

# AFTER FRANCO, THE DELUGE?



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## After Franco, the Deluge?

By David Frankel

What is in store for Spain after Franco?

The *Economist*, Britain's leading financial weekly, gave its assessment in its October 4-10 issue, just a few weeks before the dictator was placed on the "critical" list. "Spain," the *Economist* editors explained, "is a car being driven by a little old man whose eyes are fixed on the rear-vision mirror. He has just taken it through a red light and on to a dangerous crossroads. Can the driver be persuaded to look forward instead of back, or can someone else intervene to slam on the brakes? For if somebody will act—preferably the driver, General Franco, himself—there is still time to avoid a crash."

Now that the driver's hands have dropped from the wheel, a crash is more likely than ever. Marcel Niedergang of *Le Monde* said October 23: "Even a summary balance sheet of the situation is clear. It does not inspire optimism about the short-term prospects for the regime. The number of people who, in spite of everything, are prepared to count on a 'really peaceful' transition of the Francoist regime to a 'post-Franco' period is diminishing. The situation is uncertain and fraught with danger."

Nor is the *New York Times* especially hopeful about the chances of Franco's heir-designate. "From the outset," the editors said in the October 25 issue, "Juan Carlos heavily mortgaged his future to Franco at his designation when he swore on his knees in front of the Generalissimo to uphold Spain's laws and institutions."

In the *Times's* view, this "might not have become a major liability" if the fascist regime had been able to command more widespread support. "Instead, the Prince will take power after a period in which—with Franco's faculties on the wane—the regime has stumbled from one crisis to another, narrowing its base, intensifying repression and alienating former pillars of support, even in the Catholic clergy and the Army. . . ."

### Next Week. . .

"In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective." By Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields.

"The Prince, in short, finds himself tied irrevocably to General Franco and to a narrow and uncertain right-wing base. . . ."

"The outlook for democracy under Juan Carlos is anything but bright. He will be hard put simply to hold together a Spain that once again—as so often in her tumultuous past—has become dangerously polarized."

The bourgeois commentators talk about their concern for democracy in Spain. But the prospect of the Spanish masses actually dismantling the repressive system under which they have suffered for nearly forty years is chilling to the capitalists. They saw what happened in Portugal when Caetano was overthrown; they want no repetition in Spain of the masses taking to the streets to clean out the old regime and install a democracy built along socialist lines.

### Truman's Military Pact

The fear of what would happen in Spain if Franco were to go has been haunting Washington for decades. It was this that prompted President Truman to negotiate a military pact with Spain in 1951 over the objections of London and Paris. Ford's visit to Spain at the end of May was only the latest gesture of support to the fascist regime there, which has been a recipient of U.S. military and economic aid since the 1950s.

There is no indication that Washington's attitude has changed. A leader of the West German Social Democrats, quoted by Craig R. Whitney in the October 27 *New York Times*, referred to this.

"Polls that have been taken indicate that 80 per cent of the Spanish people would oppose dictatorship after Franco's death," he said. "But the democrats of Spain fear that the United States would tolerate it and support it."

Even Juan Carlos, who swore on his knees to uphold the dictatorship, has tried to pawn himself off as a democrat, in response to the pressure for change building up among the Spanish masses. "The restoration of real democracy is his professed goal," Arnaud de Borchgrave said in a *Newsweek* article based on several interviews with the prince.

However, Juan Carlos insists "that Spain must spare no effort to avoid the disorder and chaos that . . . have been mistaken for democracy in some countries."

Of course, in Juan Carlos's view, "extremists" must be excluded from any "real democracy."

The idea that a progressive monarch might be able to forestall an upsurge of the masses was also advanced by the *New York Times*. In its October 25 editorial the *Times* proposed an alternative to the discredited Juan Carlos.

"Moderate and democratic forces," the editors said, "which might once have seen in him a new hope for transforming Spain into a modern, Western European state are now talking again of his father, Don Juan, the legitimate heir to a throne that has been vacant for forty-five years and a liberal who strongly favors a parliamentary democracy."

### Stalinists Promise Their Help

Another proposal on how to assure an orderly transition came from Santiago Carrillo, the head of the Spanish Communist party. "We are prepared to leave for Spain immediately," he said in Paris October 24. Speaking for the Junta Democrática, a coalition of the CP, various Social Democratic groups, and the monarchist supporters of Don Juan, Carrillo called for the establishment of a provisional government based on these forces.

In an interview in the October 6 issue of the German weekly *Der Spiegel*, Carrillo stated, ". . . the construction of a democracy in Spain is still possible if the democratic forces succeed in remaining united to create an alternative to the Franco regime." When asked if the Spanish CP had "definitely rejected the dictatorship of the proletariat and the hegemony of the single party," Carrillo answered in the affirmative, adding, "It has become part of our program."

The Spanish CP's attempts to sell itself as a reliable prop of capitalist order were obviously patterned on the example of the Portuguese CP, which joined the Spínola government of "national salvation" in 1974. In summarizing the speeches of Carrillo and another CP leader at a mass rally in Geneva in June 1974, correspondent Niedergang said in the June 25, 1974, *Le Monde*:

"According to them, the real line of division [in Spain] is between the extremist politicians who are clinging to the principles codified during and after the civil war, and all those, both inside the Franco regime and outside the system, who aspire to a more modern, liberal regime for their country, adapted to the conditions of the Europe of the Common Market. . . ."

This was a program calculated to appeal to the liberal capitalists in Spain, who see the country's future within the context of

the European Economic Community. However, as long as Franco and his system of repression remained, there was too much mass opposition in Europe for the Common Market governments to contemplate admitting the Madrid regime to membership.

This sentiment was indicated by the fact that eight of the nine Common Market governments felt it necessary to withdraw their ambassadors from Madrid during the wave of revulsion that swept Europe in September over the execution of five Spanish political prisoners. On the other hand, the Spanish regime has been afraid that lightening the repression would threaten capitalist stability.

#### Position of Fourth International

As the "Resolution on New Rise of the World Revolution," adopted by the Fourth International in 1969, explained:

"The slow decomposition of the Franco regime, which has lasted more than a decade now, has not been able to produce a 'constitutional' or 'European' solution. This is not primarily due to the resistance put up by the remnants of the Falangist apparatus but to the too explosive nature of the social contradictions in Spain, which in the eyes of the Spanish capitalists, make even municipal elections, freedom of the press and trade-union organization seem too great a threat to the survival of the system. Thus we have not seen the gradual 'liberalization' and progressive 'legalization' of the 'opposition' hoped for not only by the liberal bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrats, and the Social Democrats, but also by the CP."

The removal of Franco from the political scene does not signify a softening of the social contradictions in Spain. On the contrary, the Spanish masses will take it as all the more reason for following the example of the Portuguese workers and peasants. Moreover, if the Spanish workers move into action, the effect on the Portuguese workers would certainly be to re-inspire them in pressing toward socialism.

The effect throughout Europe would be colossal. The Portuguese upsurge, involving a population of nine million persons, was hailed throughout the continent. But Spain has four times that population, and the situation there is far more explosive.

How quickly events move on the Iberian Peninsula remains to be seen. However, one thing is certain: Neither the kingdom set up by Franco as the continuation of his fascist regime, nor a government of "national reconciliation" proposed by the Stalinists and liberals, can meet the needs and aspirations of the Spanish workers and peasants.

After thirty-six years in a pressure cooker, the class struggle in Spain has been building up enormous force. □

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## Portuguese Soldiers Resist Effort to Restore 'Order'

By Gerry Foley

OPORTO—The relationship of forces at the moment in Portugal seems to have been shown most clearly by the struggle of soldiers in two units in this city against the reestablishment of bourgeois military discipline.

In early October the commander of the Northern Military Region, Pires Veloso, tried to transfer a half dozen persons out of the Centro de Instrução de Condução Auto do Porto (CICAP—Oporto Driver Training Center, the local transportation unit). The soldiers called a general assembly of the unit, which voted to reject the transfers. Pires Veloso then sent in a unit of commandos to expel all personnel from the CICAP base. The soldiers' weapons were taken and the dissident unit disbanded.

However, the expelled military personnel took refuge in the barracks of another radical regiment in Oporto, the Regimento de Artilharia da Serra do Pilar (RASP—the Serra do Pilar Artillery Regiment). Radical activists came from military units all over the country to join in the occupation of the RASP base. The clandestine revolutionary organization in the armed forces, Soldados Unidos Vencerão (SUV—Soldiers United Will Win), organized demonstrations in this city in support of RASP and CICAP. A test of strength developed between the northern regional commander and the radical forces within the armed services.

In this confrontation, Pires Veloso was supported by the Socialist party leadership, which expects to wield the preponderant influence in the sixth provisional government, installed in late September. Like the Communist party, which hoped to have the predominant influence in the fifth provisional government as well as the ones that preceded it, the Socialist party has tried to prove to the military that it can assure mass support for the regime. Furthermore, the Socialist party leadership seems to believe, with some foundation, that it can obtain a better share of the spoils only with the help of a strong government.

The SP is a loose electoralist party best adapted to getting the widest spectrum of votes of the left. As an organization, it is extremely weak, almost totally lacking in organizers and disciplined activists, and far inferior to the Communist party in its ability to mobilize its membership in consistent campaigns. This lack of cadres, for example, is one of the main reasons the SP has entered into alliances with the

ultraleft Maoist sectarians of the Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado (MRPP—Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party).

The Stalinists tried first to use their greater organizational and political cohesiveness to gain acceptance by the military as the mass organizers of the regime. In the process, they tended to become increasingly unpopular and lost their political momentum. In this period, from the April 1974 coup to the April 1975 Constituent Assembly elections, it was the Communist party that denounced the Socialists for "demagogy" and "suspicious alliances with ultraleft groups," since the SP, as a loose "broad consensus" party tried to combine support for the government with overtures to the groups on its left.

### Shoe on the Other Foot

Now, since the defeat of the general who allied himself with the CP, Vasco Gonçalves, the shoe is on the other foot. It is the CP that is trying to combine support for the government with overtures to the groups to the left of the mass reformist parties and with "leftist" demagogy. It is the SP that is appealing for "responsibility" by the workers movement and the left in order supposedly to strengthen the government's position against the threat from the right. Now it is the SP that says "all those who do not work are counterrevolutionaries," or "all indiscipline is counterrevolutionary."

Nonetheless, in a different political context, the competition between the two reformist workers parties remains essentially in the same terms. The CP has a narrower appeal but a more determined membership. The SP has a broader appeal but lacks political and organizational cohesiveness.

In the period immediately after the Constituent Assembly elections, the CP leaders apparently believed that the SP was so organizationally weak that it would prove virtually helpless in the test of strength they launched on May 1 in the demonstrations in Lisbon and other cities. Alvaro Cunhal boasted at the time that the SP might be able to get millions of votes but it could not rule with them.

As the contest developed in the summer, the CP leaders' estimate of the SP's strength proved to be inaccurate. The Social Democrats, unlike any of their European

sister parties in decades, were able to mobilize masses of workers and toilers in the streets. That fact probably convinced the majority of the military tops to shift their support to the SP. The violent sectarianism of the CP, reminiscent of the adventurist "third period" when Stalinists characterized the Social Democracy as fascist, undoubtedly helped the SP leaders rally their dispersed forces.

This sectarian demagogy continues to be a factor. It seems to have gained currency in the intellectual circles around the CP and the ultraleft groups attracted by the CP's perspective of a bloc of "activist" forces. While there are indications that the CP leaders are moving slowly toward a new understanding with the SP tops, the ultraleft "third period" rhetoric in the CP-influenced and CP-dominated press has escalated. Most of the newspapers and magazines have a shrill, fanatical, superrevolutionary tone and style that contrasts ironically with a more and more cynical and indifferent attitude on the part of the masses toward such rhetoric.

A kind of bureaucratic symbiosis has developed between the superrevolutionary pretenses of the CP and the "democratic responsibility" of the SP. On the one hand, the SP mobilizations in support of the sixth government have been notably weaker than those against the Gonçalves government in July.

This continues the pattern established in June. The demonstrations in defense of *República* were massive and tended to go in a left direction. The rally in support of President Costa Gomes on June 23 was small and rightist. In fact, the CP may have gained a point with the military as a result. It could argue now that the SP mass mobilizations in July were largely "negative" in character and that the SP cannot mobilize the masses as effectively in support of the government. This tendency has in fact revealed a major weakness of the SP.

However, the sectarian and bullying language of the CP and the ultralefts

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enables the right-wing Social Democratic leaders like Mário Soares to continue to mobilize a substantial proportion of the SP following in support of their present course. Thus, if the demonstrations in support of Pires Veloso in Oporto were considerably smaller than the July 18 rally here in support of democratic rights against the Gonçalves government, they were still massive by all accounts.

The SP rank and file are especially sensitive to the "revolutionary" rhetoric of the CP and the ultralefts in the armed forces. Their demonstrations have been attacked by military units identified with the "extreme left." This, plus the sectarian campaign by the Stalinists and ultralefts against "Social Democracy," inspires fear that the "activist" bloc in the military would turn its guns against them if it could consolidate its position.

At the same time, while reinforcing the SP leaders' control of their ranks, the superrevolutionary rhetoric of the Stalinists is designed to strengthen the CP's grip on the most militant minority. It has the function of maintaining the Stalinists' position as the top command of the militant left. From this position, they hope to be able to pressure the bourgeoisie and gain concessions.

Only in very rare situations of extreme weakness on the part of the bourgeoisie could such activity lead to the overthrow of capitalism. The bourgeoisie is politically weak in Portugal but nonetheless qualitatively stronger than in countries like Vietnam and China where Stalinists have been able to take power.

Besides using the arguments provided by the Stalinists' sectarianism and empty, provocative rhetoric, the Social Democrats are turning increasingly to warnings that unless "stability" can be achieved, the ultraright will exploit the "chaos" in order to stage a comeback. There is some truth in this. The superrevolutionary gestures of the Stalinists and the ultralefts are more effective in frightening the backward petty-bourgeois clientele of the right than in winning mass support for the tasks of making the socialist revolution.

But the SP seems to be exaggerating the threat the right represents at the moment. In fact, the radicalization in Portugal does not seem yet to have been reversed despite the deep split in the working class and the disappointment the masses have suffered in the past year and a half.

The aspirations for a different kind of society that accumulated during the almost fifty years of the Salazarist regime seem to have given the upsurge in Portugal greater staying power than observers outside the country could expect. Despite some signs of growing hostility to politics among the masses, there are still indications of great combativity and optimism in the working



Jornal Novo

FABIÃO: Biding his time.

class and radicalized youth. Moreover, there are some signs of a more critical attitude toward left-wing politics, such as a tendency for the most sectarian Maoist groups to decline.

#### Trotskyists Gain in Oporto

This tendency appeared clearly in the struggle in Oporto to defend the soldiers of RASP and CICAP. The Maoist group that previously dominated the space to the left of the mass reformist parties in this city, the Frente Eleitoral de Comunistas (Marxistas-Leninistas) (FEC[ml]—Electoral Front of Communists [Marxist-Leninist]), was completely bypassed. The group that came to the fore was the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing group of the Fourth International). It was able to play the major role because of its understanding of the need to build a united front.

Although this accomplishment was largely undermined by the influence of the ultraleft and the CP, it was still a major step forward; it resulted in the mobilization of tens of thousands of persons, including thousands of soldiers, in opposition to the plans of the bourgeois government and thus had a powerful national impact.

The bypassing of the Maoists in this process is reminiscent, for example, of what happened in the United States when a

united front in action was built against the war in Vietnam. The sectarian Maoist group that had been influential and growing rapidly up to that time was pushed aside and Maoism in general was dealt a stunning blow, from which it has yet to recover.

The roles of the CP and the ultraleft in the CICAP-RASP struggle were complementary. Both, in somewhat different ways, remain oriented to the generals in the MFA (Movimento das Forças Armadas—Armed Forces Movement) who use populist rhetoric. Since the CP and the ultraleft both stand in opposition to the present cabinet, they provided an important part of the forces in the struggle in Oporto. But the support for the CICAP and RASP soldiers obviously was not limited to these elements. All accounts by observers here indicate that the demonstrations called by the antirepressive coalition exceeded by far those of the CP-ultraleft bloc.

There are some reports from reliable sources that many rank-and-file Socialists also supported the struggle of the soldiers. The government was forced to retreat. But this step opened a split in the MFA that exacerbated the conflict between the two mass workers parties while paradoxically giving the MFA more room for maneuver.

The rift in the MFA involved two different tactical approaches. Some commanders, such as Pires Veloso and Jaime Neves, demanded a rapid and decisive crackdown on "indiscipline." Others, such as General Fabião and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, took the tactic of defusing opposition in the armed forces through negotiations and demagoguery. Army Commander in Chief Fabião, who tipped the scales against Vasco Gonçalves in the MFA, emerged as the new candidate for bonaparte. He prepared himself for this role by making overtures to the populist ultralefts in the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment.

When Fabião arrived in Oporto, the Stalinists called on the soldiers to go to meet him to appeal for his support. He was able to negotiate an at least temporary solution to the conflict that was hailed by the soldiers as a victory. He praised the RASP as a revolutionary unit and denied that its action in giving refuge to the CICAP soldiers and radicals from other units represented indiscipline or mutiny. He promised that the CICAP would be reopened, and that no reprisals would be taken against the soldiers of this unit or those from other units who went absent without leave to come to their support.

While Fabião did not directly impugn the decisions of Pires Veloso, he hinted that he might be removed later.

It quickly became clear, however, that Fabião's "solution" was a maneuver that threatened to bring a serious defeat rather

than victory for the opposition in the military. The Lisbon papers close to the SP decried Fabião's proposal as a concession to the "masked subversives" of the SUV.

In the controversy in the MFA, the SP leadership finds itself in a bloc with those who favor immediate repression. This is a contradictory effect of their parliamentary orientation. They want the "law" enforced, that is, they want the armed forces to serve "their government." They fear, and rightly so, the maneuvers of demagogic generals.

The fact is that Fabião has a reputation as a rightist. In addition, he has revealed his objective of reorganizing the armed services as a mercenary force. In his maneuvers he is certainly not going to be very solicitous about the interests of the Socialist party.

However, the apparent belief of the SP leadership that by showing their "responsibility" they can persuade the government and the military to subordinate themselves to law and an electoral majority, that is, to serve the interests of the Socialist party, is a delusion for which they may have to pay dearly.

#### An Accurate Prediction

The local SP-influenced paper, *Primeiro de Janeiro*, and the local SP leaders made a more accurate appraisal of the local relationship of forces than did the Lisbon papers close to the SP. A leader of the SP here told me that he considered the "solution" a defeat for the CICAP and RASP soldiers, because they ended their defiance of the authorities without getting anything concrete in return. He stressed that Fabião had not said when the CICAP would be reopened or under what conditions. Furthermore, the fact that the general had said that there would be an "inquiry" into the incident left open the possibility for reprisals against the leaders of the resistance once the mobilization on the base lagged.

As for the soldiers from other units who participated in the occupation, as this SP leader put it, "while they are not to be punished, they aren't going to get any good conduct medals either."

This turned out to be an accurate prediction. On October 17, the papers announced that soldiers returning to their units from the RASP base were being given discharges. The Struggle Committee of the RASP soldiers called a meeting in the evening of October 18 in Vila Nova de Gaia, a working-class suburb across the Douro River from Oporto, to discuss how to respond.

#### Two Proposals Debated

Most of the participants in the meeting claimed to represent workers and tenants committees. Actually the gathering was a coalition of the CP and the groups to the

left of the mass reformist parties. Very quickly the discussion came to center on two proposals.

The CP representatives, headed by two trade-union bureaucrats, called for the formation of a People's Assembly, as an "organ of people's power" that could defend the RASP and CICAP soldiers. The Maoists present supported this proposal. Representatives of the two Trotskyist groups, the LCI and the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International), opposed it.

The Trotskyists called for the formation of broad committees to support the soldiers. The representative of the PRT explained that a real people's assembly could only be formed when the majority of the workers in the workers committees wanted it and that it was wrong for such a gathering to try to proclaim one. That would only limit the breadth of support for the soldiers' struggle, he said.

He also pointed out that a successful broad mobilization in support of the soldiers would do far more to advance the formation of organs that could genuinely claim to represent the working people than the proclamation of "People's Assemblies" by a minority.

He was violently attacked by a Maoist, who said that "we will never get anywhere if we wait for a majority." There were also questions as to whether the PRT representative actually thought that an "organ of the people's will" should include "Social Democrats."

Nonetheless, the Stalinist bid was defeated. The motion that passed scheduled a meeting to form a "People's Assembly," but it separated this question from that of organizing support for the soldiers.

The CP has been on a campaign to form People's Assemblies everywhere. Its objective seems to be to try to get state recognition for informal bodies that it can dominate by the force of its activists in order to avoid being reduced to a minor influence in parliamentary bodies reflecting the numerically far greater support of the SP.

If the meetings of the opposition bloc I have attended in Oporto and Setúbal are representative, this strategy on the part of the CP is completely sectarian and demobilizing. Far from advancing forms of workers power it has exactly the opposite effect. The Oporto meeting was considerably better than the one in Setúbal because the Trotskyists managed to get it to focus more or less on the concrete tasks of building support for a specific struggle. However, there was still a great deal of talk about how to build organs of "people's power" that tended to exhaust those present and impede the actual process of organizing a concrete struggle.

In Setúbal, the meeting of representatives of workers and tenants committees that I attended on October 13 was a carnival of sectarian fantasies. This resulted in a terrible waste. The group present had potential. It was not unlike some of the antiwar coalitions in the United States, or perhaps it was what they might have become if Washington had not decided to pull out of Vietnam when it did. There was a group of soldiers present. An officer from the local unit chaired the meeting. In attendance were perhaps 150 persons, nearly all from the CP and the far-left groups, as the development of the meeting was to show.

That is, this gathering clearly had potential as an action coalition. The idea that such a group could represent a city of half a million, or form an "organ of the people's will" that could represent such a city politically, was obviously a fantasy. Such notions gravely distracted the discussion. There was a lot of populist play acting and—far worse—ultimatist rhetoric. This was supposed to be a revolutionary body in which all participants were engaged in a life-or-death gamble. The government was denounced over and over again as "fascist." There were repeated denunciations of "Social Democracy" as either fascist or leading to fascism. One of the slogans suggested for an upcoming demonstration was "Out with the Social Democrats and all the rest of the bourgeois scum." There was no objection.

As at the meetings of "neighborhood antiwar committees" in the United States, a great deal of the talking, perhaps most of it, was done by persons who identified themselves as "observers." At one point, one observer objected to the slogan of "Against the sixth government," saying that the fifth government was also a bourgeois government. At that point, a solid bloc of about twenty persons in the front jumped to their feet and began shouting in unison: "Down with provocateurs."

The same twenty persons voted against considering a motion from a fishermen's committee that proposed the slogan: "Down with all the imperialisms, national independence."

The Trotskyists of the LCI voted for considering this motion on the grounds that all proposals should be dealt with democratically. However, they explained in the discussion that it was divisive, since the USSR was referred to as an imperialist power and the effect would be to exclude pro-Moscow Stalinists from the demonstration. They won the argument. The proposers of the motion withdrew it.

One of the slogans proposed for the demonstration this meeting voted to call was support of the soldiers. But the slogan was a very general one and it was buried among about two dozen others such as the

demand for a "dictatorship of the proletariat." The action thus was kept within an extremely sectarian and limited framework. The main concrete effect of such a demonstration could only be to strengthen the CP's hand in negotiations with the government. It might have a certain spillover in support for the soldiers, but that obviously would be far less than could be achieved by a genuinely united demonstration.

The meeting also threw a certain light on the claims that "organs of the people's will" are spreading. It is obvious that the CP has a policy of setting up as many such formations as possible. With the support of the far-left groups, it can undoubtedly set them up in every significant center in Portugal. But this would be far from a real process of the growth of dual power. In fact, it would play the opposite role.

This sectarian policy is especially harmful now when there are real possibilities for a new mass upsurge, if unity in action can be achieved and extended. In particular, united action is needed to prevent the reestablishment of "order" in the armed forces.

As early as this spring, Fabião publicly explained that his goal was to slowly reorganize the Portuguese military on a "professional basis." With the kind of tactics he used in Oporto, he may be able to achieve this goal by letting the ultraleft-CP bloc wear itself out.

In this case, in particular, the ultraleft orientation of relying on the daring initiative of small groups created dangers of exhausting the struggle. Instead of trying to mobilize their units in support of democratic rights in their units, activists flocked to Oporto. Thus, they put themselves in a position where the military command can move much more easily to remove them.

The mobilizations in Oporto were followed by an SUV demonstration in Alentejo, the CP stronghold. In fact, the CP's recent practice of relying on the peasant unions it totally controls as a shock force suggests that the party is in a weakened state. Alentejo is a sparsely populated area and hardly the decisive center of the struggle. But the CP tradition is most deeply rooted there. In this area, the SUV organizers did not attack the local commander but advised their followers that he was really on "their side."

#### Ultrarightists Stage Rally

A united struggle against a restoration of capitalist "order" is particularly important because the right is beginning to make headway, although more slowly than might have been expected. One example of this was the rally by the Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center) here in Oporto yesterday, October 18.

The rally was the first successful public meeting this ultraright group has been able

to hold here. It drew about 20,000 persons, half filling the Estádio das Antas. Thus, it was far smaller than the SP and pro-RASP-CICAP demonstrations. But it was a significant show of force. The meeting was



SOARES: CP bullying tactics are reinforcing his grip over ranks of SP.

kept within a general democratic framework. It was presented as a rally to open the CDS's campaign for the parliamentary elections expected in February. The speakers stressed the theme of a "stable democracy" or "democracy with order." They attacked the present government and its predecessors as "undemocratic." But the undertone was violently reactionary.

The one slogan the crowd loved was "Down with Communism." They chanted the others dutifully, but when this one began they raised a wild howl. The legalist side was represented by the right-wing lawyer Freitas de Amaral. He denounced the constitution being drawn up by the Constituent Assembly as "Marxist" and denounced "attacks on private property" and the "rights of the Catholic church in the education of the Portuguese people." This despite the fact that the CDS representatives voted in favor of the article that gives workers the right to run their factories.

But a fascistlike side was represented by General Galvão de Melo, who was really the star of the show. He was greeted with slogans of "All Portugal wants our general" and "Galvão—Salvation." The general explained that the Portuguese kings were

better democrats than the present rulers because they listened to "the common man." But despite the presentation of the rightist general as a providential hero, he still spoke as a leader of the "democratic revolution" of April 25, 1974. This theme was reinforced with the chant: "Neither Vasco nor Marcelo [Caetano], Galvão de Melo."

Both Galvão and Freitas de Amaral hammered hard on the theme of Portuguese nationalism. Besides anti-Communism, the other theme that touched the crowd was the claim that Portugal's interests were being sold out in Angola. The meeting ended with loud singing of the Portuguese national anthem, just like many pro-MFA demonstrations stage-managed by CP cadres before the fall of Vasco Gonçalves.

The crowd seemed to be mostly backward petty bourgeoisie. None looked very prosperous. But there were only a few here and there that seemed to be working-class or poor people. Outside the Antas Stadium, there were crowds of youths, most of them about fifteen or sixteen, in imitation black-leather jackets.

In all, the signs point to a sharpening confrontation between the decisive classes in Portugal, but this seems still to be in a fairly early stage.

October 19, 1975

#### Faith in U.S. Institutions Declining

"Confidence levels in the leadership of most major American institutions continued to drop in the past year," pollster Louis Harris reported October 6.

According to Harris: "Perhaps the most striking single result is that eight of the 12 institutions asked about have hit all-time lows since the Harris Survey first began asking about them in 1966: doctors, the U.S. Supreme Court, the military, major companies, law firms, organized labor, the executive branch of the federal government and Congress."

The poll showed only 13 percent of those asked had "a great deal of confidence" (as opposed to "hardly any confidence at all") in Congress and in the executive branch of the government. Organized labor followed with 14 percent, while major companies got a 19 percent vote of confidence.

As Harris sees it, "This lack of confidence in government, of course, explains why the public has become skeptical of almost any sweeping governmental solution to the problems that beset the country. . . . However, since business also has reached new lows in public confidence, there is little faith that the private sector can turn the country around.

"In short, there is a leadership vacuum in this country across the board, which should make the 1976 election more wide open than any in recent years."

## Unrest Mounts as Ethiopian Regime Backtracks on Reforms

By Ernest Harsch

A little more than a year after coming to power, Ethiopia's radical nationalist military rulers face growing opposition.

Confronted with dissent by students and workers in Addis Ababa, a secessionist struggle in Eritrea, and continued pressure for land reform in many areas of the countryside, the Provisional Military Administrative Council (PMAC) declared a state of emergency in the capital September 30. The government-controlled radio said that emergencies would also be declared in other cities and regions.

The decree followed a bloody incident September 25, in which troops and security forces fired into a crowd of Ethiopian Airlines employees at the international airport outside Addis Ababa, killing seven and wounding nineteen. The airline employees had tried to prevent the arrest of a fellow worker who was distributing antigovernment pamphlets. About 500 workers were arrested and detained for twenty-four hours.

To protest the killings, the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU), which has 184 locals and claims a membership of 125,000 called a two-day general strike. On September 30, thousands of workers in state banks, insurance companies, the government printing house, and dozens of private firms either walked off their jobs or failed to show up for work.

In response, a communiqué issued by the military was read over the radio: "Our revolution will not be diverted because of the strikes taking place. If we have to shed blood, we will do so to protect the rights of the broad masses."

After noting that some workers had been "misled" into leaving their jobs, the communiqué added that "antirevolutionary forces will be sought out and will be put to the sword."

### All Democratic Rights Suspended

The emergency proclamation suspended all civil liberties and empowered the military and police to arrest "suspects" and detain them indefinitely without trial. Homes, offices, and other buildings can be searched without warrant. Strikes, slowdowns, and absence from work "without adequate reason" were outlawed, as were assembling or speaking in public, "loitering," possessing arms, demonstrating, or distributing antigovernment literature.

Within days, an estimated 4,400 persons

were believed to have been arrested in Addis Ababa, including students, labor leaders, intellectuals, and Eritreans. The thirteen members of the CELU's provisional executive committee reportedly went into hiding.

*New York Times* correspondent Henry Kamm reported from Addis Ababa October 11: "Members of the 120-member military committee that governs the country have visited workshops and factories affected by the strike to lecture the workers, at meetings guarded by security forces with drawn weapons. Strikers have reportedly been arrested in front of co-workers, and sometimes beaten. There is an unconfirmed report of a summary execution at a textile factory."

The crackdown in Addis Ababa is a sign of the growing weakness of the regime. The same junior and noncommissioned officers who now administer the country had the support of students and workers in bringing down Haile Selassie's archaic regime in 1974. Espousing the nationalistic doctrine of "Ethiopia tikdem"—Ethiopia first—the members of the Dergue<sup>1</sup> claimed to champion the cause of the poor and the oppressed.

Although they promised to build a "socialist" Ethiopia, their real aims were more limited: to "modernize" the feudal kingdom within a bourgeois framework. To ride out the mass upsurge unleashed in 1974, the ruling officers had to rely heavily on socialist demagoguery.

Under mass pressure, the Dergue nationalized all banks, credit institutions, and insurance companies, as well as many domestic and foreign firms. It also promised to carry through a sweeping agrarian reform. But the initial support the Dergue won through these economic measures appears to have faded, since many of the pledges it made remain unfulfilled. Its undemocratic practices also stirred resentment.

In an October 18 dispatch from Addis Ababa, Kamm noted this trend: "Professionals, teachers, university-educated military officers, trade-union activists and students, who over the years prepared the ground for revolution against Haile Selassie's feudal regime, have become embittered by what they consider the authoritarian,

simplicitic and narrow-minded nature of the military regime and its refusal to admit civilians."

### A Page From Selassie's Bible

Confronted with eroding popular support, the nationalist military leaders have attempted to bolster their authority by adopting some of the methods employed by Selassie. According to Jean-Claude Guillebaud in a series of three articles in the October 2 to 4 issues of *Le Monde*, members of the Dergue have distributed Bibles in the predominantly Christian provinces of the northern highlands, and Brig. Gen. Tafari Banti, the chairman of the PMAC, "publicly has a crucifix in hand whenever he can." Guillebaud also noted the Dergue's "strange timidity toward the reactionary bureaucracy inherited from the old regime."

The Dergue has turned increasingly toward harsh rule. A month before the current wave of arrests began, Colin Legum reported in the August 31 *New York Times*: "The prisons, whose gates were opened when the Emperor was overthrown, are again filling up, and there are now more political prisoners than there were in the days of Haile Selassie. Many of them are people who were imprisoned under the ancient regime."

On September 24, after its national congress in Addis Ababa, the CELU released a twenty-page manifesto that threatened a general strike in one month if democratic rights were not restored. It also warned that if the regime arrested labor leaders, closed union headquarters, or interfered with the distribution of the CELU resolutions, "we will stop work immediately and will not return until our demands are met."

The CELU demanded the release of confederation President Beyene Solomon, Vice-president Giday Gebre, and General Secretary Fiseha Tsion Tekae, who were arrested in September 1974 for defying the PMAC's antistrike decree.

