously announced public appearance in the United States. Outside the Waldorf Astoria, and on many subsequent demonstrations, there arose spontaneously a biting chant: "Hey, hey, LBJ—How many kids did you kill today?"

Meanwhile, James Peck, who was a sort of one-person institution among the pacifists at 5 Beekman Street, had entered the banquet hall inside the Waldorf with antiwar slogans painted on the shirt under his jacket. He got in by simply buying a ticket for the banquet beforehand from Freedom House. He waited until the president was introduced and then stood on his chair, started to take off his jacket and shouted: "Mr. president, peace in Vietnam!" He shouted it three times before plainclothes police hauled him off, trying to stuff a napkin in his mouth. (Peck got sixty days in jail.)²

1. *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*, No. 6, March 7, 1966.

2. The issue had a certain additional impact because of Jim Peck's long record in the civil rights movement. In 1947 he had taken part in the first



March 1966: UN Ambassador Arthur Goldberg received hot reception from students along with honorary degree from administration.

At the February 23 event the police allowed the pickets only on the opposite side of Park Avenue from the hotel, while the bulk of the crowd had to picket further down the street or stand in a side street where the Parade Committee had set up a sound truck for its award ceremonies. This left the end of the picket line closest to the hotel isolated from the main crowd—a dangerous situation since the police were thickest precisely where the crowd was small and packed into a cul de sac. At one point it looked like the police might attack this exposed end of the line where some angry pickets had concentrated and were taunting the cops in provocative terms. When I saw this I ran back toward the sound truck to get a bullhorn to use to tell the pickets to get out of there before they got hit.

Then I saw Muste coming in the other direction, toward the trouble. “You’re going in the wrong direction,” he said, and I turned. The cops were already swinging when we got there. Muste talked to the cops and I to the demonstrators and the situation calmed down without serious injuries.

I cite this incident not to show that Muste had personal courage—that was an altogether common trait in the movement—but that he was deliberate. He took his own principles seriously and he took responsibility for what went on.

* * *

Freedom Ride, an attempt to integrate bus travel through the South, which was broken up by racists. Peck was also on the second Freedom Ride when it was halted by racists who burned the bus in Alabama in 1961. Peck was badly beaten, but the second Freedom Ride became the focus for a worldwide uproar which scandalized the Kennedy administration for inaction on Southern civil rights. It is also interesting to note how this was another movement whose threads touched A.J. Muste. CORE, which sponsored both Freedom Rides and which was catapulted by the second one into national prominence and a place as one of the major civil rights organizations of the 1960s, originated as a project of the Fellowship of Reconciliation when Muste was its chairman, and James Farmer was a Muste protégé.

The night before the Waldorf Astoria demonstration the Parade Committee held a meeting at which the threat of a split occurred. The dispute had nothing to do with the next day’s activity but concerned the slogans for the March 26 demonstration which was being planned as the committee’s part in the Second International Days of Protest.

A subcommittee proposed “Stop the War in Vietnam Now” as the central slogan everyone could agree upon. It also recommended six additional slogans to be printed officially by the Parade Committee and listed in the call with the statement that these represented different approaches and not all the sponsoring groups agreed with all of them. These included “Negotiate with the NLF” and “Support the GIs, Bring Them Home Alive.” A motion was put to change the latter to “Bring Them Home Now.” This would make it an immediate withdrawal slogan. Abner Grunauer, the representative of New York SANE, objected, saying his group couldn’t accept that and wouldn’t participate if it were adopted.

After extended discussion the committee divided down the middle on the vote, 17½ to 17½.³ (Two representatives from one group were unable to agree and divided their single vote.)

The lineup was New York SANE, New York Women Strike for Peace, the CP, the Du Bois Clubs, and the more moderate professional and neighborhood groups against “now”; the radical pacifists, the SWP, the YSA, the campus committees, and the more radical neighborhood groups in favor. But with the exception of SANE and a few others, those who voted against “now” said they did so to keep the coalition together, not because they really opposed the slogan.

Dave Dellinger, who as chairman of the meeting had not voted,

3. Minutes, February 22, 1966, Parade Committee file, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

broke the tie with a vote for "now." The radicals cheered. It was the first time immediate withdrawal was to be included in a major coalition not limited to the radical or student forces. But Grunauer announced he couldn't accept this and would have to leave the committee. Others declared that if he went, they would too. A bitter argument over procedure ensued with Grunauer and others denouncing Dellinger as reckless, saying he had no right to decide the issue with the committee so evenly divided. A motion was put to reconsider.

Dellinger opposed reconsideration, saying times had changed and he didn't think SANE would really drop out. It would be morally indefensible, he said, not to include an immediate withdrawal slogan among the six. The vote was against reconsideration, 17 to 16. Grunauer announced he was leaving the committee. Others, including Mike Stein of the CP and Jose Ristorucci of the Du Bois Clubs, followed him toward the door.

In an instant the following thought crossed my mind: How are we going to explain to all those thousands of people in the movement outside this room why the Parade Committee split over one word in a list of seven slogans? I shouted: "Hold it Abner, I'm changing my vote to an abstention." Several others followed suit and the motion to reconsider passed. Dellinger and some of the other radicals, including the YSAers, looked at me like I'd just stabbed them in the back. I even had some explaining to do in the next meeting of the New York branch of the Socialist Workers Party, whom I represented at the meeting.

I was stalling for time, it is true, hoping some shift would occur in the other side during the rest of the meeting. But that's not all there was to my maneuver. Convincing the movement of the immediate withdrawal position was a process. As long as we had the right to continue that educational process there was nothing to gain and a lot to lose from a split. Exactly when we won a formal vote on the point was less important than maintaining unity in action and staying in the best position to reach the ranks of the moderate groups. I would have favored reconsideration rather than a split even if reconsideration took six months. As luck would have it, it took only until the next meeting.

Muste, who favored the "now" slogan, said he would meet with New York SANE and Women Strike for Peace to see if they wouldn't agree to having it included along with the statement that not all groups agreed with all the slogans. He did so, and at the next Parade Committee meeting, March 9, the SANE and WSP representatives reported that their organizations had so agreed. That still left the CP and the Du Bois Clubs, but since they had said they took the position they did only to keep the others from leaving, they now had to accept it too. Immediate withdrawal had become one of several official slogans in the major local coalition in the country.

* * *

The March 26 parade in New York drew some 50,000 demonstrators, double the size of the October 16 event. In general, the Second International Days of Protest was twice the size of the first, though in Berkeley there was no march this time, due in part to a crisis in the VDC there. A march sponsored by several Bay Area campus VDCs drew 7,000 in San Francisco.

On a world scale the Second International Days of Protest was, according to the NCC newsletter, the largest and most extensive peace demonstration in history. Activities took place in a third of the world's countries and on every continent during a three-day period. In West Germany and France, where fear of the U.S. giving atomic weapons to the German military in return for West German support to U.S. policy in Vietnam was also an issue, demonstrations occurred in most major cities. Carl Oglesby of SDS spoke to a crowd of thousands in a cold rain in Rome, while a few blocks away a smaller group of neofascists demonstrated in support of the U.S. war effort.

New Zealand and Australia, which had troops on the U.S. side in Vietnam, also had significant antiwar demonstrations. The largest actions occurred in Japan, where the massive anti-A-H-bomb organizations and radical student groups participated. Brussels saw a big demonstration in which even the Catholic church was a sponsor. In Manila a demonstration protested plans to send a corps of Filipino engineers to South Vietnam to back up the American effort.

Demonstrations also occurred in all the Scandinavian countries, in Guinea, Kenya, Egypt, Syria, Algeria, Cyprus, Israel, Uruguay, Chile, Argentina, Peru, Mexico, Canada, and England. Significantly, some of the largest demonstrations occurred in countries whose governments were most supportive of the U.S. role in Indochina.

On the Berkeley campus itself, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur Goldberg received an honorary degree from the university administration at ceremonies March 25 in the Greek Theater attended by 14,000. In his acceptance speech, Goldberg—a liberal who had once been general counsel for the United Steelworkers Union—delivered a defense of the administration's Vietnam policy. But he faced a sea of placards held up by members of the audience bearing such slogans as "I Oppose This War," "Arthur Goldberg, Doctor of War," and "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam."

After the ceremony Goldberg and half the audience moved to Harmon Gymnasium where Goldberg had agreed to "discuss" the issue with the Faculty Peace Committee. Professor Reginald Zelnik cautioned that this was not a debate and appealed to the audience to refrain from heckling or cheering. In a remarkable display of restraint the audience listened quietly while the discussion proceeded.

Then at the end Professor Zelnik called for a standing vote for approval or disapproval of administration policy on Vietnam. About 100 stood for approval, 7,000 stood for disapproval. It was a devastating defeat for Goldberg and the administration, and the vote was shown on TV news that night.

The movement was wider on the Second International Days of Protest, with significant demonstrations taking place in over 100 cities in the U.S. as well as elsewhere in the world. In several cities outside New York the events were organized by coalitions similar to the Parade Committee. In Chicago, Jack Spiegel, a local official of the Shoeworkers Union, and Sid Lens, director emeritus of Local 329 of the United Service Employees Union, who was also a pacifist and a contributor to *Liberation*, worked to bring together a broad coalition starting with the Chicago CEWV and the Chicago Peace Council. The local SANE chapter and the local American Friends Service Committee, however, pulled out a few days before the event. Nevertheless, the Chicago turnout was 5,000 compared to 700 in October.

But the New York parade represented the broadest unity. "The protest," commented the generally unsympathetic *New York Herald Tribune*, "had a different complexion from the one last October 16. . . . Although most of the sponsors were the same, the marchers this time seemed to represent much more of a cross section of Americans."⁴

Many of the participating groups organized special contingents and brought their own specific concerns into the march. For the first time there appeared a contingent from Harlem, organized by the Afro-Americans Against the War in Vietnam under the banner: "Bring Our Black GIs Back Home." Some of these marchers carried placards saying: "The Vietcong Never Called Me a Nigger."

Women Strike for Peace passed out shopping bags printed with antiwar slogans. The Teachers Committee had a large contingent

4. *New York Herald Tribune*, March 27, 1966.

carrying black placards with white lettering, like blackboards. By far the largest contingent was students.

The Parade Committee had an argument about flags, finally voting to have none except those carried by the Veterans groups, but some vendors showed up and did a brisk sale in American flags, something that would change over the years as even the moderate antiwar activists became more alienated from the government. Walter Teague, who headed a small group called the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front, made up a bunch of NLF flags and passed them out to a contingent of radical youth. This angered the moderate groups, but the main problem with this as far as I was concerned was that the rightist hecklers generally chose that spot to attack the parade, and special precautions had to be taken by the marshals.

In general, however, there was a markedly more friendly attitude by bystanders toward this demonstration. Maris Cakers of the Workshop in Nonviolence (WIN), however, drew the unenviable assignment of lining up a group of marshals between the march and a group of hecklers who were trying to provoke a fight by spitting. Poor Maris was covered with it while the cops stood by ready to arrest the marshals if they lost their tempers.

But all in all it was a great day, something of what they used to call a "happening," with people on the sidelines waving from windows and some even joining in. Speakers at the rally, which this time was held at the Mall in Central Park, included the ex-Green Beret Donald Duncan, Jerry Rubin, Juan Mari Bras of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, and Cleveland Robinson, chairman of the Negro American Labor Council and a vice-president of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union. "You are the true continuers of the revolutionary tradition started in this country in the eighteenth century," said Bras. "You are the people that are saving the respect and honor of the American nation in this moment of history."⁵ And, in good part, that's the way the American antiwar movement thought of itself.

Norman Mailer, who was not a scheduled speaker, just showed up and was given the mike for brief comments. In those days a certain song was being plugged by the media on every possible occasion. Said Mailer: "Lyndon Johnson runs the most consummate public relations machine in the history of Christendom. And he knows how good that machine is. He had a song—a hit song—called 'The Green Berets' which was written by computers. And

it drew on some fine Scotch airs, let me tell you. But Lyndon Johnson knows that when 60,000 people, as reported in the *Daily News*, will go out and march down Fifth Avenue being heckled, there is an incredible potential resistance to the war and an incredible tacit resistance."⁶

Mailer's reference to the *Daily News* came from having overheard the *News* reporter—using the phone in the bandshell—report a crowd of 60,000. By the time it got into print, however, it was 30,000. The *News* commented editorially: "The Saturday shenanigans gave aid and comfort to the enemy in time of war, and thereby fitted the U.S. Constitution's definition of treason. So why not a prompt declaration of war to Congress, to spur the Justice Department to get busy with some Treason prosecutions."⁷

Muste's remarks at the rally were in contrast to Senator Fulbright's fears, expressed elsewhere, that escalation would produce a war hysteria. Said Muste: "This demonstration and those going on all over the country signify that we are not going to be intimidated by the escalation of the war. I believe that the response of the people of New York and the people of the United States to the escalation of the war is going to be the escalation of the protest against the war and the demand that the war end.

"I believe this not only because of the number of people involved, but also because of the unity that has been achieved, and is constantly growing, among the forces that are opposed to this war. Our Vietnam Peace Parade here in the city and the response to it today is evidence of the power of unity. I hope that all of us who are partaking in this demonstration and thousands upon thousands more in this city will take the lesson of what happens when there is unity among the forces opposed to this war, whatever their differences."⁸

[Next chapter: *New York and Berkeley: Reaction to the Buddhist Demonstrations*]

5. *In the Teeth of War*, edited by Donna Gould and Dave Dellinger (New York: Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, 1966), p. 40. This book was a photographic essay on the March 26, 1966, demonstration.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

7. *New York Daily News*, March 29, 1966.

8. *In the Teeth of War*, p. 23.

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Balance Sheet of the LSSP's Betrayal

By Peter Green

"When the 'Socialist' leaders entered a bourgeois Cabinet, they invariably proved to be figureheads, puppets, screens for the capitalists, instruments for deceiving the workers," Lenin wrote in 1917.¹

And when they have outlived their usefulness, it might be added, they are generally tossed aside like so many squeezed lemons.

Eleven years ago, the leaders of the Lanka Sama Samaja party²—Ceylon's largest workers party and at the time a section of the Fourth International—accepted posts in a bourgeois coalition government. For this betrayal they were expelled from the Fourth International.

The first coalition government with the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) of Sirimavo Bandaranaike lasted only nine months. But the coalition took office again in 1970, this time with the pro-Moscow Communist party also participating.

On September 2, after eleven years of good and faithful service to capitalism in Sri Lanka,³ Bandaranaike threw the LSSP ministers—N.M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva, and Leslie Goonewardene—out of her cabinet.

They were very reluctant to go. These "socialist" ministers groveled abjectly, proffered apologies, and pledged not to publicly criticize their coalition partners.

As they saw it, they had carried out their part of the bargain. They had deceived the workers, broke strikes, supported chauvinist policies against the Tamil minority, supported Buddhism as the state religion, preached austerity to the workers, and assisted in the brutal suppression of the revolutionary youth movement, the JVP.⁴ And their only reward was peremptory dismissal.

The end was not unexpected. Nor was it surprising to see these renegades carrying out the dirty work for the bourgeoisie in attacking the workers and peasants of Sri Lanka, once they had crossed class lines

and joined a bourgeois government.

But how to explain the betrayal itself, one of the greatest setbacks to the Fourth International since its founding? How to explain such a desertion by a party that formally adhered to an international steeped in the study of and struggle against just such class collaborationism?

At the time of the LSSP's betrayal in 1964, the Fourth International published numerous statements and articles, giving the stand of the Trotskyist movement on the issue and analyzing the reasons for the degeneration of the leadership in Sri Lanka.

Pierre Frank, a leading member of the Fourth International, wrote an article that was printed in the July 17, 1964, issue of *World Outlook* (the former name of *Intercontinental Press*), titled "The Wearing Out of a Revolutionary Leadership." In it he traced the origins of the LSSP and the background to its capitulation. A lengthier analysis by Ernest Germain, also a leader of the Fourth International, was published in the fall 1964 issue of *International Socialist Review*, the theoretical magazine of the Socialist Workers party of the United States.⁵

Background to a Betrayal

When the LSSP was founded in 1935, it was the first—and for some time the only—working-class party in Ceylon. Its founders, wrote Germain, were "a group of brilliant young intellectuals who had studied at British universities, had been attracted by communism, repelled by the Moscow frame-up trials and the ultra-opportunist policies of Stalinism in the late thirties, and who had therefore evolved in the general direction of Trotskyism." Among the founders were Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Goonewardene, and N.M. Perera.

On the outbreak of World War II in 1939,

5. Both these articles have been reprinted in an Education for Socialists bulletin published by the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers party titled *Revolutionary Marxism vs. Class Collaborationism in Sri Lanka*. It can be obtained for 60 cents by writing to SWP, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. The bulletin also contains "The LSSP and Class Collaboration: Lessons of a Popular Front Betrayal," by Caroline Lund, and the July 10, 1964, letter from the United Secretariat supporting the LSSP(R) Emergency Conference. Pierre Frank's article was also reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1975, p. 1262.

the LSSP opposed the imperialist war and led the struggle for independence from Britain. As a result, some of the party's leaders were imprisoned; others escaped to India and continued to work underground there. A pro-Stalinist wing of the party that favored collaborating with British imperialism during the war was expelled in 1940. This grouping, led by Pieter Keuneman and S.A. Wickremasinghe, later founded the Communist party of Ceylon in 1943. After World War II the LSSP was recognized as the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.

The party rapidly acquired great influence among the masses as the result of its leadership of the struggle first against the imperialist regime and then, after formal independence, against the government of the UNP (United National party, the party representing the layer of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie most closely linked with British imperialism). The LSSP participated in the 1947 elections and became the largest opposition party. A proud chapter in the LSSP's history was its leadership of the August 12, 1953, *hartal* (a day of civil disobedience backed by a general strike and boycott of business).

Another political asset of the party was its courageous defense of the rights of the Tamil minority. About 22 percent of Sri Lanka's thirteen million persons speak the Tamil language. The ancestors of about half the Tamil population migrated to Ceylon many centuries ago. Most of the rest are descendants of Tamils brought from India in the nineteenth century to work on British tea plantations. Most of the Tamil-speaking people are of the Hindu religion. They form the bulk of the plantation workers, the main sector of the Sri Lankan working class.

From its founding, the LSSP staunchly defended the rights of the oppressed Tamil minority against the chauvinism, which often took violent forms, of the Sinhalese-speaking Buddhist majority. In 1936 the LSSP was the first party to demand that the government and the courts use both Sinhalese and Tamil, rather than English, as official languages.

The leadership that founded the party and led these struggles, however, was not completely homogenous. "It was composed in reality of two wings," Germain wrote, "one led by N.M. Perera and Philip Gunawardena which displayed petty-bourgeois

1. "Lessons of the Revolution," *Selected Works*, vol. II, part I (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1952), p. 107.

2. LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party.

3. On May 22, 1971, Ceylon became the Republic of Sri Lanka (Holy Ceylon).

4. Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna—People's Liberation Front.

nationalist inclinations and was opportunist from the start, the other, genuinely Trotskyist, led by a group of comrades around Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Goonewardene, Bernard Soysa, Edmund Samarakkody, Doric de Souza and Bala Tampoe. Relations between these two wings were uneasy from the beginning. A split occurred in the forties in which a majority of the membership, under the leadership of Philip Gunawardena and N.M. Perera, broke away from the Fourth International for a time, and the genuine Trotskyists formed the Bolshevik-Leninist party headed by Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene.

"The opportunist character of the majority grouping was displayed when its members of parliament refused to vote against the status of 'independence' in 1947 that left key positions to British imperialism. The split was healed in June 1950 but only partially. N.M. Perera and the majority of those who had split unified with the Bolshevik-Leninist party. For some time Philip Gunawardena kept the so-called 'old' LSSP going, receiving reinforcements from a new split in the LSSP in 1953."

In the early 1950s a new party emerged in Ceylon, the Sri Lanka Freedom party, which the LSSP correctly labeled a bourgeois party, wedded to the preservation of the capitalist system. It originated in a split in 1951 from the UNP led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike's husband, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike. The SLFP was based on the Sinhalese intelligentsia and national bourgeoisie and rapidly developed mass support among the Sinhalese peasantry on the basis of militant appeals to Sinhalese chauvinism and anti-Tamil prejudices and fears. It stood for some reforms in favor of the small peasantry, but at the same time became the spearhead of reactionary petty-bourgeois chauvinism directed against the Tamil minority.

With the increasing influence of the SLFP, some of the LSSP leaders began to waver and adapt to its ideas, especially after its stunning electoral victory in 1956. Germain wrote:

"The traditional firm Trotskyist positions of the 'old guard' inside the LSSP leadership were for the first time put in question immediately after the elections of 1956. Looking at the peasantry essentially from an electoral angle, part of the LSSP leadership became unduly impressed with the landslide victory given the SLFP as an alternative to the UNP." The group of former Trotskyists around Philip Gunawardena capitulated completely to the liberal bourgeoisie and joined the first Bandaranaike government, dissolving the "old" LSSP into the MEP (Mahajana Eksath Peramuna—People's United Front).

"The LSSP itself showed signs of wavering," Germain continued, "advancing the proposal of 'responsive co-operation' with

the liberal-bourgeois Bandaranaike government. However, when the race riots started, when the chauvinism of the enraged petty-bourgeois elements supporting W.R.D. Bandaranaike threatened the unity of the proletariat and the country, and when the right wing of the SLFP mounted sufficient pressure to have Philip Gunawardena thrown out of the government, the LSSP sharply radicalized its stand and courageously fought the SLFP Emergency. This was the positive side of its 'tail-endism.' Each time the workers went into action, the LSSP leadership took a new turn towards the left."

It should also be added that the opportunist drift of the LSSP leadership toward the SLFP was repeatedly checked and reversed through political pressure from the rest of the Fourth International. "Before 1960," Germain wrote, "the international leadership was concerned about erroneous attitudes on various questions, but it limited its communications to the Political Bureau and Central Committee, occasionally to party conferences."

