

Can Spanish Prince Defuse Time Bomb?



Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields

In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective

Portuguese Stalinists Go In for 'Revolutionary Theater'

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New York City Bankruptcy—the First Domino?

New York's Bankruptcy—First Domino?

By Michael Baumann

Will the bankruptcy of New York City have a domino effect, knocking down financial institutions one after the other on an international scale?

About 6,000 city governments have defaulted in the history of the United States. Apart from President Ford and his top advisers, it is widely believed that if New York City defaults the resulting economic shock waves may do more damage than the cumulative effect of all previous municipal bankruptcies.

Barring a last-minute intervention by the federal government or another raid on city employees' pension funds, New York City will default in a matter of weeks. The city treasury does not have sufficient funds to pay its creditors, primarily the big banks who hold its bonds.

In the past, more bonds would have been issued, the resulting revenue being used to pay off the old ones. Lack of confidence in the city's ability to redeem the notes already outstanding, let alone new ones, precludes this solution—unless Washington underwrites the city's debt. This Ford has refused to do.

In a nationally televised speech October 29, Ford said he would veto any congressional proposal calling for a "federal bailout of New York City." Instead he proposed legislation that would ease the path for the city to declare itself bankrupt.

The federal government, he said, would see to it that "essential public services for the people of New York City" would be maintained. These included, it soon became clear, the police force and some fire protection but not schools, mass transportation, welfare, or hospital care.

He minimized the economic effects of a default, dismissing as a "scare story" assertions that New York's declaration of bankruptcy would mean a "catastrophe for the United States and perhaps for the world."

The warnings of impending financial disaster come, however, from an imposing set of authorities. From the boardrooms of Zurich to Hong Kong, the threat that the largest city in the world's wealthiest country might go bankrupt evoked first disbelief and then predictions of the most grave international consequences.

West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, visiting the United States Octo-

ber 2, sounded an early warning. Meeting privately with Ford, he cautioned that a default by New York City would have a "domino effect" threatening other world economic centers. By way of example, he pointed to the "enormous impact" on international financial markets of the 1974 failures of two relatively small banks, Herstatt of Cologne and Franklin National of New York.

The fear is that a New York City default could have what the bankers euphemistically call a "rippling effect," weakening banks that have heavily invested in New York City bonds. According to federal banking authorities, 200 of the 14,000 banks chartered in the United States would be endangered by a New York default.

Of these banks, 100 are expected to be placed in serious difficulty, including 60 that have at least half their assets in New York bonds, 25 that have 70% or more, and 9 that face the danger of imminent failure. In total, the country's banks hold \$5 billion in New York securities—all of which will become at least temporarily worthless if New York City defaults.

Failure by some of these banks could quickly turn the "ripple" into a tidal wave, swamping other populous states and cities that like New York routinely issue new and larger I.O.U.s to cover the old ones.

Such investments are unlikely to attract banks that have already had their fingers burned, thus confronting a number of other city and state governments with the prospect of default as well. Massachusetts, New York State, and the cities of Boston, Philadelphia, and Detroit are prominently mentioned as candidates.

Little wonder then that international bankers, recalling that the collapse of a single bank was enough to trigger the Great Depression of the 1930s, have expressed great pessimism about Washington's ability to "contain" the effects of a New York bankruptcy.

As recently as early October, bankers in the European capitals argued that Ford would not let it happen. United Press International reported October 8 that the "domino theory" was widely held by European bankers. The wire service cited as representative the views of a "senior banker in Zurich."

"If New York were allowed to default, there would be a tremendous financial crisis," he said. "But we do not or have ever believed that this would be allowed to happen."

The *New York Times* conducted its own poll of international bankers, reporting similar findings October 7. The belief that Ford would never allow New York to default was expressed by, among others, Yves Laulan, economist for one of France's biggest banks, the state-owned Société Générale of Paris; Jurgen Lemmer, vice-president of the Commerzbank of Frankfurt; and Paul Jeanty, director of Samuel Montagu and Company of London.

As it became clearer that Ford intended, if anything, to hasten New York's bankruptcy, predictions of the likely consequences grew increasingly gloomy.

A.W. Clausen, president of Bankamerica, the largest banking corporation in the United States, testified before Congress October 18 that it was "nonsense" to contend that a default by New York City would have only temporary effects on financial markets and would "clear the air." The results of a New York City default may well be "grave and enduring," he said, not only for the international economy but also "in terms of public confidence in government."

Three of the biggest bankers in the United States, including David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan, warned in a joint letter to Congress October 18 that a New York City default could have grave international repercussions. "The fact that voices from abroad are beginning to express serious worry testifies to the potential reach of default," they said.

Moscow would take particular delight in a New York City default, former Undersecretary of State George W. Ball told a congressional subcommittee October 23. Communists in Europe would be bolstered by the fall of New York City, he said, and are likely to cite it as proof of "Marx's prophecy that capitalism would collapse from its own internal contradictions."

He also urged Congress "not to overlook the consequences" for détente if Washington gives the appearance of weakness by allowing a "major arm of the American political system" to go bankrupt.