*Washington Post* reporter David B. Ottaway said in a September 24 dispatch from Addis Ababa, "Specifically, the manifesto calls for freedom of the press and assembly; an end to press censorship; the right to strike; the right of civilian organizations to elect their own leaders democratically; a multiparty system; and the liberation of all detained radical students, teachers and labor leaders. . . .

1. The Dergue is the armed forces coordinating committee that ousted Selassie in September 1974. It functions as a directing body within the PMAC.



"It also calls for the institution of workers' councils to run recently nationalized enterprises, and the firing of state managers who were former owners of such companies."

### Students Boycott 'Zemecha' Campaign

The CELU also denounced the extension for a second year of the national work and literacy program, or *zemecha*, in which an estimated 60,000 students have been sent to rural areas to propagate the PMAC's policies.

Student leaders have claimed that the real purpose of the *zemecha* campaign is to get politically active students out of the cities and disperse them throughout the countryside. Although it appears that many students supported the *zemecha* campaign in the first months after the proclamation of land-reform measures, thousands are now reportedly deserting it. Guillebaud quoted one student as saying, "At the moment, we no longer have any confidence in the military."

On August 21, several hundred heavily armed troops raided the campus of the National University in Addis Ababa, breaking a three-day student strike and arresting more than 1,000 students who refused to participate in the *zemecha* campaign.

The students were taken to an undisclosed location where, according to a military communiqué, "they would be taught respect for law and order." The same month, about 160 students in Jimma, the capital of Kefa Province, were also arrested after staging a strike. Most of the students detained in Addis Ababa were later released, but eleven student leaders remain in prison.

"The army has already killed some students in clashes," Ottaway reported August 22, "and is believed to have executed secretly an unknown number." According to Guillebaud, included among twenty "reactionaries" executed in early August were some leftist students.

The repression has not succeeded in preventing political discussion and criticism of the regime. "In any case," Guillebaud reported, "the antimilitarist tone among students and teachers is rapidly mounting. Illegal newspapers and leftist leaflets have increased, while the official press continues to comply with strict censorship. In August, the program of the first underground party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary party, was released."

The agrarian reform announced in March was the PMAC's most radical move. The decree nationalized all rural land, promised the distribution of land to landless peasants, and canceled all debts and obligations by tenant farmers and sharecroppers. If carried through, the land reform would

have marked a genuine social revolution in the countryside, overturning feudal property relations that had remained virtually unchanged for centuries.

The announcement was widely welcomed



TAFARI BANTI: More popular in Moscow than in Addis Ababa.

by the peasants, particularly in the southern provinces, where large landholdings were owned by absentee Amhara landlords and worked by tenants or sharecroppers. According to a field survey published recently by the Agriculture Ministry, 70 percent of all arable land in the country was worked by tenants.

### Agrarian Reform in Low Gear

But despite the regime's pronouncements and pressure from the peasants for a speedy implementation of the decree, the PMAC has been slow in putting it into practice. According to Kamm, "Land reform, the regime's principal revolutionary achievement, is estimated to have been carried out only on 10 per cent of this almost exclusively agricultural country's arable land."

Even in those areas where it has been implemented, it appears that much of the impetus came not from the PMAC, but from the peasants themselves, who mobilized to seize land and crops and to drive off the landlords.

According to Guillebaud, the land reform proclamation set off "an immense explosion of mixed sentiments. Under the leadership of students, the peasants, without waiting any longer, took possession of the land they were cultivating."

Guillebaud noted demonstrations and land seizures in the provinces of Shoa,

Illubador, Gemu Gofa, and Kefa. The actions of the peasants and students went beyond the control of the officials of the *zemecha* campaign, and the offices of some government functionaries were destroyed. The students and peasants, Guillebaud said, "have, here and there, substituted themselves for the legal authorities."

The growing unrest in the countryside posed a challenge to the nationalist regime. The surest way of ending the feudal property ties and carrying through the land reforms would have been to mobilize the peasantry in massive numbers to crush whatever resistance the landlords presented. But the Dergue has no such perspective. Instead, it moved to break up the spontaneous peasant actions.

### Peasant Demonstrators Gunned Down

Guillebaud cited the events in Jimma as an example of this process. In April, several thousand peasants demonstrated in the city in response to a call by *zemecha* students. Local police, many of whom are themselves landlords,<sup>2</sup> opened fire, killing dozens of peasants and students, Aba Bia Aba Jobar, the newly appointed governor of the province, called on the Dergue to provide the peasants with arms to enable them to defend themselves. After sending a delegation to Jimma, the Dergue deposed him and branded the students "reactionaries" and "saboteurs."

Solomon Wada, a student leader who organized demonstrations of several thousand peasants in Sodo, Gemu Gofa, was executed by the Dergue in Addis Ababa August 2.

These actions of the Dergue have given landlords the green light, paving the way for attacks on students and peasants in rural areas.

The regime faces unrest of a different sort in the provinces of Tigre, Begemder, and Gojam.

In those areas, alleged supporters of the old regime have carried out sporadic guerrilla actions against government troops and officials. Although the revolts have remained isolated and do not yet pose a serious threat to the Dergue, the "reactionary bands" have stepped up their actions in the past two months. It is possible that the arbitrary measures and actions of the Dergue have aroused the hostility of the local populations, making it easier for whatever rightist forces that exist<sup>3</sup> to operate.

In the north-central provinces, most of the land is owned communally by entire

2. Gifts of land to soldiers and police were a common form of payment under Selassie.

3. Selassie's death on August 27 deprived the monarchist forces of their principal rallying symbol.

villages, with peasants working individual plots. Unlike the south, there are few large landowners or landless peasants.

The districts of Bichena and Motta in Gojam, where much of the opposition to the Dergue seems to be located, have a history of resistance to the central authorities. The peasants in the area revolted against Selassie from 1964 to 1969, carrying out guerrilla actions against the emperor's troops.

Since the regime labels all its opponents "counterrevolutionary," it is unclear how much of the unrest in the north-central provinces is carried out by rightist groups and how much by local peasants who are afraid of losing their land and who have seen nothing in the government's program aimed at meeting their particular needs.

It is likely that the two forms of resistance have become intertwined, with the surviving aristocrats, such as Lieut. Gen. Iyassu Mengesha, Ras Mengesha Seyyoum, and Lieut. Gen. Nega Tegegne,<sup>4</sup> attempting to capitalize on local unrest for their own purposes.

The fighting in the north-central provinces has at times become fierce. According to one report, about 100 villagers in the Bichena district of Gojam were killed by government troops. The October 10 *Le Monde* reported that according to an Addis Ababa official, eighty-nine persons were killed by the PMAC's forces in Wollo and Arussi provinces for "opposing the nationalization of the land."

#### War by Starvation in Eritrea

The fighting in Eritrea between Ethiopian troops and the Eritrean independence forces is continuing. Although government forces still occupy the major cities, including Asmara, the rebels control most of the countryside.

Following an increase in the fighting in late July and throughout August, Addis Ababa admitted for the first time that it had been unable to "pacify" the rebellious territory. "Despite the Government's continuing efforts at maintaining law and order in Eritrea," said an official statement released in early September, "the security situation there is deteriorating."

PMAC Chairman Banti declared in a September 12 speech that Addis Ababa would take an "unflinching stand" on Ethiopian unity. "Eritrea will remain an integral part of Ethiopia," he said. "Eritrea will not be sold to some Arab countries." This was a reference to the aid the Eritrean rebels are reported to be receiving from the regimes in Libya, Syria, and Iraq, among others.

Addis Ababa has been unable to crush

the Eritrean nationalists during fourteen years of military repression. However, it now appears that the military leaders are trying to starve them into submission.

In late July, the regime banned the distribution of all emergency food supplies to the war-affected areas by international relief agencies and church groups. According to the Eritrean rebels, about 300,000 refugees in areas controlled by them are in need of food aid.

A September 23 Reuters dispatch from Asmara reported, "Critics of the government say that these measures are being pressed to the extent that some villagers are threatened with starvation.

"A doctor at a hospital outside Asmara said that children were already dying from malnutrition in some areas.

"Relief workers say they have been forbidden to distribute stores of food to hungry families, although they may still give meals to people who come to them for help."

The plight of the Eritrean refugees has been made even more precarious by the Sudanese regime's decision to block all supplies to the rebels from passing through its territory. According to the July 20 *London Observer*, the ban apparently also applied to relief supplies for the refugees.

In a communiqué released in Beirut August 14, the two Eritrean independence groups announced their intention of merging into one organization. The communiqué was signed by Osman Saleh Sabbe for the Eritrean Liberation Front-People's Liberation Forces and Alzein Yassin for the Eritrean Liberation Front-Revolutionary Council. It said that the two groups would form "a single national democratic front, with one political leadership and only one liberation army."

The Revolutionary Council has admitted capturing two American "civilians" and

two U.S. soldiers who were working at Washington's Kagnev communications center outside Asmara. In exchange for the prisoners, the Eritrean rebels have demanded an end to all U.S. aid to the Ethiopian regime, the closing of all U.S. installations in Eritrea, including the Kagnev center and the naval port facilities at Massawa, the release of all Eritrean political prisoners, and compensation for the victims of attacks made by U.S.-manufactured warplanes.

According to the September 14 *Washington Post*, a representative of the Revolutionary Council in Damascus, Syria, warned that "American bases in Ethiopia should expect further raids, because the fighting is continuing."

Washington still remains Addis Ababa's principal source of military and economic aid. U.S. economic aid commitments for 1975 totaled \$23.5 million, mainly in agricultural loans. About \$12.5 million worth of American military assistance has also been promised to the Ethiopian regime, including new F-5 warplanes.

In an October 18 dispatch from Addis Ababa, Kamm outlined one of the reasons for Washington's continued support to the Ethiopian regime. "Secession movements and fragmentation along tribal lines," he said, "are a threat in a number of countries. Despite its misgivings about the conduct of the Eritrean war, the United States wants its support for the existing states in their current boundaries to be understood."

The nationalist military regime has also gained support from other quarters. According to Guillebaud, there are hundreds of Chinese technicians in Ethiopia.

Vying with Peking, Moscow also supports the Dergue. In the second week of September, *Pravda*, the daily newspaper of the Soviet Communist party, praised the "revolutionary and democratic character" of the Dergue's measures. □

## Rockefeller Wins New Coat of Arms

Vice President Rockefeller has a new official seal—a bold, aggressive eagle rather than the limp-winged bird that he said looked like a "wounded quail."

Mr. Rockefeller, an art collector and would-be artist, decided to redesign the Vice-Presidential coat of arms after getting President Ford's approval. The project started months ago and culminated earlier this month when a Presidential proclamation repealed the old seal and replaced it with the new eagle.

The President's proclamation gave the following description of the new seal:

"Shield: Paleways of 13 pieces argent and gules, a chief azure, upon the breast of an American eagle displayed holding in his dexter talon an olive branch proper and in

his sinister a bundle of 13 arrows gray, and in his beak a scroll inscribed 'E Pluribus Unum' sable.

"Crest: Behind and above the eagle a radiating glory, on which appears an arc of 13 cloud puffs gray, and a constellation of 13 mullets gray."—*New York Times*, October 26. □

#### Keeping Up With Inflation

During the first week of October 5.37 billion pesos were printed in Argentina—or 44.7 million per work hour. This is an increase of more than 300 percent over the quantity of currency issued the second week of September.

4. Three leaders of the recently formed Ethiopian National Democratic Union.

## Labour Party Conference Prescribes More Belt Tightening

By Tony Hodges

LONDON—"Save our jobs!" roared the crowd. "We want to work!" A thousand workers from Plessey in Liverpool marched through the streets of Blackpool September 30 to join hundreds more from factories throughout Britain in a militant picket against unemployment. The action was held outside the Labour party conference at the Winter Gardens, Blackpool's big convention centre.

Workers from the General Electric Company were there, warning Labour party delegates that 20,000 jobs were at risk in the telecommunications industry. Protesters had come from the Norton Villiers motorcycle factory in Wolverhampton, where the threat of imminent closure hangs over 1,600 jobs.

"We have got the Labour party's support at local level," one Norton Villiers worker told me, "now we want it at national level."

The demonstrators wanted government action to stop the drift to mass unemployment. Already more than 1.25 million are officially jobless, more than at any time since the 1930s. A conference-eve position paper published by the fast-growing "white collar" union ASTMS (Association of Technical, Managerial and Scientific Staffs) predicts unemployment climbing to 1.8 million by next July and 2.25 million by 1977.

But the Labour conference failed to chart any solution to the plight of the unemployed. The disastrous economic policies of the Labour government of Prime Minister Harold Wilson were endorsed by a massive majority.

A little over 1,000 delegates, representing the trade unions and Constituency Labour parties (CLPs), assembled in the main hall of the Winter Gardens September 29 for five days' debate of party policy. Strung over the platform was a huge banner proclaiming the party's "75 years of achievement."

Against a backdrop of soaring unemployment, 26% inflation, tumbling production, and ruinous cuts in housing, education, and health spending, one might well have asked what the Labour leaders thought they had "achieved" in the year and a half since they took office from the Tories.

The conference confirmed that despite the pickets and protests outside the Winter Gardens the party's class-collaborationist leadership remains firmly entrenched. The huge majority votes for the government's economic policies revealed the absence so



FOOT: Says "red flame of socialist courage" necessary to save British capitalism.

far of any significant challenge to the leadership.

This weakness was strikingly demonstrated by the refusal of the conference Standing Orders Committee to allow even a *discussion* of British involvement in Ireland.

The supremacy of the right wing was accurately gauged by the *Guardian*. On the opening day of the conference an editorial noted that "the Left arrives at Blackpool this week, conscious less of its power than of its impotence. Indeed, what is really striking about the record of the last two years, giving the comprehensive lie to the picture of a Labour Government hopelessly in thrall to the extremists, is the punishment which the grass roots have had to take from Mr Wilson and his colleagues. In these same Winter Gardens two years ago, the Party proclaimed its deathless opposition to any policy of wage restraint designed to solve the problems of the economy by depressing the living standards of the workers. In no less unconditional terms, the October 1974 manifesto rejected the policy, attributed to the Tories, of using unemployment as a weapon against inflation.

"Yet today," the editors continued, "these two pledges, which were at the heart of Labour's whole approach, are shattered beyond repair. The incomes policy may be voluntary in name, but the freedom of action which it permits will last only so

long as no one actually uses it; and its purpose in reducing living standards is now no longer concealed. And, whatever the platform may make this week of the new Government initiative to save jobs, the monthly statistics make it plain that unemployment on a scale no recent Conservative Government could ever have contemplated, is now accepted as an integral part of Government economic strategy."

The conference confirmed this estimate of the *Guardian* editors. The delegates voted overwhelmingly to endorse the key economic policy paper presented to the conference by the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the party. Entitled "Jobs and Prices," it welcomed "the acceptance by the Trades Union Congress, that, for the next twelve months, pay increases should be limited to a single flat-rate figure of £6 [£1=US\$2.05] per week."

By backing the £6 limit—which, in effect, means that the average industrial wage cannot increase by more than 10% this year, when prices have gone up by more than 26%—the conference meekly accepted that workers should pay the price for bailing out British capitalism from the world recession.

Not even the Labour leaders sought to hide the burden they are seeking to foist on workers. "The months immediately ahead are going to be hard," Wilson warned delegates.

"Working people are making a real sacrifice," admitted Tony Benn, the most celebrated "left-winger" in Wilson's cabinet. He went on to pay "tribute to those who have accepted the £6 limit to their wages this year."

Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, speaking in London a few days later on October 8, was equally forthright. "British families," he said, "will suffer a sharp drop in their standard of living."

They already have. The Central Statistical Office reported October 9 that real personal disposable incomes fell 3% in the second quarter of this year, even before the £6 limit became law on August 1. ASTMS predict a 6% decline in most workers' real disposable incomes before next August.

The "social wage"—public housing, education, and health care—is on the chopping block too. As Denis Healey, the chancellor of the Exchequer, told delegates: "There is no chance of regenerating British Industry, unless we can narrow drastically the gap between what we are spending in the public

sector in this country and what we are raising in taxes. That means something pretty unpleasant. That means either the Government has got to spend less, or it has got to tax more, and I ask every one of you, particularly the trade unionists among us, to think very hard in the coming months about which you would prefer."

Military spending, now a staggering £4,600 million a year, is set to increase of course (in real, not just money, terms), according to a recently published government review of "defence" expenditure.

The ruling class is calculating that trade-union loyalty to the Labour government will win success for this strategy of wage controls, lengthening unemployment lines, and belt tightening. Appeals for unity and cooperation between the unions and the government, dressed up sometimes in the most extravagant "socialist" rhetoric, were perhaps the conference's most dominant theme.

While replying for the NEC to the debate on "Jobs and Prices" Michael Foot, the employment secretary and onetime "darling of the left," told delegates: "It is of first importance for our country, and no less for our Labour movement, that this crisis should be faced and surmounted by a Labour Government acting in the closest alliance and good faith with the Trade Union movement of this country."

Support Wilson's harsh measures, he implored, or the government would collapse, bringing back the Tories. "If we were ever fools enough to allow them to get the levers of power again, the whips would be changed to scorpions for our chastisement."

So put up with the whips! The danger is that the lashings will soon provide a fertile ground for a Tory revival and counteroffensive—if the Labour party leaders do not change course and adopt bold socialist solutions to the capitalist crisis.

Foot even dragged in the authority of Karl Marx behind the £6 limit! "You can read it in *Das Kapital* as well as anywhere else," he said. "You can read it all there. Investment means very often, almost always, foregoing present aims in order to have future benefits."

Concluding his speech, this prize demagogue urged workers to suffer the hardships imposed by capitalism with selfless socialist zeal.

"I am asking this Movement," he proclaimed, "to exert itself as it has never done before, to show the qualities which we have, the Socialist imagination which exists in our movement, the readiness to reforge the alliance, stronger than ever, between the Government and the trade unions, and above all to show the supreme quality in politics, the red flame of socialist courage. That is what we have got to have to save our country, and that is what can come from this Conference."

It is difficult to predict how long the government will be able to trade off union loyalty. As real wages fall, social services get axed, and more workers lose their jobs, the pressure will surely mount on the union bureaucrats to act. The North-West Council of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) has called a lobby of Parliament for November 26 to demand the right to work. This could become the first national focus in the fight for jobs.

Wide currency is being given to the view, much in evidence at Blackpool, that import controls are the answer to factory closures and rising unemployment. A resolution moved by ASTMS, criticizing the government for "slowness in imposing selective import controls," was carried. Many delegates sported lapel stickers reading "Buy British Textiles" distributed by young women workers from the Amalgamated Textile Workers Union.

Militants in the unions and the Labour party must explain that work-sharing with no loss of pay, nationalization, and a program of public works are the real solution to unemployment, and that import controls merely export unemployment to fellow workers in other countries.

Signs of anger at government policy did break through the near-unanimity at times during the conference. Resolutions opposing cutbacks in housing, education, and health spending were passed with large majorities, against the opposition of the NEC and in contradiction to the economic strategy endorsed by the conference.

Most notable was a resolution moved by the National Union of Public Employees, opposing cuts in the National Health Service (NHS). This union is the fourth biggest in the country, with a large proportion of low-paid women workers in its ranks.

The resolution called for a "very substantial immediate increase in health expenditure," a sliding scale of health expenditure, abolition of all charges and fees in the NHS, rapid removal of private medicine, public ownership of the pharmaceutical industry, free pregnancy testing, contraception and abortion for all women on request, and establishment of democratically elected management bodies in the NHS.

The weakness of the left was most evident when the conference Standing Orders Committee refused to allow any debate on the crisis in Ireland. A weak resolution from Brentwood and Ongar CLP for the government to "make a declaration of intent that there will eventually be a united Ireland" and that "British troops are withdrawn at the earliest possible opportunity" was refused time on the conference agenda. Not one resolution calling for the *immediate* withdrawal of British troops had even been submitted to the conference.

The Standing Orders Committee also refused to allow debate on a resolution favouring repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, enacted a year ago by the Labour government to give the police wide powers of detention and deportation without charge or trial.

A public meeting sponsored by the Troops Out Movement was attended by about 100 conference delegates and observers. Maureen Colquhoun, one of only fourteen Labour members of Parliament who opposed the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act for a further six months in Parliament last May, told the gathering she was "ashamed to be a Labour MP." Ireland, she said, should be the most important question up for discussion at the conference.

Joan Maynard, an MP and a member of the NEC, told the meeting that a date for withdrawal of British troops should be set, "not later than one year." Colquhoun also opposed immediate withdrawal of the troops, favouring use of a United Nations "peace-keeping" force.

The case for immediate withdrawal, the only policy consistent with the right of the Irish people to self-determination, was put by former soldier Alistaire Renwick, and John Quirke, conference delegate from Norwood CLP. Quirke accused Foreign Secretary Callaghan of shedding "crocodile tears" when he introduced an emergency resolution condemning the executions in Spain while his government continued to brutally repress the Irish people.

Onetime "left-wingers" like Transport Workers leader Jack Jones and Employment Secretary Michael Foot, nearly all the *Tribune* group of left Social Democratic MPs, and exponents of "workers control" like Energy Minister Tony Benn lined up with unabashed right-wingers like Wilson, Healey, and Callaghan to back wage controls and stifle discussion of Ireland.

About forty conference delegates, all representing CLPs, were supporters of the paper *Militant*, a weekly claiming to represent the "Marxist wing" of the Labour party. This grouping, which considers itself Trotskyist, won nearly one-twelfth of the vote for a resolution opposing statutory wage controls and public spending cuts and proposing the nationalization under workers control of major industries, banks, insurance companies, and the land.

*Militant* has failed, however, to present a clear socialist alternative to the leadership. Its main axis at the conference was to stand as defenders of the party's 1974 election manifesto. *Militant* supporters are promoting "Labour Defence of the Manifesto Committees" in some cities.

But, though it is true that the Wilson government has reneged on pledges to maintain full employment and oppose statutory curbs on wages, the manifesto supported British occupation of Northern

Ireland, defended British membership of NATO, and as the cornerstone of its program, proposed voluntary wage curbs and the Social Contract.

One of *Militant's* biggest weaknesses has been its consistent refusal to fight for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. Despite having delegates at the conference, the group failed to submit a single resolution in favour of troop withdrawal.

Also present at Blackpool were the International Marxist Group (IMG—the British section of the Fourth International) and the Socialist Charter Movement. IMG members distributed a daily bulletin to conference delegates, presenting the IMG's view of the major issues under debate.

The fight for class-struggle policies in the labour movement will have to go hand in hand with a struggle to democratize the Labour party—in particular, for the freedom of organized policy groupings within the party to fully express their viewpoint, for the removal of anticommunist bans and proscriptions, for the Labour government to abide by conference decisions, and for the removal of MPs and party officials who refuse to carry out conference decisions.

Last July, the Newham North-East CLP voted, as is its right, to reselect its parliamentary candidate prior to the next election. Labour activists in Newham had enough of the pro-Tory policies of their present MP, Reg Prentice, minister of overseas development in Wilson's cabinet. Wilson used his address to the Blackpool conference to launch a vicious attack against the democratic rights of party activists to select their own candidates.

Accusing "extremists" of "infiltration," Wilson said the party was becoming infested with "groups of little exclusivities insisting on a monopoly of doctrine, thriving on noisy debate reflecting some esoteric theory which has nothing in common with a century of the political idealism and purpose of this movement."

This red-baiting attack proved a little much even for some members of the NEC. Nine of them, associated mainly with the *Tribune* wing of the party, immediately issued a statement declaring that "there must be no interference with the democratic and constitutional rights of Labour Party members to elect their own general management delegates and for those committees to select their own candidates and to have a new selection of candidates before the next general election if they so desire."

The Wilson leadership's fear that some of the most openly right-wing Labour MPs could be junked by their local parties reflected the rumblings of frustration among rank-and-file militants—a discontent that was largely obscured by the bureaucrats' great demonstration of unity behind the £6 wage limit at Blackpool. □

## Union Leaders Protest Gandhi's 'Unfortunate Decision'

### Bonus Payment to Indian Workers Cut in Half



GANDHI: Press hails new pay-cutting scheme as a "sensible" move.

NEW DELHI—The Gandhi regime decreed September 25 that the minimum bonus of workers in the organized sector is to be slashed from 8.33 percent to 4 percent. The government asked that workers bear in mind the overall economic situation. The reduction will be applied to the 1974-75 bonus.

The bonus payment scheme, which has been in force since 1965, has been the largest single issue leading to strikes and walkouts.

The new policy rejects the concept that the bonus is a deferred payment of wages. Instead, it maintains that bonus payments are to be made on the basis of production and productivity, or where this is not feasible, on the basis of profits.

In the future, even the minimum bonus will be payable only if there is a surplus for a cycle of four years. In addition, any rate of bonus payment higher than the minimum will depend on the level of profits. The "real significance" of the new ordinance lies in these two points, the editors of the *Economic Times* said September 29.

While lamenting that "its quantum should be a matter for negotiation rather

than of legislation," the *Economic Times* nevertheless welcomed the new policy.

So did the editors of the *Times of India*, who described the government's decision as "sensible." They wrote September 29: "There is no reason why the trade union leaders should fail to appreciate the need for the government to take these and other hard decisions on the vexed bonus issue."

The employers were also pleased, the *Economic Times* reported September 28. According to a spokesman for the Maharashtra Chamber of Commerce in Bombay, the ordinance is "extremely favorable" to industry and did not come a day too soon. The Indian merchants organization said the ordinance is "one more tangible evidence of the government's anxiety to bring to bear a pragmatic approach in tackling the multifarious problems affecting the economy." The decision, it said, will considerably reduce the number of workdays lost from disputes over bonuses.

Kantikumar Podar, president of the All-India Organisation of Employers, appealed for broad support for the new measure. In his view, the government's action stemmed from its desire to get the economy rolling again.

In contrast to this unanimous approval on the part of the employers and their representatives in the press, several leaders of the central trade unions have voiced misgivings.

B.C. Bhagavati and R.G. Ramanujam, president and general secretary of the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC, the union federation associated with the ruling Congress party), described the reduction in the minimum bonus as "an unfortunate decision." In a joint statement, they urged the government to restore the minimum bonus to its former level.

Jyoti Basu, vice-president of the Centre of India Trade Unions and a leader of the Communist party of India (Marxist), said the ordinance goes "against the right to bonus of the workers" and takes away gains the workers have made.

The new bonus policy has even compelled eight members of Parliament belonging to the pro-Moscow Communist party of India to request that the Labor Ministry immediately convene a meeting of the parties concerned to discuss the bonus question.

In addition, a United News of India dispatch reported, they also asked Gandhi to issue an ordinance banning factory closures and layoffs in order "to save the workers." □

## Canadian Unions Denounce Wage Controls

By Ray Warden

TORONTO—"This program of restraints is the heaviest imposed on Canadians since the Second World War." With that forewarning to his nationwide television audience October 13, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced sweeping legislation imposing wage controls on 4.3 million Canadian workers.

Workers in the country's 1,500 largest companies will be subjected to the wage controls, as well as all government employees. All construction workers in firms employing twenty or more workers are also covered by the three-year scheme.

By the proposed legislation, the combined value of wage increases, cost-of-living protection, and fringe benefits in the first year of new contracts must fall within an 8 to 12 percent range. Controls in the second and third years of the plan are more stringent.

In an effort to make the wage-control scheme more palatable to working people, prices are also supposed to be controlled. But, Trudeau warned in his October 13 speech, "We cannot, for example, control price increases of imported commodities such as oil. In addition, price and wage increases of the last few months have not yet worked their way through our economic system. As they do, these increases will be felt by all of us as they are reflected in a higher cost of living in the future."

Companies, moreover, will be allowed to increase their profits as a result of "unusual productivity gains" or "favorable cost developments which could not reasonably have been anticipated." The 1,500 companies affected don't need much more room than that to carry on with their profit making as usual.

Writing in the October 16 *Toronto Globe and Mail*, regular business columnist Ronald Anderson noted the widespread public "suspicion" that price and profit controls would have no effect. "It should be remembered, though, that the government did not introduce controls because of any fear of excessive profits," he chided.

"The control program was adopted because the rapidity of wage and salary gains threatens the competitive position of Canadian goods at home and in foreign markets."

That is the thinking of the Liberal government. The inflationary spiral in Canada has set off a wave of labor militancy. In 1974 a new record was set in time lost through strikes, and the pace of

strike activity has steadily increased throughout 1975. According to the calculations of government statisticians, annual wage increases in major contracts are now averaging about 18 percent as workers try to compensate for lost real wages. Living costs have increased more than 11 percent in the past year.

Countless big-business spokesmen have pointed with alarm to the impact of employers' increased labor costs on Canada's competitive position in world markets. In particular, they have looked with jealous eyes to Canada's largest trading partner, the United States. The Canada-U.S. wage gap has been quickly narrowing, but the productivity of less-efficient Canadian industry continues to lag behind that of the United States.

The Trudeau regime has been waging an intensive propaganda campaign aimed at laying the blame for inflation on organized labor. Under the slogan of "wage restraint," the government called for a "national consensus" by which the unions would voluntarily submit to wage guidelines.

At the same time, in its bargaining with public workers, Ottawa has tried to set an example of "wage restraint" for private industry. With the threat of strikebreaking legislation, Trudeau forced an inferior contract down the throats of 19,000 striking Public Service Alliance of Canada workers in March.

The same month, Parliament broke a strike by British Columbia longshore workers. A month later, 2,200 Québec dockers fell under the Liberals' strikebreaking axe.

A major blow was delivered to the labor movement in May when Robert Bourassa's Liberal Québec government placed four construction unions involving 30,000 workers under trusteeship. Caught up in inter-union feuding, the Québec labor leadership proved incapable of mounting an active resistance to this assault on union autonomy.

But one of the sharpest blows struck at the labor movement prior to Trudeau's wage-control announcement was dealt by the New Democratic party government of British Columbia. The NDP, Canada's labor party, forms the government in three western provinces though it is a tiny minority in the federal Parliament.

On October 7, Dave Barrett's British Columbia government introduced legislation breaking or prohibiting strikes in the forest, supermarket, trucking, and railway

industries. Almost 60,000 workers were directly affected by the strikebreaking law.

The B.C. Federation of Labour sharply condemned the back-to-work order, but the striking workers were forced to return to their jobs nonetheless. The federation's knuckling under to Barrett no doubt emboldened Trudeau in introducing his wage-control scheme.

The Liberal government, however, should have no illusions that its wage-control plan would be embraced by labor's leaders. Indeed, in its outlines, the wage-control scheme is nearly identical to the program of "voluntary restraints" rejected by the two-million-member Canadian Labour Congress last spring.

CLC President Joseph Morris charged October 13 that the Trudeau scheme lets the profiteers off the hook and hits hardest at low-income earners. "I am not prepared to go along," he stated.

Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent likewise condemned the wage-control program. "The only truly effective part of the prime minister's proposals will be the control on ordinary people's salaries and wages," he told the House of Commons. The NDP leader has undertaken a cross-country tour speaking against the wage-control plan.

Time will tell whether the CLC brass will retreat from their initial opposition to the controls just as the U.S. AFL-CIO leaders did in the face of Nixon's August 1971 wage freeze. But the current level of labor combativity militates against close cooperation with Trudeau's program by union leaders.

Moreover, U.S. workers had no vehicle for mass political opposition to Nixon's freeze, their leaders having subordinated the union movement to the big-business Democratic party. Canadian workers, on the other hand, will look to the labor-based NDP to carry on a battle against the controls.

The effectiveness of Canada's wage controls can have immediate implications for U.S. labor, all the more so as about 60 percent of Canadian workers belong to international unions.

The United Automobile Workers, with 120,000 Canadian members, declared on October 14 that it would defy the controls. About 50,000 of the union's Canadian members join with U.S. auto workers next summer in bargaining with the Big Three auto companies.

William Mahoney, Canadian director of the United Steelworkers of America, spoke for the union's 180,000 Canadian members in pledging to fight the legislation.

R.C. Smith, president of the Associated Rail Unions, which bargains jointly for sixteen unions representing 93,000 workers, has stated that railway workers will continue bargaining as if the controls did not exist. Contracts with the two major railroads expire December 31.

The October 20-24 cross-country convention of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, Canada's largest union, voted to defy the controls. About 125,000 CUPE members face negotiations before the end of 1975.

On the front line of the battle against the controls are 22,000 postal workers who launched a cross-country strike on October 21. Giving the militant postal workers "special consideration," the government already was forced to make them a wage offer in excess of the guidelines. But Postmaster General Bryce Mackasey has stated

categorically that he will not budge from his final offer.

*Labor Challenge*, a biweekly newspaper reflecting the views of the League of Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International, responded to Trudeau's measures with a front-page editorial.

"The labor movement urgently needs to hold a special convention of the Canadian Labour Congress to consider how to respond to Trudeau's 'wage and price' controls," the paper said.

Its task would be to map out a strategy of active support to unions in negotiations "so

that they can win their wage demands, breaking through Ottawa's controls as they see fit. Action is required if Trudeau is to be thwarted in his aim of isolating each group of workers, and forcing them to accept inferior settlements," the editors warned.