In 1960, however, the LSSP took a further step toward capitulation, and the Fourth International was compelled to take a public stand.

From Wavering to Capitulation

In September 1959 Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike was assassinated, and the new SLFP government was forced to the polls in March 1960. A UNP government was formed, although it had not won a majority of seats. This did not last long, however, and new elections were held in July.

In these elections the LSSP joined a tripartisan electoral bloc with the SLFP and the CP. After Sirimavo Bandaranaike's victory, the LSSP decided to vote for the throne speech (the declaration of the platform of the new government) and the budget, i.e., to give parliamentary support to a capitalist government. (Two LSSP MPs, Edmund Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando, defied the party whip and voted against the throne speech and budget.) A proposal by N.M. Perera to enter into a coalition with the SLFP was rejected by only a narrow majority.

This support to Bandaranaike, Germain wrote, meant the abrupt end of the previous stage of relations between the leaderships of the LSSP and the Fourth International. "It was clear that the problem was no longer occasional tail-endism or a threat of opportunism which could be corrected by fraternal discussion and comradely collaboration. More vigorous measures were required to bring the LSSP, or at least part of it, back to revolutionary Marxism."

A split had taken place in the international Trotskyist movement in 1954, which

lasted until 1963. Therefore, at the time of these developments in Ceylon, the world Trotskyist movement consisted of two factions—with the Socialist Workers party of the United States, together with other forces, supporting the International Committee of the Fourth International, and most European sections organized as the International Secretariat of the Fourth International. Both factions publicly condemned the actions of the LSSP in supporting a capitalist government.

In September 1960 the International Secretariat issued a public statement, published in issue No. 11 of the magazine *Fourth International*, saying among other things:

"The IS has not failed to express to the LSSP its disagreement in regard to both its recent electoral policy and its policy towards the SLFP after the March and July elections. The IS particularly believes that the no-contest agreement, extended up to a mutual-support agreement, involves the danger of creating illusions about the nature of the SLFP among the great masses, and that an attitude of support to a government such as that of Mrs. Bandaranaike should only be critical and hence limited to the progressive measures actually proposed and adopted.

"In the specific case of the Speech from the Throne, the IS thinks that the very moderate character of the government programme and its attitude against nationalisation of the plantations—a fundamental question for a country like Ceylon—is such as to involve a negative vote by the LSSP MPs."

The October 3, 1960, issue of the *Militant*, the weekly newspaper reflecting the views of the SWP, carried the following as an editorial:

"The support accorded the Bandaranaike party by the Ceylonese Trotskyists, and their entry into an electoral alliance with it, constituted a complete reversal of previous policy. In the national elections last March the LSSP, the most influential working-class party in Ceylon, campaigned against the SLFP and all other parties on a program of revolutionary socialism under the slogan of 'Elect a Sama Samaja Government.' This line of independent working-class political action received an impressive ten per cent of the popular vote.

"At that time N.M. Perera, chairman of the LSSP, wrote: 'A capitalist government whether of the UNP or SLFP brand will bring endless trouble and disaster to the country.'

"The LSSP had consistently condemned the policy of backing one group of rival capitalist politicians like the SLFP against another, explaining that such a policy deceives the masses. It counterposed to collaboration with capitalist parties or governments the objective of putting an

anticapitalist workers and peasants' government in power. Yet in July it reversed its electoral policy of March.

"This new political course not only overturned the past position of the LSSP but is at variance with the traditional socialist principles of the Trotskyist movement, which has opposed collaboration with capitalist parties as injurious to working-class interests. It follows the pattern of 'Popular Front' combinations in many countries whereby working-class parties have been lined up with disastrous results behind a section of the capitalist rulers.

"After the elections the Secretary of the LSSP, Leslie Goonewardene, issued a statement, published in the Aug. 4 Ceylon News, which read in part:

"The LSSP will co-operate with the SLFP Government as an independent party in every activity which carries the country forward along progressive lines. The LSSP will assist the SLFP Government to defeat and overcome any and every saboteur effort of Big Capital and the foreign imperialists. The LSSP will particularly assist the SLFP Government in every anticapitalist step it takes. The LSSP will resist to the utmost any effort from any quarter to throw the masses back in their struggle to go forward to a socialist society.

"In accordance with the above, the LSSP Parliamentary Group will not join the Opposition but will function as an independent group in Parliament."

"It appears from this statement, which contained no criticism of the capitalist SLFP or warning to the people against the consequences of its actions, that the LSSP leadership is continuing its false policy of political support to the SLFP.

"The LSSP has correctly maintained in the past that abandonment of independent working-class politics and trailing behind capitalist politicians can only bear evil fruits. Further developments of the class struggle within the setting of the ascending revolution in Asia must also soon make this manifest in the present situation in Ceylon.

"As the damaging results of their new course become clearer, the majority of the LSSP will, we trust, reassert their adherence to the tested principles of Marxism and return to the revolutionary positions which gave the party such merited prestige among the Ceylonese masses."

When the leaders of the LSSP did not heed the warnings on its grave errors, the Sixth World Congress of the forces supporting the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, meeting in December 1960, adopted a resolution that read:

"The Sixth World Congress, having discussed the situation in Ceylon, states that it disapproves the political line adopted by the LSSP following the election defeat of March 1960.

"The Congress condemns more especially the vote of parliamentary support expressed on the occasion of the Speech from the Throne, and the adoption of the budget by the party's MPs.

"The Fourth International does not exclude support for the adoption of progressive measures, even by a national bourgeois or petty-bourgeois government in a colonial or semi-colonial country. But the social nature, composition and general programme of the Bandaranaike government does not justify the support which was accorded to it.

"The World Congress appeals to the LSSP for a radical change in its political course in the direction indicated by the document of the leadership of the International."

Retreat From the Brink

This pressure from the world Trotskyist movement had some results, and the LSSP leadership took a step back from the brink they had reached. In 1961 it no longer voted for the budget.

The LSSP leaders were also helped along in this direction by a new rise of militancy among the Ceylonese masses. After a brief period of illusions in the possibilities of the Bandaranaike regime, the workers increasingly began to protest their deteriorating standard of living and poor working conditions. The LSSP played a commendable role in the wave of strikes in 1961. A sequence of strikes and demonstrations by dock and transport workers and others also erupted throughout 1962. In 1963 these struggles eventually led, for the first time in the history of the Ceylonese labor movement, to the establishment of a Joint Committee of Trade Unions—under LSSP leadership. Plantation workers also joined the joint committee, which grew to represent nearly one million organized workers. The trade unions united around a platform of twenty-one demands.

Out of this struggle a United Left Front of working-class parties was formed, composed of the LSSP, the CP, and the MEP. The LSSP set the perspective of an extra-parliamentary struggle for power. It viewed the front of working-class parties as offering an alternative government to the capitalist governments of the SLFP or UNP. An LSSP Political Bureau resolution of August 23, 1963, declared that "the mobilisation of the masses for struggle is necessary if a government of the United Left Front is to become a reality."

The formation of the United Left Front was hailed by the Seventh World Congress of the forces supporting the International Secretariat of the Fourth International as a step forward for the LSSP. The congress, meeting in June 1963 just prior to the Reunification Congress, regarded the line of

the LSSP toward the ULF as fundamentally correct.

"At the same time," Germain wrote, "the Congress drew attention, both publicly and through a special letter to the LSSP, to four key issues involved in the turn which the Congress thought had not been properly met by the LSSP leadership: (1) Insufficiently critical analysis of the 1960 mistake; (2) lack of clarity about the extra-parliamentary nature and potentialities of the United Left Front in contrast to its parliamentary features; (3) lack of any kind of public criticism by the LSSP of the opportunist policies of the CP and MEP, contrary to the Leninist concept of the united front; (4) failure to involve the Tamil plantation workers and their organizations in the United Left Front. (This point blew up into a real scandal through failure to invite them to the platform in the May 1, 1963, demonstration, and the Congress strongly criticized the LSSP leadership over this.)"

The LSSP leadership again responded partially to the pressure of the international and took some steps toward interesting the Tamil workers in the draft program for the United Left Front. Under pressure from the CP and MEP, however, it retreated on this.

With the campaign around the twenty-one demands, the formation of the United Left Front, and the rising tide of mass struggles, the Bandaranaike regime was thrown increasingly on the defensive. The ULF started calling demonstrations attended by tens of thousands of workers and peasants, clearly testifying to the popular response to formation of the ULF and the objective possibility of launching an all-out campaign in favor of bringing to power a ULF government on a socialist program.

The Ceylon Mercantile Union—led by Bala Tampoe, a leader of the LSSP's left wing—won an important victory over the government on January 13, 1964, after a protracted struggle that lasted seventy days. This strike was the first significant victory of the Ceylonese working class since Bandaranaike's wage-freeze policy was decreed two years earlier. It brought a massive response from the rest of the organized working class, whose threat of striking in support of the CMU was largely instrumental in forcing the government to capitulate.

The working-class upsurge reached a high point on March 21, 1964, when 50,000 workers gathered in a demonstration in Colombo, the capital, in support of the twenty-one demands and in defiance of an "emergency" decree by the government. All political tendencies and sectors of the working class, including the plantation workers, were represented at the rally. Speakers demanded the immediate end of the emergency and warned against the threat of a reactionary coup.

N.M. Perera, who chaired the meeting, said, "We meet today when Parliament has been prorogued and the Government is facing a crisis. Political adventurists may try to stage a coup and establish a dictatorship. But this rally tells them now that they will be smashed if they resort to such action."

N. Sanmugathasan, head of the Ceylon Trade Union Federation, who had recently been expelled from the Communist party because of his pro-Peking views, said that the sinking ship of the government had sought the aid of leftist leaders but he was sure that there were no fools among the leftist leaders who would accept the crumbs of office in this government. He said the government was bankrupt and had lost the confidence to face the parliament and the people. If anyone tried to join the government, he continued, and be appendages to assist its anti-working-class activities, they would not only be traitors but guilty of a crime of the greatest magnitude. The workers would not forgive them.

Bala Tampoe told the rally that the unity displayed by the workers had been answered by the government through the declaration of a state of "emergency" and the maneuvers seeking to draw representatives of the workers into a coalition government.

"Whoever may have been involved in these maneuvers," he said, "one thing can be said categorically and that is that whoever goes to the side of the government in this situation will be no more, no less, a traitor to the entire working classes."

Colvin R. de Silva, representing the Ceylon Federation of Labor, was reported as saying "that one thing was clear from the events of the recent past . . . that the Government was bankrupt financially, politically and in all other respects." The leaders of this bankrupt government were trying to find other means of remaining in power, he said. There would even be attempts to withdraw democratic rights and set up a dictatorship. The possibility of the use of the armed forces and police for the purpose could not be overruled. The workers, he continued, would be the first to rise up and fight such moves.

Perera's Treachery

Yet it was at this point, at the time of these powerful examples of the power and potential of the organized working class, that N.M. Perera treacherously engaged in secret negotiations with Bandaranaike for the purpose of entering a coalition government. This in spite of the demagoguery he and de Silva used at the rally, in spite of the warnings from other working-class leaders, and in spite of the fact that this course was in complete opposition to the LSSP's program and conference decisions.

Bandaranaike very clearly and frankly

expressed why she wanted the services of Perera in a speech May 10:

"However much progressive work we do, we cannot expect any result unless we get the co-operation of the working class. This could be understood if the working of the Port and of other nationalised undertakings are considered. We cannot go backwards. We must go forward. *Disruptions, especially strikes and go-slows must be eliminated*, and the development of the country must proceed.

"Some people have various ideas on these subjects. Some feel that these troubles can be eliminated by the establishment of a dictatorship. Others say that workers should be made to work at the point of gun and bayonet. . . . My conclusion is that none of these solutions will help to get us where we want to go. . . . *Therefore, gentlemen, I decided to initiate talks with the leaders of the working class, particularly Mr. Philip Gunawardena and Dr. N.M. Perera. . . .*" (Emphasis added.)

N.M. Perera, "leader of the working class," was only too ready to oblige.

As soon as the United Secretariat of the Fourth International learned about Perera's moves, it sent a letter to the LSSP Central Committee warning it not to contemplate such a betrayal. This letter, dated April 23, 1964,⁶ pointed out the "inability of the ruling SLFP to continue much longer in office, expressed in its rapidly dwindling parliamentary majority, its sudden prorogation of parliament and its 'behind the scenes' maneuvers to negotiate a fresh lease of life through an alliance with the parties of the left. . . ."

"As far as the SLFP is concerned, two factors appear to motivate its present course of action: (1) lack of confidence in its ability to continue in office for the rest of its constitutional term; (2) a deep-seated fear of an upsurge in the working-class movement and the real possibility of the emergence of a government of the left. Clearly, it is this latter possibility which drives it today to seek a *modus vivendi* with the left and attempt a realignment of forces through a coalition with the United Left Front.

"Its calculations are fairly obvious. It hopes to gain strength by an infusion from the left. It hopes to disorient the masses by taking on left coloration. It hopes to weaken the threat from the left by splitting the left organizations (since acceptance of a coalition would obviously not be unanimous and would most likely open the most bitter factional struggles). It hopes to associate prominent left figures with its rule and thereby utterly discredit them for the following phase when this one comes to its inevitable end and social forces have

6. The full text of this letter was published in *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, 1975, p. 1261.

reached unendurable tension and polarization.

"Its primary immediate aim is to stem the tide of rising mass unrest, contain the parties of the left within its own control and commit them to 'progressive' formulae within the framework of the capitalist structure. It is clear that the 'concessions' proposed by the Prime Minister and reported to the Central Committee meeting remain mere sops insofar as they leave intact the structure of capitalism and in no way touch the essential productive bases of the economy.

"It is necessary to declare at this stage, quite categorically, that we oppose our party entering any coalition government wherein decisive control is held by a party that has proved time and again its reluctance to move against the capitalist order, and furthermore has demonstrated in action its essentially anti-working-class character. We do not believe that the character of the SLFP is determined by the declarations of one or another of its individual leaders. Its character has been revealed by its whole history during its years in power. In this sense we see no reason for changing our characterization of it as a party essentially functioning within the framework of capitalism and utilized by certain layers of the bourgeoisie as a possible bulwark against the growing forces of the working class. Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the dominant majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the left in advance and its becoming itself a target for the growing resentment of the masses. . . ."

"The realistic alternative road for the party is evident from the crisis itself. The government could make its offer to the United Left Front only because it saw the ULF as already a power, as the key formation to the left, as the one potentially in position to *install its own government*. . . . Only one conclusion is possible in principle, and it also happens to be the most practical and realistic. The party must now fight hard and in a determined way for nothing short of a government of the United Left Front. . . . But such a struggle must not be conceived purely within the limitations of the parliamentary framework or purely in terms of parliamentary arithmetic. It must become a means of actively mobilizing the masses in action, above all through the unfolding struggle of the united trade unions. To make the United Left Front a living reality it is also necessary to continue within it the struggle for our perspectives, *never surrendering for a moment our own independence and freedom of criticism*. In struggle we must seek to make of it a dynamic center of polarization for the important working-class forces that

still remain outside it. Every effort must be made, in action, to draw in the forces of the plantation workers and the unions led by the Peking-inspired Communist party. *Every anti-working-class manifestation even with the ULF must be fought consistently* and not glossed over or ignored in the name of a formal unity. The United Left Front will be a viable force only to the extent that we lead it in struggle and seek to make it a center for all the sectors of the developing mass movement in the country."

The letter ended with the call:

"No coalition at the expense of socialist principles and the possibility of a socialist victory!

"Forward with the masses in struggle for a government of the United Left Front!"

The plenum of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International met in May 1964 and unanimously endorsed the stand taken in the letter. According to a report in the June 5, 1964, issue of *World Outlook*, "The members of the International Executive Committee expressed unanimous opposition to any coalition in which the LSSP would serve in the role of captive to the bourgeoisie. . . . The IEC called on the LSSP to counterpose to these proposals a vigorous campaign for a United Left Front government on the basis of a socialist program that would signify a break with imperialism and capitalism in Ceylon."

Special Conference

When N.M. Perera presented the LSSP Central Committee with the coalition proposal he had worked out in secret meetings with Bandaranaike, he was defeated by a vote of 21 to 19. A special conference of the party was then scheduled for June 6-7 to decide the matter.

In the deal accepted by Perera, Bandaranaike had agreed to accept a "minimum program" of ten points he put forward, and give the LSSP the portfolios of finance and planning, internal and external trade, and nationalized services. These ten points were mainly on economic issues, such as provisions to control banks, agency houses, and imports and exports; steps to break up newspaper monopolies; measures to control corruption and the export of capital; and the setting up of token "workers committees" and "vigilance committees." None of the measures went beyond the framework of the capitalist system.

In exchange, Perera agreed to accept four conditions laid down by Bandaranaike: (1) a "rightful" place for Buddhism; (2) acceptance of Sinhala as the only official language; (3) recognition of the 1948 anti-Tamil citizenship laws; and (4) veto power by the SLFP over all electoral candidates selected by any of the coalition partners. In presenting his case to the special conference,

however, Perera only revealed the last of these conditions.

In addition to issuing the harshest warning to the LSSP against embarking on the class-collaborationist course of coalition with Bandaranaike, the Fourth International also sent Pierre Frank to attend the special conference and fight against any coalition proposal. Frank reported the results of the conference in his article "The Wearing Out of a Revolutionary Leadership":

"Three resolutions were offered. After a two-day debate, it was decided to present the Samarakkody-Tampoe motion first because it was opposed in principle to any coalition. It received 159 votes, about 25 percent of the party.

"Then, in second place, the de Silva-Goonewardene motion was presented; that is, the motion of the men who had actually led the organization for more than twenty-five years. It was presented by Goonewardene as in 'the nature of an amendment' to Perera's motion. It got 75 votes, some 10 percent of the party.

"This was not all. Perera's resolution received 65 percent; but among the 75 votes for the de Silva-Goonewardene motion, about two-thirds voted for the Perera resolution. Thus, the men who had played such an eminent role in the past, who had won so much prestige, found themselves, after a quarter of a century of leading the party, with around 25 votes, less than 4 percent.

"During the debate, while the other two tendencies displayed confidence in their position—the Perera group in their reformism, the Samarakkody-Tampoe faction in the program of revolution—the centrist tendency could only express their own uncertainties, their demoralization. . . .

"With this conference, a team of revolutionary leaders came to an end. Perera won the vote for his reformism and the majority of the old leaders decided to follow in tow. The banner of socialist revolution in Ceylon passed into the hands of the comrades of the left wing, who left the conference following the tally and at once proclaimed the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section)."

Within four days, a coalition government had been formed, with N.M. Perera, Anil Moonesinghe, and Cholmondeley Goonewardene as the "socialist" ministers. Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardene balked at accepting the portfolios offered them, but they nevertheless went along with the class-collaborationist course charted by Perera. That the three "socialist" ministers were nothing but figureheads and captives in Bandaranaike's capitalist government was made clear in a none too subtle way—the former cabinet of twelve SLFP members was simply widened to fifteen to include the new LSSP ministers.

Never before had the Fourth International been faced with such a monstrous betrayal of revolutionary principles. The renegades were summarily expelled from its ranks by a unanimous vote of the United Secretariat. The resolution, released to the press June 22, said in part:

"(1) We condemn the secret personal negotiations with the head of a bourgeois government which N.M. Perera engaged in behind the back of his party, without the authorisation of the party's Central Committee, without the knowledge of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and in defiance of the express opposition voiced by the United Secretariat to any course except one leading to the establishment of a workers and peasants government. . . .

"(2) We condemn N.M. Perera's crossing of class lines. . . . The same condemnation applies to Perera's disciples, Anil Moonesinghe and Cholmondeley Goonewardene, who joined him in capitulating to the Prime Minister. These three former Trotskyists, by giving up their revolutionary aims and joining in Mrs. Bandaranaike's frantic effort to bolster her crisis-ridden government and to save capitalism in Ceylon, have betrayed the most elementary principles of revolutionary socialism.

"(3) Through their own actions, these three placed themselves outside the ranks of the Fourth International. The United Secretariat recognises this fact and in view of the gravity of the crime expels them forthwith. In addition the United Secretariat suspends all members of the Lanka Sama Samaja party who voted at the June 6-7 conference for Perera's proposal to enter a bourgeois coalition government, referring further action to the next meeting of the International Executive Committee.

"(4) We urge those members of the Lanka Sama Samaja party who supported Perera in the mistaken hope that his proposal to enter a bourgeois coalition might signify a step forward, to reconsider their position. We urge all those who continue to collaborate with Perera, in the mistaken hope that this will save the unity of the LSSP, to break at once and to rally to the side of the comrades who are upholding the program of Trotskyism on which the party was founded. . . .

"(5) We commend all the leaders and members of the Lanka Sama Samaja party who launched an internal struggle against Perera's opportunism, who fought his capitulationist course without concessions, who have done their utmost to maintain the honor and integrity of Trotskyism in Ceylon, and who have continued to battle

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for establishment of a workers and peasants government as the only realistic road for the Ceylonese masses. . . .”

LSSP (Revolutionary)

The LSSP's revolutionary wing—led by Edmund Samarakkody, one of the earliest leaders of the LSSP, and a member of parliament, and Bala Tampoe, leader of the Ceylon Mercantile Union—held their own conference on the evening of June 7 and constituted themselves as the LSSP (Revolutionary Section). Samarakkody, as secretary of the LSSP(R)'s Provisional Committee, issued the following statement June 7:

“The decision of the reformist majority of the LSSP to enter into a coalition with the capitalist SLFP (Sri Lanka Freedom Party) government and thereby to become an instrument of the capitalist class in Ceylon, constitutes a complete violation of the basic principles of Trotskyism on which the revolutionary program of the party is based.