The timeliness of the call for a special CLC convention was indicated when the demand was raised by CUPE Local 79, representing 6,000 Toronto city hall workers, in an emergency resolution to the union's convention. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour has called a provincewide emergency convention to consider its response to the controls. □

## Federal Police Stations Used as Torture Centers

# Victims Charge Government Collaboration With Argentine AAA

Extensive documentation establishing the collaboration of the Argentine police with the ultrarightist Alianza Anticomunista Argentina (AAA—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance) has been made public in Buenos Aires.

The documentation, which includes the signed statements of thirty-five victims of AAA torture squads, was presented in the form of a parliamentary report by Hipólito Solari Yrigoyen, second vice-president of the Unión Cívica Radical (UCR—Radical Civic Union) bloc in the Argentine Senate.

The report was presented to the Senate September 30, along with a proposal to form a parliamentary commission for the defense of human rights.

Testimony of three of the AAA torture victims was published in the October 12 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión*.

Norberto Pastorino stated:

"We were placed in a car, thrown to the floor, and covered with some blankets. The beatings and death threats began.

"The operation was directed by Coordinación Federal [the federal police]. They committed an error, they told us, in having had uniformed federal police participate in the raid, since they were observed by the neighbors, which meant they would not be able to shoot us later on.

"We were taken—the two couples—in cars with sirens blaring to a government department. They put us in other cars. After beating us unmercifully, they brought us to the headquarters of the federal police in Avellaneda.

"At this government building we were kept blindfolded a day and a half, with our hands tied. I don't know about the others, but in my case they tied my wrists to my throat so that when I got tired, I began to choke. We were kept standing up all the time and were tortured continually. During

that time some of the tortures were the following (I am leaving out some because the entire detention was a torture session systematized minute by minute from the first to the last day of our incarceration in the police station): simulated shooting; threats of reprisals against our families; cold-water baths; being kept out in the rain; all sorts of beatings and constant manhandling of me and my wife; electric shocks on the lips, nipples, testicles, ears, head, and a scar I have from intestinal surgery; and—one of the most painful tortures—blows to our ears. All this time we were totally deprived of food and water and locked up in cells without light or blankets. After the third day they gave me water, 'food,' and a blanket.

"Some of those who participated in the questioning and the torture were Commissioner Portelli, Officer Torrellas, a guy named Sergio, someone they called Perro, and others whose names I don't know."

Pedro Lutiral testified:

"I have been under arrest for a year and ten months. This is how I was tortured. They gave me shocks with a cattle prod on the body after tying up my hands and feet. Then they got me wet, took off my trousers and underwear, put my shirt over my head, and threw a wet rag across my abdomen. They took off my shoes and placed an iron ring attached to a cable over my sock. Then the interrogation began. They asked me who I was, what I had done, and other things. As I didn't know what to tell them, they gave me electric shocks that made me double up and shake. Later they gave me shocks on the head that made me see something like a light, and I momentarily lost all sense of hearing and mental coordination.

"Later I was able to verify that the session lasted between an hour and a

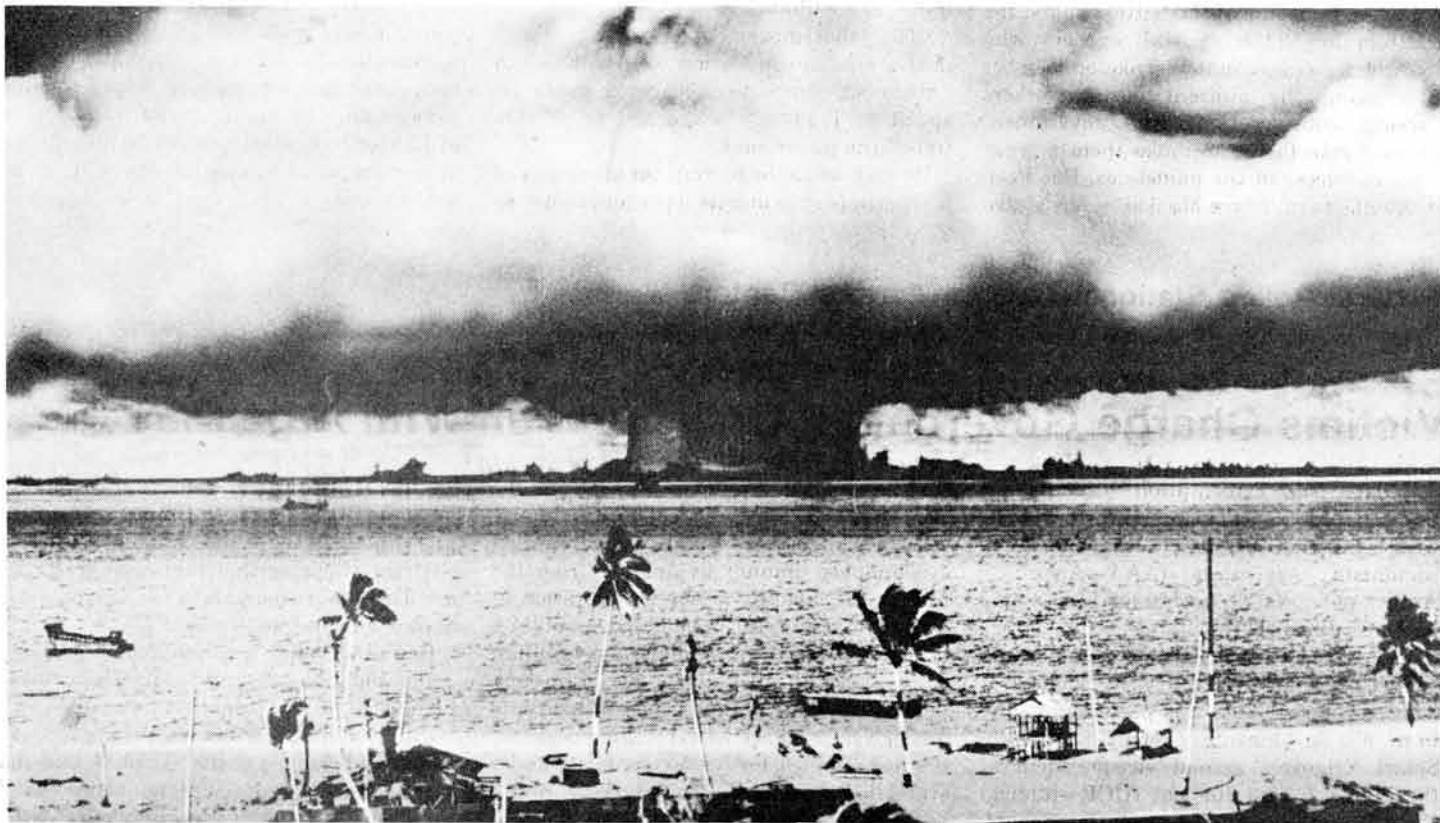
quarter and an hour and a half. I don't have any mental problems now, but at first I used to wake up in the middle of the night terrified, thinking that they were torturing me. The place where I was tortured was the Second Precinct in Bernal."

Daniel Osvaldo Escudero testified:

"On February 17, 1975, at 6:00 p.m., I was kidnapped in the middle of the street by eight heavily armed men who from the start said they belonged to the 'Triple A terrorist organization.' From that moment until I was brought home, I was the victim of the most atrocious abuse. These murderers, headed by a man they called 'Major,' began subjecting me for three consecutive days to collective beatings, simulated shootings, and prolonged suffocation with nylon pillows. At the end—which I suppose they were really looking forward to, since they seemed to get a thrill out of pain—I was tied to a bed by my hands and feet on a mattress that had purposely been dampened. With one wire tied to an ankle and another to my testicles, I was savagely tortured with electricity—280 volts, according to their boasts, but with reduced amperage so as 'not to kill anyone before they sing'—for five or six consecutive hours, with these paralyzing jolts of electricity at fifteen-second to thirty-second intervals. So that I wouldn't scream in the period between jolts, although the electricity paralyzes your whole body, they covered my face with a pillow lined with nylon, which made me gasp for breath. Later, on the following day, I was taken from the torture spot in a car, and under constant threats that they would shoot me, they continued with their task.

"Later I found out that I was kept at the office of the section head of federal security and that I was listed detained February 21." □

## Bikini Islanders Sue U.S. Government



U.S. atom bomb test on Bikini in 1946. Area is now the world's largest single source of plutonium pollution.

Bikini island was once part of a ring of twenty-six small islands in Micronesia, forming a circle with a twenty-four-mile-wide lagoon in the center. About 160 persons lived on Bikini's total area of two-thirds of a square mile.

Today several of the islands have disappeared and only about 75 persons live on the desolate remains of Bikini. They do so at great peril to their lives.

After forcibly evacuating the island in 1946, the Pentagon exploded twenty-three nuclear bombs on the atoll. The blasts sank thousands of tons of World War II warships anchored in the lagoon and destroyed several of the islands on the western ring of the atoll.

In addition to contaminating Bikini's land, water, and plant life, the blasts left twisted wreckage at the bottom of the lagoon that is the largest single source of plutonium pollution in the world.

After twenty-nine years of forced exile, the people of Bikini are suing the United States government. The aim is to force Washington to resolve the issue of their resettlement, and if possible, safeguard the return to their home.

The suit demands recognition of their

elementary human and democratic rights.

An account of Washington's antihuman treatment of the people of Bikini appeared in the October 17 *New York Times*. The facts deserve careful study. They speak volumes about the nature of American capitalist rule.

"In a suit filed in Federal District Court here," correspondent Jon Nordheimer reported from Honolulu, "the Bikinians charged that agencies of the Government had failed in their obligation to protect the natives who had already returned to the island.

"The islanders contended that inadequate measurements of the levels of radioactivity on Bikini might have endangered about 75 persons now living there.

"In a larger sense, the suit seeks to resolve the entire resettlement issue, and reflects a loss of confidence that the Government will ever allow all the islanders to return to the nuclear-wasted atoll."

The Bikinians, who now number 816 persons, had been promised a permanent return since 1968. At that time President Johnson announced that radiation levels on the island had dropped beneath the danger level for habitation.

"The first move toward resettlement began in 1972 when three families and workers returned to Bikini to build homes and replant vegetation blasted away by the 23 atomic and hydrogen devices exploded at the atoll between 1946 and 1958.

"But last August, the Energy Research and Development Administration reversed earlier assessments and said that the island, its drinking water and plant life were still contaminated." Concluding that their return was again indefinitely postponed, the Bikinians decided to go to court.

"Their suit calls first for a complete scientific survey of the island of Bikini to determine finally if it is fit for human life. So far, the suit maintained, the Government has approached the problem in an uneven, slipshod way, refusing to employ highly sophisticated technical equipment to measure radiation there."

The Bikinians also asked that the government take the sensible step of temporarily relocating the persons already living on the island and use the best available methods to check whether they have suffered harmful effects of radiation.

"So far, despite the nuclear agency's warning, all Government physicians have



done is to examine urine specimens of those on the island. . . .

"Some of the new settlers have been drinking water from the ground and consuming vegetables on the island for nearly three years, it was noted.

"We had already started to worry when the palm seedlings we planted turned orange," said one of the Bikini leaders in Honolulu to file the suit."

Most Bikinians now live in poverty on the small, remote island of Kili, about 450 miles southeast of Bikini. Lore Kessibuki, the magistrate at Kili, told Nordheimer that the Bikinians had no choice but to comply when the navy "temporarily" relocated them in 1946.

"They had all the power," Kessibuki said. "We were in fear."

Exiled with the few possessions they could carry, the Bikinians were "transported by the Navy to Rongerik, an island where American Seabees had hastily assembled makeshift dwellings laid out in a community resembling an American suburb instead of traditional island patterns that respected divisions of family households and power."

Moreover, their new home seemed to have been chosen merely as a convenient dumping ground suitably remote from the public eye.

"Rongerik was not an atoll and had no lagoon for fishing, and its coconut and breadfruit resources were not sufficient to sustain the new population. By early 1948 the transplanted Bikinians were starving to death."

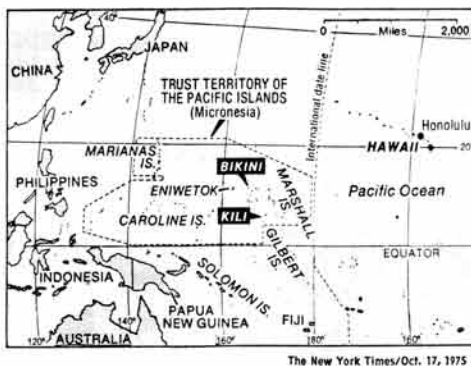
Washington eventually ordered them transferred to Kili, which proved only slightly less inhospitable. "Kili was also without a lagoon and had about one-sixth the land area of their former home. Also, Kili had more than five times the annual rainfall, and the axis of the diamond-shaped island provided no leeward, or sheltered, side during the strong northeasterly trade winds of the winter months, so supplies could not be landed by boat for four or five months of the year.

"Even during calmer periods it required four days by supply boat to reach the island from the nearest airstrip."

Prospects for returning to Bikini do not seem good. In addition to causing the plutonium pollution, "The nuclear explosions at the atoll stripped all the trees off Bikini, and the island is covered today by a scrub vegetation. . . ."

According to attorney George M. Allen, the toxic nature of the sea life inside the lagoon itself is not entirely known, but one change has been the introduction of large sharks that enter from the new underwater passageway opened in the reefs by the bomb tests.

Washington is the third imperial power to



rule Bikini in this century. Until American troops landed there in 1944 it had been

## UN Committee Condemns Israel

### 'Zionism Is a Form of Racism'

The Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the United Nations General Assembly on October 17 voted 70 to 29 in favor of a resolution declaring "that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." Twenty-seven countries abstained on the vote.

Washington denounced the resolution as an "obscene act," and while other delegates were applauding the vote, U.S. chief delegate Daniel Moynihan walked over to Israel's Chaim Herzog and embraced him.

As in the past, the main arguments of Israel's defenders were that any attack on Zionism is automatically anti-Semitic, and that such attacks could lead to an end to U.S. and European funding of UN programs. Black African governments in particular were warned that passage of the resolution would result in the withdrawal of support from the 1973-83 "decade against racism" by Washington, Israel, and the nine members of the European Economic Community.

The blackmail threats were especially strident in the U.S. Congress. "Is this what the American people are being asked to give their tax dollars to support?" asked New York Senator Jacob Javits.

Javits and nine other senators introduced a resolution urging the General Assembly to reject the anti-Zionist measure. They suggested that U.S. aid for the UN would be opposed if the draft resolution is passed by the General Assembly. Javits argued that the resolution "brings back echoes of the propaganda machine of Goebbels and his Nazi party colleagues in the nineteen-thirties."

In the House of Representatives the campaign to defend Israel was initiated by

under Japanese rule since 1914. Before that the island was a German colony.

The progressive destruction of Bikini was concluded with typical Washington efficiency. What Berlin and Tokyo could not accomplish through decades of repressive rule, the Dr. Strangeloves in the White House carried out in a matter of months.

Washington's brutal disregard for the rights of this tiny nation should be condemned by all who support elementary human and democratic rights. The effort by the people of Bikini to force the United States government to resettle them under livable conditions deserves the support of all freedom-seeking individuals and organizations. □

Congressman Thomas O'Neill of Massachusetts, the Democratic party whip and a leader of the racist antibusing campaign against school desegregation.

*New York Times* reporter Bernard Gwertzman noted October 22, "Administration officials indicated privately that they supported the Congressional action as a sign to members of the United Nations that such actions, passed at the initiative of the Arab states, could jeopardize American contributions."

While attempting to prevent a vote on the resolution in the General Assembly, Israel and its allies are also trying to shrug off the growing international isolation of the Zionist state. Israeli Foreign Minister Yigal Allon insisted that the Arab states had difficulty in mustering a majority for the anti-Zionist resolution. He took it as a good sign that there were still some countries on every continent either voting with Israel or abstaining. □

### The Pentagon's 'Defensive' Poisons

U.S. Army officials claim that the continued storage of poisonous toxins at two research centers does not violate a 1970 presidential order calling for the disposal of biological-warfare materials. They say the order applied only to "offensive" toxins. The poisons at the two army facilities include snake venom, deadly shellfish-toxin, and enough quantities of a variety of Hawaiian coral to kill 2,000 persons. An army spokesman at the Edgewood Arsenal in Maryland explained that these substances were being used "to research defensive weapons systems."

## Why Kissinger Won't Let Me Speak in the United States

[Despite Henry Kissinger's best efforts, Hugo Blanco briefly entered the United States. The exiled Peruvian peasant leader, who had been invited to speak at a number of American universities, was officially denied the visa necessary to enter the country.

[On October 7, however, as Blanco was returning to Peru after four years of forced exile, his flight from Europe developed mechanical difficulties during a stopover in Miami. All the passengers were thus unexpectedly compelled to spend a day in the United States.

[During Blanco's stay, the American revolutionary-socialist newsweekly the *Militant* obtained the following interview over the telephone.]

\* \* \*

*Question. Why do you think Kissinger barred you from entering the United States?*

*Answer.* Kissinger is afraid that I will speak on the things yankee imperialism is doing in Latin America—many of them directed by Kissinger himself.

He knows I've been in Peru, I've been in Argentina, I've been in Chile, and I know firsthand what the United States is doing in those countries. Kissinger doesn't want me coming here to tell the North American people about it.

*Q. Have you been officially informed of the State Department's decision?*

*A.* No. When I first applied, they said they would probably turn down my request for a visa, but that this wasn't a final decision. They asked me to return for a final answer in three weeks.

Then when I went back three weeks later, they told me to come back in a couple of days. Then they said to come back later in the week, and then three days from now.

I wasn't living in Stockholm, but in another city, Uppsala. It took time and money for me to go to the U.S. embassy in Stockholm each time.

The only thing the embassy would tell me for certain was that I had to pay for telegrams to Chile asking [dictator Augusto] Pinochet what kind of person I am.

Finally, the last time I went there—a few days before I left Sweden to go back to Peru—they told me that the consul was not there. But there had been other people in line in front of me, and although I don't understand English very well, I understand



BLANCO: The "political rights of the North American people" are at stake.

some things. So the people in front of me would ask to see the consul, and the officials would point out the office of the consul, and the people would go in.

Then when my turn came up, I told them I had come back for the answer they had promised weeks ago. The officials said the consul wasn't there. Just like that—a bald-faced lie. They told me to come back another day.

*Q. Where are you headed now?*

*A.* I'm going back to Peru, after more than four years in exile. I'm going back now because the new government has announced an amnesty for all those who have been deported, both from the left and from the right.

I want to explain a few things about Peru. Under the [former president Juan] Velasco regime, capitalism and imperialism continued to exist and to oppress the Peruvian people.

There had been many reforms within the framework of capitalism, and in the relations between Peruvian capitalism and imperialism, but that oppression had not been done away with.

The riches of Peru were not in the hands of the workers, but rather were in the hands of the capitalists and the imperialists. And

this includes resources that theoretically were in the hands of the workers, like the sugar cooperatives, which in reality were under the control of government bureaucrats.

The daily newspapers were also proclaimed to be in the hands of workers, but again only theoretically. In reality they were run by bureaucrats, government functionaries.

Naturally, since I am in favor of the riches of our country being truly controlled by the working class, I had criticisms of the previous government.

It was for having these criticisms and expressing them that I was deported. In Peru deportation is not part of the penal code or any other law. Nevertheless, when the government wanted to deport people, they did. They would simply announce it: you, and you, and you are all deported.

And what happened when you asked government functionaries when this illegal situation was going to end? I put this question to [former guerrilla leader, now government official, Héctor] Béjar when he talked with me in Europe. He answered that it is strange that a revolutionary like myself should talk about "bourgeois legality."

So we see that since the Peruvian government called itself a "revolutionary" regime, it felt free to violate its own bourgeois laws!

Now there has been a change in government. Those who carried it out say this is nothing more than a change in personnel and that they will follow the same general policies as the previous government.

I don't want to make a full analysis of the new government, since this is difficult to do from outside the country and I will be in a much better position to do it shortly.

But if the new government follows the policies of the previous government, I would continue to have many of the same criticisms of it as of the previous one.

The new government says it recognizes the freedom to criticize. Well, I am going to exercise that right.

The new government also says that, although it recognizes freedom of criticism and has granted amnesty, it will be severe with those who try to halt the revolutionary process. You can accuse me of anything else, but certainly not of trying to halt the revolutionary process!

*Q. What will you be doing in Peru? Will you continue to fight for a visa to enter the United States, and if granted one will you conduct the tour?*

A. Where will I live? What will I do? I don't know. I'll have to see when I get to Peru.

Without a doubt I will do the tour if a visa is obtained. It is something that I have promised to USLA\* and it is an obligation I have to all the people who invited me.

Also, I believe it is my duty, as a Peruvian and as a Latin American, to expose the activities of imperialism against our people. This should be done in European countries, and even more so in the United States, which is the main imperialist power crushing Latin America.

*Q. Would you comment on the recent executions in Spain?*

A. These savage assassinations demonstrate once again the necessity to mobilize throughout the whole world to stop such barbaric actions.

In Sweden, although there was little preparation, demonstrations took place in most of the major cities, with 5,000 to 10,000 protesting in Stockholm.

Particularly in Stockholm, not only young people but even very old men and women demonstrated. You could see in their faces that they were indignant, and they were shouting slogans against Franco. Throughout Europe the solidarity was very impressive.

It is a shame that in the United States there have not been such big demonstrations. Undoubtedly it is because of the news blackout of such things. I hope the North American people will watch more closely these kinds of barbaric acts carried out by Franco.

I know the North American people felt the war in Vietnam very deeply, and helped to bring it to an end. That kind of human solidarity should be demonstrated now over Spain.

*Q. Do you think you will get the visa to get into the United States?*

A. I hope so, but I don't know. I guess only Kissinger knows. But it is valuable for North Americans to express themselves on this, since it is a question of the political rights of the North American people.

It seems clear now that a visa from Kissinger will reflect the solidarity of the North American people, not the friendliness of the State Department toward me. Because of that, it will require insistent requests to the government for the visa to be granted. □

\*United States Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the organization that coordinated arrangements for Blanco's scheduled tour.

November 3, 1975

## Pnompenh Is a 'Dead City'

### Aides to Sihanouk Report on Visit to Cambodia



SIHANOUK: Pnompenh was unrecognizable.

Pnompenh is a "dead city," according to members of the group traveling with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia's titular head of state. The aides, who went with Sihanouk to Pnompenh for a visit September 9, have brought out the first eyewitness accounts of life in the Cambodian capital since the expulsion of Western journalists in late April.

Their accounts, summarized in an October 12 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Peking, confirm and add fresh detail to existing published reports\* of the forced evacuation of Pnompenh's civilian population.

"The Cambodians who returned to Peking with Prince Sihanouk at the end of last month said they no longer recognized Phnom Penh," Agence France-Presse reported. "They described it as a 'dead city.'"

Sihanouk's aides estimated Pnompenh's present population at no more than 50,000. This compares with its prewar population of about half a million, a figure that swelled to more than two million as a result of Washington's massive bombing raids in the interior.

"The witnesses said that the only inhabitants of the city now appeared to be

\*See *Intercontinental Press*, May 19, p. 642 and June 2, p. 726 for a summary of eyewitness accounts by correspondents of the *New York Times*, *Le Monde*, *London Sunday Times*, and *Agence France-Presse*.

members of the armed forces," AFP reported. "Each soldier, they noted, had to wear a badge to be allowed to move through the streets.

"Members of the Prince's group reported that they had been allowed to move around only in the immediate neighborhood of the royal palace and were always accompanied by 'guides.'

"All traffic has disappeared from the streets and all shops are closed, members of the Prince's staff reported. They added that there seemed to be far fewer Buddhist monks in the city now. Pagodas in the capital that were still open had only five or six monks each instead of as many as 300 in other days, the group said.

"Some of the factories that the Prince's party visited on the outskirts of Phnom Penh were being operated entirely by soldiers and Chinese engineers, they said. Some new factories have been erected by the Chinese and were being operated by them, the visitors said."

They reported that the entire population of Cambodia is now organized in "committees" whose leaders are nominated by government authorities.

"These committees, they said, were responsible for distributing food, since there were no shops or any money in circulation. Food was being handed out to the people according to their 'merits,' they reported."

Only unconditional supporters of the new regime are allowed to live in areas close to Cambodia's borders, Sihanouk's aides said. "Doubtful" persons are forced to live in the center of the country.

In addition to being uprooted from their homes and jobs, "all Cambodians except the highest members of the new administration" have been forced to "abandon their old names and adopt new ones chosen for them by the authorities," AFP reported.

The move is believed to be aimed at "reinforcing the policy of dispersing the capital's inhabitants across the countryside." □

### Sihanouk Says Cambodia Ruled by Group of Ten

Cambodia is ruled by a collective leadership group of ten persons, according to Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The ten include Premier Penn Nouth and Deputy Premier Khieu Samphan.

According to an October 20 Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, Sihanouk told Japanese reporters visiting him in North Korea that his own position carries no responsibility for state policy.

## The Dead End of Healy's Sectarian Politics

[On October 6 the Australian Socialist Workers League fused with the Socialist League, formerly known as the Socialist Labour Club. The SLC was formed in April of this year and was active in the radical and labor movements in Hobart, Tasmania, and on the University of Tasmania campus.

[During the past few months severe disagreements developed in the SLC over such questions as the class nature of the Soviet Union and the program and perspectives of the group. A minority faction (having one less supporter than the majority) defended Trotskyist positions on these questions. The majority subsequently resigned to form a group favoring the view that the Soviet Union has a state-capitalist economy.

[The remaining members of the SLC, now known as the Socialist League, decided to fuse with the Socialist Workers League, since they were in fundamental agreement with its program.

[John Tully, formerly a prominent member of the Socialist League, is also a former leader of the Socialist Labour League, a small Australian grouping linked internationally with the Workers Revolutionary party, the British sect led by Gerry Healy. For a year he edited the SLL's newspaper, *Labour Press* (now *Workers News*).

[In the following interview Tully discusses his experience in the Socialist Labour League and explains why he joined the Socialist Workers League. We have taken the text of the interview from the October 16 issue of *Direct Action*.]

\* \* \*

*Direct Action.* You were a leading member of the Socialist Labour League for some time. How did you come to join the SLL?

*Tully.* I think the reason I went towards the SLL was that I'd been in the Moratorium in Tasmania and had some sort of background in radical activity but not in the socialist movement as such. I was also in the Labor party. In 1970-71 I was working on the Tasmanian hydroelectric scheme. It was a situation of impending redundancies on a fairly massive scale. I knew some of the people in Hobart who had come in contact with the SLL or what was to become the SLL.

They gave me literature which spoke about the right to work and the need to defend the basic rights of the working class. It fitted into what I was groping towards at that time. I didn't see it anywhere else so I thought, well, perhaps this is it. I attended

the founding conference of the SLL. That was more or less the reason I went towards them and I think that everyone else does. They attract people because they think they're going to fight honestly for socialism. But when they join the organization they find things are a bit different.

*Direct Action.* What do they find?

*Tully.* Well, they find their politics are completely sectarian. Industrially, for example, they just put forward a maximum program which is a sectarian program. Nationalization without compensation under workers control is their answer to every situation. That's what you've got to go out and fight for. It used to be for a general strike to bring down the Liberal government.

Industrially they've got the sectarian attitude of standing outside the class struggle yelling at the workers to come to them. The truth is that when the working class does begin to move it won't just go to any group that's yelling; the thing is to build a leadership in struggle. And then on other questions like women's rights, Black rights, and so on they've got the totally sectarian position that you don't fight for these things, that they are wrong and petty-bourgeois. These issues have nothing to do with socialism, according to the SLL.

*Direct Action.* Could you tell us something of your role in the Socialist Labour League, the positions you held, your record?

*Tully.* I was the editor of *Labour Press* from April 1972 until April 1973 when I left the SLL for a number of reasons. I was tired of banging my head up against a brick wall with their sectarian politics. When you're trying to win politically, when they've declared that they are the revolutionary party, when you've been part of that and you're trying to put these mad ideas into practice, you get tired of getting nowhere. There were other reasons. One leading comrade in Melbourne was virtually accused of theft, when there was no question that he wouldn't do such a thing. There was also the general undemocratic internal regime of the organization; and then I did have doubts in my mind, as I've said before, about questions such as women's rights, pollution, the apolitical nature of the Young Socialists [the SLL's youth affiliate], etc.

*Direct Action.* You mentioned before that you came into radical politics through the

*antiwar movement.* What do you feel about the SLL's attitude to that?

*Tully.* Sectarian abstentionism, that's their position on it. In the recent article they had in *Workers News* devoted to me, they attempted to "prove" in their typical fashion that they did do work around Vietnam by putting in a photograph of me at a meeting on the Vietnam War. But what this actually proved was how wrong they were, because this was the one and only meeting they ever held on Vietnam during the course of that conflict. Occasionally there would be an article in their press, but their line was not to participate in the antiwar movement. They just wrote it off completely and said they wouldn't work there.

*Direct Action.* What made you decide to leave the Socialist Labour League?

*Tully.* I left twice. After the first time I left I went back to them. The first time I left them was in April 1973. I went out confused and demoralized, the way that they send so many people out of their movement. They consciously try to do that. If someone's going to leave they want to send them out as a political derelict.

*Direct Action.* This has happened in a lot of cases?

*Tully.* Yes, this happens all the time. I've seen it happen to so many people, good comrades, who go to the SLL thinking they are a viable socialist alternative and they're driven out. They end up as political hulks along the wayside and they're not much use for anything after that. When I left them the first time I didn't engage in any political activity. I did organize a strike at the Temco Bell Bay metallurgical plant, but apart from that I regarded myself as a renegade from the working class and socialism. That's what they want to do to people.

*Direct Action.* Could you say something about the organization of the SLL and the Young Socialists?

*Tully.* Perhaps I could relate an anecdote about the sort of activity that they carry out. In Hobart they set up the Chigwell YS, Chigwell being a working-class area. The SLL branch secretary wouldn't allow me to go near it. The activities of this YS branch were just like an apolitical club. I was forced to go to a function one night. There was a one- or two-minute talk about unemployment and then they went straight into a kung-fu film with lots of violence and glorification of the capitalist system. It turned my guts quite a bit. That's the nature of their YS work.

*Direct Action.* Would this still be the case, would it have changed at all?

*Tully.* They wouldn't have changed it. In fact if you look at *Workers News* you'll see that YS branches migrate around the suburbs of Sydney.

*Direct Action.* Could you explain the YS football teams? We've followed them with interest over the years. A team will appear in the competition with ten points when it's never been mentioned before.

*Tully.* They do more incredible things than that. They had a branch of the YS in Hobart called the Southern Suburbs YS. It was mentioned in the first issue of the Healyite *Young Socialist* supplement to *Workers News*. An article described in some detail how youth who had been to the Gerry Healy meetings led the discussion and had discussed this, that, and the other. It was all lies that had been concocted inside someone's head in Sydney. There was an investigation of this Hobart YS branch and one SLL member who has since left was abused and called all sorts of things for not actually organizing this meeting that had been described in the Healyite *Young Socialist!* It also just happened that on the night of this supposed YS meeting there was a meeting for Gerry Healy in Melbourne and this person had been ordered to be at that and so had all the other SLL members in Hobart! That's the YS! They claim to have a huge, rough, tough youth movement, but this is so much rubbish. They have a few dances and organize football teams in a suburb. It falls apart and they move on.

*Direct Action.* You rejoined the SLL?

*Tully.* Yes, I think I rejoined them with the attitude that I'd go back to them warts and all, that what I saw were just a few deformities. I thought, well, they still fight for socialism and that I'd go back to them regardless of the really bad aspects about them and see how long I could stay in for. It didn't last very long. I got more and more disgusted. I began to formulate more serious criticisms. I got much clearer on a lot of things, their youth work, women's rights, etc.

The general atmosphere inside them is that the revolution is next week. I began to see it just wasn't on. The internal regime became even more bureaucratic. The rank and file were told by the leaders that we don't have to justify ourselves to you and some would even boast that we're not really democratic, and you'll do as you're told. There wasn't an atmosphere inside of any sort of critical discussion. You can't be a revolutionary unless you can think critically and you don't just accept things that



JOHN TULLY

come down from the central committee and before that from Gerry Healy. These were the sort of things that I found. But the straw that broke the camel's back was Gerry Healy himself.

*Direct Action.* You went to his public meeting in Sydney?

*Tully.* I was appalled by his performance in Sydney. I thought it was a cheap vaudeville act. I noted that he had an Irish accent on the stage and spoke with a Cockney accent offstage. All those little things add up; and then there was the "security" thing which began roughly about that time.

*Direct Action.* Could you say something more about the Healyites' "security" campaign, how it evolved and what they think they're doing with it?

*Tully.* They're terrified because internationally they've been losing people over the past year or so. Also they've been losing a lot of people who have remained political, like Alan Thornett<sup>1</sup> and his group in Britain and they lost Tim Wohlforth<sup>2</sup> in the

1. Alan Thornett, a central committee member of the WRP, was purged by Healy last December. Two hundred other WRP members were expelled along with him for refusing to denounce his political position or agree with his expulsion. This purge was a heavy setback to the WRP's trade-union work. See "Healy Purges 200 Dissidents From WRP," *Intercontinental Press*, January 13, p. 25; "Alan Thornett's Contribution to the Discussion in the WRP," *Intercontinental Press*, February 10, p. 199.—IP

2. Tim Wohlforth was for ten years the national secretary of the Workers League, Healy's U.S. satellite. He was also the founder of the group's

U.S. It's an attempt to whip the rank and file into an hysterical fanaticism to cover up and blur any political differences and to keep them away from anyone who might infect them.

*Direct Action.* What about the Healyite campaign against Joseph Hansen [a leader of the world Trotskyist movement]?

*Tully.* They didn't actually say that Joseph Hansen was a police agent but they implied it. At one branch meeting I went to, the secretary implied that Hansen should be investigated because there were suspicious circumstances surrounding the death of Trotsky [in 1940—Joseph Hansen was his secretary]. The impression came over that he was a GPU agent or a CIA agent. I just couldn't stomach that one. Hansen has been a revolutionary for years and years and years and here's this cheap filth being thrown at him.

*Direct Action.* Were you aware of the violence against the Spartacist League at one of Healy's Sydney meetings?

*Tully.* I didn't attend that meeting but I heard about it. I don't think that violence inside the workers movement can be tolerated. That wasn't the first instance of Healyite violence but it was perhaps the most blatant case in their history in Australia.

*Direct Action.* You finally left the SLL. What did you do then?

*Tully.* I started having discussions with the Socialist Labour Club and at the same time I came across some documents of Thornett's. His documents, of course, weren't circulated inside the Healyite movement. The only thing that was circulated was an internal bulletin which quoted from an article in the *Morning Star* [the paper of the British Communist party] called "Trotskyists Fall Out," and there was also an article reprinted from *Private Eye*, a scurrilous scandal sheet in Britain. They tried to make out that these articles were praising Thornett. They were doing nothing of the sort. The Healyites called him the darling of the Fleet Street press. There were insinuations that he was perhaps a spy. None of Thornett's material was circulated to the membership. All we heard were lies. It was just slander and rubbish. After I left I came across Thornett's documents and

paper, the *Bulletin*. Wohlforth was purged from the Workers League in late 1974 and has now broken with Healy's political views. See "The Workers League and the International Committee," by Tim Wohlforth, *Intercontinental Press* (in four parts, February 24, p. 279; March 3, p. 314; March 10, p. 346; March 17, p. 379.—IP

they really set things down very clearly.

One of these went through Gerry Healy's political background. It explained how he was expelled from the British Communist party during the popular front period in the 1930s not for Trotskyism, but for ultraleftism. The document traced the development of Healyite sectarianism. It also went right through the Healyites' abandonment of the Transitional Program. That really crystallized it for me. It laid it out very systematically, whereas before that I didn't have a coherent or complete objection to Healyism.

*Direct Action. You joined the Socialist Labour Club?*

*Tully.* Yes, I joined them because I regarded them as serious revolutionaries. Some of them had come out of the SLL. I had various discussions with them. I wanted to work a few things out, where I was going to from there. Briefly what happened inside the SLC was that there was a faction fight over quite fundamental questions of Marxist theory. We set up a minority faction, the Trotskyist faction, and the majority split away to form a state-capitalist group. The SLC had been collaborating with the Socialist Workers League for some months. I think I was the first one inside the faction who said we wouldn't have any future being a small group in Hobart and we agreed with the SWL's general line and any differences would only be a matter of emphasis on certain questions. The only principled thing we could do therefore was to fuse with the SWL.

*Direct Action. You've read Direct Action for some time?*

*Tully.* Yes. I've also read *Intercontinental Press* for a while. I'm in fundamental agreement with the ideas of *Direct Action* and the SWL. The SWL does fight around principled questions. It's got a history of fighting around a principled line in the antiwar movement, and it fought for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. On questions like that it has always stood firm and didn't stand back in sectarian isolation and criticize like the Healyites. The Healyites make a great fuss about the work they do in the trade unions but they've built nothing. Whereas the SWL has done something in the Builders Laborers and the Tramways Union. They've stuck there and they've made some gains.

*Direct Action. You've recently been at the center of a struggle at the Johns Phoenix metalworks in Hobart. Could you tell us something about this?*

*Tully.* Basically what happened was that I was a member of the Federated Ironworkers Association at Johns Phoenix. The

Amalgamated Metal Workers Union went on strike after a stormy meeting. This was one of the national campaign stopwork meetings. At the meeting the officials tried to get the national campaign called off. But I spoke against it and carried the majority with me. The workers wanted to throw the officials in the river. That was the attitude they had, they were so disgusted.

Three or four of the general engineering metal fabrication shops including Johns Phoenix immediately went on strike. But the ironworkers didn't. They were instructed by their officials not to attend the meeting. I had been sick and when I came back I was asked to scab on the AMWU. I refused and was sacked. The metalworkers wanted me back but I didn't want to push it because after a ten-week strike I didn't think it was the best time to start a new strike in defense of one militant. The strike generally was pretty militant. At Johns Phoenix the apprentices went on strike.

*Direct Action. The SLL belongs to the so-called International Committee of the Fourth International. Could you tell us something about this?*

*Tully.* The "International Committee of the Fourth International" is a very interesting organization. Basically, it is the WRP in Britain, a section in Sri Lanka, one in Australia, and one in the U.S. But it's not a real international. It's Gerry Healy's overseas plaything. He's the leader of it. What he says goes and it's carried out. What Healy says goes for the WRP and then it's just automatically sent overseas and the other sections carry it out, it goes down the line. One example is the WRP's slogan of Force Labour to Resign that's come out of Healy's head recently. It's completely absurd. They appear to have managed to delude themselves into thinking that after the Labour government it will be the WRP. It's like the line of the Communist party in Germany in 1933.

*Direct Action. Where the Communist party said that after Hitler it would be their turn?*

*Tully.* Yes, that's it. The WRP is saying Force Labour to Resign, when obviously it will be replaced by the Tories. But they really think it will be replaced by the WRP. The WRP manifesto was reprinted in *Workers News*; it was reprinted around the world by Healy's satellite groups.

This ultraleft binge that Healy and the WRP have embarked on is just pushed on the other sections. They accept it without question. It's the same with their Security and the Fourth International garbage. There's no such thing as an *International Committee of the Fourth International*. It just does what *Healy* tells it to. The

Thornett case was an example of what happens if anyone questions Healy. As Wohlforth said correctly in one of his documents, there hasn't been any opposition tendency inside the WRP since 1959 when Brian Behan was expelled.

*Direct Action. What do you think are the prospects for the "International Committee"?*

*Tully.* I think their future is to be something like the Socialist Labor party, the De Leonist sect in the U.S. They'll be a screaming sectarian grouping that will gradually withdraw more and more from reality and then hopefully will eventually vanish. That's in the long term, but I think in the short term they are dangerous, because they will continue to trap and snare serious elements, young workers, students, etc.

*Direct Action. There are obviously quite a few people who've been through the SLL and had similar experiences to yours. What advice would you give them? What are your thoughts for the future?*

*Tully.* I would like in the future to contact as many of these people as possible, because I think most of them went to the SLL for all the right reasons. They go there because they want to fight for socialism, to fight the boss in one way or another. But they become disillusioned, and they go out rather apolitical. They can even go to the right, they become so cynical.

My advice to them would be to get hold of the material of the Fourth International [the world Trotskyist organization], to read Thornett's material, to read Wohlforth's documents, to have a look at genuine revolutionary socialism and not to think that the Healyites are revolutionary socialists. They're not. They've got nothing in common with it. Their party is not a democratic-centralist party, it's a sectarian outfit with no democracy and no discussion in the rank and file. They just want to impose their sectarian line, which gets madder and madder, and get these people to carry it out. What I'd like to say to these ex-SLL members is don't equate the SLL with Bolshevism, with socialism.

*Direct Action. How do you see the future of the Trotskyist movement in Australia?*

*Tully.* I think it's extremely rosy. Otherwise I wouldn't be here. □

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## Peking Line Ties German Maoists in Knots

The grandiose reception Mao Tsetung arranged earlier this year for Franz Josef Strauss, the well-known representative of reaction in the Federal Republic, was greeted with uncritical approval by the West German Maoists.

The visit—along with Peking's diplomatic stance of calling for the unity of all peoples and nations (including the imperialist countries) against the threat to world peace presented by the two "superpowers," the Soviet Union and the United States—signaled a political about-face among the West German Maoists.

These self-appointed interpreters of Mao Tsetung Thought, having carefully considered the meaning for West Germany of Peking's latest twist, have arrived at some truly astounding conclusions.

The KPD (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—Communist party of Germany) stated its position in a lead article in issue No. 28 of its paper, *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag). If *Rote Fahne* went far in its previous issue, calling for arming the West German government with nuclear weapons,<sup>1</sup> the latest contribution—"Fight the Superpowers, Reject Pacifism"—scales a still higher peak in slavish support of German imperialism.

Here are a few highlights from that article:

- *Support for stationing U.S. troops in West Germany:* "Today the situation is such that European countries do not have sufficient defense forces of their own to counter successfully a military attack by Soviet social imperialism, the major enemy of the European people and states." "The struggle against U.S. troops in our country serves only Soviet social imperialism."

- *Increased armaments for NATO and the Bundeswehr (West German army):* "The weaker NATO is, the easier social-imperialist aggression." "The West European states must undertake a massive increase in defense efforts in order to be a match for the social-imperialist military machine."

- *An end to the struggle against NATO bases as sites for military maneuvers:* "No protest actions against the construction of



STRAUSS: Warm welcome in Peking.

sites for NATO troop maneuvers; strengthening the independent West European defenses is the correct military-political line for today."

To be sure, the KPD also calls for indemnification for damages caused by troop exercises and for the troops to participate in repairing damage to farmers' fields. This, of course, is acceptable to the right-wing CSU (Christlich-Soziale Union—Christian Social Union), which has an eye out for the farm vote.

- *Against antimilitarist propaganda:* "General propaganda aimed at undermining the Bundeswehr today simply adds water to the mill of Soviet social imperialism. The same is true of general anti-imperialist propaganda." "Pacifism, not saber rattling and armament propaganda, is at present the most dangerous ideology." "Hence we are developing demands that aid in improving military training . . . in the Bundeswehr, and that counter all measures that would weaken it."

The KPD has not forgotten to introduce a note of self-criticism about its previous line for military work and pledges "the sharpest struggle" against the "revisionist DKP/SDAJ,"<sup>2</sup> which long ago began the

work of disrupting and undermining the Bundeswehr."

This is an open invitation to the state apparatus, pledging the KPD's help in smashing the fledgling antimilitary work being carried out in the Bundeswehr. But this is not all. Even the KPD's youth group, the KJV (Kommunistischer Jugendverband—Union of Communist Youth), can get into the act:

"When military instruction is given in the schools, when high-school students visit barracks, etc., this is not in itself a bad thing. Rather it offers an opportunity for our high-school comrades to put forward the correct line of the antihegemonical coalition."

Not all the West German Maoist groups have gone as far as the KPD. The Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW—Communist League of West Germany), for instance, denounces the KPD line as a betrayal of the West German working class. The KBW manages this, of course, while wholeheartedly approving Peking's foreign policy (the Strauss spectacle included) and without going so far as to call for the defense of the Soviet Union in a war with the imperialist powers.

Perhaps the most interesting position is that of the KPD/Marxist-Leninist, a group that is engaging in unity negotiations with the KPD. In contrast to the KPD, the KPD/M-L has an old experienced Stalinist, Ernst Aust, at the helm.

Aust knows how to apply a line handed down from Moscow or Peking. He instructs his comrades in an article appearing in *Roter Morgen* (Red Dawn) No. 31: "The position developed in this article in *Rote Fahne* [No. 28] would mean capitulation to U.S. imperialism, support to West German imperialism, and abandonment of the proletarian revolution."

Strong words, but he continues: "Naturally, it is wrong to raise the demand for unilateral withdrawal of U.S. troops." "It goes without saying that it is wrong to struggle against West German imperialism and the Bundeswehr as the major war danger. This would be of great service to Russian imperialism, but would do great harm to the cause of national and social liberation of our people." □

1. "Nuclear weapons in the hands of the West European states are weapons of justice when they serve to defend freedom and independence against the superpowers."

2. Deutsche Kommunistische Partei/Sozialis-

tischer Deutsche Arbeiterjugend, the German Communist party (pro-Moscow) and its youth group, the German Socialist Worker Youth.

# Police Kidnap and Torture Mexican Trotskyists

By Gabriel Montoya

[The following is a translation of the article entitled "Secuestran y Torturan a Trotskistas Mexicanos," which appeared in the October 27 issue of *Intercontinental Press*.]

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On Wednesday, September 17, Raúl Villegas, a member of the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista (GCI—Internationalist Communist Group, one of two sympathizing groups of the Fourth International in Mexico), was kidnapped by the police in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua. The police also seized Concepción Flores Madrid and Yolanda Quezada.

In Mexico City on the same day, the police seized Carlos Ferra Martínez, María Elisa Villaescusa, and Margarito Montes Parra—all members of the GCI.

In coordination with the seizures, a raid was carried out on the Mexico City office of the GCI, where its paper, *Bandera Roja*, is edited.

Carlos Ferra Martínez and María Elisa Villaescusa are teachers at the Preparatoria Popular in Nonoalco; Villaescusa is also a student at the school of political and social sciences of the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Both had participated actively in the student movement in Sonora, a state in the northeast of the country. Margarito Montes Parra is a fifth-year student of rural sociology at the Universidad Agrícola in Chapingo, where he is recognized by the students as one of the school's leaders.

The three were kidnapped from the home of Carlos Ferra, which was subsequently ransacked by the police. The kidnapping was apparently carried out by agents of the Dirección de Investigaciones Previas (DIP—Bureau of Investigations). It was reported that they took their victims to the "El Pocito," a secret jail that specializes in obtaining forced confessions.

On September 22, at the same time the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolution party, the party in power for more than forty-five years) was announcing its presidential candidate and basic governmental plan for 1976-82—a plan alluding to the need "to perfect social democracy" and to increase political participation in the elections and party struggles—the three persons were released without any explanation. They had been tortured and interrogated for a week.

Raúl Villegas, Concepción Flores, and

Yolanda Quezada were freed in Ciudad Juárez a few days later. No charges were placed against any of the prisoners.

These methods are typical of Mexican repressive bodies, as a declaration issued by several organizations indicated:

"Without being able to prove any crime, without any explanation when they were arrested, the compañeros [Ferra Martínez, Villaescusa, and Montes Parra] were released September 22. At the time, all departments of the police officially denied having arrested them. In fact, kidnapping by the police is aimed at intimidating persons who hold democratic and revolutionary views and at obtaining information on political organizations.

"In reality, the case represents nothing new. It is common practice for the police to kidnap persons who oppose official policy from different points of view, to deny that they are being held, to torture and interrogate them for several days, and depending on the 'confessions' dragged out of them, to then either officially register them or free them. In cases in which the torture was excessive, they can simply be made to vanish."

Apparently the pretext in this instance was a campaign against the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre [September 23 Communist League], a terrorist group, to prevent that organization from carrying out commemorative rallies on that date.

"The police wanted to show an alleged connection between the compañeros and the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre. . . . At the same time these compañeros were kidnapped, dozens of persons met the same fate on the pretext of being guerrillas. Some of them have now been publicly announced as such; others are still missing."

The GCI has denied that there is any link whatsoever between the GCI as an organization or any of its arrested members and the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre or any other guerrilla group.

The two sympathizing groups of the Fourth International in Mexico, the GCI and the Liga Socialista, issued appeals in their newspapers, *Bandera Roja* and *El Socialista*, to all political and trade-union organizations to demand the release of the then still imprisoned compañeros, to protest the kidnappings, and to begin a campaign against repression and for the freedom of political prisoners.

In response to this call, more than sixty-five political, trade-union, student, and

other organizations signed the declaration quoted from above. The declaration denounces the kidnappings, and demands the release of those arrested, the release of all political prisoners, and an end to the repression.

Along with the GCI and the Liga Socialista, the declaration was signed by, among others: *Rojo* (Periódico de Acción Comunista [communist action newspaper]); Sindicato de Personal Académico de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México [SPAUNAM—Union of Academic Personnel of the National Autonomous University of Mexico]; Sindicato de Trabajadores y Empleados de la UNAM [STEUNAM—Union of Workers and Employees of UNAM]; the union of SPICER workers; the branches of the Sindicato Unico de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana [SUTERM—Union of Electrical Workers of the Mexican Republic] in the nuclear industry; the university section committee of the Partido Comunista Mexicano [PCM—Mexican Communist party]; Movimiento Estudiantil por el Socialismo [MEPS—Student Movement for Socialism, the youth group of the PCM]; Comité de Jóvenes por el Socialismo [CJS—Committee of Youth for Socialism]; Leninist Trotskyist Faction of the Liga Obrera Mexicana [Mexican Workers League]; Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario [Revolutionary Student Front]; Comité Interbancario [Interbank Committee]; section 22 of the Movimiento Sindical Ferrocarrilero [MSF—Railway Union Movement] in Oaxaca; the democratic tendency of section 22 of SUTERM; several unions in the textile industry; several trade unions and organizations in the cities of Oaxaca, Colima, and La Paz; the Ciudad Juárez newspaper *Cauhtémoc*; and the Alianza Cívico-Democrática [Democratic Civic Alliance] of the same city. □

## Real Wages in Philippines Decline Sharply Since 1969

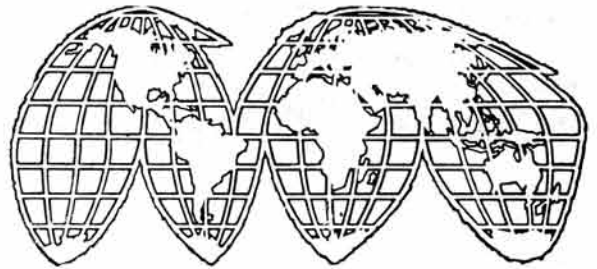
The real wages of Philippine workers have dropped drastically since 1969, according to a report by the Philippine Center for Research and Communication. Although wages have increased about 7% a year between 1969 and 1974, they have lagged far behind the inflation rate, which stood at 40% in 1974.

The CRC study illustrated the decline in real wages by comparing the hours of work required to purchase a particular item in 1969 and 1974. To buy 2.2 kilos of rice in 1969, for example, a laborer had to work 1.5 hours; in 1974 it took 2.5 hours. To purchase a sport shirt in 1969 required 3.3 hours of work; in 1974 it required 15.5 hours.

The report also noted that the purchase of rice alone now takes up 30% of a worker's daily income, while in 1969 it accounted for only 16%.



# AROUND THE WORLD



## **Indira Gandhi Tightens Law Detaining Political Prisoners**

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has plugged up another loophole in her arsenal of repressive legislation. On October 17 she enacted a presidential amendment to the Maintenance of Internal Security Act stating that the regime need no longer disclose to anyone, including the courts, its reasons for arresting persons under the act. The amendment was made retroactive to June 29 so that it would cover most of those arrested since the imposition of the state of emergency.

Gandhi's move came after a New Delhi high court ordered the release of Kuldip Nayar, a prominent journalist, in September. Hundreds of other political prisoners had petitioned the courts challenging their imprisonment.

## **Iranian Police Gun Down Strikers**

Seventeen strikers were killed in the town of Chahi, north of Tehran, during a police attack in early September. According to a statement issued in Paris October 6 by the Liberation Movement of Iran, police wounded an additional fifty persons and arrested two hundred.

The statement also reported that June 6, when Iranian police charged demonstrators at Qum, a holy city seventy-five miles to the south of Tehran, ten persons were killed and a hundred wounded. Four hundred persons were arrested. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 7, p. 950, for a summary of Iranian press accounts on the police assault.)

In September, in the same city, 150 students of theology were arrested.

The Liberation Movement drew attention in its statement to the case of Ayatollah Montasseri, a religious leader arrested six months ago and held in Qum prison, and of a prisoner named Taleghani, the daughter of another religious figure, arrested at the beginning of July.

## **Auto Industry Slumps in Brazil**

Despite government export incentives, foreign auto companies operating in Brazil have been hard hit by the big downturn in the world economy. In August, government planners estimated an annual growth rate of 9% for the auto industry through 1981.

Since then auto executives have lowered the figure to between 4% and 5%.

Volkswagen, which had a return on invested capital of 10% to 11% in 1974, expects the figure to drop by half this year. General Motors says it expects just to break even. Chrysler does not expect to make a profit in the near future.

## **U.S. Blockade of Cuba Sagging**

The "unilateral" U.S. trade blockade against Cuba is becoming less effective and more costly for Washington, the Commerce Department reported in mid-October.

The department's assessment of the thirteen-year embargo attributed its loss in effectiveness to higher sugar prices, which have given Havana more money to spend abroad.

An increasing number of governments have resumed trade with Cuba in recent months. On July 29 Washington voted with a majority of the Organization of American States to end economic and political sanctions imposed by the OAS against Cuba in 1964.

## **Peruvian Junta Denounces Miners for Calling a Strike**

The 15,000 miners at Centromin-Perú, the former Cerro de Pasco Corporation expropriated in 1974 by the Peruvian junta, agreed to postpone a scheduled strike October 9 when the Morales Bermúdez regime granted them a raise of 70 soles (US\$1.55) a day and other benefits.

However, this did not prevent Morales from denouncing the miners union for calling the strike, accusing it of "ultraleftism" that would "create extremely serious problems for us, compromising the survival of our revolution."

## **Peña Valdez Freed in Santo Domingo**

Dominican trade-union leader Julio de Peña Valdez was released from prison October 16. He had been arrested in early June along with two other trade-union leaders and a leader of the Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD—Dominican People's Movement). All four were charged with plotting to overthrow the Balaguer government.

Peña Valdez is education secretary of the Central General de Trabajadores (CGT—General Workers Federation), which has

been waging a vigorous campaign to organize Dominican workers in the sugar industry, the most important sector of the Dominican economy.

Peña Valdez's release follows an extensive international campaign exposing the frame-up charges against him, CGT General Secretary Francisco Antonio Santos, CGT Grievance Secretary Eugenio Pérez Cepeda, and MPD leader David Onelio Espailat.

Santos and Cepeda are still in prison; Espailat is being held under house arrest.

## **Washington Forced to End Bombing Practice on Culebra**

The use of Culebra, an island off the coast of Puerto Rico, as an artillery target for the U.S. Navy was officially ended October 18 when President Ford signed an executive order lifting all navy control over the area. U.S. warships had practiced ship-to-shore bombardment on Culebra since 1899, a year after Washington took possession of Puerto Rico following the Spanish-American War.

In 1970, the navy, which had been using only part of the 2,000-acre island for its target practice, proposed to buy all of Culebra from Puerto Rico and relocate Culebra's 650 inhabitants. This sparked a five-year struggle by Puerto Ricans to get the navy off Culebra entirely.

## **FBI Snoops Face New Court Suit**

A U.S. appeals court has ruled in favor of putting the Federal Bureau of Investigation on trial for its conduct in the Lori Paton case. Paton sent a letter to the Socialist Workers party in 1973, when she was sixteen, as part of a high-school project. Her letter was intercepted by the FBI, which proceeded to open a file on her and begin an investigation of her activities and associations.

Paton countered by filing suit against the FBI. She charged that it was unconstitutional for the FBI to intercept her mail, investigate her, and maintain files on her. She demanded an injunction against such activities in the future, the destruction of the files, and \$10,000 in damages.

A lower court ordered the files destroyed, but denied the other points of her suit. The appeals court ruling allows the case to go to trial on the issue of whether the FBI's surveillance is unconstitutional.

# Capitalism Fouls Things Up

## Sunkist in Japan: Poison-Laced Lemonade

[The following dispatch, by Karin Junkerman and Jim Stentzel, was filed by New Asia News September 19.]

\* \* \*

TOKYO—At a press briefing here September 18, U.S. embassy officials waxed poetic for more than ninety minutes about the “inordinate calm” characterizing the “no-problem era” in Japan-U.S. relations.

Then lemons were mentioned. Suddenly the no-problem era ended, and the officials blasted the Japanese consumer movement for threatening the annual million-dollar sales of U.S.-grown Sunkist lemons.

The highly complex lemon war in Japan centers on U.S. export use of OPP (orthophenylphenol), a possibly harmful fungicide at present not allowed by the Japanese government. Last April Japanese government researchers detected OPP on the rinds of six imported Sunkist lemons. The government suspended further import of OPP-treated citrus fruit, forcing Sunkist to dump shiploads of lemons at sea. “It made the Pacific look like a Tom Collins,” said a U.S. embassy official, “and it also made our citrus growers and our government very angry. OPP is nontoxic and totally safe as a fungicide,” he said.

Various Japanese researchers disagree. They say that OPP may be somewhat safe as used in the U.S.—where OPP is applied only to the tape binding the shipping crates. But, they say, OPP applied directly to the exported lemons poisons both the inner lemon and the surrounding air. One researcher has shown that vaporization of OPP is toxic enough to kill the rats who breathe it. A Nagoya University professor has warned that OPP is even more dangerous than PCB (polychlorinated biphenyl), especially when liquid OPP comes in contact with one’s skin.

Since last spring’s OPP ban, Sunkist (which monopolizes the Japan lemon market) has used biphenyl to stop mildew in shipment. But both Sunkist and the U.S. government want OPP back. The reason: There is up to 20 percent spoilage on biphenyl-treated lemons and only up to 10 percent spoilage on OPP-treated lemons; in its \$50 million annual lemon trade with

Japan, Sunkist is therefore talking about a difference of \$5 million in spoilage. (When no fungicide is used, spoilage ranges as high as 40 percent.)

The Japanese Fruits and Vegetables Trading Association (controlled by Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Marubeni, and C. Itoh affiliates) shares the spoilage loss and is also pressuring for legalization of OPP. But the association’s means of protest are curious if not devious. Apparently out of fear of the Japanese consumer movement, the association did not pressure the Japanese government for legalization. Rather, it worked through Sunkist to pressure the U.S. government to apply pressure on Tokyo.

As a result, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz in August pressured his Japanese counterpart, Shintaro Abe, to promptly legalize OPP. A decision by the Japanese government is expected in two or three weeks, after it receives a “proof of nontoxicity” report from U.S. authorities.

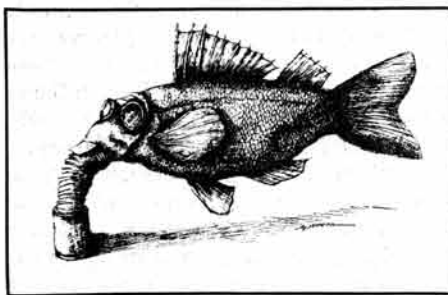
Citizens groups, including the Japan Consumers Federation and the Japan Housewives Association, are actively protesting not only the proposed legalization of



OPP but also what they consider to be big business-government attempts to deceive Japanese consumers. They know that the U.S. embassy has been supplying the Japanese Welfare Ministry and other government agencies with strongly pro-OPP data emphasizing market values, and so far, ignoring safety questions. They also point out that if OPP is somehow approved, it would affect not only imported lemons but grapefruit and other citrus fruits as well.

In a letter to President Ford presented at the U.S. embassy here September 17, the consumer groups asked for official clarification of the U.S. government’s role in the issue. The letter said in part: “At present, Japanese consumers are more concerned about the safety of their food than about the economics of export-import. . . . We intend to vigorously pursue our movement to rid Japan of many of the food additives which the Japanese government, on its trackless course, has approved. . . . In conclusion, we would like to inform you that we are launching a movement against OPP, and that we will not hesitate to call a boycott of your country’s citrus fruits if necessary.” □

## Salmon Steak à la Polychlorinated Biphenyl



Geoffrey Moss/Washington Post

In 1968 more than 1,000 persons in Japan fell victim to an epidemic of a disfiguring skin disease—dubbed Yusho. They also endured abdominal pains and liver malfunctioning. The disease was traced to rice oil heavily contaminated by chemicals known as PCBs (polychlorinated biphenyls).

PCBs, ubiquitous pollutants derived from benzene, are emerging as a more serious threat to the ecology than the notorious DDT insecticide. They are now known to be toxic at far lower levels than previously thought. In laboratory experiments, PCBs fed to monkeys have resulted in a high number of miscarriages and sickly infants, while rats have developed liver cancer. Evidence is increasing that PCBs may harm wildlife, particularly ocean-feeding birds, and even the ecological food chain.

PCBs are far more resistant to degradation by natural forces than even DDT. In some places PCBs have already accumulated in the environment to a greater extent than DDT.

PCBs are valued in industry, being used in electrical transformers and capacitors and in such products as lubricants, water-

proofing chemicals, and "carbonless" duplicating paper.

PCB pollution is now found far from the areas where they are used in industry. "It's all over the place—we find PCBs everywhere we look," said Glenn Schweitzer, director of the toxic substances office of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. Potentially dangerous quantities of PCBs have been detected in fish ranging from salmon in Lake Michigan to bass in the Hudson River—a hint that PCBs are entering the food chain.

Two shipments of canned salmon from the Great Lakes were recently confiscated by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration as contaminated. However, it is believed that many persons are still eating unsafe fish. A special task force that studied Lake Michigan recently concluded, "Although all species aren't affected by PCBs, the potential exists for a significant portion of this fishery being curtailed."

PCBs have been found far out at sea. Scientists fear that PCBs in the ocean will eventually destroy some forms of algae, and therefore the tiny animals near the bottom of the food chain that eat the algae. The process of cell division in algae is also impaired, according to some studies.

"Voluntary controls" on the use of PCBs were instituted in 1972 following a federal task force report urging that PCBs "be restricted to essential or nonreplaceable uses which involve minimum direct human exposure. . . ."

U.S. industrialists circumvented production cutbacks of PCBs by turning to European suppliers. The production cutbacks failed to reduce pollution levels, partly because of PCB resistance to natural degradation, but mostly from continuing use of the chemical. □

### What the Survivors Can Look Forward To

In a nuclear war involving 10,000 megatons of atomic bombs, as much as 30% to 70% of the ozone layer over the Northern Hemisphere and 20% to 40% over the Southern Hemisphere might be destroyed for a period of three to ten years. This was one of the findings of a study by the National Academy of Sciences made public in Washington October 4.

The ozone layer in the stratosphere, which shields the earth from the lethal effects of the sun's ultraviolet radiation, could be depleted by interaction with the nitrogen oxides released during a nuclear explosion. This would change the climate and destroy crops, causing a possible worldwide decline in food production.

On the positive side, according to a report in the October 5 *New York Times*, the study concluded "that man, though not necessarily civilization, would survive a nuclear

exchange and that in the noncombatant nations the physical and biological effects would be 'less prolonged and less severe than many had feared.'"

Prospects are particularly bright for the Southern Hemisphere, where "recovery probably would be fairly complete in 25 years, the study found."



Tom Kleh/Washington Post

### Send the Bill to Wall Street

The estimated cost for cleaning up the polluted rivers and lakes in the United States by 1983 is between \$97 billion and \$130 billion, according to the National Commission on Water Quality.

### Forecast: Partly Sooty, Chance of Sulfur Showers

A consortium of California and Arizona utilities wants to build a 3,000-megawatt coal-fired electric plant on a plateau less than 100 miles from Bryce Canyon, Zion, Grand Canyon, and Capitol Reef national parks in the United States. The plant would be the largest of its kind in the country.

Organized groups of environmentalists, scientists, and other concerned citizens are opposing the project on the grounds that it would do irreparable damage to one of the most beautiful wilderness areas in the country.

The consortium has ironically named its project Kaiparowits, which means "mountain home of the Indians" in the language of the native Ute people.

Representatives of the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, and the League of Women Voters, among other groups, have appeared before hearings in order to expose the project's environmental hazards.

Dr. Jack Spence, a chemist from Utah State University, testified September 15

that the plant would send 250 tons of nitrogen oxide into the air daily. He said this was equal to the amount of that pollutant emitted daily by all the cars in Los Angeles.

He also said the danger of mercury to fish in nearby Lake Powell had been underestimated by sponsors of the project. In addition, he pointed to the danger of ozone creation, a major element of smog, which he predicted would cloud what is now a region of nearly pure air.

The federal government disagrees. According to a report in the October 27 *Newsweek*, "An environmental-impact report prepared by the U.S. Bureau of Land Management suggests that although 12.2 tons of soot, 34.3 tons of sulfur dioxide and 250 tons of nitrogen oxide would be pumped into the air daily, visibility would be only minimally affected."

### Acropolis Crumbling From Air Pollution

Pollution has caused more damage to the 2,500-year-old Greek Acropolis in the past forty years than it suffered during the previous four centuries, according to a United Nations report released October 15.

The report said that pollution "gnaws at the marble and wears it down into a very thin dust. The situation is such that this winter, when atmospheric pollution will be denser, heavy rain or hail will suffice to break away whole parts of the columns and statues."