“This degeneration is the logical outcome of the parliamentary reformist line which the majority of the leadership of the party has followed for several years and the substitution of parliamentary and reformist struggle in place of class struggle and revolutionary perspectives, and the systematic recruitment of nonrevolutionary elements into the party on that basis.

“The revolutionaries of the LSSP have, in this situation, decided to organize themselves on the basis of the party program. They therefore withdrew from the conference and will hereafter function as a separate organization under the name of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section).

“In order to carry forward the revolutionary struggle for power, the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) calls upon all the adherents and supporters of the LSSP in the country to rally round the revolutionary banner which it refuses to surrender to the SLFP Government and the capitalist class.”

The LSSP(RS) held another Emergency Conference July 18-19. The United Secretariat sent a letter to the conference stating that it had voted “to recognize this Emergency Conference as officially constituting the continuing body of the Trotskyist movement in Ceylon and to empower it to speak for and conduct any matters pertaining to the section of the Fourth International in Ceylon.”⁷

Although the betrayal by the leaders of

the LSSP represented a major defeat in the history of the Fourth International, the banner of the Fourth International itself remained unstained. The international unanimously opposed the capitulators, and at every step of the way did its utmost to check the opportunist course of Perera and preserve the cadre of genuine Trotskyists. In an introduction to a pamphlet published by the LSSP(R) called *Politics of Coalition*, Ernest Germain wrote:

“After having combatted the growing opportunism of the LSSP leadership within the organisation by patient political means, the Fourth International unhesitatingly broke with its strongest section the day its leaders crossed the line from opportunism to betrayal by joining a coalition government with the bourgeoisie.”

The program of Trotskyism and the honor of the Fourth International were preserved by the courageous fight waged by the revolutionary wing of the LSSP. In the debate on the platform of the new coalition government in the Ceylonese parliament on July 15, Edmund Samarakkody scathingly attacked the LSSP traitors:

“They have done their dirty work,” he said. “Now, this is the situation we are faced with. For the present, there is the expectation and the hope that something will arise out of this coalition. The organized working class is watching, is waiting. But the situation is fast developing when the struggle will be the order of the day, and it will be the duty of the revolutionists in this situation to regroup themselves and regroup the militant elements in the working class, keep the fire of the class struggle burning round the 21 Demands of the working class, link up this struggle with the struggle of the peasants, of the rural masses, in this country, and go forward. In this situation, the L.S.S.P. (Revolutionary Section), united with the Fourth International, will bend all its energies to rally round itself all the revolutionary elements and go forward in the struggle for the achievement of socialism in this country.”

The Roots of the Betrayal

What were the causes of the degeneration of the LSSP? How was it possible for a section of the Fourth International to commit such a betrayal? Mention has already been made of the fact that the LSSP had always consisted in reality of two wings, a revolutionary wing and an opportunist wing led by Perera. But how was it that leaders such as de Silva and Goonewardene, who had fought Perera's reformism in the past, capitulated in the end as well? And how were the capitulators able to drag the majority of the party down with them?

From its founding, the LSSP was marked by many contradictions. It could never really be called a “Bolshevik” party, Ger-

main wrote. Although it could poll several hundred thousand votes, its active membership never went above a thousand. “It was a party that combined left-socialist trade-union cadres, revolutionary workers who had gained class consciousness but not a specifically revolutionary-Marxist education, and a few hundred genuine revolutionary-Marxist cadres. . . .”

“Many political and organizational traits testified to the hybrid character of the LSSP. The party never had a theoretical organ in the Sinhalese or Tamil languages; it never translated the bulk of Trotsky's writings or even the bulk of the resolutions and decisions of the congresses and other leading bodies of the Fourth International into these languages. But most of the rank and file and virtually the entire proletariat understand no other languages, although English is common currency among the upper strata of the population, particularly the intellectuals.”

Germain also pointed out that although the LSSP had developed in a fierce fight against Stalinism, the absence of an indigenous mass Social Democratic party in Ceylon meant that the ranks had no firsthand experience in combating reformist ideas. “In fact, while being formally a Trotskyist party, the LSSP functioned in several areas comparably to a left Social Democratic party in a relatively ‘prosperous’ semicolonial country; i.e., it was the main electoral vehicle of the poor masses, it provided the main leadership of the trade unions.”

In a chapter on Ceylon in his pamphlet *Marxism vs. Ultraleftism*,⁸ Germain summarized the “theoretical and practical roots of the degeneration of the old LSSP leadership:

“(a) The concept of ‘Ceylonese exceptionalism’; i.e., the illusion that for some peculiar reason, Ceylonese revolutionists could conquer power by essentially electoral and parliamentary means (whereas these same leaders rejected such a possibility for the rest of the world).

“(b) The inability of the old LSSP leadership to seriously penetrate the countryside and build up a strong organisational base or political following among the village poor (which led it in practice to view the alliance of workers and peasants as an alliance with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, which the LSSP leadership considered as representing the peasantry).

“(c) The weakness of the party as an organisation, the insufficient recruitment of workers into the party, the absence of a full-time leading cadre outside of the parlia-

7. The LSSP (Revolutionary Section) later changed its name to LSSP (Revolutionary), and became the Revolutionary Marxist party at its December 1973 conference. Samarakkody split from the section with a small group after the April 1968 conference.

8. Reprinted in the Education for Socialists bulletin *Marxism vs. Ultraleftism: The Record of Healy's Break With Trotskyism*, issued by the SWP National Education Department. Available for \$2.50.

mentarians, and the excessive involvement of party leaders in their own professions or in electoral activity, as against party building and Marxist educational work."

Party membership was essentially formal, hinging only on the payment of dues. At the same time, recruiting was haphazard, and the education of the membership badly neglected. In addition to many of the key members of the party being only part-time leaders, many of them also came from comfortable bourgeois backgrounds and they did not change their daily lives to accord with their revolutionary convictions.

Faced with this situation, what could the Fourth International do to help the LSSP along the path of revolutionary Marxist principles and organizational norms? Since only a sector of the leading cadre was really integrated into the Fourth International, Germain wrote in his *ISR* article, the international leadership had no choice but "to try to bring the LSSP progressively close to the norms of a real Leninist-type organization through comradely collaboration with the LSSP leadership. What was involved was essentially patient education." This line was consistently followed from 1945 to 1964.

"The line involved a basic organizational principle—how to facilitate the selection of national and international leaders in the Fourth International. We do not believe that hard-handed intervention from an international center can substitute for the patient selection, in a democratic way, of a mature revolutionary leadership in each country.

"The International can and must help to clarify political issues, but it is duty bound to refrain from setting up artificially, from the outside, any tendencies or factions, or from engaging in organizational reprisals against national leaderships in which it has misgivings or holds reservations because of their political tendencies. To act otherwise does not lead to political clarification; on the contrary, it inevitably leads to organizational grievances becoming substituted for political discussion, and thus, in the long run, hinders and delays the process of creating an independent-minded revolutionary leadership. This responsible attitude—really a *norm*—is all the more necessary where language obstacles and distance make it impossible to conduct a direct dialogue with the majority of the membership and where the leading cadre displays loyalty to the international organization, attending congresses, distributing communications as they are received, and taking the opinions and arguments of the International into careful consideration, adjusting or changing deviations in political line in response to suggestions or criticisms from the International."

Several factors, however, were working against the Fourth International's efforts to

keep its Ceylonese section on the revolutionary track. In addition to the insufficient degree of integration of the LSSP ranks into the life of the international—the failure to translate material into Tamil or Sinhalese—the material weakness of the Fourth International at the time also had a limiting effect. An international with more resources could have been able to maintain greater personal contact with its group in Ceylon.

But possibly more important than these factors was the split in the Fourth International. Peng Shu-tse, a founding member of the Chinese Communist party and a veteran leader of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, wrote:⁹

"If the Fourth International had not split, or had reunification been realized earlier, the reformist and parliamentary tendency among the leaders could possibly have been corrected under the united influence of the International. At least the strength of this tendency could have been considerably reduced. Unfortunately the split in the International was prolonged for almost ten years (from the end of 1953 to June 1963)."

Peng accused Gerry Healy, the leader of the British Socialist Labour League (now the Workers Revolutionary party), of bearing a big responsibility for prolonging the split. Healy sought to block the reunification and refused to participate in the reunification congress, instead setting up a rump "International Committee." Thus Healy must bear much of the responsibility for the triumph of the reformist tendency in the LSSP and for the loss of part of a revolutionary cadre in Ceylon.

The Renegades Do Their Dirty Work

It was not long before the fruits of the betrayal became evident. The LSSP leaders betrayed the program of revolutionary socialism by their very act of entering a bourgeois government—resulting in the disorientation of the working class, the squandering of a revolutionary opportunity, the destruction of revolutionary cadres—but their treachery also had an immediate impact on the life of the Ceylonese masses.

One of the first acts of the coalition government was to lock out 3,000 workers at the central workshop of the nationalized transport industry. This sector was under the administration of new "socialist" Minister of Communications Anil Moonesinghe. Before the coalition was formed, a slowdown was in progress at the shop as part of a protest against unfair pay differentials. When the unrest culminated in "acts of indiscipline" such as the throwing of nuts

9. "The Man on the Flying Trapeze: An Open Letter to Gerry Healy," published in the fall 1964 issue of *International Socialist Review*.

and bolts, the government cracked down June 17. The move, said the Colombo correspondent of the *London Times*, indicated that the "coalition government intends to be firm in labour disputes."

The coalition government again showed whose interests it served during the strike at the Velona factory following the suspension of some of the workers who had organized a union there. The workers were expecting the "progressive" government to protect them against victimization; instead it sent in police to brutally break up the picket line. Perera and Co. were highly embarrassed by the strike. One LSSP leader even went to the extent of declaring publicly that the strikers were provoking the police in order to embarrass the LSSP. When the factory owner dismissed all the striking workers, numbering about 1,000, the workers demanded the government take over the factory and restore their jobs. The LSSP leadership publicly opposed this demand, since it went beyond the limits of the coalition's common program.

Perera showed his true colors from the start, as Edmund Samarakkody pointed out in his July 15 speech in parliament:

"The earliest statement made by the Hon. Minister of Finance to the working class of this country was to ask them to work. He said: 'I want work. Everyone should come to work at 9 a.m. I want an eight-hour day!' What have the capitalist class and the employers been saying all these days? 'We want an eight-hour day!' Yes, what Sirimavo Bandaranaike could not say through her mouth, they have got the working-class leaders, the traitors, the renegades to say it. That is the situation. He can say 'work hard' and he can go to work by 9 o'clock in the morning because he has got a car, while hundreds of workers have to walk ten miles, board three buses and walk another ten miles to get to their places of work."

Perhaps the most despicable act of the coalition regime was its stepped-up attacks on the Tamil minority. Under the Citizenship Acts of 1948, nearly one million Tamils of Indian origin were deprived of citizenship and reduced to the status of "stateless" persons. Through this act they were denied the right to vote and denied access to such social services as free education and unemployment relief.

With the support of the LSSP, Bandaranaike pressed this attack on the Tamil minority further in 1964. She negotiated the Sirima-Shastri pact with the then prime minister of India, Lal Bahadur Shastri, whereby about 525,000 Tamil-speaking workers were threatened with forcible deportation to India. The pact provided that for every three Tamils "granted" Ceylonese citizenship, seven Tamil deportees would be accepted by India.

The coalition government was defeated in a vote in parliament December 3 after some

SLFP members who felt the regime was not moving fast enough in granting concessions to reactionary pressures voted against the government.

The also opposed Bandaranaike's clumsy attempt to impose government control on all newspapers by trying to nationalize Lake House, a large capitalist press monopoly.

The LSSP(R) vigorously opposed Bandaranaike's press bill and issued a statement calling on the labor movement to oppose the attempt by the bourgeois regime to restrict democratic rights. The LSSP(R) "cannot under any circumstances entrust to the state the task of controlling even the admittedly corrupt Press of Ceylon," the statement said. "To do so would be to aggravate all the existing problems created by the bourgeois Press and to give them a highly concentrated and, therefore, an even more terribly oppressive character.

"It is true that the freedom of the Press, like all the other rights in a bourgeois democracy, is heavily weighted in favour of the capitalist class as to make a mockery of it when it comes to its exercise. But despite the lack of real equality in the exercise of the known democratic rights, including the freedom of the Press, the revolutionary party of the working class defends unreservedly the existing democratic rights, however meagre these rights are; indeed, it constitutes the spearhead of the fight for their extension.

"This is done, not out of veneration for 'democracy,' but because the most favourable arena for the party of the working class to carry out its historic task is that which contains the widest democracy. . . .

"The LSSP(R) warns the people that all repressive laws, whatever the declared purpose at the time of legislation, are finally used against the working class and the toiling people. The present bill is no exception to the general rule. . . ." In place of the coalition plan, the LSSP(R) put forward its own transitional program to break the power of the press magnates.

The regime's record was summarized by Edmund Samarakkody in an article in the January 1, 1965, *World Outlook*. On the one hand attacks on the working class were continued—a continuing wage freeze, high prices, and rising unemployment. On the other hand, the coalition granted numerous concessions to reaction:

"(1) Abandonment of the proposal to allow licences for tapping of toddy [coconut wine] to please the Maha Sangha [Buddhist clergy].

"(2) Failure to implement the proposal to tax tea estates of the rich.

"(3) Failure to implement the proposal to tax immensely rich house owners.

"(4) Further concessions to Sinhalese Buddhist bourgeois reaction by a cabinet

decision to bring legislation to give 'proper place to Buddhism.'

"(5) Failure to grant any concessions to the Tamil minority on the language issue. On the contrary the implementation of the government language policy to the severe harassment of Tamil government employees.

"(6) Concessions to Sinhalese chauvinism through the recent Indo-Ceylon Agreement by which the coalition government proposes to send by force to India 525,000 persons of Indian origin (mainly plantation workers)."

Following the defeat of the coalition in the March 1965 elections, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement summarizing the lessons of the previous nine months. Perera, of course, had not learned from the experience. Even while Bandaranaike was conceding defeat to the UNP, he was still trying to patch a new coalition together. For this, wrote the United Secretariat, "Perera reaped nothing but contemptuous laughter from all sides. He began his coalition as a would-be big-time operator in bourgeois politics; he ended within a few months as a ridiculous clown in the shambles of his experiment."

The Second Coalition Government

After five years of UNP rule—three and a half of which were under the aegis of emergency powers legislated by a previous SLFP government—Bandaranaike was swept back into power in the May 1970 elections. The rising tide of militant actions by workers and students had taught both bourgeois parties a thing or two by now; they both proclaimed they were for "socialism," the SLFP for "socialist democracy," and the UNP for "democratic socialism."

Almost all left-wing parties except the LSSP(R) threw their support behind the new SLFP coalition government. The LSSP joined the coalition, as did the pro-Moscow CP for the first time. The pro-Peking CP, although rebuffed from joining the coalition, supported the SLFP candidates. The rapidly growing radical youth movement, the JVP, also supported the coalition.

The coalition won by a landslide vote, and the election results were greeted by mass demonstrations and massive physical attacks on buildings representing proimperialist institutions.

The LSSP very quickly applied itself to its assigned task of keeping the workers in check. During the Colombo port strike from December 12, 1969, to February 12, 1970, the LSSP had already given its capitalist masters a preview of its strikebreaking capabilities. It now set to work in earnest.

Even some parliamentarians from Bandaranaike's own party were responding to the overwhelming mass sentiments for

nationalizations. Bandaranaike accused them of "embarrassing the government." N.M. Perera, "leader of the working class," was dispatched into the breach:

"We have agitated for the nationalizations of the tea estates for 40 years," he said. "But today, after assuming office as minister of finance, I realise it is not advisable to do so now."

Unemployment had risen to 800,000, and the standard of living of the masses was falling. What solution would a "socialist" minister offer for this crisis?

"Austerity," Perera announced in his budget speech November 1, 1970, "must be the keynote of our social thinking during the next few years." Some were required to be more austere than others, however. The government also announced that it had decided to extend a five-year tax holiday to certain industries it wanted to encourage.

Perera explained what the regime meant by its "austerity" program in a speech January 30, 1971. For the working class, it would mean a ban on strikes.

"Strikes will retard the progress of the People's government's plan to achieve socialism. So, help the government by rendering your services and assistance, appealed Dr. N.M. Perera," the February 11 *Ceylon News* reported. To show that the workers alone would not have to bear the burden for the construction of "true socialism," the regime also prescribed an "austerity" program for state functionaries. It included such measures as requiring all cabinet ministers except the prime minister to drop the titular prefix "Honorable" and banning the importation of foreign liquor.

Perera also introduced an "austerity" budget the following year, with increased taxes and other measures attacking the living conditions of workers and peasants. However, one item specifically exempted from his increased taxes was barbed wire.

During the September 1972 national bank workers' strike, Perera issued an ultimatum that unless the strikers returned to work they would lose their jobs.

The second coalition government also continued its racist attacks on the Tamil minority. During the period of the UNP regime, the coalition had persisted in its racist policies, even to the extent of inciting anti-Tamil riots. It accused the UNP regime of being "pro-Tamil." A resolution adopted by the LSSP(R) on February 7, 1966, charged that "in furtherance of their aim of somehow winning more support among Sinhala Buddhist masses in preparation for another parliamentary election, the coalitionists led by the SLFP, LSSP, and CP have recklessly raised the anti-Tamil and anti-minority slogans and strengthened the forces of Sinhala racialism and Buddhist clericalism."

Immediately after gaining office again in 1970, the coalition announced it was speed-

ing up the massive deportation of Tamils to India. With the passage of time, the scruples of Leslie Goonewardene and Colvin R. de Silva had eroded still further, and they were now prepared to accept portfolios in the government along with Perera. As minister of plantation industries, de Silva was assigned the dirty job of attacking the Tamils. The June 18, 1970, issue of *Ceylon News* reported that he promised:

"Now that the United Front has assumed power it will expedite the implementation of the Sirima-Shastri Pact and many Indian Tamil workers in the estates will be repatriated. It will be the responsibility of the Plantation Ministry to train Ceylonese workers to take their place in the plantation sector."

Goonewardene was assigned the task of providing a theoretical justification for their racist and anti-working-class policies. An article by him in the December 31, 1970, *Ceylon News* titled "New Outlook of the LSSP" on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the LSSP explained that "in the recent period our Party has made one adaptation and two changes on the plane of its ideas."

"By adaptation I refer to the attempt to move towards Socialism with the assistance of the Parliamentary system. By the two changes in policy I mean first the setting up of a Government in alliance with the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, and, second, the policy of Sinhala only as the Official Language."

As justification for the racist policies of the coalition in favor of the Sinhalese, Goonewardene advanced the fantastic argument that the Sinhalese are really a minority.

"Even though the Tamil people who inhabit Ceylon are a minority in Ceylon, if they are regarded together with the Tamil people who live in South India near the northern boundary of Ceylon, the Tamil people appear as the majority and the Sinhala people as the minority. . . ." Therefore, he argued, it was necessary to provide special assurances to the Sinhalese "minority." Goonewardene's arguments were analyzed by Les Evans in the March 8, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press*:

"It is not hard to imagine what the world would think of a party, in the United States let us say, that advocated disenfranchising 50 percent of all Black people on the grounds that their ancestors were brought to the U.S. as recently as the nineteenth century, and furthermore supported a law to forcibly ship these Black victims back to Africa. Such a party's position would hardly be improved by the plea that racism had 'sunk deep roots among the majority nationality' and that one must therefore accommodate to it. Even in the United States only the most bigoted Neanderthals will invoke the argument that white chauvinism is justified by the fact that in the

world as a whole there are more black, brown, and yellow-skinned people than whites, making American Caucasians a 'minority.'"

The camp in which the renegades wound up was illustrated most starkly in 1971 when the regime carried out its bloody massacre of the JVP youth. Thousands of young revolutionists were murdered by Bandaranaike's police and army. Tens of thousands were imprisoned and tortured. Thousands still remain in concentration camps today, including JVP leaders Rohana Wijeweera, who was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment.

The LSSP leaders did not merely sit idly by while their coalition partners carried out this bloodbath; they participated in it and were among the most vociferous defenders of the slaughter. Colvin R. de Silva and MP Bernard Soysa were appointed by the regime to a seven-member committee to "re-establish civil authority" in the areas that had come under rebel control.

The "socialist" leaders denounced the JVP youth as "CIA agents." Leslie Goonewardene wrote in the April 27, 1971, *Ceylon Daily News*: "The swift growth of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna after the popular electoral victory of May 1970 points to financial and other help which may have been forthcoming from frustrated reactionary forces."

Goonewardene praised the government for its "fortitude and firmness" in putting down the rebellion. He denounced as a "vicious and false rumor" the reports that appeared in the international press about the repressive forces slaughtering rebel prisoners.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International issued a statement April 19, 1971, in defense of the JVP. Despite all its rhetoric about socialism, the statement said, "the coalition government has demonstrated that its real role is to maintain capitalist property relations and preserve the imperialist stranglehold on the Ceylonese economy. . . ."

"The Fourth International calls upon revolutionists everywhere to break the conspiracy of silence covering the repression in Ceylon. It declares its full support to the repressed and persecuted Ceylon revolutionary militants. It calls upon the international working class, all working-class and anti-imperialist organizations to do everything possible to block the shipment of military supplies, and all workers states to immediately stop sending military aid and equipment to the Ceylon government, which is used only to murder and terrorize its own people. . . ."

"Down with the traitorous Keunemans, N.M. Pereras, Colvin R. de Silvas, and Leslie Goonewardenes, who, like their fore-runner Noske, now arm reaction, let a bourgeois army murder revolutionists, sup-

port the murders or participate in the suppression of the masses of their country, and help suppress all democratic freedoms for the workers."

The End of the Road

"In the socialist road there were hills and slopes and drains and obstructions," N.M. Perera said August 15, 1975,¹⁰ just before being given the boot by Bandaranaike. But the fact is that Perera definitively left the socialist road in 1964, after several meanderings sideways and backwards in earlier years.

On September 3, having dispensed with the services of "leader of the working class" N.M. Perera, Bandaranaike could describe him as an "obstacle" on her "socialist road."¹¹

Some previous traitors to the working class have pocketed their rewards and lived happily ever after. But what have Perera and his crew received for their eleven years of faithful service? Right to the end—and after—they stooped to the most shameful bootlicking, and their reward was to be thrown out. They will be lucky if it ends there for them.

When the unhappy prisoners in past coalition governments have played out their usefulness to the genuinely dominant social force, wrote Germain, "any illusions they may have about being in 'power' are ended by a simple kick in the pants. They often find that the bars of their gilded cage in the coalition have suddenly changed to bars in a very real prison."

The responsibility of the LSSP traitors is not just for their last eleven years of crimes against the working class. They bear responsibility for any coming attacks that the Ceylonese masses might face. Bandaranaike could well unleash an even harsher wave of repression—getting her cue from the "socialist road" taken by Indira Gandhi—that will encompass her erstwhile servants as well. □

10. As paraphrased in the August 28, 1975, *Ceylon News*.

11. As paraphrased in the September 11, 1975, *Ceylon News*.

57 'Urban Guerrillas' Arrested in Spain

The Spanish police announced September 20 the arrest of fifty-seven alleged "urban guerrillas." Forty, who were arrested in the Valencia area, were accused of being members of the Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriótico (FRAP—Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front). Thirteen, detained near Barcelona, were alleged members of the Forces d'Allibrement de Catalunya (FAC—Liberation Forces of Catalonia). The other four persons were arrested in Murcia.

South Korea: Wall Street's Answer to China

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch



More than twenty years after the end of the Korean War, the threat of another holocaust on the Korean peninsula remains. The stakes for American imperialism in the region have not diminished. The Pentagon is determined, particularly after its defeat in Vietnam, to maintain the proimperialist Park dictatorship in South Korea as a bulwark against the advancing Asian revolution.

This determination was recently emphasized by Defense Secretary James Schle-

Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945. Edited by Frank Baldwin. New York: Random House, 1974. 376 pp. \$3.95, paperback.

singer. He declared June 20 that Washington's policy was "not to foreclose the possible use of nuclear weapons" if the 42,000 American troops in South Korea were unable to prevent the collapse of the regime in Seoul.

Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945 examines the importance of Korea to Washington's overall strategy in Asia. It is one of the few books to critically analyze American imperialism's role in the country over the past quarter of a century.

The seven essays in the anthology, as well as the introduction by editor Frank Baldwin, are carefully documented and researched, providing valuable background information that is difficult to obtain elsewhere. Because the book focuses on the American involvement in Korea, it concentrates almost exclusively on the southern half of the country. Except for a few references, none of the authors attempt to analyze the social overturns in the north that led to the formation of the bureaucratically deformed workers state.

One of the most revealing of the essays is "American Policy and Korean Liberation" by Bruce Cumings. It details the post-World War II nationalist upsurge in Korea and the early years of U.S. intervention.

The defeat of the Imperial Japanese Army left a political vacuum in Korea and opened the way for a massive resurgence of the nationalist movement. The Korean police, army, and bureaucracy, which had

served the Japanese throughout the thirty-five years of direct colonial rule, had become totally discredited. After Tokyo's August 1945 surrender, many Korean collaborators were tried or dispossessed. In rural areas, the peasants expropriated the large landholdings of the Japanese and Korean landlords. Committees of workers were formed to manage factories abandoned by their Japanese owners. These workers committees, which controlled almost all the Japanese-owned plants, organized themselves into Chonpyong (Choson Nodong Chohap Chonguk Pyonguihoe—National Council of Korean Labor Unions).

People's Committees, unions, and *chohap* (associations) were formed throughout the country, pressing for land redistribution, labor reform, and punishment of collaborators. The 16,000 political prisoners released by the Japanese under the pressure of the Korean nationalists played a major role in the formation of these groups. According to Cumings, 145 committees were functioning barely two weeks after the Japanese surrender. "The composition of these organs," he writes, "was highly eclectic; a political vacuum existed in Korea and everyone was scrambling. Committee leaders and members covered the political spectrum from left to right."

On September 6, 1945, committee representatives met in Seoul and formed a new government, the nationalist Korean People's Republic (KPR), under the leadership of Lyuh Woon Hyung.

Washington's response to the Korean national independence struggle was directly linked to its strategy of containing and rolling back the anticolonial upsurges that swept many Asian countries, particularly China and Vietnam, in the late 1940s. While aiding the French efforts to regain control of Vietnam, Washington moved directly into Korea with the aim of crushing the anticolonial struggles there, as well as establishing a strong imperialist base that could be used as a staging area for an offensive against the Chinese revolution. The Pentagon's ultimate goal was the destruction of the workers state in the Soviet Union itself.

American forces landed in Inchon, in southern Korea, in September 1945, the

same month as the formation of the nationalist government.

Moscow, which was militarily stronger in Korea than Washington at that time, allowed the White House to strengthen its foothold in the south by agreeing to the "temporary" division of the country at the 38th parallel and by refusing to back the Koreans' demands for independence (Stalin agreed to Roosevelt's proposal for a "trusteeship" for Korea). This betrayal gave American imperialism the opening it needed to move against the nationalists in the south and to prepare for the Korean War.

Although the KPR had the backing of some Korean capitalists and offered to cooperate with Washington, the American imperialists considered it unreliable and refused to recognize its authority. Lyuh was branded a "Communist," and Syngman Rhee, a right-wing nationalist who had been living in exile during the Japanese occupation, was brought back to Seoul and given full U.S. backing.

Within six weeks of the beginning of the American occupation of the south, the U.S. generals began preparations to organize a new Korean army. Sixty Korean officers, including forty who had served under the Japanese, were taught English. By October 1945, about 85 percent of the Koreans who served in the Japanese police force were reemployed in the newly formed Korean National Police. In January 1946, the U.S. Army Military Government in Korea, which was to rule the country for more than two years, was set up.

To clear the way for its puppet regime, Washington waged a war against the KPR, Chonpyong, and the various committees and *chohap* that exercised control in parts of the country. KPR officials in the provinces who had been chosen by People's Committees were arrested and replaced by American appointees. Strikes were banned and the former Japanese-owned factories occupied by Chonpyong were placed under military control.

The American authorities' campaign of repression was met by a series of revolts, strikes, and insurrections from 1946 to 1950 that touched virtually every town and city in the south. A railroad strike in September

1946 quickly grew into a general strike.

Cummings quotes an American official's description of the U.S. army's response: "We went into that situation just like we would go into battle. We were out to break that thing up [Chonpyong] and we didn't have time to worry too much if a few innocent people got hurt. We set up concentration camps outside of town and held strikers there when the jails got too full. It was war. We recognized it as war. And that is the way we fought it."

In October 1946 an uprising in which fifty-three police were killed shook the city of Taegu. Martial law was declared and U.S. troops were sent in. Unrest swept North and South Kyongsang provinces the same month. By July 1947 there were more than 20,000 political prisoners in the south, *a greater number than at the end of Japanese rule*. After a rebellion in Yosu in October 1948, the National Security Law was enacted. It made "disturbing the tranquility of the nation" a crime, and 90,000 persons were arrested. Many leaders of the South Korean Communist party were forced to flee north. During the Korean War, about 500 South Korean political prisoners were executed by Rhee.

To formalize the division of the country and legitimize Washington's puppet regime, separate "elections" were held in the south in May 1948 and the Republic of Korea (ROK) was established.* Jon Halliday, in "The United Nations and Korea," examines how Washington used the UN to sanction the "elections" and later to provide a cover for American military intervention in the Korean civil war.

According to Washington's propaganda, the June 25, 1950, North Korean attack against Rhee's forces was stage-managed from Moscow. However, Robert P. Simmons points out in "The Korean Civil War" that the outbreak of the war was the logical result of each side's determination to reunify Korea under its control. It was a civil war and the question of who fired the first shot is only of marginal interest. In fact, Simmons notes, the South Korean regime and its American backers had been preparing for the war since Rhee's installation.

Simmons also exposes Moscow's treacherous role. In the first months of the war, neither Moscow nor Peking provided any significant backing to the Koreans. It was not until after American troops entered North Korea and directly threatened China itself that Peking began to materially aid the Pyongyang regime in October 1950. The following month it committed Chinese troops to the war.

Just before the entry of the Chinese

troops, the Soviet forces had pulled out. Moscow's abandoning of Korea was a clear signal to Washington that the Soviet Stalinists would make no moves to halt the American offensive as long as the Soviet Union itself was not directly threatened.

Throughout the Korean War, Soviet aid was dispensed with an eyedropper. Simmons writes that "the weapons that the Soviet Union supplied to its allies during the war were inferior and vulnerable to American technology. For example, the North Korean and CPV [Chinese People's Volunteers] tanks were no match for American anti-armor weapons; Soviet heavy tanks, which might have withstood U.S. firepower, were not used. The best Russian anti-tank weapons, e.g., 85 mm and 100 mm M1944, were not used in Korea. The same held true of the Russian anti-aircraft artillery, which was not an equal match for the evasion capability of the American planes." The Soviet Stalinists used similar tactics later in Vietnam to pressure the Vietnamese into compromising with American imperialism and the Thieu regime.

By the time a truce was signed in July 1953, the Korean peninsula had been devastated. "The results of the bombings, both south and north, rivaled Dante's *Inferno*," Simmons writes. "Pyongyang's population was 400,000 when the war started, 80,000 when the war ended. Only two public buildings in the capital remained intact by 1953. An American source states that the North Korean population in 1949 was 9,622,000; by 1953 it had declined to 8,491,000."

In the first few months of the war, by September 1950, the U.S. Air Force had dropped 97,000 tons of bombs and 7.8 million gallons of napalm. Just before the end of the war, it also initiated a practice that was to be used later in Vietnam: the systematic bombing of dikes to cause flooding and the destruction of crops.

North Korea's military casualties were estimated at half a million, with 1 million civilians missing. The Rhee regime suffered 300,000 military casualties. In the south, about 1 million civilians were killed and 2.5 million were left homeless, with another 5 million on relief. More than 33,000 American troops died in the war.

Despite this massive destruction, the Pentagon failed to achieve its immediate objective: the overthrow of the North Korean workers state. Its next step was to strengthen the dictatorship in the south so as to maintain a firm foothold in the area in anticipation of more favorable circumstances for another attempt against the north.

By 1973, Washington had pumped \$11 billion in military and economic aid into South Korea. Totally trained by U.S. officers, the South Korean army was transformed into one of the largest in the

world, with 600,000 troops under arms shortly after the war. Herbert P. Bix, in "Japan and South Korea in America's Asian Policy," writes: "Touted by Pentagon officials as the best 'comparable return militarywise for the equivalent amount of money,' the R.O.K. Army had become by 1953 the primary model for the U.S. military assistance program in Indochina and its expansion, revitalization and support the primary object of all U.S. policies in South Korea."

The South Korean army was useful to Washington not just on the Korean peninsula, but as a counterrevolutionary reserve army that could be used in other parts of Asia as well. From 1964 to 1973, about 312,000 South Korean troops fought with the American forces in Vietnam. For this service, Washington paid an estimated \$10 billion.

After scrapping a clause in the 1953 Korean truce agreement prohibiting a further buildup of military forces, Bix states, "the United States brought its latest model jet fighters and atomic weapons into South Korea. . . . By early 1958 the United States had 'Honest John' missiles, atomic artillery and a 'Pentomic Division' in South Korea and had acquired additional leases for the construction of Nike missile bases on Okinawa."

In 1968 President Park Chung Hee established a 2.3 million-man Homeland Reserve Force to supplement the standing army. Since Bix wrote his essay, Park has taken further steps to militarize the country. In May 1975 the regime announced the mobilization of all male high school and college students into a "student defense corps." A month later a "civil defense corps" was formed, providing for the conscription of all males between the ages of seventeen and fifty, as well as female "volunteers." A \$3 billion military "improvement" program was also launched, which would add new American tanks, aircraft, submarines, and other major weapons systems to Seoul's already bulging arsenal.

Bix also examines Tokyo's role in the Pentagon's East Asian military strategy. During the U.S. occupation of Japan after the Second World War, the American administrators quietly encouraged the rebuilding of the Japanese arms industry. Bix estimates that by January 1951, six months after the start of the Korean War, as much as 80 to 90 percent of Japan's remaining war-related industry was engaged in the manufacture and repair of weapons, supplying Washington with napalm, artillery shells, and other arms during the war.

In addition to serving as Washington's Asian arsenal and allowing the presence of American troops and bases in the country, Tokyo began to rebuild its own military with the establishment of the Jieitai (Self Defense Force) in 1954.

* In the north, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established September 9, 1948, with Kim Il Sung as premier.

Beyond their formal military alliance with Washington, the Japanese imperialists have a vital stake of their own in the preservation of a capitalist South Korea. Bix quotes a Japanese government publication that stated in 1964, "Japan is an indispensable base for the defense of South Korea. Conversely, South Korea controls the entrance to the Japan Sea and is extremely important for the security of Japan. Viewed historically, not allowing South Korea to fall to hostile forces had become the number one goal of Japanese foreign policy."

Washington has encouraged Tokyo to take a more active role in defending their common interests in South Korea. In November 1969, President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Eisaku Sato signed a joint communiqué affirming that the defense of South Korea was "essential" to Tokyo's own security.

An editorial in the August 2, 1975, *New York Times* summarized Washington's "triangular" strategy toward Korea: "The United States interest in Korea is directly tied to this country's security obligations to Japan; it is Japan, far more than the United States, that is threatened by political and military unrest in Korea. While the United States must be prepared to maintain defense responsibilities in South Korea, it would only be an appropriate sharing of responsibility for Japan to assume more of the diplomatic initiative."

By the early 1970s, the Japanese economic penetration of South Korea had begun to challenge that of Wall Street. The amount of investments in South Korea by the two imperialist powers was shifting more and more in Tokyo's favor, underlining another reason for Tokyo's interest in its former colony.

In "Capitalism in South Korea," Gerhard Breidenstein describes the economic policies followed by the Rhee and Park regimes and their effects on the Korean masses.

South Korea's chief economic role for the American, Japanese, and other imperialist interests is that of a cheap labor pool. Wages in South Korea are one-sixth to one-eighth of those in Japan. Foreign investment—which accounts for one-half of all capital invested in South Korea—is encouraged through "free export zones" and other incentives. Moreover, all companies with more than \$100,000 in foreign capital are protected from strikes through compulsory arbitration. This "protection" was extended to all private capital in South Korea in December 1971 when Park assumed emergency powers.

Wages are kept low, although inflation is at least 10 percent a year. Because most private and government investments have been made in the profitable manufacturing sectors, agricultural productivity has not increased, requiring the importation of food

grains. (Before the division of the country, the south was the rice supplier for all Korea.) The stagnation in the rural areas has forced many peasants to migrate to the



PARK: One spy for every five families.

cities, adding to urban unemployment and the depression of wages. (Bernie Wideman focuses on the agricultural conditions in "The Plight of the South Korean Peasant.")

The lack of adequate social services and the lopsided industrial development introduced by the imperialists has led to a steady deterioration of conditions in the cities, particularly in Seoul. "A U.S. pollution expert," Breidenstein writes, "called the Northern Han River, which serves as the main source of drinking water for Seoul, worse than New York's sewage." In 1970, about 2.5 million persons, or half Seoul's population at that time, lived in the city as squatters.

In order to keep a tight lid on this time bomb, the South Korean dictatorship has installed one of the most extensive repressive apparatuses in the colonial world. James B. Palais outlines the development of Seoul's police state in "Democracy' in South Korea, 1948-72."

Syngman Rhee's crude dictatorial methods, which included arrests of members of parliament and the execution of an opposition presidential candidate, eventually contributed to his downfall. The rigging of the 1960 elections sparked massive student demonstrations that toppled Rhee.

After little more than a year, another dictator came on the scene. Park Chung Hee, a former lieutenant in the Japanese army during World War II, led a military coup in May 1961. He systematized and extended the repressive apparatus inherited from Rhee. One of Park's first acts was to introduce the Political Purification Law of

1961 that banned several thousand persons from political activity. The constitution was revised to give Park greater executive powers and reduce the role of parliament.

In his first year of rule, Park also established the notorious Korean Central Intelligence Agency. Bix notes in his essay, "By the early 1970s the R.O.K. CIA, under Park's loyal assistant, Lee Hu-rak, controlled the nation's press, weekly magazines, radio, television, popular records, public billboards and even advertisements in local theaters and tea houses."

The slightest criticism of the Park regime was met with a swift response. Korean students studying abroad were kidnapped and brought back to face prison. Journalists, writers, and editors were dismissed, arrested, or terrorized. From the late 1960s to the present a series of "spy" trials were staged, with some of the defendants being executed. Palais comments that "the method of arrest, use of torture, absence of clemency except under the greatest international pressure and protest, improper trial procedures, and severity of punishment all point to the increase of terror and abandonment of the guarantees for civil liberties on the part of the government."

In 1972 Park formalized his dictatorial rule by declaring martial law and pushing through a new constitution giving him power to declare a national emergency and appoint one-third of the representatives of the National Assembly. He recently introduced additional totalitarian methods. According to a June 22, 1975, report in the *Washington Post*, new administrative units were set up on the subblock level in Seoul, with one supervisor responsible for the surveillance of every five families.

Despite Park's army of spies, torturers, and censors, some spontaneous outbursts and organized protests have occurred. A twenty-three-year-old worker burned himself to death in November 1970 to protest the sweatshop conditions in Seoul's garment factories. In August 1971, inhabitants of the slum city of Kwangju rose up, requiring a thousand riot police to crush the demonstrations. Fishermen and peasants also staged protests that year.

Although there was a vicious crackdown on the student movement in 1971 and 1972, South Korean students launched a series of mass protests in Seoul and other cities beginning in October 1973. Their demands included a revision of the constitution that gives Park dictatorial powers, the release of political prisoners, the ouster of CIA agents from the campuses, and freedom of the press.

While the student protests against the dictatorship have not yet spread to other sectors of the population, they have the potential for doing so. Park's continual efforts to destroy the Korean student movement reflect the regime's fear of just such a development. □

Bandaranaike Expulsa a Dirigentes del LSSP de su Gabinete

Por Caroline Lund

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Bandaranaike Kicks LSSP Leaders Out of Her Cabinet" que apareció en el número del 22 de septiembre de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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La Primer Ministro de Sri Lanka, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, expulsó de su gabinete el 2 de septiembre a los tres ministros del Lanka Sama Samaja Party (LSSP—Partido por una Sociedad Equitativa de Ceilán), una organización que se reclama marxista. Ella acusó al LSSP de haber hecho demasiadas críticas públicas a su política y a su marido, asesinado en 1960.

Esto puso fin a un período de once años de alianza colaboracionista de clase entre el LSSP y el Sri Lanka Freedom Party [SLFP—Partido por la Libertad de Sri Lanka] de Bandaranaike, un partido capitalista. El SLFP y el LSSP, junto con el pequeño Partido Comunista pro-Moscú, han dirigido el país en un gobierno de coalición de tipo frente popular desde 1970.

Fueron expulsados del gabinete el Ministro de Finanzas N.M. Perera, Ministro de Plantaciones Industriales Colvin R. de Silva y Ministro del Transporte Leslie Goonewardene. Fueron remplazados por tres miembros del SLFP. El SLFP tiene una mayoría de 97 miembros en el parlamento de un total de 157. El LSSP tiene 18.

El PC pro-Moscú, con un puesto en el gabinete, permanece en el gobierno de Bandaranaike.

De acuerdo con un despacho de Reuters proveniente de Colombo, "La policía puso barricadas en los caminos que llevan al parlamento, y desplegaron rigurosas medidas de seguridad para impedir manifestaciones de parte de los partidarios del LSSP." El LSSP tiene bastante influencia en los sindicatos de los empacadores de té y hule, obreros portuarios, ferrocarrileros, camioneros y empleados públicos.

Un despacho de Colombo en el *Far Eastern Economic Review* del 12 de septiembre, predijo que "una purga de empleados colocados en posiciones de gerencia en varias empresas del Estado por los Sama Samajistas va a ser muy probablemente llevada a cabo."

En los informes de prensa sobre la expulsión, se refiere frecuentemente al LSSP como "trotskista." Esto es falso,

porque el partido traicionó el programa del socialismo revolucionario cuando cruzó líneas de clase y aceptó puestos en el gabinete que les fueron ofrecidos en 1964 por Bandaranaike. Debido a esa traición, la mayoría del LSSP fue expulsada de la Cuarta Internacional, el partido mundial fundado por León Trotsky.

Un grupo minoritario se escindió del LSSP y llevó adelante la lucha por el socialismo revolucionario. Este grupo, actualmente llamado el Revolutionary Marxist Party [Partido Marxista Revolucionario], es la sección de Sri Lanka de la Cuarta Internacional.

Las fricciones inmediatas que precedieron la expulsión del LSSP de la coalición en el poder se centraron sobre un plan gubernamental para la nacionalización de plantaciones de té. Se espera que el plan de nacionalización sea adoptado por el parlamento en el curso de este mes.

Las grandes plantaciones de té, casi todas controladas anteriormente por compañías británicas, constituyen el 80 por ciento del comercio exterior del país. Las compañías británicas todavía son dueñas del 30 por ciento de la superficie de té. En junio de este año la Ley de Compañías (Provisiones Especiales) entró en vigencia, requiriendo a todas las compañías extranjeras a incorporarse en Sri Lanka. Pero hasta el momento, el régimen de Bandaranaike se ha resistido a realmente tomar posesión de las empresas británicas.