### Watch That Caviar

About two million fish, including caviar-bearing sturgeon, were killed by pollution in the Caspian Sea, the Iranian government announced September 16. An official statement said the managing director of Pars-Toshiba, a Japanese-Iranian appliance factory, was jailed for releasing poisonous wastes into streams feeding into the Caspian.

### Canned Baby Food Not Recommended for Poison-Free Diet

Children who eat canned baby food are being exposed to potentially hazardous levels of lead in the foods they consume, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration announced October 16.

The agency called for a "priority program" to cut down levels of the poisonous metal in baby and infant food. It also said that it would alert the canning industry that some adult canned foods show "undesirably high" lead content over the long term.

"Of the [canned] baby foods," the agency said, "orange juice had the highest mean lead level. Next in order in the baby foods were apple juice, applesauce, and peaches."

# OUT NOW!

## Chapter 14

### The Cleveland Conferences of 1966

By Fred Halstead

[*Second of two parts*]

Following the fall actions Emspak, Buch, and Maisel wrote brief reports on their tours which were distributed at the evaluation conference. But Maisel wrote an additional report which he sent to me containing some opinions he apparently did not want to present as a spokesperson for the rather delicate coalition. It didn't contradict his other report, but it was less diplomatic, more critical, opinionated, and therefore more revealing of the real state of affairs in the student movement. Said Maisel:

"The general attitude on the campus seems to be heavily loaded with pessimism and a trend towards multi-issue or at least multiple issueism. There is also a wave of anti-demonstration fever running around. I can't tell if this is recent or just one of the periodic dips in the anti-war movement. The fight over withdrawal openly appears to be over but as multi-issueism creeps in there is a tendency to compromise on this point so as to get the 'broadest' group together.

"On a number of campuses the anti-war committees, after being single-issue organizations for a bit more than a year, have

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

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affiliated in one way or another with SDS. The only justification for it is that SDS will provide them with literature, speakers, and a name which is known nationally so that the organization can use it to attract new people. It is not the program of SDS which attracts these kids, for they are going out and writing their own ticket, without regard for what SDS is doing nationally. . . . What seems to be looked for here is a nationally organized group which is so broad that there will be no interference and no absolute responsibilities to it. The SDS affiliations are also a sign of the single-issue vs. multi-issue confusion.

"The pessimism manifests itself in the following argument: 'We can't end this war. Perhaps we can end the war 10 wars from now. So let's organize for that and prepare.' This leads to multi-issueism. This is not entirely unhealthy or wrong. . . . Their confusion stems from their desire to involve the 'people' and at the same time attempting to do so by petit-bourgeois programmatical and organizational methods, rejecting the power of the American working class as hopelessly stymied by the bureaucracy, rejecting the soldiers as utopian (and incidentally confusion over the Ft. Hood Three as just another 3 guys who refused to go and not seeing the significance of the fact that they are *in* the army and the effect such actions can have upon the army). Therefore I found . . . a multi-issue approach rampant. I don't know what effect the elections will have, but there are already signs that a good number of these people are looking to Bobby Kennedy as their savior in '68."

Maisel had made the entire tour driving an old car and sleeping on couches. Yet, when I had seen him a time or two in the course of it he looked as if he'd just stepped out from behind a desk in a bank. He had one of those small, neat bodies that seem to go together with efficient personalities, and was sometimes slightly disturbing to those of us not so inclined. On the organization of November 5-8 his remarks were blunt:

"A note on organization. The last set of demonstrations [November 5-8] was very very poorly organized. The publicity was too 'busy' and very poor. The next set should really go to town on the printing job including posters, simple calls with plenty of white space for local groups to fill in their own bit of information. In general the chaos of the last set of demos must be eliminated to be really successful for the future. A single national office, rather than two or three or more must be established. A clear chain of command is necessary. Some full-time staffers are needed, not that the last set was poor, but Griffith, Muste et al. are involved in so many things that they cannot and will not put in full time. The Ithaca office has nine (9) organizations running out of it. Griffith is the staffer for almost all of them. . . .

"The distribution of antiwar paraphernalia must be better organized and things like 'sick of the war' buttons dropped. They were universally despised everywhere I went. Bring the Troops Home Now buttons were much preferred. In addition such slogans as 'sick of the war' are very demoralizing and only serve to aid the anti-demonstration fever and the multi-issue approach without providing a slogan or an issue to organize around. It doesn't say a thing to anyone outside of the anti-war movement, is misunderstood by students, and again organizationally, the color and quality looked shoddy."

The last point, except perhaps for the technical aspect of the criticism, was of course at variance with the views of such figures as Sid Peck, who had made it clear when he motivated his proposal that he favored a multi-issue approach.

In summary Maisel said:

"Because of the lack of success of the anti-war movement in ending the war with a demonstration or two the weakest forces have taken to defeatism, pot smoking, LSD and the like. A lot, surprising numbers in fact, of the anti-war people of the last two years have dropped out of activity and are actually trying to hold back those who do want to go forward and build.

"Now that this doleful note has been inserted it would be well to indicate that I think there is a tremendous untapped potential on the campuses among freshmen and sophomores who just need some simple action to get them in motion, such as a national march on D.C. This is easy to organize for them, by comparison with the IDPs [International Days of Protest], and they would come out of the woodwork."<sup>18</sup>

In his report to the committee, Maisel put it this way: "There is a tremendous potential yet to be tapped by the anti-war movement. The 'anti-demonstration fever' that I encountered is, I believe, a temporary condition which will occur cyclically for a

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18. "Report on East Coast antiwar tour" by Robin Maisel. Undated. (Copy in author's files.)

while to come. We have seen, however, that large national actions tend to break people out of the doldrums and give the movement a shot in the arm by enlarging our base, adding new forces and new ideas. Large visible manifestations have the effect of not only encouraging new people to join the anti-war movement, but also of showing that the anti-war movement is growing. The fact is the anti-war movement is larger than ever, not smaller, and a massive display will prove it to the rest of the country."<sup>19</sup>

With this point Peck was not in basic disagreement. For his part, he entered the evaluation conference prepared to press for the second part of his original proposal—which he mimeographed for distribution to the delegates—that is, a mass mobilization in New York and San Francisco in the spring.

The invitation to the conference was sent out from Ithaca by Robert Greenblatt, who was sensitive to the mood of the campus milieu, and it contained language that implied a somewhat different approach. This presaged the main tension at the conference.

"Over and over again," wrote Greenblatt, "our experience indicates a disenchantment with symbolic mass 'protest action' (e.g. marches, rallies, etc.) and a greater readiness for building solid political foundations. While the number of people willing to 'march' is on the decline, more people are ready to go into the community to do leafleting, door-to-door canvassing and similar actions limited only by the ingenuity of the leadership. . . ."

"The mobilization can be termed a success if only on the grounds that it made us aware of this new mood in the peace movement. But the partial successes created an even greater responsibility; the responsibility of responding to the need for community organization."<sup>20</sup>

Of course nobody was opposed to community organizing. But the term had different meanings, and as used by SDS in those days it was specifically counterposed to antiwar activity as such, especially to mass demonstrations. The SDS national office considered these a waste of time, or worse, a diversion which drew energies away from their concept of community organizing, which was none too clear itself. This in spite of the fact that local SDS chapters often found their most successful activities to be antiwar demonstrations around such things as the appearance on campus of a Johnson administration official, or a military recruiter, or an instance of university complicity with the war.

To many liberals, community organizing meant pushing doorbells for Democratic Party politicians, or between elections building a local reform Democratic Party base in preparation for the next election. In spite of their voting habits this was anathema to most radicals outside the CP milieu, and even there it was not attractive when the elections were far away. In SDS, community organizing in its positive sense meant building a radical base (the adjective "revolutionary" was also increasingly being used now that the new guard had taken over from the old). But that was an abstraction. When it came to putting it into practice the experiments were rarely inspiring, and often sifted down to a handful of SDSers sitting in a room escalating their rhetoric.

To the SWP and the YSA, community work meant building the *socialist* movement in as many places as possible and participating in whatever living struggles they could on a local level, including union, civil rights, civil liberties, antiwar, and other activities. There was nothing new or glamorous about it for them. It was vital, but generally painstaking, tedious work, and certainly no panacea.

Except for election periods, and with a different political thrust, the CP's activities were similar. The Du Bois Clubs, however, while their ideology was close to that of the CP, were not nearly so

homogeneous or so tightly organized. They tended to see themselves in direct competition with SDS for influence in the same milieu and just at this time had a strong tendency to adapt in the same direction as SDS, though with a somewhat more defined program.

All of this would be reflected in the dispute at the third Cleveland conference. And something more. The pacifists also were divided into liberals and radicals and would tend to adapt to the moods of those wings. But a stabilizing factor for the pacifists—at least those involved in the antiwar movement—was the simple fact that they could not in any case ignore the war. Opposition to war was supposed to be what they were all about. This simple fact was not really so simple at all. It was one of the striking features of the American movement against the Vietnam war, and it had not been so in previous wars, with a few exceptions like A.J. Muste and Dellinger.

James P. Cannon had commented on this in 1965 in a speech to the Los Angeles SWP branch:

"The classic pacifism we know, which Lenin denounced as worse than useless, was a pacifism that denounced war until it started and then rallied around the flag. I don't know whether many of you present here have seen that characteristic of the old pacifism, as I recall it, especially from the First World War. At that time there was a tremendous movement of opposition to America's entry into the war. So strong was the popular sentiment that Woodrow Wilson was reelected to the presidency primarily on the slogan 'He kept us out of war.'

"Many public speakers, politicians and, of course, preachers, spoke against entry into the war. I can't forget the effect it had upon us militants. We thought we had the population with us in our opposition—until the declaration of war. Then everything went out of the movement and the loudest pacifists became the loudest patriots, right away. They said you don't fight the government when it is at war. So the pacifists had simply led the people up to the expectation of opposition and then led them down immediately.

"We have a sort of pacifism today that is still operative after the shooting has started. We have an active war in Vietnam, rapidly escalating since last February when they began bombing right and left, but there is still a considerable segment of the pacifist movement that does not cease to protest. That's new."<sup>21</sup>

What accounted for this phenomenon could be the subject for another book. No doubt it includes such factors as the lurking danger of nuclear war, but in any case it reflected and contributed to a sense of human urgency which underlay the entire third Cleveland conference and without which the meeting could not have succeeded and probably would have torn itself apart.

The conference itself took place November 26, once again in the Baker building at Western Reserve University. It was not much larger than the previous one, 180 participants this time, with about 150 of them registered from some seventy local and national groups. There were more youth this time and fewer older people. One reason for this was touched upon in a letter to Sidney Peck from Peter Weiss, a New York attorney involved in reform Democratic Party politics and husband of prominent Women's Strike for Peace activist Cora Weiss. "I mean, after all," wrote Peter Weiss, "don't you think two weekends in Cleveland are enough for a New Yorker to contribute to the provinces in one year? In other words, I cannot possibly be there this weekend."<sup>22</sup>

The letter indicated, however, that both Peter and Cora Weiss were not unsupportive of the Cleveland effort, and was an example of the fact that Peck and others were in touch with a

21. "Revolutionary Policies in the Antiwar Movement," by James P. Cannon in *Revolutionary Strategy in the Fight Against the Vietnam War* (New York: Education for Socialists Bulletin, 1975), p. 13.

22. Letter from Peter Weiss to Dr. Sidney Peck. Undated. (Copy in author's files.)

19. Field Reports. Undated. (Copy in author's files.)

20. Letter to "Dear Friend" from Robert Greenblatt for the November 5-8 Mobilization Committee. Undated. (Copy in author's files.)

number of representative personalities who, while not present at the Cleveland conference, could be expected to cooperate if they considered the result to be constructive.

The meeting was addressed by Dr. Spock, at the urging of Sid Peck. Spock was cochairman of national SANE. He made no commitments on SANE's behalf and did not participate in the deliberations, but his speech was friendly and designed to encourage the effort. His very appearance was a boost to morale and lent authority to the conference among those of its more hesitant participants.

Dave Dellinger, who had not been a part of the November 5-8 Committee because of an extended trip to Asia, gave an eyewitness report on the situation in Vietnam. He had stopped briefly in Saigon and later spent three weeks in North Vietnam, where he saw the effects of the U.S. bombers.

At that time the Johnson administration was demanding a quid pro quo from North Vietnam before considering any deescalation of the war. Dellinger commented: "If we stop sending our bombers over their country, they will stop shooting at them."

He said there was no mood in Hanoi or the NLF to conciliate with the U.S. Their terms for settlement were simple, said Dellinger: recognition of Vietnamese independence and withdrawal of U.S. forces. He also described the civilian areas he had personally seen which were destroyed by U.S. bombs. It was a moving report and increased the sense of urgency.<sup>23</sup>

Pat Griffith reported on the November 5-8 demonstrations and these were evaluated in discussion. Here the differences appeared. Some people thought the lesson to be drawn was more community organizing and less demonstrations. Others thought there was no contradiction.

Then came the discussion about future action, and here there were many attempts to reconcile the differences, assorted suggestions for how the mobilization committee could assist, or provide leadership, in community organizing. In my view these were not very realistic. The different forces involved had different multi-issue approaches to community work. A concentrated mobilization would help us all, regardless of what other things the committee was able to agree to do. In any case if this committee did not call a mobilization, it wouldn't hold together to do anything else anyway.

I made a speech there I was to repeat at many subsequent conferences. The essence was this: "There are only three forces in the United States which have the power to stop this war: the American ruling class which started it, the working class which makes and transports the war materiel, and the GIs who fight it. The first will react only if we reach the other two. Because if we reach the other two and the rulers don't stop the war, it will be more than Vietnam they'll be in danger of losing. So we should use whatever base we've got now to reach out to and involve the unions, the workers, and the GIs. Anything that helps that is good. Anything that hurts that is bad. A mass mobilization will help."<sup>24</sup>

Peck was for reconciling the two approaches, which meant he favored setting a date for the mobilization in addition to other plans. I found myself supporting his side of the discussion against those opposed to setting any date at all. It had finally come down to this as the meat of the matter.

In essence we were discussing the SDS position for community organizing *as opposed to* mass demonstrations. This was peculiar because SDS itself had boycotted the meeting, or at least had not considered it relevant enough to send a significant number of people. Only Earl Silbar was there from Chicago SDS. The record shows only three others registered from SDS chapters, and two of these were YSAers who belonged to their local SDS chapter

because it was *the* antiwar committee on campus. (Paul Booth was there, but he was registered from the National Conference on New Politics and was no longer a part of the SDS national office.)

So how did the argument turn around the SDS view? To explain this anomaly it is necessary to recall that SDS was at this time far and away the largest radical youth group. It was still growing. It was still considered respectable by many moderate groups, and at the same time it had a reputation for antiwar activity that exceeded its deeds.

It was often in the news and like Jesse James was blamed for all sorts of things only some of which it did. It was, in a sense, a legend in its own time. And like all legends it was in good measure illusion. It was above all a name, and a reputation, synonymous with "New Left," which any group of students could adopt for the asking, without the foggiest notion of what the SDS national office was doing, and often caring little.

Among many older liberals and radicals it was also a hope. They looked to it as the beginning of a major new political movement and they filled in its blanks with their own conceptions and identified with it. All this is one part of the reason why the conference debated the SDS position on demonstrations. While SDS wasn't bodily present in the room, it was present in everybody's mind.

The other part of the reason was that the view of the SDS national office just happened at this time to coincide with the current mood on campus—as noted by Maisel and Greenblatt from different vantage points. That same mood existed off campus as well and was fairly well represented at the conference.

For the YSA it was a mood to be overcome. For Hugh Fowler, national chairman of the Du Bois Clubs, it was a mood to be accommodated to, and he adopted it as his political position. Fowler led the discussion from the side opposed to setting the date.

It was clear the majority present favored setting the date, but the issue could not be settled by mere majority vote. The coalition was too fragile for that to work. If vote there was to be, it had to be overwhelming. An additional problem in this respect was that the attendance at the conference was not really representative of the ideological composition of the movement outside the room. Almost half the registered delegates were members or sympathizers of the YSA. This was neither an accident nor the result of purposeful packing. They were all legitimate representatives of active antiwar groups.

In part this reflected the simple fact that the YSAers took this conference more seriously than members of the other radical youth groups. In part it reflected a change in the relationship of forces within the student antiwar movement. The YSA was beginning to grow rapidly, and its members were far more consistent in antiwar activity than others, so more of them played leading roles in the various local groups.

In that sense the conference *was* representative of the existing state of the active prodemonstration wing of the student antiwar movement which had shrunk to the sectors influenced by the YSA, and not a great deal more. The YSA near majority was due mainly to an ebb in the student antiwar movement, coupled with the fact that the YSA had resisted the liquidationist mood.

This placed a responsibility on the YSA not to act as if it owned the movement. Because it didn't. It could have jammed through a motion setting a date, or for immediate withdrawal, or for the socialist revolution for that matter. But none of that would have solved the problem of unifying the different ideological forces in calling an action. Only a unified call could begin to reverse the mood.

And that would never happen if the new coalition were locked up from the beginning by one ideological tendency or if the other tendencies even thought that were the case. The major opponents of the spring mobilization had to be convinced or neutralized, not voted down.

23. Spring Mobilization Committee press release. (Copy in author's files.)

24. Handwritten notes. (Copy in author's files.)

So the YSAers simply argued the point, a few of them on the floor, but most of them in the corridors, with anyone who would listen. This created a certain bandwagon atmosphere to be sure, and there were some who resented it, but not those who really favored the action.<sup>25</sup>

In a sense, the people at this conference had the responsibility to act as if they represented the movement not as it was in the room at the moment, but as it would be when the far broader forces waiting to be tapped became involved in the period immediately ahead.

The break in the discussion came from an unexpected source—at least I didn't expect it. Up to this point it wasn't clear how the CP stood. Then Arnold Johnson took the floor. He was the CP's peace activities director, sometimes active on the Parade Committee in New York, and incidentally, an associate of Muste's in the early 1930s. Muste had headed the Conference for Progressive Labor Action then, and Johnson had been one of its more effective young organizers. I don't know if that had anything to do with his stand on this occasion. In any case he made a demonstrative speech in favor of setting the date for a mass mobilization in New York and San Francisco.

Hugh Fowler did not look pleased. But it was downhill for his view from then on. Arnold Johnson's speech was a convincing presentation of the need and the opportunity. There were other speeches along similar lines. The vote was decisively in favor of setting the date for the spring mobilization. If the Du Bois Clubs national office was not enthusiastic, it was at least not about to denounce the result as a "Trot plot."

\* \* \*

The conference established the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, with Muste as chairman and Dellinger, Greenblatt, Ed Keating of San Francisco, and Sidney Peck as vice-chairmen. The committee consisted of those members of the November 5-8 Committee who wished to serve as well as others to be added as the support broadened. It was charged with "organizing a national action April 15, 1967, in the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City, which shall be international in scope, with the details to be worked out by the Committee at its executive meetings."<sup>26</sup>

The founding document also declared that the committee: "shall be charged with suggesting, stimulating, and/or organizing such actions of a more limited and more localized nature as may be feasible, with the aim of broadening the influence of the peace movement as much as possible, as long as these actions clearly fall within the consensus reached by the diverse viewpoints at this conference.

"The Spring Mobilization Committee shall also seek to widen the movement into such localities and professional milieux, including but not limited to, labor, literary, military, civil rights, traditional peace groups, religious, electoral, as are not presently organized or which need organizational assistance."

Referred favorably to the executive committee were the following themes for the mobilization: "End the war in Vietnam—Bring our GIs home; Stop the bombing; Abolish the draft; For economic justice and human rights."

The committee was also charged with promoting a silent vigil at Christmas in as many localities as possible.

The location of the central office was referred to the executive committee. The Madison staff of the NCC had proposed Cleve-

land, but it was clear that New York was the logical choice, since the mobilization would be there, and that another office would have to be set up in the Bay Area for the San Francisco event.

At the end of the conference Otto Nathan, himself an older man much beloved by the many who knew him, took the floor to pay tribute to Muste, and we all gave A.J. a big hand as he looked back at us from the stage with that bit of whimsy on his face.

\* \* \*

The second part of Sid Peck's proposal had been adopted. But it now remained to be implemented. Some people who had attended the conference, and a whole lot more who hadn't and who weren't even represented there, remained to be convinced. As part of this process, shortly after the conference, Peck sent out another document to various people around the country. It concluded:

"It would be good if one could state that the anti-war movement has had a significant impact on the policies of the Johnson Administration. Obviously, this is not the case! Therefore, all that we can do at present is to encourage a mood of popular opposition to the war and channel that opposition into visible political acts of dissent. That is why the mobilization is viewed as the most appropriate political tactic to advance in the immediate period ahead. It is directly expressive of an over-all strategic concern to end the war, in line with the principle of national self-determination for the Vietnamese people. If the war can be brought to an end on that basis, the American people will have made an important contribution to the cause of world peace. For, in essence, they will be rejecting the whole concept of imperial world rule under U.S. hegemony, known by any other name as Pax Americana.

"There is no doubt that this development would constitute a significant political achievement."<sup>27</sup>

No doubt indeed!

[Next chapter: *The Birth of the SMC*]

27. Some Reasons for a Massive Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam. Undated. Signed by Sidney M. Peck, coordinator, University Circle Teach-In Committee. (Copy in author's files.)

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25. This conference, and one other in Chicago in December 1968, when a snowstorm and another political ebb kept attendance down, were the only national antiwar gatherings where the YSA had such a disproportionate presence.

26. Motions Passed (as amended) at Evaluation Conference, Cleveland, November 26, 1966. (Copy in author's files.)

## Kissinger's 'Tar Baby'

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch



In April 1969, shortly after his inauguration, President Richard Nixon ordered the National Security Council to draw up a comprehensive review of Washington's policy toward southern Africa. The secret study, entitled National Security Study Memorandum 39 (NSSM 39), was carried out under the direction of Henry Kissinger, who at that time held the post of national security adviser.

On the basis of Kissinger's recommendations, Nixon adopted a policy in February 1970 that "tilted" more in favor of the racist white-minority regimes in South Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and in the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. Although the concrete results of the policy shift were soon evident, the Kissinger study, which outlined Washington's interests in the region, was kept a well-guarded secret for more than four years. It was first brought to public attention in October 1974 by reporter Tad Szulc.

*The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa*, published by Spokesman Books, the imprint of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, gives the complete text of NSSM 39. An introduction by Barry Cohen and Mohamed El-Khawas examines the study in light of Washington's subsequent "tilt."

The White House's basic goals in southern Africa were outlined at the beginning of the Kissinger study:

"—to improve the U.S. standing in black Africa and internationally on the racial issue.

"—to minimize the likelihood of escalation of violence in the area and risk of U.S. involvement.

"—to minimize the opportunities for the USSR and Communist China to exploit the racial issue in the region for propaganda advantage and to gain political influence with black governments and liberation movements.

"—to encourage moderation of the current rigid racial and colonial policies of the white regimes.

"—to protect economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, including the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold production."

Based on the amount of space in the document devoted to detailing American imperialism's "economic, scientific and

strategic interests and opportunities" in southern Africa, the White House strategists obviously considered this point in their list of objectives to be the central one. The rest were part of Washington's overall strategy to protect those interests.

At the time the study was drawn up, American investments in southern Africa totaled about \$1 billion. Most of this capital

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*The Kissinger Study of Southern Africa.*  
Nottingham: Spokesman Books, 1975.  
134 pp. £1.25, paperback. £3, hardcover.

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was in South Africa, with \$56 million in Zimbabwe, more than \$40 million in the Tsumeb mines of Namibia (South-West Africa), and \$100 million in Zambia, three-fourths of which was invested in copper mines. American direct investment in the rest of Africa stood at \$1.5 billion. Of the U.S. exports to Africa in 1969, about 60 percent went to the Black states and 40 percent to the white-ruled countries.

Because of the extremely low wages paid to Black workers in South Africa—a product of the white regime's apartheid policies—American investments in that country have been particularly profitable, bringing a rate of return in 1970 of 16.3 percent, compared to a worldwide rate of 11 percent.

Although NSSM 39 did not stress the importance to U.S. imperialism of the resources in the area, another government study, conducted in 1971 and cited by Cohen and Khawas, pointed out that "Africa contains a major proportion of the world's reserves of a few commodities important to US strategic or economic needs. In the future, the US will probably have to look to Africa for, among other products, its chromite, platinum group metals, tantalite, petalite, gold, long-fibered amosite and crocidolite asbestos, natural industrial diamond stones and phosphate rock (in 20-30 years) . . . most of these key minerals are found in southern Africa."

The Kissinger document did cite the region's strategic military value. With the American naval buildup in the Indian Ocean, South Africa's ports, which are

among the largest bordering the ocean, are particularly attractive. For diplomatic reasons, however, Washington has been unable to use the South African ports since 1967, except in emergencies. One of the goals of American policy in southern Africa is to find a political "solution" that would enable Washington to use the ports without jeopardizing its interests in the rest of Africa or provoking protests by Blacks in the United States.

In addition, American military aircraft have used the overflight and landing facilities in South Africa, as well as those in the Portuguese colonies (before the April 1974 coup in Lisbon). The Department of Defense operates a missile-tracking station in South Africa, and a British nuclear-monitoring center in Swaziland is partly financed with U.S. funds.

The chief threat to Washington's economic and military stake in southern Africa was spelled out on the first page of NSSM 39: "The prospect of increasing violence in the area growing out of black insurgency and white reprisal could jeopardize our interests in the future."

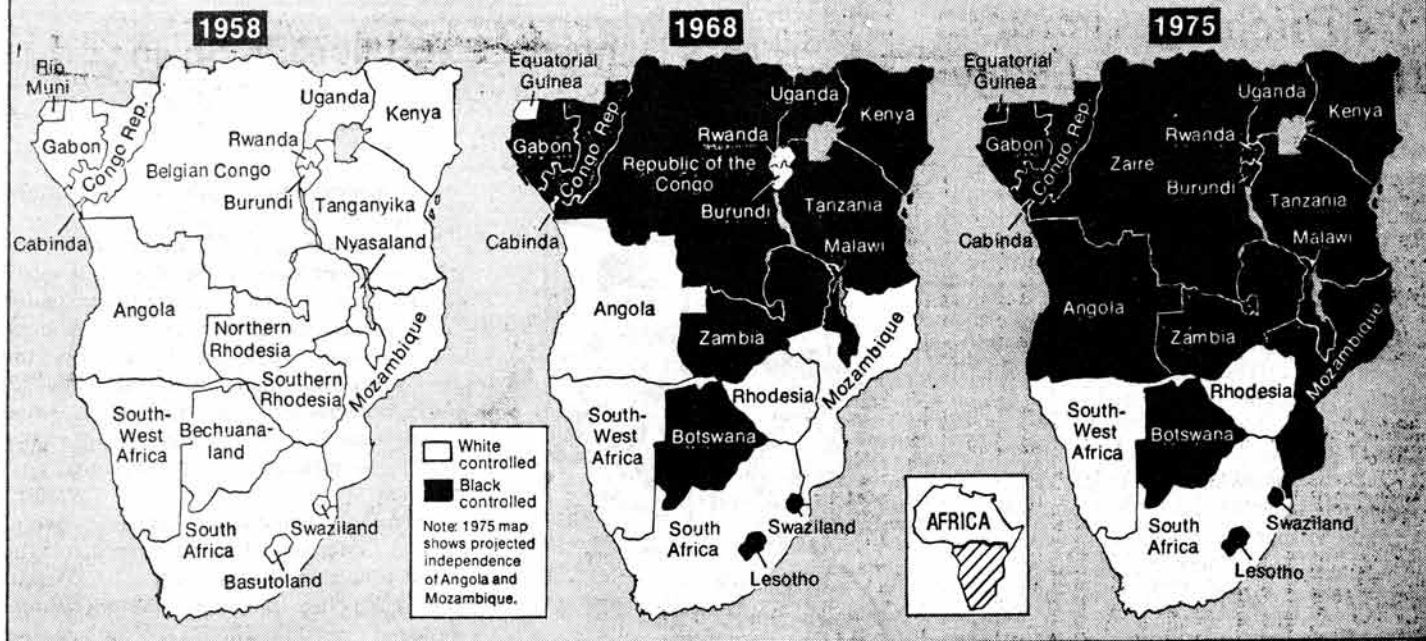
Consequently, the main purpose of the study was to explore strategies for containing that danger. The National Security Council analysts proposed five possible foreign-policy options. Briefly, they were (1) closer association with the white regimes, (2) closer association with the white regimes coupled with more economic aid to the African-ruled countries, (3) limited association with the white regimes and continued relations with the Black states, (4) dissociation from the white regimes and closer ties to the Black states, and (5) dissociation from both Black- and white-ruled countries to avoid getting drawn into a conflict.

From all available evidence, Option 2, which was nicknamed "Tar Baby" by White House advisers, was the one adopted by Nixon. The previous foreign policy toward southern Africa had conformed in general to Option 3.

The basic premise behind "Tar Baby" was that the "whites are here [in Africa] to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the blacks to gain the



## The Isolation of Rhodesia and South Africa since 1958



New York Times

political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists. We can, by selective relaxation of our stance toward the white regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies and through more substantial economic assistance to the black states . . . help to draw the two groups together and exert some influence on both for peaceful change."

Washington's diplomatic posture under Option 2 was to "maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states. . . . Without openly taking a position undermining the UK [United Kingdom] and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith regime. We would take present Portuguese policies as suggesting further changes in the Portuguese territories. At the same time we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states."

Among the concrete actions listed under Option 2 were to continue the arms embargo against South Africa and the Portuguese colonies, but with "liberal treatment" of equipment that could be used for both military or civilian purposes; encourage U.S. exports to and investments in the area; "play down" the issue of South African control of Namibia, without changing the U.S. position that it is illegal; relax sanctions against the Rhodesian regime; estab-

lish economic "aid" programs in the African-ruled countries and fulfill "reasonable requests" for nonsophisticated arms purchases; and "take public position [toward the African liberation movements] that US opposes use of force in racial confrontation. Continue humanitarian assistance to refugees."

The advantage of "Tar Baby" over the four other options was that it allowed Washington to protect its interests in the white-ruled states and "expand opportunities for profitable trade and investment," as well as increase American influence in the Black-ruled countries.

The "tilt" toward the white-minority regimes soon became apparent. In 1971 Congress passed an amendment allowing the importation of chrome from Rhodesia. In general, Washington supported Britain's stance toward the Rhodesian regime and abstained on an African resolution in the United Nations in February 1972 urging Britain to scrap its negotiations with the Smith regime and convoke a constitutional conference to decide the country's future.

American investments in South Africa increased during the Nixon administration, placing U.S. imperialism's strength in South Africa second only to that of Britain. Reversing a policy set in 1964, the U.S. Export-Import Bank approved a ten-year loan of \$48.6 million to South Africa in January 1972.

In 1969, \$42.5 million worth of U.S. aircraft was sold to South Africa. By 1972 this figure had almost doubled. Some of the aircraft were of the "dual purpose" type mentioned in Option 2, including Bell helicopters capable of being used in police or military operations and Lear jets that

could be outfitted for reconnaissance and certain combat missions. Herbicides and defoliants of the type used by Washington in Vietnam were also sold to South Africa. At least four IBM computers were supplied to the South African Department of Defense.

Tad Szulc, in his October 1974 *Esquire* article exposing NSSM 39, wrote that "the Central Intelligence Agency and the South African secret services cooperate closely under the terms of a secret intelligence agreement, similar to United States intelligence accords with N.A.T.O. governments."

In December 1971, Washington authorized a \$436 million Export-Import Bank credit loan to Portugal in exchange for continued use of the Azores military base. The loan was four times the total amount the Export-Import Bank had extended to Portugal between 1946 and 1971. During the Nixon administration, U.S. investments in Angola and Mozambique also increased significantly.

William Minter, in his book *Portuguese Africa and the West* (Middlesex, England, 1972), noted the sale of "dual purpose" equipment to Lisbon. "Increased American support for Portuguese colonialism," he wrote, "is reflected in the Nixon administration's decision to allow the sale of two Boeing 707s to Portugal for use in troop transport. Although planes sold to the Portuguese airline (TAP) have in the past served the same purpose, this new sale is distinctive in that the planes are explicitly for troop transport. Still in the old style of deception are the quadrupled exports of herbicides to Portugal in 1970, with a denial that they are being used in Africa; and sales of five Bell helicopters to the Zambezi

Development Office in Mozambique, for ostensibly civilian use only. In November 1970, six Portuguese army lieutenants, having deserted from the Portuguese army, testified that they had been trained in West Germany by US guerrilla warfare experts, before being sent to Mozambique. In March 1971, American officers participated in a special training course in Lisbon for Portuguese officers."

Washington's stepped-up aid to Lisbon's colonial war was a losing venture. The Kissinger study had not foreseen the April 25, 1974, Portuguese coup, which brought to an end almost fifty years of Salazarist rule and upset Washington's entire strategy in southern Africa. The political impact of the African liberation movements had been underestimated, and "Tar Baby's" contention that "the whites are here to stay" was proved to be somewhat inaccurate.

It can be assumed that Kissinger called his analysts together to draw up another secret study of southern Africa following the collapse of Lisbon's colonial empire. There have already been a few indications that Washington intends to follow a variant of "Tar Baby" in relation to South Africa.