En un mitin el 12 de agosto, en conmemoración del poderoso *hartal* de 1953 (huelga general) en Sri Lanka, el dirigente del LSSP, Perera, dijo (según un informe) que "de no llevarse a cabo en forma satisfactoria la nacionalización de las plantaciones, el LSSP abandonaría el gobierno de Frente Unico" (parafraseado en el número del 14 de agosto del *Daily News* ceilánés). También afirmó que semejantes nacionalizaciones como las que ya se produjeron, fueron el resultado de la presión ejercida por los partidos de izquierda tal como el LSSP y de acciones de masas como la huelga de 1953.

En una referencia interpretada como si fuera dirigida contra el SLFP y su anterior dirigente S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Perera acusó a "algunas personas" de "llevar a cabo nacionalizaciones con el fin de perpetuar sus nombres" (de nuevo, parafraseado en el *Daily News* de Ceilán).

En sus declaraciones públicas el LSSP ha dado su apoyo a un ritmo más rápido de

nacionalización. El partido adoptó la consigna, "No puede haber lugares de descanso en el camino hacia el socialismo." Ha criticado, también, la vaguedad del plan actual de nacionalización al no dejar claro si las compañías distribuidoras de té británicas serán nacionalizadas o no.

Esta posición demagógica refleja la gran presión por parte de las masas trabajadoras de Sri Lanka para que se lleven a cabo acciones para parar el rápido descenso en su nivel de vida. Anteriormente este año, los sindicatos favorables al gobierno, también llamaron a que las nacionalizaciones se llevaran a cabo con más rapidez.

El conflicto inmediato con el SLFP, sin embargo, fue alrededor de la jurisdicción sobre las plantaciones de té nacionalizadas. Bandaranaike había decidido que el control sobre ellas quedaría en manos del Ministro de Agricultura quien es miembro de su partido, y no del Ministro de Plantaciones Industriales Colvin de Silva, miembro del LSSP.

El control de las plantaciones de té y las plantaciones de hule, que emplean cerca de un millón de trabajadores, es un gran premio político. "Los Sama Samajistas resienten que se les quite una poderosa arma política y un medio de patrocinio," escribió B.H.S. Jayewardene en el *Far Eastern Economic Review* del 29 de agosto.

La falta de verdaderas diferencias entre el LSSP y el SLFP sobre la cuestión de la nacionalización se hizo evidente con un intercambio público de cartas entre Bandaranaike y los dirigentes del LSSP, Perera y de Silva, en agosto. Las cartas prepararon el camino para la expulsión del LSSP.

De Bandaranaike a Perera

En su carta del 14 de agosto a Perera, reproducida en *Ceylon News* el 28 de agosto, Bandaranaike se refirió al discurso de Perera de dos días antes:

"El intento de su partido de demostrar que el Sri Lanka Freedom Party dirigido por mí, se opone a la nacionalización está, como usted bien lo sabe, completamente infundamentado. El programa de nacionalización fue iniciado en 1956 con el gobierno del difunto Primer Ministro, en una época cuando su cooperación no estaba a disposición del difunto Sr. Bandaranaike, debido a los ideales que mantenía usted entonces, pero que desde entonces ha abandonado, sobre cuestiones como la igualdad de

categoría en cuanto al idioma y ciudadanía para todas las personas de origen hindú, sin mencionar la lucha armada y la revolución proletaria.*

"Recuerdo claramente cuando estábamos redactando el manifiesto para las elecciones de 1970, y fue sugerido por el S.L.F.P. que se incluyera la proposición para la nacionalización de la banca, que usted encontró innecesaria ya que se podía controlar por otros medios, y después de nuestra insistencia no le molestó que se incluyera. Lo que trato de señalar es que aún esta importante proposición fue iniciada por el S.L.F.P. y encontró lugar en el manifiesto debido a esa iniciativa. Bajo estas circunstancias, es lamentable que se hagan declaraciones públicas por miembros de su partido de que ciertos ministros del S.L.F.P. están obstaculizando la nacionalización de la banca.

"Durante los últimos 5 años, aunque la pregunta ha sido considerada en el gabinete y en el grupo parlamentario acerca de por qué esto no ha sido implementado, su respuesta fue que el momento no era oportuno debido a varias razones. No estoy disputando aquí la validez de las razones ofrecidas. Lo único que trato de hacer es indicar mi desacuerdo con el intento de su partido de engañar al país sobre este asunto. . . .

"Si su partido hubiera estado tan preocupado sobre la reforma agraria y la nacionalización de las plantaciones, ¿cómo es posible que en el reciente manifiesto para las elecciones de 1970, se haya excluido este punto de la discusión en que usted participó? Ni siquiera fue propuesto por usted. Si su partido tuviera puntos de vista tan fuertes sobre la nacionalización de plantaciones pertenecientes a extranjeros, ¿cómo es posible que el LSSP estuviera de acuerdo en el gabinete y en sus discursos en el parlamento con la exclusión de las plantaciones pertenecientes a extranjeros del alcance de la ley de la reforma agraria No. 1 de 1972?"

Bandaranaike concluyó advirtiendo que "esta clase de política vituperiosa tiene que parar. . . si vamos a continuar a trabajar juntos como un frente."

Amonestó a Perera por no estar suficientemente subordinado al SLFP: "He sido muy paciente con usted todo este tiempo porque nunca he querido que pequeñas

*La referencia a la posición del LSSP sobre la "igualdad de categoría en cuanto al idioma y ciudadanía para todas las personas de origen hindú" es una alusión a la posición del partido antes de 1964 en apoyo a la igualdad de derechos para todos los oprimidos de Tamil. Los tamiles, quienes vinieron a Sri Lanka desde el sur de India, se encuentran entre los trabajadores agrícolas con el sueldo más bajo.

Como parte del precio de su coalición con el SLFP, el LSSP abandonó su crítica de la política chovinista, antitamilista del SLFP, un partido que se basa en la mayoría budista de habla sinhalés.—IP

diferencias personales se interpongan a la verdadera unidad entre la gente de nuestro país en la causa del progreso socialista, y he hecho todos los esfuerzos posibles para impedir que personalidades y diferencias de personalidad oscurezcan las cuestiones políticas."

La Respuesta de Perera

En su respuesta, también reproducida en *Ceylon News* el 28 de agosto, Perera dice que su partido es igualmente sincero en su deseo de las nacionalizaciones. Al arrastrarse, acabó reafirmando su lealtad al gobierno capitalista de Bandaranaike y rogando por un acuerdo:

"Me dirijo ahora hacia lo que a mi parecer es el verdadero asunto en discusión. Una y otra vez, cada uno de los partidos que constituyen el Frente Unico ha declarado su propia posición independiente sobre varios asuntos. Como resultado de esto ha habido críticas ambas explícitas e implícitas. Estas cuestiones no nos han detenido para seguir funcionando como un partido en concordancia con los otros dos partidos. Es nuestro punto de vista que a pesar de nuestras diferencias, el terreno común que compartimos dentro del frente es suficientemente amplio para permitir que continuemos funcionando conjuntamente.

"No obstante, parecería de su carta que mi referencia al difunto Primer Ministro, Sr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, la ha lastimado. No sé qué le ha sido reportado, pero permítame decir otra vez que siento mucho que cualquier cosa que yo haya dicho la haya lastimado.

"En todo caso, estoy seguro de no haber recurrido a lo que usted llama 'política vituperiosa.' Nunca lo he hecho. Ha dicho en su carta al Dr. Colvin de Silva: 'Estoy dispuesta a dejar pasar y perdonar bastante por el bien de la unidad de la izquierda como en realidad ya he hecho donde se han lanzado ataques contra mí personalmente.'

"Yo también he tratado de observar el mismo principio. En ese contexto me gustaría enfatizar que siempre ha sido el punto de vista de ambos mi partido y mío, que no se deberían de hacer ataques públicos entre los partidos que constituyen el Frente Unico. . . .

"Le aseguro que mi partido y yo cooperaremos en ayudar a que se observe la regla de no hacer ataques públicos, ayudando así activamente a preservar la unidad de los partidos, quienes tanto han logrado a través del Frente Unico."

Esto no fue suficiente, sin embargo, para Bandaranaike, quien había obviamente llegado a la conclusión de que la utilidad del LSSP para su régimen había llegado a su fin. Cuando los tres ministros del LSSP rechazaron su recomendación de que renunciaran, el Presidente de Sri Lanka, William Gopallawa, sencillamente los depuso de sus cargos.

El número del 11 de septiembre de *Ceylon News* informó sobre un discurso por Bandaranaike donde "dijo que la decisión de romper con el LSSP fue tomada después de cuidadosas deliberaciones por toda la dirección del SLFP. No fue sólo su decisión. Fue aceptada unánimemente por el partido a través de un voto."

La Primer Ministro dijo "que el SLFP tiene que estar preparado para encarar incontables obstáculos en el futuro. Estos obstáculos vendrán en forma de huelgas, etc., pero habiendo ya encarado golpes de estado e insurgencias [una referencia a la rebelión de jóvenes radicalizados en 1971 que fue aplastada brutalmente por el gobierno], este gobierno no huirá ni será intimidado."

El servicio que el LSSP ha prestado al SLFP fue el de usar su influencia en el movimiento obrero para detener las luchas obreras. El *Far Eastern Economic Review* del 12 de septiembre notó que "ha habido una erosión en el apoyo a los Sama Samajistas, porque se les asoció con las severas medidas antihuelguistas del gobierno."

Con el país en el aprieto de la inflación y encarando la severa escasez de alimentos, el gobierno de coalición se ha empezado a desacreditar. Esto se reflejó en un descenso en el apoyo a los partidos del gobierno en las elecciones parciales llevadas a cabo este año. Un ala derechista dentro del SLFP ha estado cobrando fuerza, como también ha sucedido con el United National Party [UNP—Partido de Unidad Nacional], un partido burgués de oposición que tradicionalmente ha estado más directamente asociado con los intereses coloniales británicos.

El UNP ha estado políticamente explotando el hecho de que el gobierno del SLFP se negó a llamar a las elecciones programadas para esta primavera. El gobierno de coalición fue elegido en 1970 por un término de cinco años, pero el régimen de Bandaranaike simplemente fue reelegido por dos años más, al adoptar una constitución que permitiera esto.

El deseo de las masas de Sri Lanka de un cambio radical que satisfaga sus urgentes necesidades se refleja en que todos los principales partidos se reclaman favorables al socialismo. Por ejemplo, en un mitin el Primero de Mayo de este año, J.R. Jayawardene, dirigente del UNP, anunció "que una victoria para el partido en las siguientes elecciones sería la segura perdición para el capitalismo en Sri Lanka," de acuerdo con el *Far Eastern Economic Review* del 16 de mayo.

El corresponsal Harvey Stockwin especuló en el número del 12 de septiembre de la misma publicación que el siguiente paso de Bandaranaike será el de tratar de formar un gobierno de coalición con el UNP para las elecciones generales de 1977. Otra

posibilidad, sugirió, es que "la Sra. Bandaranaike siga el ejemplo de la Primer Ministro de India, Indira Gandhi," al encarar el creciente descontento con el régimen del SLFP.

En junio, en respuesta a las medidas tomadas por la corte y las protestas masivas contra su régimen, Gandhi instituyó un dominio personal dictatorial, prohibiendo a los partidos de oposición y arres-

tando a miles de disidentes.

El régimen de Bandaranaike ya ha empleado semejantes métodos. En 1971 declaró un estado de emergencia y actuó para aplastar militarmente a un movimiento de jóvenes radicalizados dirigido por el Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—Frente de Liberación Popular). Miles fueron asesinados, se impuso la censura, y 18,000 personas fueron arrestadas. El dirigente del

JVP, Rohana Wijeweera permanece aún en prisión, condenado a 20 años de reclusión.

El LSSP, como parte del gobierno, respaldó plenamente esta feroz represión. Ahora, expulsado de la coalición, el LSSP bien podría convertirse en el blanco de nuevas medidas represivas hechas posibles por once años de servicio leal a Bandaranaike por parte de Perera, de Silva, y Goonewardene. □

SWP: 'Un Nuevo Período Histórico de Gran Crisis Social' en los Estados Unidos

1,600 Asistentes al Congreso de los Trotskistas Americanos

Por Andy Rose

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 19 de septiembre de *The Militant*, un semanario socialista-revolucionario publicado en Nueva York. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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El vigésimo sexto congreso nacional del Socialist Workers Party [SWP—Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores], realizado del 17 al 21 de agosto en Ohio, analizó la nueva etapa en el desarrollo de la lucha de clases en los Estados Unidos y las implicaciones de esta nueva etapa para las tareas del partido revolucionario.

El Socialist Workers Party sostiene que un cambio fundamental en la escena política se está llevando a cabo: el inicio de la radicalización de la clase obrera americana y su avance hacia un nuevo y más alto nivel de conciencia política.

Este cambio cualitativo es el efecto acumulado del desarrollo de varios factores interrelacionados:

- la radicalización en las actitudes que se desarrolló durante la década de los sesenta y que se expresó a través del movimiento antibélico, la lucha por la liberación de los negros, y otros movimientos sociales de protesta;

- el final definitivo del largo período de expansión capitalista y prosperidad relativa que se inició al finalizar la segunda guerra mundial; y

- el impacto de la nueva crisis del capitalismo mundial sobre la conciencia de las masas trabajadoras.

El punto de vista del congreso es que el período que se abre será uno de polarización política y de agudas batallas de clase. La apertura de esta nueva etapa en el proceso de radicalización significa que se presentarán nuevas oportunidades, nuevos desafíos y nuevas tareas para los socialistas revolucionarios. Esto hace necesario un giro

en las actitudes, prioridades y funcionamiento del Socialist Workers party.

Este giro fue el eje político central del congreso. En las sesiones plenarias, clases y en las más de treinta mesas de trabajo, los participantes en el congreso discutieron el significado de la nueva etapa de la radicalización y sus implicaciones para cada área del trabajo partidario.

Con la presencia de más de 1,600 delegados y observadores, este fue el congreso más grande que el SWP ha llevado a cabo. Reunió a militantes y simpatizantes del partido activos en los sindicatos, las luchas de los negros, chicanos y puertorriqueños, el movimiento femenino, y las secundarias y universidades, así como a un gran número de observadores de otros países.

El congreso nacional, el organismo con mayor autoridad del Socialist Workers party, fue la culminación de un período de discusión exhaustiva y democrática que se extendió por tres meses.

La dirección nacional saliente presentó dos resoluciones para consideración de la membresía: la resolución política general, "La Decadencia del Capitalismo Americano: Perspectivas para la Revolución Socialista"; y una resolución sobre "La Lucha de Liberación de los Negros, la Etapa Actual y las Tareas." Todos los miembros del SWP tuvieron la oportunidad de contribuir con artículos y resoluciones sobre cualquier aspecto del programa, perspectivas y tareas del partido a través del boletín de discusión interna del SWP. Se organizaron, además, discusiones en cada rama del partido.

Al final de la discusión pre-congreso, cada rama votó sobre las resoluciones y eligió sus delegados al congreso. En él, después de escuchar informes y de más discusión, los delegados tomaron una decisión sobre las perspectivas y tareas del partido hasta el próximo congreso. Los delegados eligieron asimismo a la dirección nacional que guiará el trabajo del partido durante ese período.

Los dos proyectos de resoluciones y los informes al congreso del Comité Político saliente fueron aprobados unánimemente por los delegados electos.

Mary-Alice Waters, en su informe sobre el proyecto de resolución política, esbozó los orígenes y significado de la nueva etapa de la radicalización. El informe sobre las tareas y perspectivas, presentado por Betsy Stone, trató más detalladamente las implicaciones del giro para el trabajo del partido.

Se discutieron las nuevas oportunidades en los sindicatos y otras organizaciones de masas de la clase obrera americana. Once mesas de trabajo fueron llevadas a cabo por miembros del partido activos en diferentes sindicatos e industrias, desde maestros hasta trabajadores del acero. Una de las mesas de trabajo escuchó un informe de primera mano sobre el congreso del United Farm Workers [UFW—Obreros Agrícolas Unidos], el cual acababa de realizarse en Fresno, California, y discutió la organización de apoyo masivo al boycott del UFW contra el vino y la uva y lechuga cosechados por esquiroles.

El Crecimiento del SWP

Un aspecto importante de la nueva situación política es la mayor receptividad a las ideas socialistas y el mayor potencial para expandir la influencia del partido y ganar nuevos miembros.

Simbolizando el crecimiento geográfico del partido, se encontraban presentes representantes de cinco ciudades donde se han establecido nuevas ramas del partido: Newark, New Jersey; Baltimore, Maryland; New Orleans, Louisiana; San Antonio, Texas; y San Jose, California.

Se anunció también que la rama de Chicago se expandirá con la división en dos ramas, una en el Lado Sur de la ciudad y otra en el Lado Oeste. La rama del Bajo

Manhattan, Nueva York, se ha transformado en la rama del Bajo Lado Este y se centrará en esa comunidad predominantemente puertorriqueña, donde el SWP se ha ganado respeto por su participación activa en la lucha por el control de los puertorriqueños, negros y chinos sobre las escuelas.

Otras mesas de trabajo discutieron sobre la campaña presidencial de 1976 del SWP, sobre una campaña para incrementar la circulación de *The Militant* durante el otoño, y sobre cómo ganar nuevos miembros al partido.

Otro tema que fue tocado repetidamente en el congreso fue la participación cada vez mayor del SWP en la nueva etapa de la lucha contra el racismo, la cual en estos momentos se centra principalmente en la defensa de la desegregación de las escuelas en Boston y otras ciudades.

El congreso se inició con una entusiasta ovación celebrando la liberación de Joanne Little, quien había sido absuelta dos días antes de una acusación de asesinato fabricada por haberse defendido de un intento de violación por parte de su carcelero blanco. Los miembros del SWP a través del país participaron activamente en la defensa de Little, ayudando a organizar piquetes, conferencias y eventos para recolectar fondos.

Tony Thomas, al dar su informe por el Comité Político acerca de la resolución sobre la lucha de los negros, señaló el efecto devastador que la crisis capitalista ha tenido sobre las masas de negros oprimidos. No sólo se ha obstruido el progreso hacia la igualdad económica y social, sino que una creciente ofensiva racista ha intentado arrancarles las conquistas del movimiento por los derechos civiles.

"Al realizar este giro hacia las oportunidades abiertas por el cambio en la situación objetiva y el inicio de la radicalización de la clase obrera," dijo Thomas, "ponemos un énfasis especial en las luchas democráticas de la población negra contra la discriminación y la opresión."

Un informe sobre las actividades de la Young Socialist Alliance [YSA—Alianza Juvenil Socialista], presentado por el presidente nacional de la YSA Malik Miah, se centró en la lucha por la desegregación en Boston y el trabajo de la National Student Coalition Against Racism [NSCAR—Coalición Estudiantil Nacional Contra el Racismo]. Miah remarcó que la YSA y el SWP participarían activamente en los esfuerzos de NSCAR para movilizar una defensa masiva del derecho de los estudiantes negros de ser trasladados a cualquier escuela sin ningún riesgo.

Otro aspecto fundamental del congreso fue la discusión sobre la situación política mundial y el movimiento revolucionario internacional. El centro de ésta fue el ascenso revolucionario en Portugal desde el derrocamiento de la dictadura Salazarista

El Congreso más Grande del SWP

La asistencia total al reciente congreso del SWP—1,613 personas—lo convirtió en el más grande que el partido haya llevado a cabo. En comparación, el anterior congreso, realizado en 1973, tuvo una asistencia de 1,478 personas, el congreso de 1971 de 1,100 personas, y el congreso de 1969 de 660.

Los participantes en el congreso provenían de veintiocho estados. Algunos de los grupos más numerosos fueron los de

Nueva York con 299 personas, el de California con 257 y el de Pennsylvania con 94. Se encontraban presentes, además, observadores provenientes de 18 países.

Cuarenta y tres por ciento de los presentes eran mujeres. Treinta por ciento asistían por primera vez a un congreso del SWP. Se encontraban presentes miembros de sesenta y dos diferentes sindicatos.

el 25 de abril de 1974. Una manta que colgaba directamente sobre el estrado decía: "¡Solidaridad con los Trabajadores Portugueses! ¡Portugal Fuera de Angola!"

Dos reportes fueron presentados, uno por el Secretario Nacional del SWP Jack Barnes, el otro por el Secretario Nacional de Organización Barry Sheppard. Abordaron las cuestiones programáticas, estratégicas y tácticas cruciales planteadas por los acontecimientos en Portugal, incluyendo la actitud de los revolucionarios hacia la libertad de prensa y otros derechos democráticos, la actitud hacia un régimen militar capitalista que se esconde tras una demagogia radical, cómo aplicar la táctica del frente único, y otras cuestiones.

La discusión del congreso del SWP fue enriquecida enormemente con la participación de dirigentes de grupos revolucionarios de otras partes del mundo, incluyendo a dirigentes de dos grupos trotskistas portugueses, la Liga Comunista Internacionalista y el Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores.

Además de las sesiones del congreso y las mesas de trabajo, las actividades de la semana incluyeron varias clases, un mitin de clausura, y dos presentaciones por dirigentes y educadores trotskistas veteranos. Joseph Hansen, editor de *Intercontinental Press*, habló sobre "James P. Cannon, el Internacionalista." George Novack, historiador marxista y filósofo, discutió algunos principios básicos de la filosofía materialista en la conferencia entitulada "En Defensa de Engels."

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La resolución política del congreso no trata las perspectivas políticas o económicas inmediatas. Más bien, examina desde un punto de vista amplio las raíces de la crisis actual del imperialismo americano, los cambios estructurales e ideológicos en la clase obrera y entre sus aliados desde la década de los treinta, y la perspectiva revolucionaria que fluye de la nueva etapa de la radicalización.

La primera sección de la resolución pone

a la actual crisis en el contexto de las crecientes contradicciones del imperialismo mundial.