Less than a month after the Portuguese coup, a NATO press secretary publicly admitted that SACLANT (Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic) had been secretly authorized to conduct contingency planning for the "protection" of the shipping route around South Africa. Although the planning had been under way since June 1973, the announcement appeared to have been timed to reassure the South African regime of the continued backing of Washington and its European allies. In June 1974, the NATO Ministerial Conference gave formal approval to the expansion of NATO operations beyond the North Atlantic region.

In May 1974, Adm. Hugo Biermann, commander in chief of the South African military, held meetings in Washington with J. William Middendorf, acting secretary of the navy, and Thomas H. Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

In addition, Washington aided the South African regime diplomatically when the U.S. representative to the United Nations, along with those of Britain and France, vetoed an October 1974 Security Council resolution calling for South Africa's expulsion from the UN.

Some figures in Washington have also publicly endorsed South Africa's "détente" policies, which are aimed at reaching a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe and relieving some of the international pressure on the South African regime. In early 1975, Melvin Laird, a former secretary of defense, visited South Africa and told reporters that the white regime's "détente" policies could lead to Washington's "review" of the arms embargo on South Africa. Washington, he said, was "watching" South Africa's "forward policies with a great deal of interest."

## 1,000 Persons March to Franco's Embassy

### British Protests Condemn Executions in Spain

By John Blackburn



Herblock/New York Post

LONDON—Protests from the labour movement, students, and the Spanish immigrant community here have denounced the execution of five political prisoners by the Franco dictatorship September 27.

Day and night vigils were mounted outside the Spanish embassy. Five demonstrations, including a march by 1,000 persons to the embassy, have been organised by the Committee Against the Death Penalties. The committee is a coalition of Spanish exile groups, including the Partido Comunista de España, Partido Socialista Obrero de España, Frente Revolucionario Antifascista y Patriota, and Liga Comunista Revolucionaria-Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna VI.\*

The Trades Union Congress, Britain's ten-million-member labour federation, voted by a massive majority September 4 during its annual congress to give "support for those in Spain fighting for an end to Fascism and the establishment of democracy." Many delegates—including Jack Jones, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), and Joe Gormley, president of the National Union of Mineworkers—signed a petition calling

\*Spanish Communist party; Spanish Socialist Workers party; Revolutionary Antifascist and Patriotic Front; Revolutionary Communist League-Basque Nation and Freedom VI.

for clemency and a halt to the planned executions.

The Labour government, however, remained silent despite the fact that every other major European government called for clemency for the condemned prisoners. When asked September 15 whether the government had made an appeal to Madrid, Foreign Secretary James Callaghan stated merely that Britain had made "approaches and representations" to the Spanish government.

Eventually, amidst the massive wave of protest that swept through Europe and the world following the executions, Callaghan was compelled to make the diplomatic gesture of recalling the British ambassador from Madrid for "consultations."

On September 29, delegates attending the annual conference of the Labour party voted unanimously to condemn the executions. During the discussion at the conference, Jack Jones called for a "boycott of Spanish goods and Spanish tourism" and announced an immediate forty-eight-hour boycott of Spanish goods and airplane flights to Spain by transport workers.

Workers at ports and railways implemented the boycott call. At Hull docks, a mass meeting of dock workers voted to impose an indefinite boycott against Spanish goods.

Jones was careful, however, not to demand that the Labour government stop its collaboration with the Franco dictatorship. Moreover, the fact that he announced the boycott without first consulting the workers concerned unfortunately led to some TGWU members, particularly at the airports, refusing to heed the call.

An effective campaign is urgently needed to defend the other Spanish political prisoners who face the death penalty and the thousands of persons who remain incarcerated in Franco's jails. The demonstrations and protests that have been organized so far show that the potential for such a campaign exists. □

#### Soviet Political Prisoners Hold 24-Hour Hunger Strike

Soviet political prisoners at Vladimir prison and Perm camp staged a twenty-four hour hunger strike October 20. They demanded amnesty for women imprisoned in the Soviet Union for political reasons. They chose October 20 for the protest to coincide with the opening of an International Women's Year conference in East Berlin.

*Intercontinental Press*

## Why I Refuse to Reconsider My Views

[Semyon Gluzman, a physician and psychiatrist in Kiev, was arrested in May 1972 on charges of having distributed unauthorized and unapproved literature. He was sentenced to seven years in prison camp and three years exile under Article 70 of the Russian Criminal Code ("anti-Soviet activity").

[Gluzman drew the ire of the Soviet bureaucrats for his interest in the case of Pyotr Grigorenko, a dissident communist officially judged "insane" and forced to spend five years in various psychiatric hospital-prisons. In a document entitled "A Forensic-Psychiatric Diagnosis of the Case of Grigorenko, Made in the Examinee's Absence," Gluzman found Grigorenko completely sane.

[We print below Gluzman's open letter to his parents. Written from Perm prison camp in the Urals in the fall of 1974, it provides a personal account of how the Stalinist authorities deal with a dissident who refuses to recant his views. It also shows, through Gluzman's illusions in the state of Israel, the influence that Zionist propaganda can have in the repressive climate of open anti-Semitism encouraged by the Soviet bureaucrats.

[The letter is being circulated by the Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners,<sup>1</sup> which has provided the translation.]

\* \* \*

My dear ones,

On 9 August I learned of your unsuccessful journey for a visit with me. I learned about it from your letter—until now no one told me about your journey to here. They were afraid to mention it on account of the possible reaction of my comrades. It isn't easy for me to write this time. I'll try to express myself unemotionally. A letter can be so flammable.

I don't know in what terms the Camp Director described my violation of discipline. Your visit was canceled because I refused to take part in building a camp jail. Twice they threw me into the punishment cell. But I was deprived of your visit only on the instruction of the KGB operational branch on 26 July. The KGB had learned about your forthcoming visit. Their provo-

cation worked perfectly. They acted on the words of the [Camp Director] Pimenov, during the month-long hunger strike: "Now we will work more efficiently." Everything was done according to the law—only one "triviality" was unknown to you: all this time, there was some possibility that I might be transferred to a different type of work, and I asked for this several times . . . but "the interests of state security" demanded otherwise.

Remember last year: I got a visit at the cost of compromising myself. Shortly before your letter, they sent me to dig up the footprint control belt surrounding the camp. In simple language, I was only protecting myself.

From the prisoner's point of view, this was an amoral act. I did it for you. I did it so I could have your visit. This was my single compromise, and my last. The KGB plenipotentiary Captain Utyr once said that I have one weak spot—my parents. He is wrong—I have no weak spots. I can't allow myself such a luxury. Not only that, but when I lost my right to correspondence, to qualified medical help, to meetings with my parents, to human dignity, I also lost my right to emotions. Such is my everyday existence in the camp—cold, hungry, and stoical.

You write suggesting that I reconsider my opinions. Every day and every hour they are murdering me as a person and as a living creature. The dog snarling at me on the other side of the fence receives more nutritious and better quality food than I. They don't feed him rotten cabbage or putrid fish. Right now I am dressed in a thin cotton jacket of the famous Stalin cut, with an identity patch on the chest. I am shorn bald and always hungry. I freeze on the cement floor of the punishment cell. Anytime they want they can strip me naked and force me to squat countless times. I am a slave—any sadist has the power and the authority to compel me to do any degrading work. I am the Convict Gluzman, S.F. An especially dangerous state criminal. But I am not Yakir or Dzyuba.<sup>2</sup> It is probably them to whom you refer as "the ringleaders." Like in a gang. I am not capable of seeing in the barbed wire a rosebud. I do not

2. Pyotr Yakir and Ivan Dzyuba, two dissidents who were forced to recant in 1973 after being interrogated for more than a year.

suffer from chronic alcoholism such that I have hallucinations. During the investigation of my case, my interrogators told me about the "recantations" of Franko, Selezhenko, Kholodny.<sup>3</sup> They "persuaded" me, saying that, while "you are in prison," Selezhenko is right now over there in the restaurant "Kiev," drinking cognac and eating shashlik. I am not accustomed to cognac or shashlik, and my gastronomical tastes could not make me want to "recant."

I would have had to repudiate myself and the moral foundations which I learned as a child in your family; I would have had to disavow my Uncle Lev and you, my father, and my friend Misha Yarovsky, who died "somewhere out there." The interrogator Gunikhin tried to convince me that, during the years of the "cult of personality," there were no "significant" abuses; that, in all, five million people were arrested; that these were mostly under ordinary criminal articles; and that "not very many at all" died . . . need I continue? You are witnesses of 1937.

They accused me of spreading the "slandorous fabrication" that it was prisoners who built the city Komsomolsk on Amur. Do you remember your friend the writer Abram Kogan? He took part in that great "Komsomol" construction project. Here in camp with me there are some who took part in similar projects—so how can we say it never happened? Do you remember the "Doctors' Plot"?<sup>4</sup> Did that business never happen? And the Garanin atrocities, the camp revolts, the nighttime arrests—did all this not happen? You see, I was not there when these things happened! Recently in our camp they pulled down a derelict building which had been erected in 1949. On the ceiling beam we saw an inscription: "25 years' hard labour. 12 years to go. Maximov, A.G." An inscription on a beam—that's all that's left of the man. Of the earlier generation of prisoners in the Urals, almost no one survived. They then threatened the prisoners in the Urals camps with Norilsk and Vorkuta. Today they threaten the prisoners in Mordovia with being sent to the Urals.

But, even if the worst happens I won't be consigned to oblivion, thanks to my comrades, known or unknown to me, and thanks to *A Chronicle of Current Events*. At my trial one witness, a young girl, answered a question in this way: "A *Chronicle of Current Events* exists so that

3. Zynoviya Franko, L. Selezhenko, and M. Kholodny recanted and testified against other Ukrainian dissidents in 1972.

4. At the end of 1952 a number of prominent Soviet doctors—almost all Jews—were arrested and charged with plotting assassinations and other acts in collusion with Jewish organizations and U.S. intelligence.

1. P.O. Box 142, Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

people can learn the truth about closed trials like this one." The girl isn't a "ringleader," she isn't even involved with *samizdat*. Would I not betray her if I reconsidered my convictions? And what is there for me to reconsider? Should I change my attitude towards the personality cult, an attitude which I was taught by my teachers in school and at university, by books and films, and by official materials published by our party? Should I forget about the dozens of my friends who have personally experienced the terror of the modern-day *oprichniki*?<sup>5</sup> I am a doctor. I have seen death and, to some extent, grown accustomed to it. But as a doctor, I have seen only death in the singular, always the death of one man whom science is powerless to help and whose end is inevitable. It is difficult for me to picture the death of millions—of healthy people, young people, old people. Death from hunger, the bullet, or by torture. The death of millions—this is not one death, but millions of deaths. Nothing can justify the destruction of innocent people.

But the prosecutor asked me: "Why do you emphasize so much the period of the personality cult? Was anybody in your family actually repressed?"

You read the notations in the margins of my letter, you believe the words of a professional executor, a man without convictions, and by this alone you make it easier for them to put pressure on me. The official Pimenov once told my friend Mishener: "If I want, I can stand you on your head." It's just in such acrobatics that the humaneness of the socialist penitentiary system consists. I experience it on my own

5. Oprichniki were the armed bands used by Ivan IV (1530-1584), "Ivan the Terrible," in his efforts to destroy the boyars, members of a Russian aristocratic order. Oprichniki had a reputation for utter ruthlessness against not just the boyars but against peasants as well.

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skin. For example, yesterday they put Pishlyak in the punishment cell, a 62-year-old man who has languished in the camps for 22 years (while I am only 27 years old). And the reason for this act of "humanity" was his refusal to paint the fence beside the footprint control belt. We'll leave aside the moral question. The belt had just been freshly ploughed and who could guarantee that someone would not be shot on it "while attempting to escape"? This happened, for example, on 3 May 1970 in Mordovia. A man in a hospital gown was shot twelve times in full view of dozens of prisoners. They shot him even as the prisoners cried "Don't shoot him, he's insane!" and in spite of the fact that the victim, Baranov, raised his hands after he was wounded by the first shot. This is only one example, and not the most horrible one. The history of the *Gulag Archipelago* knows worse.

But do you know that during the transport of prisoners, it is considered an escape attempt if you step to one side or stop marching? Or that at night, in 50 degrees of frost [-58°F], they have put me in the snow "just in case," while an Alsatian strained at his leash in an effort to get at me? This is where I get my values, and there are no others like them. This is why there will be no compromise. Can I forget the conditions in the cells of the Kharkov transit prison, the savagery of the convoy guards in the transport wagons, or how the chief of the convoy "educated" a convicted prostitute by taking her to his compartment during the night?

So is everything all right in "the far away kingdom"? You are communists. So why didn't they allow you, being particularly worthy citizens of "the state of socialism and democracy," to look over the documents of my case? Why didn't they allow you to attend the trial of your own son, or give you a copy of the court sentence?

The "interests of state security" demanded the effort to hide from you all the evidence against me: possession of Albert Camus's Nobel Prize speech, a parody on Kochetov's novel *What Do You Want?*, Böll's article to the journal *Reporter*, Archbishop Belenkov's Open Letter to the Union of Soviet Writers. They hid from you the evidence given by the witnesses, all of whom said that in my actions and statements there was no "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Even before the end of the investigation period I knew how long my prison sentence would be. Lieutenant-Colonel I.P. Borovin, the head of the investigation department, told me what it would be.

And now about my convictions. Before my trial, I had the following conversation with an interrogator:

Borovin: "You still have time. Recant, tell

us what we want to know and you will not receive a ten-year sentence."

I: "Do you really think that my convictions have been altered merely by my arrest and this investigation?"

Borovin: (interrupting me) "Who cares about your convictions? It's not a question of your convictions."

It is scarcely necessary to comment on this variation on the dialogue between the Devil and Faust.

I know that all this is painful for you—unspeakably painful. Your hopes have been shattered. . . . [passage unclear—Translator] instead of a scientific and medical career, and I have never had the chance to marry and have children. Isn't it so? I had a dissertation, "A Forensic-Psychiatric Diagnosis on the Case of Grigorenko, Made in the Examinee's Absence," and I can thank fate that I am still a bachelor. The KGB operatives who eavesdrop on the house reserved for relatives' visits will not be witnesses to adultery committed by me. That is one indignity from which I am spared.

And I can not "reconsider" my belief, as a doctor-psychiatrist and close friend, that Leonid Plyushch<sup>6</sup> is completely sane. You know that in September 1973 there came to me an agent of the central KGB, Georgy Trifomovich Dygas. In secret and without any sanction from the Procurator I was taken to the visiting house of Colony 36, where they worked me over for three days without any witnesses. No bargain was made—I refused. But it was obvious how badly someone wanted me to help, so that they could say: "And suddenly Gluzman agreed to refute the 'lies' of the West about the confinement of healthy people to Soviet psychiatric hospitals." They offered me quite a bit for this.

Would you really approve such a recantation? You, conscious and honorable people, doctors? No, you would not approve. Because then I would be a criminal, a colleague of Elsa Koch . . . and Daniel Lunts. I am not strong enough to shift my own conscience. But I am not weak enough either. Here in the concentration camp I live a full spiritual life, and I am happy in spite of all I have to bear. Even if calling a hunger strike is the only possible way to assert my dignity in the face of all the filth which surround me and my comrades in happiness (and this is not a slip of the pen—I really am happy). Even if a refusal to help build a camp jail is one of the only means of showing the morality of one's

6. Leonid Plyushch, a Kievan mathematician arrested in January 1972 for his actions in defense of arrested dissidents, has been undergoing compulsory psychiatric treatment since July 1973 because of "the particular social danger of his anti-Soviet activity."

convictions and civil status.

I am a Jew, and my Judaism consists in more than memory—the memory of the victims of genocide and of the persecutions caused by prejudice become dogma. My Judaism lies in the knowledge of our people as they are today, with their own state, their own history and, happily, their own weapons. My Uncle Abram who was shot in Babyn Yar<sup>7</sup> did not grant me any “reconsiderations.” Every September my spirit seethes with indignation for him. You know why.

My parents! This is difficult for you. I understand that you are afraid to hope. But please believe that this letter is genuine and has got around the censor. All is well with me, and whatever happens to me in the future I will not complain about it. I am honestly content with my fate. It is difficult for you to comprehend what I mean. Your generation was shattered by 1937 and the years which followed. Fear, fear, fear. It is unbearable to fear your own desires.

Both during the investigation and at my trial I looked with compassion upon my witnesses. As they spoke they trembled with averted gazes and ashen faces. They spoke about me, about my opinions, my words, my actions. They spoke only from fear. Wishing me no harm, they were frightened. A kind of transcendental, Kafkaesque fear. Am I not fortunate to have lost this fear, to have a clear conscience? Is this a small thing?

Painful as all this is for you, do you really want me to betray the mother of Jan Palach?<sup>8</sup> (You see they accused me of talking about the 1968 occupation of Czechoslovakia.) Now she has no son, and never will have. What exactly can you call “reconsideration” if not betrayal? . . .

I must finish this letter. I have no time, they're rushing me. For you there is confusion in deciding what to do. My obligations are really very specific. I don't know when I'll be able to send you another message which will get past the censors and again tell you the truth about myself. Don't be surprised at the varnished character of my [censored] letters, for in them I cannot answer your questions. I am not allowed to write about my comrades, or even to mention their names, their punishments, or my own illnesses, my food, other ordinary things. All this is a closely guarded state secret.

Farewell, my parents. I kiss you.

Slava

## Support Leonid Plyushch's Right to Emigrate

[The following statement was issued March 16 by Tatyana Khodorovich, one of the founders of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. The translation was done for *Intercontinental Press* by Marilyn Vogt.]

\* \* \*

Everything that has happened during the three and a half years that L. I. Plyushch has been confined (first in prison, and then in a special psychiatric hospital) can be termed “escalating the despair,” ever steady progress toward the point of no return.

Leonid Plyushch's wife wants to emigrate, to take her husband and children away, because she sees no hope in the future.

The grossly false diagnosis passed on L. Plyushch, in place of and having the same implications as a verdict, was at first interpreted as psychological pressure, a scare tactic, even a manifestation of sadism on the state level. But it never occurred to either his wife or his loved ones that Leonid Ivanovich would in fact be given “treatment.”

Is it not a terrible and unlawful punishment to doom a psychologically normal, intelligent, intellectually inclined individual to spend a long period of time with people who are genuinely ill, mad, with criminal pathological deviations and inclinations—subjecting the person's spirit, psyche, health, and life itself to possible destruction? What else could it be? And what disease would they cure Leonid Ivanovich of? “Latent schizophrenia”? But, in fact, special preparations for such an ailment do not exist in world psychiatric practice, because “world psychiatric practice” (and theory) denies that such an ailment exists.

But they are “treating” him: with haloperidol, insulin, triftazin. Why? It is not known. In what sort of doses? This is also not known. But the effects of this treatment are known: loss of memory, convulsions, depression, the inability to read, write, or think—the inability to live.

So, Plyushch's wife wants to emigrate, since only in this way can L. Plyushch be saved from the tortures of Soviet-style “humanism,” the transformation of a thoughtful, morally responsible person into a lump of suffering, sick, neutralized flesh whose spirit has been wasted away.

The right to emigrate is guaranteed by the World Declaration of Human Rights. His wife is undertaking efforts toward filing the documents for realizing this right.

She is registering an invitation from the government of Israel with the regional Department of Visas and Registration in

the city of Kiev.

She has requested that the Kiev visa department (its head, N.V. Siforov) inform her under what conditions it is possible to file [emigration] documents for a man who is under compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital.

No response.

She has requested that the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, N.V. Podgorny, render assistance toward implementation of the legal right to emigrate.

No response.

She has requested that the Kiev oblast division of the State Security Committee (since the KGB conducted the investigation of her husband's case) allow her to take her husband from the special hospital and let her emigrate with him and their children.

No response.

She has filed a complaint with the chairman of the KGB, Y.B. Andropov, about the silence of the Kiev KGB, which is under his jurisdiction, since such silence places her in an insufferable position.

No response.

She has appealed to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, always with the same request: to help revoke compulsory treatment of Leonid Ivanovich and help the entire family leave the country.

No response.

She filed a complaint with the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR over the actions of the head of the municipal visa department, Siforov, who finally, after five months of red tape, refused to take her documents, even for consideration, since her husband “is in a special psychiatric hospital.”

There was a response to this: The letter addressed to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR was sent to the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of the Ukrainian SSR. This ministry is responding vigorously with the following measures:

- Refusing to allow her to continue her regular meeting [with her husband].

- The following statements made to her first in the special psychiatric hospital itself and then in the medical department of the MVD of the Ukrainian SSR, which has jurisdiction over this special psychiatric hospital: “We have no grounds to doubt the humanism and professional conscientiousness of our personnel.” And also: “So you do not believe that your husband is mentally ill? Does that mean you doubt the opinions of experts of the Serbsky Institute?”

[Her response:] “Yes, I have doubts; no, I do not believe my husband is mentally ill; yes, I doubt the humanism and professional conscientiousness of your personnel.”

7. Babyn Yar was the site of the mass execution of the Jews of Kiev by the Nazis on September 29, 1941.

8. Jan Palach, a Prague student, immolated himself in January 1969 as a protest against the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet military forces.

## The Case of Leonid Plyushch

Leonid Plyushch was a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR, an organization formed in May 1969 to speak out in defense of arrested Soviet dissidents.

A mathematician and engineer, he was dismissed from his post at the Cybernetics Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Science in 1968 for signing a statement in defense of dissidents who had been tried and sentenced. At the time of his dismissal, the director of the institute accused him of "behaving like Dubcek."

Despite harassment from the KGB (Soviet secret police), he continued to take an active part in the defense of arrested dissidents.

In a 1968 letter to *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, entitled "Lackeys and False Witnesses of Our Time," he protested against the closed trial of Ginzburg and Galanskov in January 1968 and the slander of the defendants in the Soviet press.

In his letter Plyushch stated, "But—alas!—the times have passed when the Bolsheviks proudly proclaimed: 'We don't fear the truth, as the truth works for us!' Their indirect heirs (the direct ones were destroyed in Stalin's torture chambers by Beria), the Thermidoreans of October, fear the truth. The most they can rise to is stereotyped and distorted quotations, thrown together at random."

Plyushch was arrested in January

1972 during the KGB crackdown against dissidents in the Ukraine. On January 30, 1973, he was sent for an indefinite term of "treatment" in a prison psychiatric hospital, where he remains today.

As a result of the drugs the KGB's "doctors" have administered to him, his physical and mental condition has gravely deteriorated. His wife, Tanya Zhitnikov, wrote after a recent visit: "The Leonid Plyushch known to me no longer exists. What exists is an exhausted man, driven to the last brink of suffering, losing his memory and his ability to read, write, and think."

Despite numerous protests in defense of Plyushch, both internationally and from the dissidents in the Soviet Union, the Kremlin bureaucrats have increased the injections of drugs and worsened the conditions of his confinement.

Tanya Zhitnikov has supplied ongoing reports on his condition. According to a report by Peter Reddaway in the July 20 issue of the *Observer*, the bureaucrats have threatened that if she continues to publicize this information, her husband will be given even larger doses of the debilitating drugs.

The *Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR* reported in issue No. 14, dated March-April 1975, that a commission of Soviet psychiatric "experts" has revised the diagnosis of Plyushch from "latent schizophrenia" to "paranoid schizophrenia." This further threatens the possibility that Plyushch will survive.

In the evening of that same day, agents of the Kiev MVD forcibly removed T.I. Zhitnikov [Plyushch's wife] from the bus on which she was traveling to Moscow to lodge a complaint with the Union Ministry about the activities of the MVD of the republic.

• On the following day, T. Zhitnikov was summoned to the regional department of the militia and accused of parasitism. The charge is a serious one in the Soviet Union, and for dealing with the obstinate, it is very convenient: Exile, forced labor, confinement, and all this without a trial, an investigation, lawyers, or any other burdensome fuss.

There is no need to speak of the poorly concealed surveillance that goes on throughout the entire "penny novel" scenario about T. Zhitnikov and the state. It is as regular and inevitable as the changes of season.

T. Zhitnikov has written Minister Shchelokov demanding that he intervene in the actions of the organs of the MVD under his jurisdiction that are directly responsible for all that is being done with her husband. In this letter she charges that the MVD as a whole and its individual agents are taking vengeance on her for her desire to emigrate by knowingly bringing about a deterioration of L.I. Plyushch's health through moving him to a surveillance cell, increasing the dosage of the medication, and thereby endangering his life.

The response: L.I. Plyushch's condition has *actually gotten worse*. Regarding their emigration, not a word.

Thus, the highest levels of the hierarchy of the system that has total command over the freedom (or rather lack of freedom), health, and life of L. Plyushch, with nothing to fear, unabashedly state in an official document that after one and a half years confinement in a medical institution—after one and a half years of treatment—Leonid Ivanovich's health has gotten considerably worse.

What can one expect after such an answer? How does one evaluate it? In only one possible way: It is not L. Plyushch's health that is in danger, but his *life*.

His wife sent a complaint to the republic's prosecutor demanding that the doctors of the Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital be called to account for what has happened.

A crime has its own logic, a sort of criminal logic: It does not stop with what has already been committed, but rather grows, involving a new crime, still more terrible than the first.

In the beginning, a diagnosis that was known to be false. Later, "treatment" that does not conform to the diagnosis, criminal when compared to the false and criminal diagnosis: "Creeping schizophrenia" is not treated with haloperidol, insulin, and triftazin. What will happen at the next

stage? What will be the outcome of this logically inevitable process of crimes provoked and sanctioned by the state?

It is not difficult to guess. Either Leonid Ivanovich's physical strength will not hold out, and then physical death will follow. Or the character of his will and spirit, which he summoned to the forefront in the desperate struggle with his hangmen, will collapse. Then spiritual death will come. I am able to maintain with full conviction and without hesitation that both are equally possible and that there is little time left, possibly none at all. Human beings were not sent into the world to prove their superiority over products of the chemical industry.

The freedom of L. Plyushch is at this point very closely linked with emigration: He will not be freed until he is allowed to leave the country. And he will not be allowed to emigrate until he is released from the special psychiatric hospital.

The visa department refuses to give

consideration to the documents Plyushch's wife has given them, since Plyushch is undergoing compulsory treatment. Dnepropetrovsk special psychiatric hospital maintains that Leonid Ivanovich still needs such treatment.

Leonid Plyushch's wife awaits an inevitable catastrophe. There is now no level of authority in the Soviet Union to which she can appeal and from which one could expect help.

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## Por un Curso Político Correcto en Portugal

Por Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen y George Novack

### Su Versión del Caso República y Trotsky Sobre la Libertad de Prensa

[Continúa de la semana pasada]

El artículo en *Road* pidiendo disculpas a los círculos "avanzados" por el atraso del SWP y el personal de *Intercontinental Press* muestra las presiones a las cuales el movimiento trotskista está sometido en Portugal y en otras partes. El caso *República* fue una prueba clara.

El PC, usando una demagogia izquierdista, atrajo de nuevo a la ultraizquierda tal como había sucedido en el caso de la Ley de Unidad Sindical. Esta vez realmente tuvo éxito en envolver a la ultraizquierda en su ataque contra el PS.

El PC pudo hacerlo debido a la confusión entre los grupos ultraizquierdistas sobre la importancia de las libertades democrático-burguesas. La confusión se dió en particular sobre dos derechos democráticos claves, la libertad de prensa y el derecho de la mayoría a gobernar.

El ultraizquierdismo es una expresión política del voluntarismo, el punto de vista filosófico que le otorga a la voluntad humana primacía sobre los procesos objetivos. Los ultraizquierdistas buscan evitar la tarea de educar y convencer a la mayoría de la clase obrera. Dependen, en cambio, de las acciones determinadas de grupos pequeños pero dedicados. No tienen ningún respeto por el peso de los hechos objetivos ni por las opiniones prevalecientes de las masas. Así, las cuestiones políticas generales no son por lo general de ningún interés para ellos. Lo que importa es la "acción directa."

Esta tendencia fue exhibida muy claramente en los Estados Unidos en medio de la década de los sesenta por un grupo maoísta, "Progressive Labor" [PLP-Partido Laboral Progresista], que arguía que la revolución socialista norteamericana se podría llevar a cabo sin que la mayoría de la clase obrera rompiera con el Partido Demócrata capitalista, ya que obviamente los trabajadores norteamericanos podrían participar en acciones directas muy violentas sin necesariamente sacar conclusiones políticas generales. Así, tal vez podrían ir, en la acción, más allá de su punto actual de desarrollo político.

Hay de hecho algo de verdad en esta concepción, ya que la acción puede, y por lo regular lo hace, avanzar más rápidamente que la conciencia. Sin embargo, este grupo "avanzado" exageró tremendamente este granito de verdad, y cayó en una posición

similar al "apoliticismo revolucionario" de los anarquistas.

Desde semejante posición voluntarista, la libertad de prensa es un obstáculo. Obstruye la imposición arbitraria de los puntos de vista de pequeños grupos sobre las masas. Esta actitud ha sido atacada por el PS portugués como "vanguardismo," el cual puede servir como término descriptivo. Desafortunadamente, el PS—deliberadamente en el caso de algunos dirigentes, y por ignorancia en el caso de muchos cuadros medios—confunde esto con la teoría del partido de vanguardia.

El concepto leninista es en realidad bastante diferente. Sostiene que una dirección entrenada que comprende los intereses históricos de la clase obrera es necesaria para dirigir a esa clase a la victoria en su lucha con la burguesía. Pero esta dirección tiene que dirigir a través de la persuasión y la educación y no tratando de suprimir o limitar la discusión a través de la intimidación física o psicológica.

Los ultraizquierdistas tienden a creer que los grupos pequeños pueden ganar la dirección de las masas identificándose con ellas simbólicamente o llevando a cabo acciones valientes a nombre de ellas.

Esta, incluso, puede llegar a ser una manera de resolver las diferencias dentro de los pequeños grupos de izquierda. Hubo un ejemplo interesante en los Estados Unidos en el punto más álgido de la ola de ultraizquierdismo de fines de la década de los sesenta.

Un viejo órgano de la periferia stalinista, el *Guardian*, había tratado de atraer un nuevo público expresando las opiniones de la ultraizquierda. Sin embargo, a medida que esta corriente se desplazaba hacia el terrorismo, la presión fue demasiado para los oportunistas stalinoides dentro del personal. Hubo una escisión. La corriente proterrorista tenía la mayoría entre los trabajadores de la imprenta. Decidieron que como proletarios deberían "eliminar a la burguesía."

Por consiguiente, se apoderaron físicamente del periódico. Claro, se puede decir que la calidad del *Guardian* no se deterioró mucho bajo su nueva gerencia. Pero esto no resolvió las diferencias políticas y violó los derechos del cuerpo de redactores y de la mayoría de los suscriptores que leían el periódico porque estaban interesados en lo

que escribía el cuerpo de redactores y no en lo que los cajistas e impresores pensaban de ello.

*República* tiene algunos rasgos en común con el *Guardian*. Era un diario moderadamente grande de acuerdo con las normas portuguesas, pero todavía marginal como empresa, aún dentro del mundo de las publicaciones portuguesas. No es un gigantesco monopolio capitalista. Casi una docena de diarios son publicados en Lisboa para una población de alrededor de un millón de personas. Todos son bastante pequeños; *República* era uno de los más pequeños. El periódico había sido identificado con el Partido Socialista durante varios años pero no era su órgano oficial.

Bajo el gobierno salazarista, *República* era el periódico liberal de oposición tradicional. Tenía el apoyo de un gran número de accionistas liberales y del PS quienes contribuían a mantener vivo el periódico a pesar de repetidas tomas. Llegó a ser un refugio para los izquierdistas que no podían conseguir trabajo en otros periódicos. Difería del *Guardian* en un aspecto. Los trabajadores técnicos y de la imprenta eran generalmente mejor pagados que estos mismos en otros periódicos.

El caso *República* llegó a ser un ejemplo clásico de la lógica del ultraizquierdismo o vanguardismo. La toma de este periódico por un grupo de trabajadores de imprenta era la respuesta de los "vanguardistas" al triunfo del PS en las elecciones del 25 de abril, y a su intento de explotar ese triunfo.

Ambos el PC y los ultraizquierdistas estaban enardecidos por los resultados del voto. La "acción directa" de cuando mucho 150 trabajadores manuales parecía ser más poderosa que las opiniones de millones, incluyendo cientos de miles de trabajadores, expresadas en las urnas. Demostró como avanzar a pesar de la conciencia "atrasada" de las masas portuguesas. Así, la acción, apoyada por la poderosa máquina propagandística del PC, llegó a ser muy popular entre la ultraizquierda.

La popularidad de la toma de *República* entre los círculos de gran interés para los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se refleja en sus disculpas por el personal que no era del consejo editorial. Esto los llevó a olvidar a qué intereses políticos generales la ocupación servía.

El principio general involucrado fue explicado por Trotsky en el artículo que avergonzó a los editores de *Road*. Nosotros pensamos que estas líneas del artículo de

Trotsky eran especialmente relevantes:

“Se desarrolla en México una campaña contra la prensa reaccionaria. Esta campaña está encabezada por los dirigentes de la CTM [Confederación de Trabajadores de México—dirigida en aquél entonces por los stalinistas] o, más exactamente, por el Sr. Lombardo Toledano en lo personal. El fin de esta campaña es ‘restringir’ la prensa reaccionaria, para colocarla bajo una censura democrática o para prohibirla completamente. Las organizaciones sindicales han sido puestas en movimiento, en calidad de ejército activo. Los demócratas irremediables, corrompidos por la experiencia del Moscú stalinista y con ‘amigos’ de la GPU [policía secreta de Stalin] a su cabeza aclaman esta campaña, que no puede ser considerada de otra manera que como suicida. Realmente, no es difícil prever que aunque el triunfo de esta campaña condujera a resultados prácticos dentro del gusto de Lombardo Toledano, sus consecuencias gravitarían más pesadamente sobre los hombros de la clase trabajadora. La teoría y la experiencia histórica atestiguan igualmente que cualquier restricción de la democracia en la sociedad burguesa es, al fin y al cabo, enderezada invariablemente contra el proletariado, lo mismo que cualquier impuesto también gravita sobre los hombros de los trabajadores. La democracia solamente tiene valor para el proletariado en la medida en que permite el desenvolvimiento de la lucha de clases. En consecuencia, un ‘líder’ de la clase obrera que arma al Estado burgués con instrumentos excepcionales de control sobre la opinión pública en general, y sobre la prensa en particular, es precisamente un traidor. Con la agravación de la lucha de clases, los burgueses de todos matices llegarán al fin de cuentas a ponerse de acuerdo entre ellos mismos, y dirigirán entonces las leyes de excepción, todos los reglamentos restrictivos, todas las especies de censuras ‘democráticas’ contra la clase obrera. Aquél que todavía no haya entendido esto, debe abandonar las filas de la clase obrera.

“Pero la dictadura del proletariado—objetarían algunos ‘amigos’ de la URSS—a veces se ve obligada a recurrir a medidas de excepción, en contra de la prensa reaccionaria en particular. Esta objeción—decimos nosotros—significa, sobre todo, la identificación del Estado obrero con el Estado burgués. A pesar de que México es un país semicolonial, también es un Estado burgués, y en ningún caso, un Estado obrero. Sin embargo, aún desde el punto de vista de los intereses de la dictadura del proletariado, la prohibición de los periódicos burgueses o la censura de ellos no son, en el más mínimo grado, un ‘programa’ ni un ‘principio’ o un régimen ideal. Tales medidas pueden únicamente ser un mal inevitable y temporal.”

Trotsky también describió la clase de

periodismo practicado por esos “‘líderes’ de la clase obrera” quienes reclamaban el derecho, “en interés del socialismo,” de imponer una especie de censura burocrática dentro del marco del dominio burgués:

“El mejor modo de luchar contra la prensa burguesa es el desarrollo de la prensa proletaria. Claro que periódicos amarillistas del tipo de *El Popular* no son capaces de desempeñar esa tarea. No son ni prensa obrera ni prensa revolucionaria; ni siquiera, simplemente, prensa democrática honrada. *El Popular* sirve las ambiciones personales del Sr. Lombardo Toledano, quien a su vez sirve a la burocracia stalinista. Sus métodos, mentiras, calumnias, persecución, falsificación, son también los métodos de Toledano. Este no tiene ni programa ni ideas. Lo más natural, por lo tanto, es que un periódico de esta laya no puede alcanzar a la clase trabajadora en su médula, ni alejar la prensa burguesa de las manos proletarias.”

Aunque no polemizó abiertamente contra Trotsky, el camarada Mandel sí indicó indirectamente en un artículo del número del 23 de junio de 1975 de *Intercontinental Press* [ver 7 de julio para traducción en español] por qué él piensa que la posición de Trotsky no se aplica. Aunque Mandel estaba de acuerdo de que los principios de Trotsky sobre la libertad de prensa son válidos, sostenía que el principio del poder obrero también tenía que ser considerado y, en este caso, recibir prioridad.

“Somos muy escépticos, es lo menos que podemos decir, que lo que realmente estaba involucrado en ese incidente era un intento serio de evitar que el PS tuviera su periódico propio, es decir, un intento serio de destruir la libertad de acción del partido político más grande del Portugal de hoy.”

Esto, continúa, significaría forzosamente que (1) Portugal estaba en vísperas de un “golpe de Praga”; o (2) que la burguesía estaba preparando el establecimiento de una sangrienta dictadura militar. Ya que ambas posibilidades tenían que ser excluidas, obviamente tenía que haber otra explicación del asunto. Esta es la que ofreció el camarada Mandel:

Existe un ascenso de las iniciativas de las masas que rebasa la legalidad capitalista en ambos las unidades militares y las plantas. Bajo semejantes condiciones, la burguesía era incapaz de aplicar la represión. Por lo tanto, no hay que temer ningún ataque a la libertad de prensa. Lo que la burguesía quería hacer era “dividir y confundir al movimiento de masas, para poder detener al proceso revolucionario a un nivel compatible con la supervivencia de las relaciones de producción capitalistas. . . .”

Por eso, el escándalo sobre el caso *República* fue un intento del Partido Socialista y de la burguesía de dividir a los trabajadores. Estaban tratando de usar una provocación, a la cual habían sucumbido

los trabajadores de la imprenta, para ganar fuerza ya sea para aplastar, o frenar, el control obrero.

El camarada Mandel continúa: “Cuando estudiamos lo que en realidad pasó en la imprenta de *República*, entendemos como estos incidentes encajan con los planes fundamentales del capital portugués e internacional. Contraria a la versión que ha diseminado la prensa burguesa sobre estos incidentes, la iniciativa no vino por parte del PC y mucho menos de los oficiales del MFA, sino de los trabajadores mismos de esa planta entre los cuales los seguidores del PC tan sólo son una minoría. Se estaban enfrentando al rápido declive de la circulación del periódico, y a grandes pérdidas financieras en la imprenta. Estaban bajo la amenaza de los despidos y la sobreproducción. Y reaccionaron exactamente de la misma manera en que los trabajadores han reaccionado en cientos de otras fábricas y oficinas en todo Portugal ante tales amenazas: quitando al gerente y demandando una nueva estructura administrativa bajo control obrero, no importando el esquema propuesto, que difiere de caso a caso.

“Que estas motivaciones se entrelazaron con todo tipo de intrigas políticas es obvio. Que los burócratas del PC intentaron utilizar la iniciativa obrera para poder dar un golpe contra sus rivales socialdemócratas y asociados, que les acababan de dar una tunda en las elecciones, esto es sin lugar a dudas. Que el grupo de izquierda más fuerte dentro de la imprenta, la maoísta UDP [União Democrática do Povo], trató de utilizar su influencia para evitarle publicidad a un grupo rival maoísta ‘apoyado críticamente’ por el editor socialdemócrata, también esto jugó un papel. Que algunos dirigentes militares del MFA, confrontados con esta situación confusa, trataron de crear hostilidad en contra de los ‘partidos políticos contrincantes,’ que ha sido uno de sus principales temas de propaganda durante muchos meses, de la misma manera no se puede negar. Sin embargo el resultado de toda la intriga nunca se puso en duda. Toda la lógica de la presión burguesa de clase, tanto nacional como internacionalmente, juega a favor de que el Partido Socialista recupere el periódico. La dirección burguesa del MFA no puede hacer otra cosa más que ceder a esa presión. Los afectados serán los trabajadores de la imprenta de *República*.” (Énfasis en el original.)

Sin embargo, esto no es lo que pasó. Más de cuatro meses después de la toma, los editores del Partido Socialista todavía no han recuperado el control del periódico. Además, “bajo el control obrero,” *República* trató, sin éxito por cierto, de interferir con el derecho fundamental del Partido Socialista, el derecho de reunión.

Bajo el encabezado “El Poder Popular Dispuesto a Impedir Mitin del P.S. en



Oporto," el número del 18 de julio publicó un artículo que decía: "A las cinco de la tarde, decenas de miles de trabajadores, radiantes de alegría con las últimas decisiones del MFA que intenta transferir el poder de las manos de la burguesía a las del pueblo, que ha sido siempre su esclavo, se lanzarán a la calle para afirmar su voluntad de guiar el destino del país. . . .

"En el aire que se respiraba en la ciudad esta tarde, se sentía la convicción de que el mitin previsto para el fin del día en el Estadio das Antas, no llegará a realizarse.

"El poder que lo prohibirá es ya el Poder Popular, el cual no está dispuesto a darle margen de maniobra a su enemigo de clase.

"La ciudad estará sin duda controlada por la Fuerza del Pueblo."

Las 70,000 personas que atendieron el mitin del PS barrieron con la "Fuerza del Pueblo," que no pudo montar una contramanifestación de más de 10,000, el tamaño normal de las manifestaciones conjuntas del PC y la ultrazquierda en Oporto. El "Poder Popular" no trató de defender las barricadas que fueron erigidas. En una de ellas, se colocó un letrero: "Escuchen los de las barricadas: Los pescadores de Matosinhos van a pasar a las 4:30 de la tarde camino a Antas." No hubo ninguna resistencia.

Pero esto no desanimó a los representantes auto-nombrados de la clase trabajadora portuguesa que ahora dirigen *República*. El día siguiente escribieron:

"Los obreros y soldados observan y vigilan una situación nacional dominada por un conflicto agudo entre dos polos de poder que concentran respectivamente los intereses de la burguesía (el Partido Socialista) y el de los trabajadores (el MFA). . . .

"La opción es clara. Basta ver quién, ayer en Oporto, aclamó al MFA y al jefe de la Región Militar del Norte, el General de Brigada Corvacho.

"Basta ver también quién insultó y abucheó en Antas a los oficiales militares y la revolución."

A pesar de esta campaña, el PS llevó a cabo sus mítines. ¿Fue esto gracias al gobierno burgués del MFA? No, el MFA alentó esta campaña y no retrocedió hasta que era claro su fracaso, así como el MFA trató de prohibir la primera marcha de protesta el 2 de mayo, y se retiró cuando decenas de miles de personas aparecieron. *No. ¡El PS pudo ejercer su derecho democrático de reunión porque movilizó a decenas de miles de trabajadores para afirmar este derecho en la acción!*

Es cierto que Portugal no estaba en vísperas de un "golpe de Praga" ni del establecimiento inmediato de un régimen represivo derechista. Pero el MFA burgués no defendió los derechos del PS contra lo que obviamente era un asalto furioso.

Tal vez hubo otra posibilidad que el camarada Mandel no tomó en cuenta. Si ni

A o B son ciertas, eso no excluye que C lo sea.

¿Puede ser que el camarada Mandel estaba siguiendo un "esquema"? Desde su punto de vista, ¿el proceso revolucionario fundamental consiste en que los trabajadores tomen el control directamente de las instalaciones claves, que esta acción es más importante que cualquier simple cuestión política como "la libertad de prensa"?

Semejante esquema lo podría haber llevado a ignorar algunas cuestiones, como el hecho de que la decisión de cuando mucho 150 trabajadores se contrapuso a las opiniones de los cientos de miles de trabajadores que votaron por el PS. Lo podría haber conducido a ignorar el hecho de que "el partido más grande en Portugal" estuviera prácticamente sin representación en la prensa después de la toma de *República*, mientras que el Partido Comunista dominaba los consejos editoriales de la gran mayoría de los grandes diarios. Lo podría haber llevado a ignorar el hecho de que en este proceso de intensificación del control obrero, no hubo ningún caso en que fuera aplicado a los periódicos controlados por el PC, todos los cuales cantaban alabanzas al MFA.

Podría, en breve, haberlo llevado a ignorar una razón urgente para un ataque a la libertad de prensa que no estaba relacionada directamente a (1) un inminente "golpe de Praga" ni (2) al establecimiento inmediato de un régimen represivo derechista.

La motivación es ésta: En vista de su

## Los Hechos en el Caso República

"Los lectores de *Intercontinental Press*, después de haber visto las fotografías en las primeras páginas de los números del 9 y 30 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*," escriben los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, "podrán creer que si los periodistas de *República* ya no editan el periódico del Partido Socialista en su ex taller de imprenta, se debe a que los brutales soldados paracaidistas, armados hasta los dientes, les están impidiendo ejercer sus más elementales derechos democráticos. Nada más alejado de la verdad. El MFA ha decidido el conflicto en favor del Sr. Rêgo, el dueño de *República*, y de la dirección del PS. En efecto, el Sr. Rêgo regresó felizmente a su taller el 18 de junio de 1975. Pero, le esperaba una desagradable sorpresa: El taller había sido ocupado por los trabajadores. Así que se retiró inmediatamente del taller y le dijo al corresponsal del *Times* de Londres 'que él y los miembros de la gerencia habían estipulado que todos aquellos que habían sido permitidos entrar al edificio anteriormente, *deberían de ser evacuados por las fuerzas militares*. Esta estipulación había sido rechazada, dijo.' (El *Times*, 19 de junio de 1975, énfasis nuestro.)

debilidad, el gobierno burgués del MFA prefirió manipular a las fuerzas dentro del movimiento obrero para iniciar determinados tipos de represión y para proveer una careta izquierdista para cualquier acción que no fuese democrática.

¿No era esto el hilo que se extiende a través de la historia del gobierno del MFA?

¿No usó al PC en la función de policías rompehuelgas en la huelga de TAP y en la huelga de los trabajadores de correos?

Si el gobierno del MFA es un gobierno burgués, como lo admite el camarada Mandel, ¿por qué no querrá oponerse al partido más grande en el país, si este partido se basa en la clase obrera y no en fuerzas burguesas?

¿No propugnaron un voto en blanco en las elecciones del 25 de abril representantes del MFA como el General de Carvalho y el Almirante Rosa Coutinho, y no dijeron ellos y otros repetidas veces, cuando era aparente que el PS iba a ganar las elecciones, que las elecciones no tenían ninguna importancia? ¿No se confrontaron al PS en enero sobre la cuestión de la Ley de Unidad Sindical?

Por supuesto, el camarada Mandel tiene una respuesta preparada para todas estas objeciones. Es "la presión de los trabajadores." El MFA burgués quería apoyar al PS pero no podía debido a la creciente presión de la clase obrera.

Bajo esta presión, él mismo se dividió. El MFA fue incapaz de reprimir a 150 trabajadores cuando mucho, a pesar de las exigencias sanguinarias del "partido más grande en el país."

Soares y sus compañeros, los ministros social-demócratas, se retiraron del gobierno de coalición con la misma estipulación: No permanecerían en un gabinete incapaz de ejercer autoridad, y regresarían sólo si los militares expulsaban a los trabajadores del taller de imprenta."

Este párrafo merece atención especial. Contiene las dos principales piezas de evidencia presentadas por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel en apoyo de su versión del caso *República*:

1. Treinta y dos palabras parafraseando lo que Rêgo dijo a un corresponsal del *Times* de Londres.

2. La aseveración de que Soares estipuló, al renunciar del gabinete de coalición del MFA, que volvería sólo si los militares expulsaban a los trabajadores del taller de imprenta.

Estas dos piezas de "evidencia" son entonces dirigidas contra el camarada Foley con el objetivo aparente de hundirlo de una vez por todas:

"Esto no cabe muy bien dentro del esquema del camarada Foley. *Incitar a la intervención de un ejército burgués contra*

la ocupación obrera de una fábrica no es precisamente defender los derechos democráticos contra una dictadura militar. El camarada Foley ha mantenido un silencio avergonzante y vergonzoso acerca de la demanda de Soares. ¿La apruebe o no?" (Énfasis en el original.)

Responderemos a la pregunta en seguida. Primero escuchemos como los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se alaban por como esas dos mismas piezas de evidencia confirman "perfectamente" sus tesis:

"Este resultado claro del caso *República*, que da al traste con la interpretación del camarada Foley de la crisis política en Portugal, confirma perfectamente lo que fue nuestro análisis desde el principio: No se trataba de la libertad de prensa (que en cualquier caso nadie está en una posición para negársela al poderoso partido social demócrata portugués hoy en día), sino de la cuestión de una ofensiva para restaurar el 'orden público' en las fábricas y la autoridad del Estado burgués en la sociedad."

Quizás el problema aquí sea uno de información. Los tres autores de esta acusación señalan anteriormente en su artículo que ellos creen que los lectores de *Intercontinental Press* han sido malinformados acerca de los verdaderos hechos en Portugal, a pesar de que *Intercontinental Press* ha publicado artículos escritos por ellos sobre esta situación así como de la prensa de las secciones bajo su influencia.

Es cierto que nuestra interpretación del desarrollo del caso *República* difiere de la de ellos. Sin embargo, no estaba basada en una "entrevista" en el *Times* de Londres, sino en una serie de fuentes, incluyendo lo publicado en la prensa portuguesa misma.

Examinemos más a fondo los hechos en el caso *República* para mejor evaluar las bases de la acusación hecha por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel acerca de nuestro silencio "avergonzante y vergonzoso" sobre la supuesta exigencia de Soares de que se usase el "ejército burgués contra la ocupación obrera de una fábrica."

Uno de los elementos claves en el caso *República* fue la política seguida por los stalinistas. Foley expuso esto en detalle en el número del 30 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*. Recapitularemos brevemente lo que dijo:

"Como auxiliar de un gobierno militar, el Partido Comunista no estaría interesado en la represión masiva. Eso sería demasiado peligroso, tanto en el contexto nacional como internacional. Sin embargo, si necesitaría fuertes restricciones sobre la vida política y sobre la libertad de prensa para salvaguardar sus posiciones burocráticas y la credibilidad de su ideología burocrática."

Foley prestó especial atención a un nuevo paso tomado por el Sindicato Nacional de Artes Gráficas controlado por los stalinistas—una resolución adoptada el 14 de junio que llamaba a restringir la libertad

de prensa. La resolución terminaba exigiendo implícitamente la prohibición de varios periódicos:

"Denunciamos la naturaleza abiertamente sensacionalista, contrarrevolucionaria, divisionista y calumniosa de innumerables 'hojas' y periódicos provincianos, así como de los dos periódicos *Expresso* y *Jornal Novo*."

Foley explicó que *Expresso* es un semanario burgués liberal y que *Jornal Novo*, un diario, está ligado a los círculos del Partido Socialista. "Son virtualmente los únicos periódicos nacionales restantes que en alguna medida critican al MFA y al PC."

Enseguida abordó el papel importante que jugó el Copcon, las fuerzas militares de seguridad encabezadas por el General Carvalho, en evitar que el clausurado *República* fuese devuelto al cuerpo de redactores. El resumen de Foley de los hechos difería, por supuesto, de aquél de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel.

"En un principio la reapertura del periódico fue retrasada cuatro días por el Copcon, el cual argumentaba que no podía garantizar la 'seguridad,'" informó Foley. "Enseguida, cuando la policía política accedió al fin a retirar los sellos del edificio, el comandante que se encontraba en el lugar entregó el edificio al 'comité obrero' que había provocado la clausura. Este, según se informó, procedió entonces a quemar los archivos que encontró en el edificio."

"El comandante, Mayor Ferreira, argumentó que el editor Raul Rêgo había violado las condiciones delineadas por el Conselho da Revolução al rehusarse a aceptar de nuevo a todos los trabajadores. Su principal objeción aparentemente era en lo que concernía al anterior gerente comercial, Alvaro Belo Marques, quien ha sido acusado de ser un agente del PC. Rêgo argumentó que Marques había ofrecido su renuncia antes de que el periódico fuera clausurado. En su número del 17 de junio, *Jornal Novo* informó: 'La Comissão Coordenadora dos Trabalhadores, por el otro lado, dió una versión diferente, afirmando que "Alvaro Belo Marques no ofreció su renuncia sino que fue forzado a renunciar por la administración debido a que ésta quería entregar el periódico al PS.'"

"El *Washington Post* informó el 18 de junio: 'La gerencia quería despedir a 12 trabajadores; después pidió garantías de que no interferirían en la política editorial. No se permitieron despidos ni se dieron garantías.'"

Cuando este artículo fue escrito, el número del 20 de junio de *Le Monde* no había llegado aún a Nueva York. Pero su relato, escrito por Dominique Pouchin, se aproximaba bastante a lo que Foley había informado. Pouchin dijo:

"Comisionado para llevar a cabo la decisión del Consejo Revolucionario de

regresar el periódico a su editor y redactores, el Mayor Dias Ferreira, quien comandaba el destacamento del Copcon que se encontraba frente a las oficinas del diario, en realidad abrió las puertas a los trabajadores, quienes ocuparon inmediatamente las oficinas. Los administradores y periodistas—a quienes se les había dicho que se presentarían el 18 de junio a las 11 de la mañana—se encontraron una vez más en la calle. El ambiente se puso tenso. Algunas escaramuzas tomaron lugar entre miembros del PS y los jóvenes que apoyaban al comité obrero.

"Después de algunas horas de negociaciones infructuosas entre el cuerpo de redactores y los oficiales, los trabajadores y el personal comercial partieron 'por su propia voluntad.' . . . Los miembros del PS, aún nerviosos, llamaron a sus activistas y simpatizantes a concentrarse de nuevo el jueves [19 de junio] frente al edificio para asegurar el libre acceso de los periodistas."

El jueves, según los informes, hubo una secuencia similar de eventos.

Otro relato recibido en Nueva York después de que el artículo de Foley había sido escrito, ofrecía confirmación adicional. El número del 21 de junio de *Jornal Novo* decía:

"Como hemos ya informado, a las 8:00 a.m. del 18 de junio, las oficinas fueron abiertas a los trabajadores de la imprenta y al resto del personal, mientras que a los miembros del cuerpo de redactores se les impidió entrar cuando se presentaron varias horas más tarde."

He aquí el informe que el *Christian Science Monitor* dió en su número del 20 de junio, el cual también se aproxima a lo que dijo el camarada Foley:

"La facción dura de la dirección militar portuguesa ha de nuevo roto un compromiso a favor de los comunistas en la lucha llena de vaivenes entre los comunistas y los socialistas por el control del periódico socialista Republica."

"El compromiso hubiese permitido tanto a los redactores socialistas como a los impresores dirigidos por los comunistas entrar al edificio de Republica el jueves por la mañana [19 de junio]. Pero cuando los editores e impresores se presentaron, el destacamento de tropas del COPCON—las fuerzas militares de seguridad—impidieron el paso a los redactores y permitieron que entraran únicamente los impresores."

"Un joven teniente les dijo a los editores: 'Únicamente los trabajadores pueden pasar.' El redactor en jefe Joao Gomes preguntó: '¿Por órdenes de quién?' El oficial respondió: 'Por órdenes del COPCON.'"

Todas estas son, por supuesto, fuentes burguesas. Pero, ¿son menos dignas de crédito que la fuente burguesa del *Times* de Londres del 19 de junio donde todo lo que se informa es una paráfrasis de lo que Rêgo supuestamente dijo a un corresponsal?

¿Han examinado los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel las otras fuentes? ¿Qué evidencia ofrecen de haber hecho esto? ¿No descansa su versión sobre bases más bien insustanciales? ¿No es al menos unilateral? ¿No hay buenas razones, por lo tanto, para pensar que son ellos, y no Foley, quienes son negligentes con los hechos porque tienen un esquema que salvar?

Tal conclusión, además, sería confirmada por la manera en que saltaron de este incidente al abandono por parte del PS del gobierno el 11 de julio, *tres semanas más tarde*, argumentando que Soares exigió la intervención de un ejército burgués contra la ocupación obrera de una fábrica y que "el camarada Foley ha mantenido un silencio avergonzante y vergonzoso acerca de la demanda de Soares."

Sin embargo, el *texto completo* de la declaración del PS al abandonar el gobierno fue publicado en el número del 21 de julio de 1975 de *Intercontinental Press*. La parte concerniente al caso *República* dice lo siguiente:

"Enseguida vino una larga crisis durante la cual se verificaron los siguientes hechos:

"A. El Consejo de la Revolución decidió que el periódico República debería ser entregado a la gerencia y los redactores, quienes eran responsables por su orientación ideológica bajo los términos de la ley de prensa.

"B. El Consejo de Prensa tomó la misma decisión.

"C. El Presidente de la República declaró en Francia que el caso de República estaba ya resuelto (sic), asegurando públicamente de esta manera el respeto a la legalidad revolucionaria.

"D. El Almirante Rosa Coutinho y los Comandantes Correia Jesuino y Rui Montes (Ministro y Director General de Información) dijeron en repetidas ocasiones que el caso de República no tenía importancia y que había sido 'vilmente' explotado.

"Contrario a todas estas declaraciones y promesas, sin embargo, se ha establecido que otra edición pirata más de República apareció hoy, por la cual responde un oficial del ejército cuyo nombre aparece como editor.

"Por varios días las instalaciones de República habían sido ocupadas por grupos de civiles ajenos a República, armados con G-3's [una metralleta] y quienes dicen pertenecer a milicias partidarias conocidas. A los editores y administradores de República se les prohibió entrar a República.

"De esto se concluye que:

"A. La palabra del Presidente de la República no fue respetada.

"B. La decisión del Consejo de la Revolución no tuvo efecto o trascendencia real.

"C. La decisión del Consejo de Prensa fue ignorada.

"D. Las declaraciones del Almirante Rosa Coutinho y los Comandantes Jesuino y Montes deben ser tomadas de la manera

en que uno juzgue más adecuada.

"Por esta razón el secretariado del Partido Socialista decidió que sus ministros y secretarios de estado deberían suspender inmediatamente sus funciones en el Gobierno.

"Volverán a asumirlas de nuevo únicamente si:

"A. La palabra del Presidente de la República es confirmada por los hechos.

"B. La decisión del Consejo de la Revolución es implementada.

"La alianza de las fuerzas políticas portuguesas en el camino hacia una democracia socialista pluralista debe estar basada en la realización de los pactos firmados entre ellos y el respeto a los compromisos tomados. De otra manera no será posible avanzar hacia la democracia o hacia el socialismo.

"No hay estado sin autoridad. Ni hay revolución sin autoridad revolucionaria."

Por supuesto, Soares trató de identificar la causa del Partido Socialista con el "orden." Eso es obvio; es un partido reformista. En su artículo en el número del 23 de junio de *Intercontinental Press* [7 de julio en español] el camarada Mandel mismo dijo que "casi todos los partidos políticos y oficiales pretenden" que el siguiente paso debe ser "la lucha contra la indisciplina y la anarquía."

Ambos el PS y el PC han estado compitiendo para probar que son el más auténtico y mejor sostén del orden. Hemos señalado esto en artículo tras artículo por más de año y medio.

Así que contestemos la pregunta con que intentaban ponernos en una situación

### ¿Se le Debería Llamar 'Control Obrero' a la 'Censura Patriótica'?

En vista de los hechos, ¿cómo es posible que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel vean el problema en Portugal como una polarización entre un PS totalmente resuelto a reprimir la iniciativa de los trabajadores, y el PC, aunque renuente, defendiéndola junto con los demás grupos "avanzados"?

El PS no tan sólo denunció al "anarcopulismo": Su periódico oficial también publicó un artículo atacando veladamente al Copcon como un "estado dentro de un estado."

Una queja similar fue expresada por *Diário de Notícias* (dominado por el PC) el 1 de septiembre de 1975 cuando se lamentó de que el Copcon había ocupado la Quinta División del Estado Mayor General y que Carvalho había proscrito a Vasco Gonçalves de todas las unidades bajo su mando. Repitieron precisamente el mismo refrán que el PS: "Sin autoridad revolucionaria, no hay revolución."

Si su intención era lanzar un desafío irónico al PS, hubiera sido magnífico. De seguro la ironía no era intencional, pero ¿cuál de los dos partidos reformistas es

embarazosa: ¿"Aprueba o no" Foley la demanda hecha por Soares al abandonar el gobierno, de que un "ejército burgués" sea usado "contra la ocupación obrera de una fábrica?"

La respuesta es no. Sin embargo, vale la pena señalar qué tan cargada está la pregunta. Al decir "una fábrica," los autores asumen que su tesis es aceptada—que lo que estaba en juego en el caso *República* no era una violación de la libertad de prensa sino una disputa laboral como cualquier otra en Portugal, en las cuales los obreros han estado respondiendo con la ocupación de las plantas. Negamos la validez de esta interpretación y hemos tratado de reunir la evidencia necesaria para mostrar cual fue la realidad.

Hemos, además, llamado la atención al texto de la declaración hecha por el PS al retirarse del gobierno. Las palabras citadas por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no aparecen ahí.

En cuanto a nuestra posición, afirmamos de nuevo nuestra completa oposición a la política del gobierno del MFA de intentar suprimir la libertad de prensa, y nuestra completa oposición a la política de los stalinistas de ayudar al MFA en sus intentos de imponerla.

Para empezar, fue el curso contrarrevolucionario seguido por el MFA y los stalinistas lo que precipitó el caso *República*. Sobre ellos recae la responsabilidad. Ellos deberían ser condenados por sus acciones y no Foley por informar los hechos.

Esperamos que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel cambien de opinión y se unan a nosotros en nuestra posición.

inocente en este caso?

¿Ha sido reportado esto en la prensa que refleja los puntos de vista de la fracción en el movimiento trotskista mundial influenciada por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel? No. Nada. ¿Por qué, entonces, reprenden a *Intercontinental Press* por su reportaje "prejuiciado"? ¿Piensan que embellecer la situación hace más fácil "defender la revolución portuguesa"?

Pero no podemos, honestamente, decir que este silencio es "vergonzoso." Junto con el silencio está la disculpa *desvergonzada* por los métodos y la política stalinistas. ¿Qué se puede decir realmente cuando el periódico de una sección de la Cuarta Internacional deplora el hecho de que un artículo de Trotsky sobre la importancia de la libertad de prensa para los revolucionarios "haya sido usado contra el Partido Comunista"?

El problema, si se cree a los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, no fue la libertad de prensa. Pero cientos de miles de partidarios del PS pensaron que era la libertad de prensa. El Partido Comunista a su manera pensaba que era la libertad de prensa. El

sindicato de impresores controlado por el PC hizo un llamado a la imposición de la censura el 14 de junio.

Aún después de los retrocesos del PC en agosto, cuando los mismos stalinistas empezaron a temer que el nuevo gobierno tiene intenciones de limitar el derecho de sus partidarios a la libre expresión, el sindicato de impresores todavía hablaba a favor de la "censura revolucionaria" en un comunicado del 12 de septiembre.

En su artículo del 23 de junio de *Intercontinental Press* [7 de julio en español], el camarada Mandel enfatizó su apoyo al principio de la libertad de prensa:

"Somos defensores firmes y principistas de la libertad de prensa. Estamos convencidos que este debe ser un principio básico no sólo bajo la democracia burguesa sino también en un estado obrero. Estamos absolutamente a favor de que el Partido Socialista Portugués tenga a su disposición un diario propio. Creemos que los trabajadores de la imprenta de *República* cometieron un serio error al crear la impresión de que lo que querían era desafiar ese derecho."

Pero uno de los dos órganos de la sección del camarada Mandel publicó la siguiente declaración del "comité de trabajadores" en el mismo número en el cual se distanció del SWP y de Trotsky:

"Los editores bajo la dirección del socialista Rêgo estaban siguiendo más y más la línea del Partido Socialista. En fin, parecía como si *República* fuera propiedad del PS. Una cantidad de periodistas fueron despedidos porque se oponían a esta evolución. Soares, el dirigente del PS entraba y salía de *República* como si fuera su periódico. . . . Nosotros, los trabajadores de la imprenta no queríamos que *República* perdiera su independencia y se uniera de esta manera a un partido."

Esto fue publicado bajo el encabezado: "República: Hablan los Trabajadores," y su intención aparentemente era la de enfatizar el punto hecho en el artículo de *Rood* donde se criticaba la publicación por *Intercontinental Press* del artículo de Trotsky.

Cuando *República*, bajo la dirección del "comité de trabajadores," se unió al coro que trataba de incitar a una represión enérgica del mitin del PS en Lisboa el 19 de julio, el diario de Lisboa, *A Capital*, describió la posición de aquellos trotskistas influenciados por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, de la manera siguiente:

"La Liga Comunista Internacionalista . . . publicó un comunicado en el cual hizo un llamado a un contraataque de parte de los trabajadores 'generalizando las barricadas del pueblo bajo la dirección de los comités de obreros e inquilinos y las asambleas populares' como medio para prevenir la formación de un nuevo gobierno con representación burguesa."

Si el PS se hubiera convertido en punta de lanza para la reacción capitalista, esta

posición era lógica. Si los derechos democráticos del Partido Socialista no fueron puestos en peligro por el gobierno burgués y sus aliados stalinistas, esta posición era lógica. Ya que el gobierno había tomado una posición amenazadora hacia el PS y llegado al borde de la confrontación violenta, tal vez el carácter de clase del gobierno estaba cambiando, lo cual hubiera hecho aún más lógica la posición de la LCI.

Además, el gobierno había adoptado aparentemente este curso en defensa del "poder popular," que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel y sus seguidores han identificado con el "anarcopopulismo" denunciado por el PS. Obviamente, esto ha de haber sido el resultado de una tremenda "presión de parte de los trabajadores" sobre el gobierno. ¿No se debería de incrementar esta presión? ¿Qué podría ser más lógico?