Esta crisis representa el agotamiento de las fuerzas motrices del largo boom económico que siguió a la segunda guerra mundial. La economía capitalista ha entrado en un nuevo período de estancamiento, inflación y decaimiento prolongado. Habrá todavía algunas alzas y bajas en el ciclo económico, pero las alzas serán menores y más cortas y las bajas serán más largas y profundas.

Bajo estas circunstancias, la resolución señala las perspectivas reales que la clase capitalista ofrece a los trabajadores americanos:

- Primero, para aumentar sus ganancias y mantener su posición en el mercado mundial, el capitalismo americano tratará de mermar el salario real, rebajar las condiciones de trabajo y en general reducir el nivel de vida de los trabajadores.

- Segundo, para defender los intereses del imperialismo americano a través del mundo, la clase dominante propugnará nuevas aventuras militares, amenazando constantemente con nuevos Vietnams y creando nuevos peligros de una hecatombe nuclear.

- Tercero, para mermar la capacidad de resistencia de los trabajadores, la clase dominante tratará de reducir los derechos democráticos en el trabajo y en general.

La Conciencia de los Obreros Americanos

El punto central de la resolución es su análisis de la nueva conciencia que se desarrolla entre los trabajadores americanos. Un elemento de este proceso es la radicalización de la década de los sesenta, la cual empezó con la lucha de los negros, pasó a una nueva etapa con el movimiento contra la guerra en Vietnam, y se extendió a un cuestionamiento de cada vez más instituciones del régimen capitalista. Nuevas capas de oprimidos—mujeres, chicanos, indios norteamericanos, prisioneros y otros—empezaron a exigir sus derechos humanos.

Encima del daño que Vietnam hizo a la

credibilidad de los gobernantes y a la imagen de la "democracia" americana, vinieron las revelaciones de Watergate. "La 'pérdida de credibilidad' representa en realidad una crisis de confianza política en el gobierno. . . ." afirma la resolución. "Por primera vez desde la década de los treinta números crecientes de trabajadores americanos no únicamente dudan de lo que los gobernantes les dicen, sino que cuestionan las metas y valores de la clase dominante."

La nueva situación representa no únicamente una mayor extensión de esta radicalización a capas más amplias de trabajadores. El impacto de la crisis económica—el congelamiento de salarios, la inflación galopante, la intensificación del trabajo, la crisis de la carne, la crisis de los energéticos, y ahora la depresión—ha causado un cambio cualitativo.

Mary-Alice Waters lo expresó de esta manera: "Fue en este período, entre el congelamiento de salarios de 1971 y la depresión de 1975, que se cruzó un puente en la conciencia y expectativas de la clase obrera americana. En el extremo 1971 el puente, la clase obrera se encontraba aún relativamente optimista, con seguridad y confianza, aún si tenía dudas y preguntas.

"En el extremo 1975 de ese puente encontramos una clase obrera con una creciente sensación de inseguridad, con un temor a lo que depara el futuro, y con un sentimiento de que, sea lo que sea, será peor de lo que ha sido. En el extremo 1975 de ese puente encontramos una clase obrera que está empezando a percibir que lo que estamos encarando no es tan sólo un declive temporal en una curva ascendente, sino una crisis social permanente y una curva que apunta hacia abajo. . . ."

"Hemos entrado en un nuevo período histórico, uno que va a ser el equivalente de nuestra generación a la gran crisis social de la década de los treinta."

La resolución resume el significado del nuevo período de la siguiente manera: "Los Estados Unidos no se dirigen de nuevo hacia la prosperidad, reacción y quietud prolongada de la década de los cincuenta e inicios de la década de los sesenta. El camino frente a nosotros es uno de creciente conciencia de clase, lucha de clases y polarización de clases, que conducirá de una radicalización a una situación revolucionaria, independientemente de cualquier oscilación en el camino.

"La crisis mundial del capitalismo no favorece reformas capitalistas extensivas y efectivas prolongadas en los Estados Unidos, sino el desarrollo de los prerrequisitos para una revolución."

La resolución continúa examinando el carácter y composición cambiante de la clase obrera, los cambios que han tomado lugar desde el último período de radicalización obrera en las décadas de los treinta y cuarenta, y cómo estos cambios afectan la

perspectiva de una creciente conciencia política y social en las luchas venideras.

"La industrialización, automatización y monopolización extensiva de las fábricas, la tierra y las oficinas durante las décadas de los cincuenta y los sesenta," señala la resolución, "condujo a un incremento masivo en el tamaño de la clase obrera americana, ambos en términos absolutos y en relación a otras clases."

Contrario al mito de que los obreros se habían transformado en "clase media," la resolución observa que "los obreros americanos tienden hoy en día a considerarse más obreros que productores independientes en potencia. Pocos creen que algún día podrán tener su taller, granja, o pequeño negocio, asegurando así una forma independiente de ganarse la vida."

Este problema de la composición social es diferente de lo que se le ha dado en llamar el nivel de vida de clase media de los obreros americanos. La convicción de las masas de trabajadores de que tienen el *derecho* a un nivel de vida decente—y a que este se mejore constantemente—es un factor revolucionario, no conservador.

El largo período de expansión económica trajo por primera vez a millones de mujeres al mercado laboral. Waters señaló en su informe que "la disposición de las mujeres hoy en día a luchar por conservar sus trabajos, su negativa a aceptar como normal el ser echadas de la fuerza de trabajo y cargar con una parte desproporcionada del peso de la crisis, su resistencia a ser simplemente relegadas de nuevo al hogar, es uno de los cambios más importantes que han tomado lugar." Conduce ambos a una creciente conciencia de clase entre las mujeres y a que el radicalismo y militancia de las mujeres se esparza y estimule a la clase en su conjunto.

Otro cambio de importancia crucial, dijo Waters, "es el forjamiento del estado americano como una nueva y moderna 'prisión de nacionalidades' imperialista modelo." La población negra, la cual al finalizar la segunda guerra mundial vivía aún en su mayoría en el campo, se encuentra actualmente más urbanizada y proletarizada que la población blanca. Masas de chicanos y puertorriqueños se han integrado a la fuerza de trabajo urbana, así como al proletariado agrícola, bajo condiciones de superexplotación.

La resolución explica que "las nacionalidades oprimidas y las minorías nacionales desempeñan un doble papel. Constituyen un porcentaje creciente de la clase obrera y al mismo tiempo son los aliados más importantes de la clase trabajadora. . . ."

"Las nacionalidades oprimidas y las minorías nacionales son explotadas como proletarios. Esta explotación es intensificada por su categoría de parias puesto que son al mismo tiempo oprimidos como un pueblo distintivo. La lucha contra esta opresión doble es una de las fuerzas impulsoras

centrales de la tercera revolución americana. . . ."

Estos obreros superexplotados y oprimidos como nacionalidad cada vez más "proveerán la dirección en la lucha para transformar al movimiento obrero en un movimiento social combativo, que use su poder para apoyar las luchas de todos los oprimidos."

El problema fundamental de la estrategia revolucionaria en los Estados Unidos es el de sobreponer las divisiones en el seno de la clase obrera—entre negros y blancos, empleados y desempleados, hombres y mujeres, calificados y no calificados, jóvenes y viejos, empleados públicos y trabajadores del sector privado.

La posición del SWP acerca de cómo lograr esto es inambigua. La resolución plantea: "Luchamos por la unidad revolucionaria basada en el apoyo a las demandas de los más oprimidos. Luchamos por que la clase obrera dé respuestas claras y concretas a los problemas que encaran sus aliados. Y rechazamos incondicionalmente cualquier concepto de que los oprimidos deben 'esperar' a que el movimiento obrero les dé su apoyo antes de lanzarse a la lucha."

Esta cuestión se plantea de la manera más aguda y concreta actualmente alrededor del problema de las suspensiones discriminatorias. Mientras que los burócratas sindicales y todos los otros amigos veleidosos del movimiento negro evadieron la defensa de las conquistas en lo referente a oportunidades de empleo ganadas por los negros durante la década de los sesenta, defendiendo en cambio los privilegios relativos de los obreros blancos al conservar sus trabajos a expensas de los negros, el SWP exige que las suspensiones no reduzcan ni en uno por ciento las conquistas logradas a través de la acción afirmativa.

Este problema, que está siendo debatido intensamente a todos niveles en los movimientos obrero, negro y femenino, fue el punto central de la discusión sobre el informe político. Varios cradores explicaron, a partir de sus propias experiencias en el movimiento obrero, la necesidad de que los sindicatos defiendan los intereses de los más oprimidos.

Catarino Garza, un maestro bilingüe de la ciudad de Nueva York, describió gráficamente como la United Federation of Teachers [UFT—Federación Unida de Maestros] había sido debilitada en su batalla contra el gobierno de la ciudad por el apoyo del presidente de la UFT Albert Shanker a los privilegios de los maestros blancos de mayor antigüedad contra los maestros negros y puertorriqueños, jóvenes y bilingües.

Las crecientes y cada vez más agudas contradicciones del capitalismo mundial empujan a los obreros en la dirección de la lucha revolucionaria. Pero aún los colapsos

más devastadores del capitalismo americano no pueden producir automáticamente una victoria para la revolución socialista. Aún más, la maldirigencia de los burócratas sindicales constituye un tremendo obstáculo no únicamente para la revolución socialista sino también para la defensa de los intereses más elementales de los obreros, como la capitulación de los sindicatos ante la crisis de la ciudad de Nueva York lo ha demostrado vivamente.

El problema que encaran las aún pequeñas fuerzas revolucionarias es doble:

- ayudar a las masas, a través de su propia experiencia en la lucha, a cruzar el puente, de la insatisfacción general y las demandas inmediatas, a las soluciones socialistas revolucionarias; y

- reunir nuevas fuerzas y entrenar cuadros que, en el curso de la lucha de clases, puedan construir un partido revolucionario de masas capaz de dirigir a millones de trabajadores a la victoria.

Para resolver este problema se requiere de un programa revolucionario claro y preciso y de la comprensión de cómo aplicarlo en la *lucha de clases viviente y de acuerdo con la manera en que ésta se desenvuelva*. La resolución política presenta tal programa—no las consignas precisas, las cuales no pueden ser previstas de antemano, sino la línea general—tal y como se aplica a las características particulares de la sociedad americana y al papel internacional del imperialismo estadounidense.

Encarnada en este programa está la necesidad de que los obreros americanos empiecen a *pensar socialmente y actuar políticamente*. La resolución explica: “Deben ver los grandes problemas sociales y políticos que encaran todos los explotados y oprimidos de los Estados Unidos como problemas que les conciernen directamente. Actuar políticamente significa que deben romper con la camisa de fuerza del sistema bipartidista burgués. . . .”

El programa se divide en tres secciones. Primero se encuentran las demandas contra la maquinaria de guerra, por el desarme de los policías mundiales del imperialismo americano, por el cese a la interferencia de los Estados Unidos en las luchas de los trabajadores y oprimidos a través del globo, contra el presupuesto de guerra masivo. Incluye demandas relacionadas con los derechos democráticos de los soldados, por el cese a la diplomacia secreta, y por otorgarle al pueblo americano, no al congreso, el derecho a votar sobre la guerra.

Un segundo grupo de demandas fluye de la defensa del nivel de vida y condiciones de trabajo de los obreros. Incluye demandas para la protección contra la inflación y el desempleo y por la seguridad en el trabajo, y avanza a través de otras demandas hacia el control obrero de la producción, la apertura de los libros de contabilidad de los monopolios, y la reorganización racional de

la economía por los trabajadores mismos.

Finalmente, el programa muestra la necesidad de defender los derechos humanos, no los derechos de la propiedad privada. Enlaza la lucha por un nivel de vida decente para todos con la lucha contra todas las formas de discriminación y opresión. Apunta hacia la extensión de los derechos sociales y económicos de los trabajadores y el establecimiento de formas de democracia directa, tanto política como económica.

“Nuestro problema,” concluyó Waters, “es el mostrarnos capaces de entender plenamente ese programa y aplicarlo. En el período que se avecina habrá bastantes

oportunidades. Hay nuevas aperturas para nosotros en todos los sectores del movimiento de masas, y nuestra tarea es salir y encontrarlas.

“La tarea es proveer el programa y la dirección que ayude a nuestra clase a avanzar sobre el camino de la revolución socialista, y construir un partido revolucionario de masas que sea capaz de conducirla a la victoria. Y podemos decir con plena confianza que ante las perspectivas que se nos presentan en los Estados Unidos, no hay otra fuerza fuera del Socialist Workers Party que será capaz de proveer la dirección necesaria.” □

Daily Picket of Courthouse Planned to Protest 'Conspiracy' Trial of 14 British Pacifists

A series of demonstrations, picket lines, and rallies has been called in Britain to defend fourteen activists of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign (BWNIC) who are charged with “conspiracy” to violate the Incitement to Disaffection Act. Their trial is scheduled to begin in London’s Old Bailey courthouse September 29. A daily picket line is planned outside the courthouse to protest the proceedings.

The Incitement to Disaffection Act, passed in 1934, outlaws efforts to “seduce any member of H.M. Forces from his duty or allegiance to Her Majesty.” British authorities claim the law was violated when the defendants, all of whom are pacifists, allegedly “conspired” to leaflet British soldiers with information about ways of leaving the army. If convicted of the “conspiracy” charges, the defendants face possible life imprisonment.

Since the original charges against the fourteen were made, four more persons have been charged for activities in association with the BWNIC.

Howard Clark and Penny Strange were charged under the Army Act with assisting a soldier who was absent without leave.

Andrew Lloyd was charged with possessing the BWNIC leaflet “Some Information for Discontented Soldiers” and for “attempting to incite people to contravene the Incitement to Disaffection Act.” His trial was scheduled to begin separately September 15.

Alix Otten was also charged on the latter count for circulating a statement of complicity with the defendants (now signed by more than 500 persons) to the effect that the signers possess copies of the leaflet and intend to distribute them to soldiers.

A statement issued September 12 by the Defend the 14+ Campaign points out that under the “conspiracy” laws the defendants “may be questioned about their political beliefs, the way in which they live, even who their friends are. It is not necessary to prove that any substantive offence was committed, merely that it was intended.”

One of the political issues raised in the trial, according to the defense committee, is the “right of soldiers to organise within the army. . . .”

“The suppression of civil liberties in Northern Ireland,” the committee said, “is being reflected in the increasing use of legal sanctions and the criminal law against political activists in Britain.”

Protests against the frame-up of the “conspiracy” defendants may be sent to Prime Minister Harold Wilson, 10 Downing Street, London, England. Copies of the protests should be sent to Defend the 14+ Campaign, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, England. □

Malnutrition the Norm in Santiago Shantytowns

Malnutrition is increasing in the *poblaciones* (shantytowns) of Santiago, where about one-fourth of the city’s population lives. In some *poblaciones* unemployment is as high as 50 percent. Meat is absent from most diets, with the slum dwellers subsisting on bread and cheap vegetables. According to nuns living in the *poblaciones*, the emergency food programs of the Pinochet junta and religious charities reach only a few of those who need food. Although schools are supposed to provide hot lunches, only 1 out of every 2 schoolchildren receives a hot lunch each day.

Call for Struggle to Repeal New Law Violating Democratic Rights in Portugal

[The following is the text of a leaflet dated September 10 that was distributed in Portugal by the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Revolutionary Council, meeting on September 8, made several decisions that constitute a dangerous attack against all the democratic and socialist gains of the Portuguese revolution. If it had been decided only to reintegrate the "Melo Antunes group" into the Revolutionary Council, it would have been necessary to continue denouncing it as the reactionary group that it is; but this decision in and of itself would not mean the right wing was preparing to intensify its attacks on the mass movement.

However, the attempt to reestablish traditional discipline in the armed forces is very symptomatic. Even the Assembly of the Armed Forces Movement [MFA], which reflects in an incomplete and distorted way the crisis of the military apparatus, is threatened. Not that the Assembly of the MFA should govern the country or command the armed forces—it was not democratically elected, either by the working masses or even by the members of all the military units. But the Revolutionary Council's plan is not to democratize the Assembly of the MFA. On the contrary, it is an attempt to subordinate it entirely, from now on, to the orders and discipline of the armed forces.

The aim is clear: to deprive the military of any possibility for democratic expression, to attack the Unit Assemblies and prevent their centralization. *Still clearer are the decisions to punish the soldiers—particularly the members of the military police who refused to go to Angola—and to ban the dissemination of news about what is going on in the barracks or what the soldiers democratically decide in their assemblies.* This ban seeks to prevent the workers from learning about and supporting the struggles of the soldiers and sailors. After isolating these struggles, the generals, colonels, or admirals will have a freer hand to repress them, as they managed to do in the case of the soldiers of the military police. This "Constitutional Law" voted for by the Revolutionary Council consequently has a dual counterrevolutionary aim: to restrict freedom of the press; and to hamper

the process of democratization in the armed forces, wiping out the democratic rights won by the military.

Meanwhile, these attacks, directed first of all at the soldiers and sailors, are aimed at affecting the mass movement, all workers, all the organizations of workers and people's power (workers and tenants committees). It remains to be seen whether the attack will be successful. We have time to meet it, bringing our efforts to bear jointly with those of the soldiers of the military police and all military men who are

No Portuguese Troops to Angola!

[The following article appeared in the September 10 issue of *Combate Socialista*, the fortnightly newspaper of the Trotskyist Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party) of Portugal. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The two companies of the Regimento de Polícia Militar¹ that were mobilized for Angola refused to go. This refusal has a double meaning—it was both a revolutionary and a democratic decision.

It was revolutionary to refuse to play the Portuguese neocolonialist game in Angola. At a time when the Angolan people are fighting for immediate independence and people's power despite the wavering of its nationalist leadership, sending more Portuguese troops there is a maneuver by the generals. The aim is to take advantage of the difficulties in that struggle to meddle in the affairs of a colony that traditionally filled the bellies of the generals and their partners in the Portuguese and international bourgeoisie. The soldiers of the Military Police Regiment understood how to oppose this and other maneuvers: On September 1, the day set for their departure, they took to the streets to assert their refusal to go and—beyond that—to demand the *immediate return of all comrades who are still in the colonies.*

This decision shows not only the crisis affecting Portuguese colonialism in the

1. RPM—Military Police Regiment.

fighting for democracy in the barracks. Thus we call on all workers organizations to form a firm united front to defend and publicize the struggle of the soldiers against militarist discipline. We particularly call on the SP, PCP, and UDP* to break the silence imposed on the press, making public at all sessions of the Constituent Assembly the positions voted for in the Unit Assembly.

• *Freedom for the imprisoned soldiers of the military police!*

• *Support the refusal to go to Angola!*

• *A workers united front for the immediate repeal of the "Constitutional Law."*

• *The SP, PCP, and UDP must make sure to publicize the soldiers and sailors' struggles in all sessions of the Constituent Assembly!* □

* Partido Socialista—Socialist party; Partido Comunista Português—Portuguese Communist party; União Democrática do Povo—People's Democratic Union.

homeland itself, but also the incurable bankruptcy of the colonial armed forces, which can no longer force the soldiers to obey orders from reactionary officials. At an assembly of the RPM after the demonstration, it was stated that soldiers who wanted to leave to fight for the independence of Angola could not do it under orders of the colonial army, because this army is a barefaced instrument of imperialist aggression. After the troops refused to go, General Fabião issued a communiqué claiming that the Portuguese troops are in Angola to guarantee "decolonization." But it is evident that this idea is losing ground among the soldiers, mainly among the military police.

That is why General Fabião did not let the matter rest with two or three ideological banalities. In the same communiqué, he said that the army's general chief of staff "will proceed with the greatest firmness and revolutionary deliberation in face of such actions, taking the maximum disciplinary steps in each case, followed by expulsion from the army and related consequences." These were not empty threats. With the support of numerous officials, among them President Costa Gomes, four military men elected at the RPM assembly to contact other units that had been called up were imprisoned at Santa Margarida.

This is the power the traditional hierarchy still maintains within the crisis-ridden armed forces. But another force is now developing as well—the power of the soldiers, who in this case held a Unit Assembly and decided not to embark. That

is why we say that this decision, like all revolutionary decisions, was also a democratic decision. The much discussed democratization of the armed forces advances only with the creation of dual power, emerging from the permanent tension hanging over the heads of the high command. That is why it is essential to define the forms of struggle to be adopted, a step the RPM assembly also took. It was decided in that assembly to form a committee "composed of soldiers of the mobilized military police companies, to assume the following functions:

"a. To organize the collective refusal to embark.

"b. To issue propaganda on this just struggle not only in the RPM but also in all military units.

"c. To organize and direct other matters related to this just struggle of the soldiers."

These decisions and the September 1 demonstration are explosive events. The demonstration of some thousands of workers and hundreds of troops raised the correct demands with great militancy: No more troops to Angola, Bring the soldiers home, Free the military men imprisoned at Santa Margarida. At the same time, it also revealed the contradiction we have pointed out before between the combativity of the masses and the lack of an effective revolutionary leadership. Although many troops and some workers commented at the end of the demonstration that it should have been more united, it is obvious that it was not led with such a concern: Members of the LCI² were kicked out of the Belém mass gathering, the PRT's leaflets of support were ripped up, and PRT members were assaulted by supporters of the MRPP.³ The same virulent sectarianism was shown against all Communist and Socialist workers who agreed with the refusal to embark and would have been present at the demonstration if it had not included demands against the so-called social fascists, which had nothing to do with the aim of the RPM struggle.

Such mobilizations must be continued until victory is won over the neocolonial maneuvers and the authoritarianism of the military hierarchy. But we will never achieve such a victory if we do not overcome the grave sectarianism with which this demonstration—arising from the extraordinary struggle being waged by the military police and the workers who support them—was led. □

2. Liga Comunista Internacionalista—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

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

The Breakup of Bandaranaike's United Front Government

[The following statement was issued September 8 by the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Marxist party, Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The various letters and statements published in the newspapers relating to the crisis in the United Front Government, that culminated in its breakup on 2nd September 1975, with the expulsion of the three LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party—Ceylon Equal Society party] Ministers from it that day, have not adequately revealed the real reasons for the breakup, at this particular juncture.

We do not believe that it became necessary for Mrs. Bandaranaike to insist on Dr. N.M. Perera's removal from the Ministry of Finance, because of anything that he may have stated at the LSSP Hartal [general strike] commemoration meeting on 12th August 1975, concerning the politics of her late husband or her own political decisions relating to the contemplated take-over of foreign and locally owned company estates.

The letters written to the Prime Minister, both by Dr. N.M. Perera and Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, before their dismissal from the Cabinet, had already made it clear that they were willing to continue to serve in Mrs. Bandaranaike's Cabinet, despite their differences with her on certain matters. Dr. N.M. Perera expressed his regret for having said anything that might have hurt Mrs. Bandaranaike in reference to her late husband. Dr. Colvin R. de Silva reminded the Prime Minister that both he and Dr. N.M. Perera had attended a meeting of a Committee of Ministers summoned by the Minister of Agriculture and Lands, Mr. Kobbekaduwa, on 4th August 1975, in submission to her decision that that SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party] Minister was to be in charge of the proposed take-over of company owned estates, though Dr. de Silva was to remain Minister of Plantation Industries, and that Dr. de Silva had himself suggested that the Minister of Agriculture and Lands should chair the Committee, "in the circumstances."

The fact that the letters written by the two LSSP Ministers did not affect the Prime Minister's decision to take the portfolio of Finance out of the hands of Dr. N.M. Perera, was proof enough that she was no longer prepared to let the LSSP Ministers serve in her Cabinet on the basis of the agreement between the SLFP leadership and the LSSP leadership, that had been the basis for the establishment of the United Front Government, as pointed out by Dr. Perera.

Thus there can be no question that it was Mrs. Bandaranaike who broke up the United Front Government, that she had formed and headed, with the active collaboration of the LSSP, for the last five years.

What is important for the working class and the broad masses to appreciate are the political reasons underlying Mrs. Bandaranaike's decision to break up the United Front Government at this juncture.

We have no doubt that the mutual recriminations and conflicts between the SLFP and the LSSP that have already begun as a result of the breakup of the United Front Government, will be accompanied by disclosures of matters kept secret hitherto between them. Such disclosures may cloud rather than clarify the real issues underlying the breakup.

We are of the view that the breakup is the result of the economic crisis in which capitalism finds itself in Sri Lanka, as elsewhere in the capitalist world, in the context of which that section of the capitalist class represented by the SLFP leadership has a pressing need for the consolidation of capitalist rule under a government in which all the key sectors of the administration are held firmly in the hands of that leadership. It is for this reason that the LSSP Ministers could not be permitted to be left in control of finance or given control of the plantations to be taken over from foreign and local companies, on compensation to be negotiated with them. To have permitted this would have resulted in the LSSP acquiring undue influence *within the capitalist state*, with enhanced political influence, in consequence, from the viewpoint of the SLFP leadership. This is because the plantations remain the main base of the capitalist economy in Sri Lanka, and are its principal sources of foreign exchange. The importance of the Ministry of Finance would itself be further enhanced by the state take-over of company owned estates, for the reason that the state banks would then play a much more important role in the export trade in plantation products than at present, with increased control over state as well as private investment, in consequence.

It was when Mrs. Bandaranaike offered alternative portfolios to Dr. Perera, provided he gave up the Ministry of Finance, and at the same time offered an alternative portfolio to Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, that the LSSP leadership finally realised that they were to be reduced from a role of service to one of servitude in the Cabinet. To have submitted to this would have reduced them to playing no politically recognisable role at all as members of a

distinct political party. It was at that stage only that they finally decided to say "NO" to Mrs. Bandaranaike, courting their dismissal from the Cabinet, which then followed.

The various attempts said to have been made by the Communist Party and certain groups within the SLFP itself to "preserve the unity of the United Front," were doomed to end in failure. The leadership of the SLFP, the dominant party within the United Front, was no longer prepared to maintain the United Front with its main Left component, the LSSP, on any basis that the LSSP leadership could make out to be even of some political benefit to itself.

There is good reason to believe that the capitalist backers of the SLFP, and particularly the bigger ones said to be wielding a strong influence with Mrs. Bandaranaike and her son, played a significant role in bringing about the ouster of the LSSP from the positions it held in the Government. The allegations of Dr. N.M. Perera and the LSSP to that effect only serve to establish that he and his other LSSP colleagues in the United Front Government were permitted to function within it only for so long as they served not only the interests of the capitalist state, but also those sections of the capitalist class represented by the SLFP leadership. The policies pursued by the former LSSP Ministers were thus in conformity with the "Bandaranaike policies," in pursuance of which the Common Programme of the United Front was expressly declared to have been drawn up and signed in 1968, by the SLFP, the LSSP, and the CP. At no time did the LSSP leadership, right up to the moment of its expulsion from the Government, declare its unwillingness to continue to pursue those policies. They have sought to make out to their own following, however, that in so doing they were really pursuing a "tactic," within a capitalist government. They will now have to explain to their following whether they have succeeded in that tactic.

The LSSP leaders now cannot make out that they have been betrayed by Mrs. Bandaranaike. The SLFP leadership has not changed its class character; nor can there be any doubt that Mrs. Bandaranaike took the LSSP leaders into the Government to serve the capitalist class in such manner as the SLFP desired, and for so long as their services were needed.

The LSSP leaders, as well as all those who may be interested in what has happened to them, would do well now to note what the United Secretariat of the Fourth International had to say to the Central Committee of the LSSP in a communication dated 23rd April 1964, on the question of coalition with the SLFP, that the majority of the Central Committee then contemplated:

"It is necessary to declare at this stage, quite categorically, that we oppose our party entering any coalition government wherein decisive control is held by a party that has proved time and again its reluctance to move against the capitalist order, and furthermore has demonstrated in action its essentially anti-working-class character. We do not believe that the character of the SLFP is determined by the declarations of one or another of its individual leaders. Its character has been revealed by its whole history during its years in power. In this sense we see no reason for changing our characterization of it as a party essentially functioning within the framework of capitalism and utilized by certain layers of the bourgeoisie as a possible bulwark against the growing forces of the working class. Any form of coalition with such a party, as long as it remains the dominant majority within such a coalition, can only lead to the immobilization of the left in advance and *its becoming itself a target for the growing resentment of the masses.*" (our emphasis)

Today, not only the UNP [United National party] but even some of the erstwhile colleagues of the LSSP leaders in the SLFP are making it appear that it was Dr. N.M. Perera, as Minister of Finance, who was primarily responsible for attacks on mass living standards carried out by the United Front Government during his tenure of office. This is undoubtedly a distortion of the true position. There can be no question as to the responsibility of the entire SLFP leadership, as well as that of the CP, for the policies, financial and otherwise, that have been pursued by the United Front Government.

What we have to point out is that the LSSP, together with the SLFP and the CP, has also been responsible for direct attacks on the human and democratic rights of the people under the Emergency, that still prevails. The suppression and virtual liquidation of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna in 1971 is especially noteworthy in this connection.

It was neither on the issue of the defence of mass living standards, nor on the issue of the defence of the democratic rights of the people, nor for the restoration of the fundamental right of workers to strike, that the breakup of the United Front has taken place.

It is no more than an outcome of sectional differences within the United Front Government on the distribution of power within the capitalist state, and of the political influence and privileges derived by those who wield such power.

What will be the consequences? For a time, there is bound to be dismay and confusion in the ranks of the LSSP and amongst its political following. This will affect the trade unions and the student and other organisations controlled by the LSSP, with demoralisation in and defections from them. There will also be considerable dismay and disheartening amongst those supporters of the CP and the SLFP itself

who believed that the United Front Government was anti-imperialist and "progressive," by reason of the participation of the LSSP, together with the CP, in it. The shattering of the United Front by Mrs. Bandaranaike, with the subsequent endorsement of her action by the Executive Committee of the SLFP, will serve to dispel the illusions of such people.

The Communist Party, in any case, will find it difficult, without the assistance of the LSSP, to continue to maintain the myth of the progressive character of the so-called national bourgeoisie, said to be represented by the SLFP. They will now have to decide whether to promote "the unity of all progressive forces," from inside the Government, or from outside it.

Our position has always been that the SLFP is a capitalist party, though it has a mass middle class and some working class following, and even though there are certain differences between it and the UNP, which is a more conservative capitalist party, in relation to Imperialism and in regard to state control in the capitalist economy. When the LSSP first entered into a coalition government with the SLFP, under Mrs. Bandaranaike's leadership, in June 1964, those of us who then belonged to the LSSP broke away from it and condemned that action as a betrayal of the working class and the Left movement, for that reason. We pointed out then that Mrs. Bandaranaike had turned to the LSSP leadership for its assistance in the maintenance of capitalist rule in this country, as the SLFP leadership had found it difficult to do so by itself, in the face of rising working class militancy and mass discontent at that time. Today, the fact that the SLFP leadership has dispensed with the services of the LSSP leadership in the government, therefore, causes us no dismay and poses no dilemma.

For all those sections of the masses that had realised the counterrevolutionary and essentially reactionary character of the United Front Government, in relation to the working class and the broad masses, before it was broken up, the task continues to be to come together in a united front for the building of a new mass movement of the Left. This is an essential task not only for them but also for all sections of the mass following of the three parties that constituted the United Front. There is no other way for them to defend their interests than by the building of such a movement of the Left, anew. This can be done only on an anticapitalist basis, and only under a leadership that bases itself firmly upon the working class and the development of the class struggle for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the establishment of a Workers' and Peasants' Government.

In today's context, such a movement must necessarily struggle for the ending of

the Emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, including the Public Security Act, under which the Emergency is maintained, and the Criminal Justice Commissions Act, as well as the release of all political prisoners held in custody under

Chornovil Demands Right to Emigrate From USSR

[Ukrainian dissident Vyacheslav Chornovil, currently detained in a Soviet prison camp, sent the following letter to Nikolai V. Podgorny, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, March 1. The text is being circulated by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners,* which has provided the translation.]

* * *

For the last ten years my status in Soviet society has been determined not by my educational level, abilities or aspirations, but by the dictates of the KGB. For my attempts to hold my own opinions on a number of aspects of Soviet life and to express these opinions openly I have been deprived of everything: the opportunity to work in my field and to publish, the inviolability of my private life, and protection from slander. Ultimately, I was deprived of my freedom for a period of many years.

The organs of repression have assigned to me (as well as to a whole group of members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia) a role of their own invention—the role of “material” evidence of the validity of the dubious theory that ideological struggle and ideological diversion are becoming more intense in the period of détente in international relations (this theory can be regarded as the modern version of the Stalinist thesis on the intensification of the class struggle in proportion to [our] approach to communism, which served as a creative platform for the mass repressions of the 30s and 40s).

Not only did the KGB resort to a thoroughly fantastic interpretation of existing facts in its concoction of my “case,” but it did not hesitate to indulge in outright fabrication of a considerable portion of the “charges.” During the “investigation” of my case, the procurator and the court proved to be the obedient instruments of the KGB, thereby giving further proof of the relativity of Soviet laws and the impossibility of relying on them. My arrest and trial were accompanied by harassment of my family and friends, and even my children, and this harassment still continues.

In the conditions that currently prevail in Ukraine, having once been placed on the

either of those two reactionary laws, the restoration of the right to strike and the restoration of the human rights and democratic freedoms of the masses to act in defence of their interests against capitalist exploitation and oppression in any form. □

KGB's blacklist means that I will remain a target of repression for the rest of my life if I refuse to become a moral monster, an eventuality I absolutely reject.

And so there is no guarantee that after the completion of my long term of imprisonment the KGB will not fabricate another “case” and imprison me for a third time behind barbed wire.

And so there is no guarantee that I will not be pronounced insane (such threats have already been made) and locked up for the rest of my life in “Ward No. 6” as was done to M. Plakhotnyuk, V. Ruban and a number of other Ukrainians.

And so there is no guarantee that in order to settle accounts with me they will not imprison someone close to me, for such attempts have already been made with respect to my wife and my sister.

And so, finally, there is no guarantee that I will not be physically destroyed or deliberately crippled. For only such intentions can justify the scene of brutal sadism arranged by the Lviv KGB on February 11 of this year when in addition to being forced on a long and difficult journey in a state of health which should have precluded transporting, I was tortured: debilitated by a hunger strike and ill, I was put in irons and then held, naked and barefoot, for more than three hours in the freezing cold.

Having no wish to remain a victim of the KGB for the rest of my life and vegetate in conditions in which fundamental human rights and my very life are under constant threat, I ask the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to relieve me of my Soviet citizenship and after my release to grant me permission to leave the USSR. Taking into account existing precedents, I will not object to being released before my term is up and expelled from the USSR.

At the same time, not wishing to sever my spiritual ties with my homeland, without which I cannot imagine my existence, in the event of my official change of citizenship, I will continue to consider myself also a citizen of Ukraine, where I will return when Ukrainian patriotism is no longer regarded as a crime and is removed from the “protection” of the KGB.

Irrespective of your reply, from the moment of the submission of this statement, that is, from March 1, 1975, I cease to consider myself a citizen of the USSR. Until the time that I am granted (in person or in

The Chornovil Case

Vyacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil, a journalist by profession, was born January 1, 1938, in Cherkassy Province in the Ukraine. After graduating from the journalism school of the University of Kiev in 1960, he worked as an editor in the Lviv television studio and on the editorial staffs of several publications. He is a former member of the Komsomol (Young Communist League).

Chornovil's first encounter with the KGB, the Soviet secret police, came in 1966 when he was sentenced to three months at hard labor for refusing to testify at the closed trial of four Ukrainian dissidents in Lviv. He is best known as the author of the *Chornovil Papers* (McGraw-Hill, 1969), an exposé of the frame-up trials of thirty Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in 1965.

He was rearrested January 13, 1972, during a wave of arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals and dissidents. On April 12, 1973, he was sentenced to seven years hard labor and five years exile on charges of engaging in anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (article 62 of the Ukrainian criminal code).

absentia) citizenship by any democratic country of the world, I will regard myself as a person without official citizenship with all the consequences that this decision entails.

I am forwarding a copy of this statement to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

March 1, 1975

V. Chornovil

Simultaneously, I sent a statement to the office of the Procuracy informing them that from March 1, “I consider myself to be a person who is being forcibly held in the USSR,” as well as that “I refuse all contact with the KGB (conversations and such), because I consider the KGB to be an immoral and antisocial organization.” Shortly after this, I was summoned by the camp's KGB representative, Lt. Zuyko. His comment regarding my refusal to speak with him was as follows: “I've had others who refused to talk, but the things I said to them made them speak up immediately. The same will happen in your case.” The future will show how this threat is carried out in practice. In the meantime, I have petitioned the Canadian Government to grant me Canadian citizenship and to intercede on behalf of my release and exit from the USSR. I sent my appeal to the Canadian embassy in Moscow, but I am certain that the administration [of the camp] has not forwarded it. □

*P.O. Box 142, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

A Palestinian Strategy

By Said Hammami

[The following paper by the Palestine Liberation Organization's London representative, Said Hammami, was presented at a March 20-22 seminar in London on "The Future of Palestine" sponsored by the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding. We have taken the text from the April 18 issue of the weekly news bulletin *SWASIA*.

[In its introduction to the article, *SWASIA* noted: "In discussion at the seminar, Mr. Hammami said that he believed the views expressed in his paper represented the majority view among the Palestinians. He noted that the paper had been presented to the political department of the PLO which had agreed, after some modifications had been made, that he should present it at the seminar as his personal view of how Palestinian policy was developing,"]

* * *

"I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand."

—Yasser Arafat, at the U.N. General Assembly, November 13, 1974.

We Palestinians believe that the creation of the State of Israel was a grave political error, one which has done grievous harm to the interests of all concerned—the world community, the Great Powers, the Jewish people themselves and, of course, our own Palestinian people. But it was not merely an error, it was also a crime. A crime perpetrated against the natural, fundamental and inalienable rights of the Palestinians. There is really no need to argue this. The facts speak clearly for themselves to anyone who listens with an open mind. And it seems to me that now at last—though far too late—the reality of this error and this crime is fairly well recognised and accepted throughout the world, as the UN debate on Palestine in November 1974 clearly shows—except of course among those whose minds are closed to any facts or arguments which do not suit the demands of political Zionism.

I say "political" Zionism because it is this that has caused all the trouble in Palestine. With the original objective of providing a refuge for those Jews genuinely in need of one, we Palestinians had no quarrel. It was only our apprehension that this concept was to be distorted into a political dominion at our expense—an apprehension which was to be so tragically justified by events—that led us to oppose the Zionist colonization of our homeland and the violence with which it was forced upon us.

Holding as we do this view of the creation

of Israel, it is entirely natural that we should wish and hope that one day this interloper state will disappear from the scene in the Middle East. Most of us believe that some day, sooner or later, Israel, as it exists today—a racist, exclusive Zionist State—will indeed disappear. We will rejoice when that happens, but we would prefer it to happen peacefully and by mutual agreement, rather than amid violence and recrimination. Meanwhile we will do whatever is in our power to further that happy day—a happy day not only for ourselves and our Arab brothers and for the world at large, but also for the Jewish people throughout the world, and not least, for the poor benighted citizens of Israel who have been so corrupted and misled by their Zionist rulers. Everybody will be better off when this racist, colonialist anachronism has gone.

This does *not* mean that we, the Palestinians of my generation, are determined to "drive into the sea" the Jews now living in Israel. That is a myth propagated by Israel and the World Zionist Movement in order to reinvoke the spectre of genocide and to excite world sympathy for Israel and world antipathy towards Palestinians.

Jewish Immigration

As Yasser Arafat stated in his speech at the UN, we believe that all Jews who are living in Israel must have the right to remain there. And in principle, we are prepared to accept that Jews living abroad who are really in need of a refuge and a new home should continue to be permitted to come and settle in Palestine. There was never any objection on our part to the immigration of such *bona fide* refugees until political Zionism sought to make use of them as the advance guard for the establishment of a settler state. But in practice we would maintain that on grounds of justice and relative need the "ingathering" of *our* exiles, the Palestine refugees, ought to take priority.

We make no apology for our opposition to the Zionist State as it exists today. We have every right and every reason to oppose it and we shall continue to do so, so long as it retains its present Zionist structure and denies to the indigenous Palestinians the rights it confers automatically on Jewish immigrants from anywhere else in the world. Let there be no doubt about this. Whatever settlement may emerge from Geneva or elsewhere will continue to be criticised and condemned by Palestinians so long as it envisages the continued existence of a racist state in Israel open

to Jews from all over the world but closed to its original Arab inhabitants.

Now, before anyone runs away with the idea that what I am saying is confirmation of Israeli and Zionist allegations about the hopeless intransigence of the Palestinians and their determination to wreck the present hopes of peace in the Middle East, I would like to observe that it is by no means unheard of for a government or a country or a people to have to live with a state of affairs of which it does not approve, while continuing to declare its opposition to that state of affairs and its determination to do what it can to change it. The world cannot expect us to approve the maintenance of the present Zionist state of Israel. But we recognize that we may have to live with it for the time being until "insha'allah" [God willing], a better basis for coexistence emerges between our people and the Jewish people now settled in our land.

If it is right for Western democracies to look forward to a day when white supremacy in South Africa and Rhodesia will be replaced by a form of democratic rule under which white, black and colored people belonging to those countries will live together in peace and as equals, it is just as legitimate for us Palestinians to look forward to a day when Zionist supremacy in Israel will be replaced by a democratic system in which Jews, Moslems and Christians belonging to this land will live together in peace and equality. If we continue to proclaim this as our aim we are *not* sabotaging peace (as the Israeli Government would have everyone believe), any more than the British Government and indeed the United Nations are sabotaging peace when they call for an end to white racist rule in Rhodesia.

Israeli and Zionist propaganda habitually and, I believe, deliberately, confuses principle and practice in this matter and tries to convince the world that, because all Palestinians condemn in principle the Zionist state of Israel (as they all undoubtedly do), therefore they are all committed to its destruction by violence and force. Palestinian leaders may speak, as Yasser Arafat did at New York, of "living together in a framework of just peace" and of not wishing "one drop of either Arab or Jewish blood to be shed." But whatever they say is ignored or brushed aside. For Israeli Zionist propagandists it is enough that we are opposed to political Zionism and its manifestation in Israel; that must mean that we are hell-bent on its overthrow by violence and conflict and know no other way of achieving our end. But of course the one proposition does not necessarily follow from the other—though the *non sequitur* may not be obvious to Israelis, who have more reason than most to fear the truth of the adage that "those who live by the sword shall die by the sword."

Palestinian 'Terrorism'

To turn now from principle to practice and method, I must first deal with the vexed question of Palestinian "terrorism," as it is usually called in the Western news media, or, as I would prefer to call it, "counter-terrorism" since it is in fact the product of and response to the state terrorism which Israel has pursued towards the Palestinians since the Zionist state was first established by violence and terror in 1948.

I am myself a man of peace and I deplore violence in political affairs, particularly when it involves innocent people who are not a party to the conflict. But by the normal and accepted standards of patriotic duty I do not believe that anyone can justly condemn Palestinians for taking up arms against Israeli oppression. One may disagree with their choice of targets and may reject the violence of some of their actions. But in principle they have every bit as much justification for resorting to armed struggle against the oppressors of their people and the occupiers of their country as had the Maquis in France during World War II. Indeed, Israel's prolonged cruelty towards the Palestinians and violations of their rights, coupled with the international community's lamentable failure over so many years to put right the wrongs done to the Palestinians, afford a special justification for the Palestinians to resort to armed struggle. What else were they to do?

Harming the Cause?