Por supuesto, los camaradas de la LCI explicaron que se habían unido a las barricadas no para impedir el mitin del Partido Socialista, sino simplemente para hacer guardia contra la reacción que la campaña del PS había desatado.

En Oporto, ellos y los otros grupos a la izquierda de los partidos reformistas de masas se habían negado abiertamente a unirse a la barricadas, así como el 90 por ciento de los miembros del mismo Partido Comunista. Desde luego, no querían suprimir los derechos democráticos del Partido Socialista, que a diferencia del PC había generalmente defendido a los pequeños grupos de izquierda contra la represión.

Pero en Lisboa, donde se unieron a las barricadas, ¿tuvieron la oportunidad de explicar a los miembros del PS quienes los vieron ahí, que no pensaban pararlos, sino sólo resistir la "formación de un nuevo gobierno con una representación burguesa"?

En Oporto, después del miserable fracaso de los esfuerzos del PC de erigir barricadas, los camaradas de la LCI, junto con el PC y otros grupos de izquierda, participaron en una contramanifestación en oposición al mitin del PS.

¿Cómo esperaban que los miembros del PS interpretaran esto? ¿Acaso estos trabajadores "atrasados" inspeccionaron cuidadosamente las insignias del partido usadas por aquéllos en las barricadas, y notaron la ausencia de los símbolos trotskistas? ¿Tal vez llegaron a la conclusión: "La LCI no está en las barricadas; sólo están en una contramanifestación. Por lo tanto, estos camaradas han de apoyar nuestros derechos democráticos."?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel y sus seguidores en la prensa de las secciones sobre las cuales tienen influencia pueden, si son desafiados, señalar una u otra frase que proclame que ellos, por supuesto, defienden los derechos democráticos del Partido Socialista. Pero los camaradas de la LCI participaron en acciones

demonstrativas; y, tristemente, no pueden escapar a las consecuencias de sus acciones tan fácilmente.

En su artículo del 23 de junio de *Intercontinental Press* [7 de julio en español], el camarada Mandel escribió:

"Por último, debemos oponernos firmemente a cualquier intento de contraponer el principio de la libertad de prensa al no menos correcto principio del control obrero, en este sentido el control sobre las condiciones de vida y de trabajo de la clase obrera. El Partido Socialista tiene el derecho de tener su propio periódico." Pero lo que estaba involucrado en el caso *República*, afirma él, no era la libertad de prensa.

Sin embargo, los trabajadores del PS pensaron que sí. El PC, a su manera peculiar, también lo pensó. Los partidos stalinistas a través del mundo condujeron una campaña de calumnias contra el PS portugués y los editores de *República*, tratando de probar que la toma era justificada políticamente con el fin de ponerle un alto al "anticomunismo."

El PC defendió la censura en nombre de "la defensa del gobierno revolucionario." El sindicato de impresores dominado por el PC hizo un llamado a la supresión de toda la prensa no dominada todavía por los stalinistas. Reiteró esta posición el 12 de septiembre, como hemos señalado, cuando los mismos medios de comunicación dominados por los stalinistas estaban en peligro de ser víctimas de la censura gubernamental.

Los aliados ultraizquierdistas de la LCI apoyaron a la censura en nombre de la "defensa de la revolución." El 10 de septiembre, un representante del Frente de Unidade Revolucionária, que incluye a la LCI, dijo que este frente cree que el tomar medidas para "parar el abuso de la libertad de prensa" hubiera sido "patriótico" si se hubiese llevado a cabo bajo el gobierno de Vasco Gonçalves.

Debido a que la LCI y todas las secciones donde los seguidores de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel tienen una mayoría hicieron una campaña en apoyo a la toma de *República* en nombre de la "defensa de los trabajadores contra los editores," ¿cómo esperan convencer a los trabajadores del PS de que ellos apoyan su derecho a tener su propia prensa?

Estos trabajadores han decidido quien apoya este derecho no en base a palabras, sino en base a grandes eventos, una profunda crisis política, la movilización de cientos de miles. Ellos fueron en multitudes a este mitin para defender este derecho, desafiando las armas de los militares y, en un caso, cruzando las barricadas defendidas por la LCI, junto con otros grupos.

¿Cómo pueden los camaradas de la LCI convencer a los miembros del PS de que apoyan sus derechos democráticos? Es obviamente difícil.

## Un Método Inaceptable de Discusión

Al condenar la defensa del Partido Socialista de sus derechos democráticos, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel preguntan: "¿No hubo ninguna relación entre la histeria anticomunista impulsada por Soares y los eventos posteriores en el Norte?"

Ellos admiten que "muchos trabajadores social-demócratas realmente a favor del socialismo, han sido enfurecidos por las maniobras burocráticas de los stalinistas. . . ." Pero afirman que en un país capitalista como Portugal manifestaciones que "lancian la consigna 'Abajo con la dictadura comunista'" facilitan los ataques reaccionarios sobre el movimiento obrero en su totalidad.

Así, afirman que el PS, a quien culpan de haber organizado semejantes manifestaciones, atacó los derechos democráticos del Partido Comunista. Como prueba de ello, señalan la ola de ataques a los locales del PC que siguieron al retiro del PS del gobierno:

"Estos últimos acontecimientos le dan el golpe final al esquema del camarada Foley sobre 'qué exactamente está sucediendo en Portugal.' De acuerdo con este esquema, el conflicto fundamental opone el intento de 'los dictadores militares' de acabar con los derechos democráticos, al Partido Socialista, que está tomando una posición tambaleante y poco entusiasta pero de cualquier manera valiente en apoyo a los derechos democráticos y la 'soberanía popular.' Pero, resulta que el verdadero ataque frontal contra los derechos democráticos fue lanzado contra el PC y no contra el PS. Hasta donde nosotros sabemos no se ha quemado ningún local del PS; a ningún local del PS se le ha impedido funcionar. Además, este ataque frontal ha sido lanzado por reaccionarios en el Norte y no por el siniestro MFA. Se podría argumentar, aunque algo débilmente, que el MFA 'permite' estos ataques. Pero esto es sólo una media-verdad; varios de los locales del PC en el Norte han sido protegidos por destacamentos armados del MFA ¿Deberíamos de haber llamado a la 'dictadura militar' a aplastar a estas multitudes reaccionarias con ametralladoras? ¿O es al revés? ¿Deberíamos de reprochar al MFA por haber suprimido brutalmente (aunque ineficazmente) el derecho democrático de las masas de quemar los locales del PC y de los sindicatos?"

"El esquema del camarada Foley," según lo presentan estos camaradas, es de nuevo una caricatura. El análisis ofrecido en los artículos de Foley se mantiene sólidamente parado ante estos ataques irónicos. Señaló repetidamente que al violar los derechos

democráticos de grandes sectores de la clase obrera y masas trabajadoras, el PC estaba siguiendo una política suicida que permitiría a sus aliados burgueses "arrojarlo a los leones" cuando ya no les fuera útil.

Es evidente actualmente que gran número de personas participó en los ataques a los locales del PC. No fueron impulsadas a la acción simplemente por el grito de "dictadura comunista" del PS o de Soares.

Las organizaciones campesinas controladas por el PC, apoyadas por el gobierno, usaron su influencia para darles ventajas a sus partidarios. Los miembros del PC y sus compañeros de viaje fueron puestos en control del gobierno local en estas áreas. Siguió una política que llevó a la población local a culparlos por los defectos del régimen burgués.

El PC mismo se queja amargamente ahora que el MFA, y el Copcon en particular, rehuyeron la defensa de sus locales. En un caso, en Ponte de Lima, las tropas mismas ametrallaron un local del PC y mataron a uno de sus defensores.

La realidad es que la política colaboracionista de los partidos stalinistas implica más que mera capitulación a gobiernos burgueses; ellos buscan compartir el poder con la burguesía y por consiguiente cooperan con ella en la represión y la discriminación. Portugal no es el primer ejemplo donde esto ha abierto el camino al anticomunismo reaccionario.

En los Estados Unidos durante la segunda guerra mundial el PC, de acuerdo con lo que el Kremlin consideraba lo más conveniente para los intereses soviéticos, cooperó con la Casa Blanca en romper huelgas.

Algunos de los dirigentes sindicales, incluyendo aquéllos ligados a la social democracia, no eran tan super-leales. Estaban dispuestos hasta cierto punto a romper con la "promesa de no hacer huelgas," una actitud que el SWP pudo aprovechar en determinadas instancias. Es cierto que debido a que el PC se desacreditó entre los trabajadores combativos por medio de sus acciones, mientras que los social demócratas y personas como John L. Lewis ganaron un cierto prestigio, los stalinistas cayeron víctimas fácilmente a una purga reaccionaria anticomunista que también golpeó al Socialist Workers party.

¿Significa esto que el SWP debería de haber obedecido la "promesa de no hacer huelgas" para tratar de ganar influencia entre las bases de los stalinistas? ¿Cayeron estas huelgas llevadas a cabo ante la oposición del PC, en el juego de la reacción?

¿Debería el Partido Socialista Portugués haber dejado de protestar contra la violación de los derechos democráticos de dos millones de personas que votaron por él

debido a que esto podría abrir el camino al anticomunismo reaccionario? ¿Debería de haber permanecido en el gobierno burgués en vez de abandonarlo? ¿Se debería de haber abstenido de movilizar a decenas de miles de trabajadores en manifestaciones?

Por supuesto, el PS no explicó a sus seguidores los peligros de la stalinofobia. No explicó que el PC está en el campo de la burguesía, no tiene ninguna intención de establecer el socialismo, y actúa al servicio del MFA. No podría, porque en estos aspectos la política de los stalinistas y los social demócratas es similar.

¿Deberíamos entonces exigir que el PS deje de ser social demócrata antes de reconocer su derecho a protestar? ¿Se debería de responsabilizar al Partido Socialista porque los derechistas aprovecharon la protesta contra las prácticas burocráticas del PC de apoderarse de puestos e intimidar?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel usan el argumento "cui prodest?" (¿quién se beneficia?) para apoyar su argumento de que lo que representaba el caso *República* no era una violación a los derechos democráticos del PS, sino una conjura del PS contra los derechos democráticos de las masas de trabajadores ¿No ayudó a la burguesía, arguyen, la protesta sobre este incidente?

¿No es esto reminiscente de la lógica seguida por los stalinistas en sus polémicas contra los trotskistas? Considérese lo siguiente:

1. Trotsky expone los crímenes de Stalin. La prensa burguesa magnifica y explota los crímenes de Stalin. Así Trotsky y la prensa burguesa están evidentemente en un bloque.

2. La Unión Soviética es un estado obrero. Su más grande enemigo es los Estados Unidos, donde los derechos democrático-burgueses todavía existen. Así aquéllos que critican la falta de libertades en la URRS están ayudando al imperialismo norteamericano.

¿No nos deberíamos de cuidar contra el uso de esta clase de lógica en el movimiento trotskista mundial?

"¿Cui prodest?" Este es el argumento que todo burócrata osificado en el movimiento obrero considera irrefutable. "Cualquiera que me critica ayuda al patrón."

Este argumento en realidad tendió a ser extendido a su conclusión lógica en la prensa de los grupos trotskistas que siguen la dirección de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel. Por ejemplo, en el número de agosto de *Rotfront*, el órgano de la sección austriaca de la Cuarta Internacional, los editores no dijeron simplemente que el PS había preparado el terreno para los ataques derechistas o que los había alentado tácitamente. Dijeron: "Soares fue el que inició la campaña anticomunista."

Y evidentemente concluyeron de esto que no es necesario ser muy cuidadoso acerca de

qué acusaciones son lanzadas contra el PS. "Hasta ahora, el PS no ha sido capaz de refutar de una manera creíble el informe de que uno de sus dirigentes tuvo una breve reunión con Spínola en París."

Semejantes calumnias no pueden ayudar al PC portugués. Los stalinistas pudieron usarlas con cierta eficacia contra los trotskistas en el pasado sólo debido a sus recursos materiales abrumadoramente superiores. Pero el PC portugués, de acuerdo con Frank, Maitan y Mandel, no goza de tal superioridad sobre el PS portugués.

Los camaradas de la LCI podrían ayudar a defender al PC contra la creciente ola de ataques anticomunistas más efectivamente al defender los derechos democráticos del PS en acción, y al mismo tiempo, la autoridad así ganada incrementaría su peso para oponer cualquier concesión al anticomunismo. También los ayudaría enormemente a promover un frente único entre los partidos Socialista y Comunista contra la creciente amenaza de los contrarrevolucionarios. Pero los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel han orientado a estos camaradas en otra dirección.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel parecen estar muy ansiosos de culparnos por no defender los derechos democráticos del PC que hasta nos han acusado de cerrar los ojos ante estos ataques. Dicen que Hansen no los mencionó nunca en el artículo que escribió en el número del 4 de agosto de *Intercontinental Press* "¿Vale la Pena Luchar por la Democracia?" Le dan mucha importancia al hecho de que este artículo fue publicado "más de dos semanas" después del comienzo de los ataques a los locales del PC.

Debido a que el día final para que ese número entrara a la imprenta fue el 28 de julio, el artículo no pudo haber sido escrito más de quince días después del ataque al PC en Río Maior, que fue el primero de una serie de asaltos. Ese ataque, dicho sea de paso, ocurrió dos días antes de la primera manifestación del PS después de que abandonó el gobierno.

El artículo de Hansen apareció en la página 1106. Si los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel hubieran abierto la página 1114, hubieran encontrado una columna y media de un artículo escrito por Foley dedicadas a los primeros ataques al PC y la respuesta del PS.

Es cierto que Hansen no mencionó estos ataques en su artículo. No mencionó tampoco los intentos de impedir los mítines del PS del 18 y 19 de julio. El artículo trató la cuestión de la democracia a un nivel más general. Los puntos específicos sobre Portugal fueron cubiertos en los artículos noticiosos del mismo número.

Tal vez los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel están tan indignados con la política colaboracionista de la social democracia que se vuelven descuidados en su selección

de armas para usar en contra de ella. Desafortunadamente, sin embargo, tales armas se vuelven contra aquéllos que las usan. Si el uso de amalgamas es permitido contra la social democracia portuguesa, ¿cómo se puede excluir esta práctica de las polémicas en el movimiento trotskista mundial?

Hemos visto ya un ejemplo de esto. El 13 de agosto los partidarios canadienses de la TMI, el Revolutionary Marxist Group [RMG—Grupo Marxista Revolucionario], con el cual el camarada Mandel ha tenido una larga y estrecha asociación, distribuyó un volante en un foro público de la League for Socialist Action [LSA—Liga de Acción Socialista], la sección canadiense de la Cuarta Internacional. La declaración del RMG decía que "una campaña contrarrevolucionaria" se estaba llevando a cabo en Portugal "encubierta por los gritos hipócritas del PS por la 'democracia,'" y que lo que estaba sucediendo era una persecución contra "todas las demás organizaciones de la clase trabajadora como los sindicatos, las ligas de campesinos sin tierras, las organizaciones de la extrema izquierda, etc."

"También dirigiendo estas acciones," aparentemente junto con el PS, "están la Iglesia Católica portuguesa cuyos sacerdotes y funcionarios han estado agitando a turbas de indignados pequeños burgueses con los gritos de: Cristianos contra la amenaza roja."

### ¿Es Posible Ganar al Campesinado?

Parece que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel piensan que aunque el Partido Comunista cometió errores sectarios y ultimatas, esto no fue un factor decisivo para que los derechistas pudieran desatar una campaña de anticomunismo en el norte de Portugal.

Dicen: "La burguesía ha tomado la contraofensiva. No hay duda acerca de la causa inmediata de esta reversión: Es la división de las fuerzas de la clase trabajadora. Sin embargo, no se debería de olvidar un factor adicional: Existe una base masiva para la reacción burguesa entre los pequeños propietarios en el norte de Portugal, dominados ideológicamente por la Iglesia portuguesa cuya jerarquía colaboró estrechamente y por mucho tiempo con la dictadura Salazar-Caetano. El descontento económico de estos pequeños propietarios se está incrementando, y el gobierno no puede resolver sus demandas."

¿Es la dominación ideológica de la Iglesia portuguesa un obstáculo absoluto para que los pequeños propietarios sean ganados a la revolución? ¿Deben primero convertirse en ateos? Una larga experiencia sugiere lo contrario. Para citar únicamente tres ejemplos, podemos señalar las luchas revolucionarias en México, Cuba e Irlanda. En los

El volante incluía muchos "no hechos," como el siguiente: "A pesar de las afirmaciones contrarias en el número del 15 de agosto del Militant (el órgano del SWP—EEUU) ni Mario Soares o ningún otro miembro de la dirección dominante del PS ha denunciado estas movilizaciones."

El PS sí falló en su deber de defender al PC, pero no falló en denunciar estos ataques, como se puede verificar con una lectura a las declaraciones citadas en *Intercontinental Press*.

Aún en este volante, los camaradas canadienses de la TMI tratan de ser evasivos. Dicen por ejemplo: "Pero está claro que, debido a la política colaboracionista, sectaria y no democrática que ha seguido hasta la fecha, esta dirección stalinista tiene gran parte de la responsabilidad por el peligro mortal para la clase obrera de Portugal y mundial que representa esta ofensiva reaccionaria."

Pero en ese caso, ¿fueron los "gritos del PS por la 'democracia'" enteramente hipócritas?

Estos camaradas canadienses fueron atrapados en una lógica sectaria que es ajena al trotskismo. Los llevó hasta el punto de decir:

"Los puntos de vista y las posiciones que escucharán en el Foro de Vanguardia esta noche tienen la función de proveer una careta izquierdista a la política de Mario Soares y la dirección del PS portugués."

tres países, la ideología religiosa dominante del catolicismo se ha mostrado incapaz de contener a un campesinado empujado por la fuerza motriz de la penuria económica.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel señalan el descontento económico de los pequeños propietarios portugueses—el cual debería de hacerlos inclinarse hacia soluciones radicales—sólo para ofrecer lo que suena casi como una disculpa del MFA: "... el gobierno no puede resolver sus demandas."

¿En qué sentido "no puede" el gobierno resolver las demandas de los pequeños agricultores? ¿Es debido a la debilidad de las fuerzas productivas en Portugal o a una falta de recursos? ¿O es debido a la estructura burguesa de la economía?

Es sin lugar a dudas cierto que el gobierno ha hecho muy poco o nada por este estrato social, el cual constituye una parte substancial de la población portuguesa. ¿Deberíamos disculpar las fallas del gobierno burgués en esta área? ¿Está realmente haciendo todo lo posible? ¿Parece que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel piensan que los pequeños agricultores son una causa perdida de cualquier manera:

"Esta base masiva puede ser *minada un poco* por demandas ofensivas, políticas y

económicas adecuadas del movimiento obrero: confiscación de la propiedad de la Iglesia y su distribución entre todos los pequeños campesinos, garantía estatal de precios agrícolas mínimos para pequeños productores, provista a expensas de las organizaciones agrícolas controladas por los terratenientes y comerciantes; vínculos directos entre pequeños campesinos y organizaciones de consumidores de la clase obrera en las ciudades, etc. Pero es improbable que esta base masiva pueda ser eliminada completamente. Aún bajo la dirección de los Bolcheviques, la revolución rusa no pudo eliminar la base masiva de la contrarrevolución entre la pequeña burguesía propietaria. La revolución rusa de 1905 fue derrotada porque la mayoría del campesinado ni siquiera entró en el proceso revolucionario. Olvidar estos hechos objetivos de la vida, negar que en un país imperialista como Portugal la mayoría de los campesinos dueños de tierras no es y no puede ser favorable a una revolución socialista, pero en el mejor de los casos, únicamente puede ser neutralizada, es caer víctima de las tesis stalinistas de que la lucha de clases puede ser reducida a una lucha entre un 'puñado de monopolistas' y la 'abrumadora mayoría del pueblo.'

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se apresuran demasiado al analizar el campesinado portugués. En primer lugar, "pequeña burguesía propietaria" no es un término muy útil para describir a este estrato, y es por ello que no era usado por Lenin y Trotsky. La cuestión fundamental para los marxistas no es si los campesinos son dueños de la tierra que trabajan, sino si explotan a trabajadores. También importante es su relación con el mercado.

El concepto de que la "pequeña burguesía propietaria" en el campo es intrínsecamente reaccionaria es nuevo en el movimiento trotskista. Hay una sección entera del Programa de Transición dedicada a la cuestión de ganar a este estrato a la revolución. Aún más, Trotsky no hizo distinciones ahí entre el campesinado pequeño propietario de los países coloniales y el de los países imperialistas.

Lenin y Trotsky dividían al campesinado en "pequeños, medianos y grandes campesinos" de acuerdo con su posición y perspectivas económicas. Por ejemplo, el Programa de Transición define la tarea general de los marxistas hacia esta capa de la manera siguiente:

"Los campesinos (chacareros) representan otra clase: es la pequeña burguesía de la aldea. La pequeña burguesía se compone de diferentes capas, desde los semi-proletarios hasta los explotadores. De acuerdo con esto, la tarea política del proletariado industrial consiste en llevar la lucha de clases a la aldea: solamente así podrá separar sus aliados de sus enemigos." (Ed. Pluma, Buenos Aires, 1973.)

Es cierto que los Bolcheviques no eliminaron completamente la base de la contrarrevolución en el campo. Pero ganaron la guerra civil porque convirtieron al campesinado sin tierra en "pequeña burguesía propietaria" y garantizaron que no se le quitaría la tierra a la ya existente "pequeña burguesía propietaria."

El sector más recalcitrante del campesinado eran los cosacos, quienes se habían desarrollado como una casta militar-colona durante siglos. ¿Piensan los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel que hay un sector de los campesinos pequeños propietarios en Portugal que pueden ser comparados con los cosacos? Seguramente no. Tan sólo sugerirlo es absurdo.

Sin embargo, este tipo de argumento plantea algunas interrogantes muy serias. Por ejemplo, si de un cuarto a un tercio de la población portuguesa es intrínsecamente reaccionaria, ¿se aplica esto también a otros países imperialistas? Si es así, el triunfo de la revolución en algunos de estos países será mucho más difícil de lo que Trotsky predijo.

Si la "pequeña burguesía propietaria" en el campo no puede ser ganada a la revolución socialista, esto implica también que "el exterminio de los kulaks como clase" llevado a cabo por Stalin era tal vez necesario y justificado.

Estamos seguros que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no tenían la intención de implicar tal conclusión, pero lo menos que se puede decir es que sus argumentos crean confusión sobre esto.

Stalin se sintió obligado a iniciar una guerra contra el campesinado por la creciente oposición de éste a su régimen. Pero esta era una de las consecuencias de su fracaso en promover el tipo de industrialización necesario para resolver sus necesidades. En Rusia, donde el sector industrial era muy pequeño, era difícil resolver sus necesidades, pero podría haber sido logrado.

La situación en Portugal es incomparablemente mejor en este aspecto. El hecho de que Portugal es un país imperialista es un factor favorable, no desfavorable como han concluido los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel. Debido a que la industrialización se ha desarrollado con cierta independencia en Portugal, es más diversificada y está más extendida que en los países coloniales.

En este aspecto, Portugal está en una mejor situación que, por ejemplo, Irlanda, a pesar de que el ingreso per cápita irlandés es substancialmente más alto. La industrialización en Irlanda ha sido grandemente distorsionada por la dominación imperialista del país. Está entretendida con la economía británica y no puede llenar las necesidades del desarrollo de la economía agrícola o absorber a la población desplazada del campo.

La industria portuguesa en comparación, a pesar de su atraso, está en mejor posición

de resolver las necesidades del desarrollo del país.

Muchas de las poblaciones nortueñas donde locales del PC han sido atacados no son centros de comercio y servicios parasitarios y estancados como casi todos los pueblos provincianos irlandeses, sino que reflejan un cierto desarrollo industrial. Uno de estos ataques fue, de hecho, en Gaia, un suburbio de Oporto, la segunda ciudad más grande de Portugal. En Oporto mismo, el cual difícilmente es un pueblo de pequeñas granjas, el Partido Comunista obtuvo sólo el 6 por ciento del voto en las elecciones a la Asamblea Constituyente del 25 de abril de 1975. ¿Ofrece por lo tanto Oporto una base masiva para la reacción burguesa?

Aunque hay grandes áreas, tal como la provincia de Tras-os-Montes, donde la agricultura es extremadamente atrasada, en otras áreas potencialmente más importantes del Norte, hay una creciente interpenetración de la industria y la agricultura y, por lo tanto, del campesinado y la clase obrera. No hay una razón fundamental por la cual una inmensa mayoría de esta población no podría ser ganada a la revolución socialista por medio de una política correcta que tomara en cuenta sus necesidades particulares.

De hecho, el ala izquierda del MFA mismo admitió que fueron fallas específicas del gobierno y el sectarismo burocrático del Partido Comunista lo que amenazaba empujar este estrato hacia la contrarrevolución.

Así que el problema de la oleada de anticomunismo en el Norte no puede ser desechado tan fácilmente como parecen pensar los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel. Dos tercios de la población de Portugal viven en el campo, en los pequeños centros industriales, en la "atrasada" ciudad industrial de Oporto, y en otras partes del Norte.

Si estos camaradas descartan al Norte, o a un gran porcentaje de sus habitantes, como intrínsecamente reaccionarios, esto significa descartar también en efecto a todos aquéllos de similar composición de clase, es decir, a la mayoría de la gente de Portugal.

Significa que no hay esperanza de una revolución socialista victoriosa en Portugal, porque aún si Lisboa y el resto del Sur estuvieran prestos a avanzar adelante solos, el Norte daría a los capitalistas portugueses, ayudados desde el exterior, una base suficiente para recobrar el control del país entero.

Aún más, en nombre de la crítica trotskista al llamado abstracto a la unidad de los stalinistas, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel han de hecho caído en denunciar a un sector popular entero como reaccionario, una práctica por la cual hemos en el pasado correctamente denunciado a los stalinistas.

Los stalinistas recurrieron a tales calumnias para explicar los levantamientos populares contra el régimen burocrático en Alemania Oriental y Hungría. "Pues, ¿qué se podía esperar?" preguntaban los corifeos stalinistas. "¿No eran fascistas estos países durante la guerra?"

El mismo método ha sido aplicado en Portugal con resultados desastrosos. En algunos poblados, los ataques al PC parecen haber sido provocados o agravados por denuncias ya sea infundadas o indiscriminadas de sectores populares locales. Foley describió este proceso en varios artículos. (Por ejemplo, véase "Portuguese Junta Pleads for Tranquillity and Discipline" [La Junta Portuguesa Exhorta a la Tranquilidad y Disciplina], *Intercontinental Press*, 14 de julio de 1975, p. 984, y "Why Portuguese Military Placed Troika in Power" [Por qué los Militares Portugueses Pusieron a la Troika en el Poder], *IP*, 4 de agosto de 1975, p. 1108.)

No sabemos todavía cuál será la respuesta de los revolucionarios portugueses a la manera casual en que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel descartan al campesinado como aliado del proletariado. Sin duda que en Irlanda, cualquiera en la izquierda que hiciera tales aseveraciones sería visto como un sectario irremediable.

Irlanda, por supuesto, es un país colonial. Pero los problemas de los pequeños agricultores ahí son similares de muchas maneras a los de los pequeños agricultores portugueses. Aún cuando hay un mayor desarrollo industrial independiente en Portugal, ha sido completamente insuficiente para llenar las necesidades del campesinado en su conjunto o para absorber el excedente de población en el campo.

En general, el problema de la tierra ha estado en proceso de ser "resuelto" de la manera en que lo fue en Irlanda, con la emigración masiva de campesinos pobres y trabajadores agrícolas a los centros industriales fuera del país.

El hecho de que Portugal sea un país imperialista es decisivo en ciertas cuestiones, tales como determinar qué actitud tomar hacia el nacionalismo portugués y el mantenimiento de tropas portuguesas en Africa. Pero no todas las particularidades de la situación pueden ser derivadas de la verdad general de que Portugal es imperialista.

Tal método es completamente incapaz de proveer una postura revolucionaria ante los problemas de la agricultura portuguesa, donde las contradicciones en el desarrollo del país son más marcadas.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel sostienen que hay únicamente una alternativa posible a su punto de vista (de nuevo la fórmula "o uno o el otro"); es decir, la tesis "antimonopolista" de los stalinistas. Hemos indicado arriba que al menos otra posibilidad existía: una política gubernamental de

intentar demostrativamente enfrentar los problemas encarados por los campesinos.

Otra posibilidad es la seguida por Castro en Cuba desde el principio, mucho antes de que su movimiento triunfara. En Cuba, la política agraria radical de la dirección de Castro fue decisiva. Uno de sus logros fue el ganar una base de apoyo entre la "pequeña burguesía propietaria," los pequeños agricultores independientes del área más atrasada de la isla.

Al considerar las fuerzas sociales que pueden ser receptivas a los llamados de la contrarrevolución en Portugal, hubiera sido útil que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel hubiesen clarificado precisamente qué es lo que piensan que era similar y qué era diferente en este respecto entre las revoluciones portuguesa y cubana. Su comparación bastante larga de las dos revoluciones no toma en consideración esta cuestión para nada.

¿Qué ha sucedido con la alternativa que los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel mantuvieron con respecto al campesinado a escala continental en Latinoamérica? Por ejemplo, en la resolución sobre América Latina aprobada por una mayoría en el Noveno Congreso Mundial de la Cuarta Internacional, ellos dijeron:

"Las causas del descontento y enojo de los campesinos son múltiples—su tradicional hambre de tierras, el ahogo de la agricultura de subsistencia, el conflicto con la administración estatal que arranca impuestos y aparece con frecuencia como instrumento de represión al servicio de los explotadores, la desilusión surgida de la naturaleza fraudulenta de las "reformas agrarias" oficiales, miedo de un retorno de los hacendados en los países donde tuvieron que renunciar a ciertos privilegios, dificultades que surgen de los precios y problemas de mercado, especialmente para los pequeños granjeros independientes, repercusiones desfavorables de los precios en el mercado mundial. . . . Lejos de mejorar, la situación de los campesinos sigue trágica e incluso está empeorando. De ahí el ímpetu persistente hacia la lucha y la rebelión. Esto es tanto más así porque los campesinos están cada vez menos y menos aislados de las corrientes internacionales políticas e ideológicas; han asimilado ampliamente la lección de la revolución cubana; han aprendido mucho de la experiencia guerrillera y no están desconectados del movimiento estudiantil revolucionario, cuya influencia les llega a través de mil diferentes canales."

¿No se puede decir la mayoría de estas cosas acerca del campesinado portugués, aunque en términos absolutos su situación, por supuesto, no es de ninguna manera tan desesperada como la de los campesinos en muchos de los países de América Latina? Por el otro lado, la exposición de los campesinos portugueses a las ideas avanzadas es mucho mayor que la de cualquier

campesinado en América Latina excepto Cuba.

¿Por qué, entonces, han tomado los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel una actitud tan diferente hacia el campesinado portugués? ¿No sería completamente impresionista—por no decir nada acerca de ser unilateral y ahistórico—el juzgar su potencial revolucionario en base a los ataques a los locales del PC en julio y agosto?

Hay otra alternativa más a la tesis "antimonopolista" de los stalinistas. Esta es la alternativa impulsada por la Cuarta Internacional desde su fundación, la cual hemos indicado arriba. Pensamos que se aplica de la manera más oportuna a la revolución portuguesa, particularmente en vista del hecho de que, a diferencia de lo que ocurrió en el caso de Castro, se encuentra ligada íntimamente a la construcción de un partido marxista revolucionario.

La tesis stalinista, señalada por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel—que la lucha de clases puede ser reducida a la lucha entre un puñado de monopolistas y la abrumadora mayoría del pueblo—no viene al caso. La tesis stalinista no fue elaborada con el propósito de hacer avanzar la lucha de clases, sino el de frenarla en conformidad con acuerdos hechos en conferencias "cumbre." Aunque a nivel político es un asunto extremadamente serio, es vil tontería en lo que concierne a la teoría marxista.

El curso seguido por Lenin y Trotsky de buscar el logro de una alianza revolucionaria con sectores de la pequeña burguesía, en particular las capas bajas del campesinado, era exactamente lo opuesto al colaboracionismo de clase antimonopolista de los stalinistas.

Añadamos que si la situación en Portugal es prerrevolucionaria, como los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel admiten, esto significa entonces que la mayoría de la pequeña burguesía, incluyendo amplias capas del campesinado, se inclinan hacia el proletariado en busca de dirección. Mayor razón aún para intentar aplicar las tácticas propugnadas—y practicadas con éxito—por Lenin y Trotsky.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel parecen estar reinterprelando la crítica trotskista de la demagogia "antimonopolista" de los stalinistas. Parecen haber llegado a la conclusión de que la única alternativa realista a la "teoría" stalinista es el concepto de que sectores bastante grandes intrínsecamente reaccionarios de la población se lanzarán inevitablemente contra los sectores de vanguardia durante cualquier revolución socialista en un país imperialista.

El corolario lógico de tal punto de vista sería seguir un curso de tipo putschista ultraizquierdista en vez del curso trotskista de ganarse a la mayoría de las masas.

[Continúa en el próximo número]