As a practical matter, it is often said by Western observers that the Palestinian militants are harming their own cause by their acts of violence, and there is obviously some truth in this insofar as these acts may turn world opinion against them and lose the Palestinians sympathy among their fellow-men. But against this two questions may be put. First, is there any evidence to show that the Palestinians have anything very positive to gain from the sympathy of a world which showed itself so indifferent to their plight during the years before they took up arms on any significant scale? What practical value has sympathy, in the face of Israeli intransigence and Zionist manipulation of the news media? And second, is there not ample evidence that it was only when the Palestinians resorted to armed struggle that the rest of the world began taking them seriously? Seven years ago, when the Security Council adopted its famous Resolution 242, the only mention it made of the Palestinians and their rights was a reference to the need to achieve "a just settlement of the refugee problem." Can anyone doubt that, if the Resolution were being adopted today, it would make much more specific reference to the Palestinians

not as refugees but as a people possessing their own national rights?

Non-violent and Evolutionary Means

However, having now won a hearing from world opinion (primarily, I believe, as a result of militant action) the practical question for our Palestinian leadership in the context of possible peace negotiations is whether a continuation of the armed struggle against Israel is the most *effective* method to be pursued. In particular, if we assume that a probable outcome of any peace settlement is likely to be the establishment of some kind of Palestinian state on territory recovered from Israel, it seems to me that a very necessary and useful subject for discussion is whether we may then hope to pursue our unaltered, ultimate aim of a "state in partnership" covering the whole area of Israel/Palestine by non-violent and evolutionary means rather than by a continuation of armed struggle.

At the outset, let me admit at once that, even if such a strategy were adopted, it might well not be possible to rule out entirely continued sporadic acts of violence by individuals driven to desperation by continued injustice on the part of Israel under Zionist leadership. I am afraid that this is the penalty which Israel and the Israelis must be prepared to put up with for having taken another people's birth-right and having imposed their state on another people's ancestral land. But the possibility, even the likelihood, of occasional acts of violence by individuals ought not, I suggest, to discourage us from trying to follow a non-violent, evolutionary Palestinian approach to a tolerable form of coexistence between Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs, following on the establishment of a limited or partial peace settlement.

Basically, the question for the Palestinians, is whether they can afford to pursue a wait-and-see policy in the expectation that sooner or later, the Zionist structure of Israel is bound to disintegrate and give way to some more permanent and more acceptable form of coexistence. This is a speculative field of discussion and no one can be dogmatic about how the future may develop. But let me outline a possible projection of the future if a Palestinian state were established on a part of the Palestinian homeland and if the Palestinian leadership then decided to pursue an evolutionary strategy towards its ultimate goal of a "state in partnership."

Our first task would then be to secure a massive injection of external aid for the economic and social development of the Palestinian State with a view to putting it, in time, on an equal footing with Israel in terms of industrial, technological and educational progress. I have no doubt that ample funds for an intensive program of development would be readily forthcoming

from the Arab World and also, I would hope, from the international community at large.

An essential aspect of this program of development would be the creation of employment opportunities within the Palestine State with a view to maximizing its capacity to support population. For our second task would be to promote the progressive "ingathering" of the Palestinian exiles now living in diaspora and their rehabilitation on their own soil.

Dialogue and Open Borders

Thirdly, we would aim to open and maintain a continuous and developing dialogue with any elements within Israel who were prepared to meet and talk with Palestinians regarding the form of a mutually acceptable coexistence which might in time be developed between the two peoples living in the country to which they both lay claim. We have our own ideas on this subject of course, but we would approach the dialogue with open minds, ready to listen to what Israelis have to suggest as well as to put forward our own suggestions.

To promote confidence and a frank and realistic exchange of ideas, consideration could be given to the maintenance of open frontiers between Israel and the Palestinian State and to permitting, even encouraging, a mutual interpenetration of commerce, industry and cultural activities. Within reasonable limits and having regard to the need to provide for the ingathering of the exiled Palestinians, one need not even exclude the idea of allowing Israeli Jews to live in the Palestinian state (not, of course, in paramilitary settlements, like the existing *nahals*, but as peaceful private individuals prepared to live in harmony with their neighbors) provided they accepted Palestinian citizenship and provided a corresponding concession were made to enable Palestinians to go and live in Israel. In the Middle East of today, these ideas may sound like a dream. But this is the Palestine of tomorrow which the Palestinians dream of, as Yasser Arafat said at the UN.

All of this will take time and must depend on the maintenance of effective security for the infant Palestinian State. This is a real problem. We have heard so much in the past of Israel's need for security, but to us Palestinians and to other Arabs living in the countries adjacent to Israel this seems like putting the boot on the wrong foot. We believe, on the basis of our experience over the past twenty-seven years, that we are more in need of protection against Israel than Israel is of protection against Arabs. I know that Western opinion has difficulty in believing this, but the truth is—and this is attested to by international peace-keepers like General E.L.M. Burns and General Carl von Horn, as well as by Israelis themselves—that it has suited the book of

Israel's leaders in the past to have conditions of instability prevailing on her borders so that these would be exploited from time to time to provide pretexts for renewed war and renewed opportunities of expansion. If a limited settlement is to survive and gain time for the two peoples to learn to live together at peace and in mutual tolerance, the first necessity is to provide the most cast-iron safeguards possible against a Ben Gurion or a Moshe Dayan or an Arik Sharon contriving in future to manufacture a new crisis and a new conflict to upset the settlement if peace seems to be working to the disadvantage of Zionism in Israel. That will be the real risk once a settlement is reached. For our part, we Palestinians would be prepared to accept and indeed press for the most stringent and effective international safeguards *provided* they were directed not less at Israel than at the new Palestinian State and Israel's other Arab neighbors.

Changes in Israel

It will not be easy—indeed I would say it is virtually impossible—for Zionist Israel, penned back within the 1967 borders and shorn of its dynamic expansionism, to live in peace with its neighbors and still to survive. Once those conditions have been established, either Israel will have to burst out of them and resume its aggressive role or it will have to change internally and shed its Zionist character. I hope the latter will take place and that is why I have placed such stress on the needs for safeguards against renewed aggression and expansionism by Israel.

Consider what is likely to happen within Israel if a settlement emerges in Geneva which includes the establishment of a Palestinian state and which can be stabilized by the introduction of really effective safeguards against future breaches of the peace.

Up to now, the momentum of Zionism has been maintained by the fear of insecurity, by anti-Semitism (real or alleged), by threats of genocide and extermination and so on. Once stability and peace are ensured the momentum will be lost and the whole idea of political Zionism will lose much of its appeal both for Jews living in Israel and for their supporters outside. In these circumstances there is bound to be a falling-off in the massive flow of external aid into Israel. Even with this aid, Israel has not found it easy to survive and has had constantly to importune its patient supporters for more. Without it, Israel is certainly not viable and would be quite unable to support the highly artificial level of economic activity which it has had in the past. As before the 1967 war, unemployment and severe balance-of-payments problems are likely to coincide. The level of taxation, already extremely

burdensome, will have to be raised even higher. Again as before 1967, it is likely that the rate of emigration will sharply increase and more than offset any new immigration. (The Israeli authorities publish no figures for emigration from Israel, but reliable sources indicate that it is already almost as large as today's much reduced level of immigration.) Meanwhile, as a necessary part of the settlement, Israel will have had to withdraw from her 1967 conquests and to accept back at least a substantial number of the Palestinian inhabitants uprooted in 1947 and 1948. This will mark the end of an era for the Israelis, the end of a heady, intoxicating adventure in which their leaders have taught them to expect continuous success.

Already a growing number of Israelis are alive to the need for a new and more constructive attitude towards the Palestinians; they are aware that, without it, the sands are beginning to run out for them. As a result a new wind is blowing within Israel, a wind of truth and disillusionment. The conjunction of all these factors will drive all sensible, thoughtful people within Israel to reappraise their country's future and its capacity to survive as an exclusive Zionist enclave—or "ghetto"—in the Arab World.

Cantonal Arrangements

Meanwhile also, the Palestinians will be sitting on the borders of Israel in our own Palestinian State with its embassies in

Washington and London, Paris and Moscow, and its representatives seated (as they should have been long ago) in the United Nations. With the rising power of the Arab World behind us, we shall be watching and waiting, developing our human and material resources, gathering strength and drawing in our dispersed people with all their rich talents of industry, intellect and adaptability. And we shall be offering to anyone who cares to listen in Israel the chance to sit down and talk with us like sensible human beings about our future, on the basis not of conflict but of peaceful and mutually advantageous coexistence. We hope that it will be possible before long to work out a form of coexistence which will enable the two peoples to live together within a reunited Palestine, while maintaining through cantonal arrangements and a constitutional division of legislative and administrative powers the distinctive character of each.

Not in our lifetime? Perhaps—though once the process of change begins within Israel it may proceed faster than anyone thinks. But in any case we Palestinians can afford to wait. We have learned to be patient through many painful years. Time, as well as justice, is on our side. And perhaps power also, in the fullness of time. One day men will be reading in their history books about the episode of Zionist Israel and looking back on it, will see that it was, after all, only a passing aberration in the course of history in the Middle East. □

Protest Conditions of Political Prisoners in India

[The following two documents appeared in India in typescript. Because of the rigid censorship regulations imposed after Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's June 26 dictatorial coup, appeals such as these cannot be legally published in India. Some have circulated clandestinely.

[The first is a letter, dated August 5, to the president of India by twenty opposition members of Parliament. The second is an undated letter to Home Minister Brahmananda Reddy by three Communist party of India (Marxist) members of Parliament from the state of West Bengal.]

* * *

We feel very much concerned at the informations and reports which we are receiving regarding the high-handed and inhuman treatment of the jail authorities and the executive towards the political prisoners who have been arrested since the second proclamation of emergency¹ and

seek your personal intervention in the matter.

The political prisoners are now being treated in a much worse manner than during the British rule. Their whereabouts are kept a closely guarded secret from their relatives. Even in case of Members of Parliament, the news of their arrest and whereabouts are being published in the parliamentary bulletins and not in the press and their relatives also are not being informed.

From the reports which we are receiving, it appears that Shri Jayaprakash Narayan, Shri Morarji Desai, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, Shri K.R. Malkani, Chaudhury Charan Singh² and many others in different parts

Bangladesh independence struggle. It is still in effect.—IP

2. Narayan was the leader of the mass anticorruption movement based in Bihar state. Desai was a former deputy prime minister and is the head of the Congress (Organization), which split from the ruling Congress party in 1969. Bosu is the leader of the Communist party of India (Marxist) in West Bengal. K.R. Malkani was the

of the country have been kept in solitary confinement. Most of them are not even allowed to meet their relatives or lawyers.

The jail codes of various States are not being complied with in respect of political prisoners and they are refused even to have a look at the jail codes and jail regulations.

We are surprised and shocked to receive information and reports, the authenticity of which we have no reason to disbelieve, that third degree methods are being employed [on] many political prisoners in jails and police lock-ups. In this connection the recent statement of Shri Brahmananda Reddy to the effect that police are not to use third degree method is significant.

Reading materials and other amenities are not being allowed to the political prisoners. In many cases, food in accordance with jail codes and regulations is not being supplied to political prisoners and letters written by or to them are being withheld or delayed for unreasonably long time.

We request you to see that the authorities concerned are prevailed upon to treat the political prisoners in a normal manner and notify the fact of their arrest as well as their whereabouts to their relatives within the shortest possible time and treat them in a human way.

We would further request you to advise the Govt. to allow an all party delegation of Members of Parliament to visit jails to look into the condition of the detenus.

Thanking you. Yours sincerely,

Samar Mukherjee, Communist party of India (Marxist); *Dinen Bhattacharya*, CPI(M); *K.C. Halder*, CPI(M); *K. Mathew Kurian*, CPI(M); *Salil Kr. Ganguli*, CPI(M); *Ram Deo Singh*, Socialist party; *Prasanhai Mehga*, Congress (Organization); *K.S. Chavda*, Congress (O); *B.S. Parmar*, Congress (O); *Digvijay Narain Singh*, Congress (O); *S.S. Mariaswamy*, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (Dravidian Advancement Association); *M. Kadershah*, DMK; *Jagannathrao Joshi*, Jan Sangh; *R.V. Bade*, JS; *Shiv Kumar Shashtri*, Bharatiya Lok Dal; *M.P. Varma*, BLD; *Jagbir Singh*, BLD *Kumari Maniben Patel*, Congress (O); *Nanubhai N. Patil*, Congress (O); *T.N. Singh*, Congress (O).

* * *

We are extremely perturbed to learn that a Member of Parliament, Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, is being treated in Hissar Jail in an almost inhuman manner. We understand that he has been kept in complete isolation in a solitary cell in Hissar Jail. No person other than those on duty are allowed to go

in. The cell has no window or door excepting a small ventilator at ceiling height and a grilled iron gate. When there is a dust storm, he has no protection from such storm. The cell also gets flooded when there is a down-pour. We further understand that to make the isolation complete, the jail authorities have fixed two thick blankets on the courtyard gate so that nothing outside is visible to him. Over and above, a Kutcha brick and mud mortar buffer wall has been erected to make the invisibility doubly sure. For a number of days there were no switches for the lights that were on in the cell. So he had to sleep with a powerful bulb on throughout the night which attracted thousands of insects. Subsequently the bulb was removed but he had to live and eat in darkness. The fan which has been provided for him (which is also provided for other convicts) hardly works due to frequent voltage fluctuations, apart from load-shedding. There are a number of open latrines and drains near his cell as a result whereof the place is infested with flies. The open water reservoir adjoining the latrine is also a source of danger. His cell is surrounded by wards of dangerous convicts who are often noisy and boisterous. Doctors have asked him to try and have sound sleep because of the conditions of his health, but due to frequent checkings during the night and very loud announcements and calls from the tower, his sleep is frequently disturbed every night.

So far as we are aware a detenie is put in a cell as a punishment for disobeying the jail authorities. The other convicts are allowed to go to canteen, play games, watch television, but a MISA³ detenie is not allowed to go anywhere. Shri Bosu requested the Superintendent of Jail many times to give him these minimum facilities, but the same have not been heeded.

It appears that these harassments and strains and inhuman treatment are being caused to Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu in a pre-planned manner and contrary to the provisions of the relevant rules. These acts which appear to be deliberate have caused severe mental and physical strain to him and we understand that the Jail Doctor had to call a senior specialist to examine him and now he is under his treatment and is being given medicines and tranquillisers.

We understand that the Haryana (Conditions of Detention) Order 1971 provides that:

a) Detenie should be preferably kept in wards and be allowed to associate freely with other convicts (Para 5).

b) Only convicts of suspicious character are to be locked up at nights and reasons therefore should be recorded in the Journal by the Superintendent (Para 6). The rules also provide that the outer gate of the Jail

compound shall [illegible in original].

c) A detenie may even proceed beyond Jail limit with Superintendent's permission (Para 7).

d) A detenie can have walks inside the compound and play games like Badminton and Volley Ball (Para 21).

e) A detenie can voluntarily express his willingness to do works of his own choice and get paid for it (Para 22).

It will appear that all these rules are being deliberately violated to put Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu to maximum harassment and difficulties.

Shri Bosu had offered to do work in the jail but his offer has been turned down. He wanted to do some work to keep him as much physically fit as possible and to have some diversion, but contrary to the rules the jail authorities have refused him permission.

Under para 15(4) of the above Order it is obligatory on the part of the jail authorities to ensure that no undue delay take place in transmission and delivery of letters from or to a detenie. But Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu's letter dated July 9, 1975 written to his son was never transmitted or delivered. For about a fortnight he had no news from his home and yet he was refused transmission of telephonic communication through the Superintendent of the Jail although that is permissible under para 15(7) of the said Order. He had very little clothes for his use and in spite of repeated verbal and written requests nothing has been done by the jail authorities to arrange for the supply of the clothes, contrary to para 8 of the said Order.

It needs hardly to be emphasised that a detenie under the MISA is not a convict. But it is significant that Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu has been denied minimum facilities which even a convict gets. Not only Shri Bosu has not been informed of the supposed grounds for his detention, one cannot help emphasising that a special attitude has been adopted towards him so that he is made to suffer as much as possible. A person like a Member of Parliament is detained without trial and without being informed of the grounds of his detention. He does not know why he has been detained. The minimum one can expect in such circumstances [is] that some sort of civilised and human treatment is adopted in the case of detenues. But it appears that in the case of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, the minimum human approach is not being extended.

In the circumstances we request you to look into the matter with the seriousness it deserves and with expedition so that the ordinary facilities of a MISA detenie are accorded to him and he is not kept in a solitary confinement.

In the case of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu, his son, in spite of repeated requests and prayers, has not been allowed to see him.

3. Maintenance of Internal Security Act.—IP

editor of *Motherland*, the newspaper of the right-wing Jan Sangh. Charan Singh is chairman of the rightist Bharatiya Lok Dal (People's party of India).—IP

His wife is in Delhi waiting for an opportunity to meet her husband but she has also been denied the opportunity. We think you will agree that this hardly befits any responsible Government or authority. We would request you to see that interviews are allowed to the near relatives of Shri Jyotirmoy Bosu. We would also request you to transfer him to Tihar Jail, Delhi, so that the interviews, if granted to the members of his family, can be held without much

difficulty, and his minimum necessity like clothes etc. can also be provided to him through the jail authorities without much trouble for the members of his family.

Expecting that this will receive your most earnest and serious consideration and with regards,

Samar Mukherjee
Somnath Chatterjee
Salil Ganguli

Toward a Socialist Revolution in Panama

[The following statement by the Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria (FSR—Revolutionary Socialist Faction) of Panama was printed in the June issue of its newspaper *Revolución Socialista*. The same issue devoted a number of pages to an exposition of Trotsky's views on the bureaucracy in the workers states. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The Fracción Socialista Revolucionaria is a newly formed revolutionary organization. It was established following a split of three-quarters of the members of the *Círculo Camilo Torres*, who found it difficult to do student, working-class, and peasant work inside this group.

The formation of the FSR takes place at a time when historical conditions nationally and internationally are marked by a rise in mass struggles.

On the international level, the class struggle has sharpened significantly, as is shown by the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionists, the situation in Portugal, the workers struggles in Europe, the capitalist economic crisis, and the crisis of leadership in the bourgeoisie. All this, combined with the inadequacy of the revisionism and reformism of the Communist parties and of the *foquistas* (the heritage of the petty-bourgeois romanticism that reduces the Cuban experience to its purely military aspect), makes it possible in Panama to respond in such a way as to provide leadership for the explosions of the class struggle.

On the national level, the bourgeois reformists who have ruled since 1968 are using bonapartist tactics in an attempt to sidetrack the class struggle through a policy of demagogic anti-imperialism. At the same time they permit the deepest possible capitalist penetration—to the very core of our society. The historic struggle of our people for the recovery of our principal natural resource, the canal, has been de-toured down the wrong path by their posing the task as a national rather than a class question.

They have also deflected the peasant movement from its main struggles by carrying out a phony land reform. They are trying to bog the student movement down in confusion by giving governmental support to its fascist-like sectors (the leadership of the FEP¹). The aim is to prevent the movement from carrying out what would be its most important political action in the history of our country.

The working class, although organizationally dispersed and held in the iron ideological grip of the bourgeoisie and the reformists, is nonetheless now putting pressure on the bureaucracy in an effort to halt the deterioration of its living conditions and to win back its rights.

The FSR arose out of the need posed by the class struggle to build an organization able to present a coherent socialist alternative.

On the ideological level, this process of regroupment required breaking with the heritage of petty-bourgeois romanticism and clearly differentiating ourselves from the revisionism of the Communist parties and their conciliationist, reformist practices.

The FSR believes that different groups, activists, and vanguard cadres of the working class should converge to form the nucleus of a party.

Some circles have the notion that the formation of so many left organizations is harmful, that it promotes division. They do not feel that there are differences justifying such a situation.

This view is widely held in broad circles, above all among the petty bourgeoisie. It arises from a failure to understand that the existence of different political organizations is a consequence of the class divisions of society and does not depend on the good or bad intentions of this or that individual.

Thus, the roots of the differences over tactics, strategy, and program lie in the class struggle.

Many differences that at first glance may

seem trivial in reality go much deeper. The Chilean experience provides a full array of examples that bear this out. How do you deal with the ill-named middle class? How do you fight against the liberal revolution? In Chile, these questions were resolved in a reformist way, not a revolutionary one, with petty-bourgeois solutions, not proletarian ones. The results are well known. The imperialists and the bourgeoisie found favorable terrain for massacring the Chilean working class and revolutionary movement.

Those who say that what Panama needs is a democratic revolution, not a socialist one, are totally ignorant of the real situation in the country.

They think the problem of the Panamanian masses flows more from lack of capitalist development and obstacles created by feudal or semifeudal relations than from the effects of the bourgeois system of exploitation and domination that exists in our country.

Those who propose a bourgeois-democratic revolution think that imperialism is something foreign against which all classes of the nations—the people as a whole—must fight. They do not understand that imperialism is intimately linked to the internal structure of the country and closely associated with the bourgeoisie. They leave aside the fact that in Panama, as in any other country of Latin America, the struggle against imperialism is inevitably linked to the struggle against the national bourgeoisie.

The FSR maintains that the decisive force in the process of revolutionary transformation is the working class. What is on the agenda is the struggle to overturn the capitalist economic system.

A grave defect in the position favoring a democratic revolution is that it leads to political attitudes in the workers movement and in other sectors of defending conciliation with the bourgeoisie (national unity).

Solving the country's economic and social problems and building socialism requires that we first build a political power that can make workers democracy a reality.

The bourgeoisie and imperialists are opposed to this.

The FSR calls for a struggle against the capitalists, the imperialists, and their objective allies—the reformists and opportunists.

CIA, CONEP, CAPAC²: The people will smash them.

Military bases out.

Socialist revolution or caricature of the revolution. □

1. Federación de Estudiantes de Panamá—Student Federation of Panama.

2. Consejo Nacional de la Empresa Privada—National Council of Private Enterprise; Cámara Panameña de la Construcción—Panamanian Chamber of Construction.