European bankers are already "perplexed and deeply disturbed," he said, and some are even suggesting that it is "perhaps not only New York City that is in trouble . . . particularly since the federal deficit this year may run as high as \$100 billion." (It was not reported whether he pointed out that this sum is roughly equivalent to the amount Ford has asked for the arms budget for the next fiscal year.)

Eugene Black, former president of the World Bank, told Congress that a New York City default would have catastrophic international consequences. According to a

summary of his remarks given in the October 28 *New York Times*, "He said that he thought a default would have a serious effect on the value of the dollar and this country's recovery from the recession. If there was an economic slowdown in the United States, he added, it would stop the recovery from recession in Europe and adversely affect the developing countries."

Pierre A. Rinfret, president of a Boston investment firm, was more optimistic. He told Congress that he had consulted his company's correspondents abroad about the effects of New York City's near default October 17. Only those in West Germany and Hong Kong were pessimistic, he said, adding that the Hong Kong correspondent felt the international consequences would be "catastrophic."

If the response by the editors of the *Times* of London can be taken as indicative, the prognosis in British financial circles is bleak. A default by New York City, they said October 31, will be "exploited" as evidence that the American system "does not work."

Unless Ford changes his mind, "the United States and the world is about to witness the biggest financial default by any city in history," they warned. "If he sticks to his resolve it will be an act of monumental folly. . . . It is no exaggeration to say that for the financial system of the United States, for the reputation for that country, and for the rest of the non-Communist industrialist world, it could be a disaster."

The *Times* editors suggested that perhaps Ford, because of political inexperience, is not "able to comprehend" the international impact of a New York City default.

The editors of the *New York Times* speculated about Ford's mental powers. Likening him to a "bemused stranger from another place and time," perhaps the "18th century," they said October 30 that by allowing New York City to go bankrupt he was "taking unacceptable risks with the fate of the nation."

A few days later, however, they pointed to a persuasive political explanation. "His strategy," they said November 2, "is to exploit New York as the Republican answer to Watergate. When the Democrats bring up Richard Nixon and the Watergate scandals, Mr. Ford and his fellow partisans will point to New York as horrible example No. 1 of Democratic misrule."

Perhaps the *Times* editors have been restudying Nixon's sly recommendation of his appointee as he left Washington for San Clemente:

"... in turning over direction of the Government to Vice President Ford I know, as I told the nation when I nominated him for that office 10 months ago, that the leadership of America will be in good hands." □

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Can Spanish Prince Defuse Time Bomb?

By David Frankel

Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón took over as head of the Spanish government October 30. Described by a report in the *New York Times* as "much more expert in sports than in politics," Juan Carlos was designated chief of state for the period of Francisco Franco's illness. However, the possibility that the eighty-two-year-old dictator will recover and resume office is hardly the main threat to the new ruler's tenure.

After nearly four decades of totalitarian rule, the Spanish people are showing impatience. They want an end to repression. They want to exercise their right to put in a government of their own choice.

In view of Franco's departure all the opposition groupings are restating their objectives. Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the Spanish Communist party, stated where he stands:

"A period of Spanish history is ending. Now, the forces of the opposition—left, center and right included—have to emerge publicly, offering a provisional government and a realistic program capable of accomplishing the fullest national unity."

Carrillo's perspective of participating in a capitalist government of "national unity" along with rightist forces is in accordance with the traditional Stalinist policy of popular frontism. While offering to help administer the capitalist system right now, the Stalinists promise socialism in the distant future. As one CP Central Committee member explained it, "We don't want a monopoly, we don't want to dominate. What we want is an opportunity to direct power toward socialism, slowly, in gradual stages."

Support for Monarchy?

The CP has gone so far as to hint it might support a monarchy. On November 1 the Junta Democrática, an opposition bloc dominated by the Stalinists, and the Convergencia Democrática, a grouping dominated by the Spanish Socialist party, issued a joint statement. Jim Hoagland reported in the November 2 *Washington Post*:

"The communique issued by the Junta and Convergence groups indicated that the socialists had made progress in getting the communists to modify their previously open rejection of Juan Carlos even as an interim ruler. The communists had called for a provisional government as soon as Franco disappears, but there was no mention of this in the document.

2,000 in Caracas Protest Executions by Franco



Two thousand persons marched in Caracas October 1, protesting the execution of political prisoners in Spain. One hundred members of the Liga Socialista (Venezuelan section of the Fourth International) participated, carrying a banner demanding: "International diplomatic and commercial boycott of the Franco dictatorship."

"Instead, the carefully worded declaration said the two groups rejected 'any type of monarchy or republican government' established 'without the necessary prior consultation' of the population by a free election. This appeared to leave the way open for an acceptance by the communists of a monarchy if it is approved by popular vote."

Other forces have also made their voices heard. The pressure for democratic rights has even made itself felt in the officer corps, one of the pillars of the authoritarian regime. Two captains representing a dissident officers group called the Democratic Military Union (UMD) spoke to reporters near Madrid on October 25. They insisted, "We are all moderates in our goal. . . . we believe in peaceful change and seek no confrontations with anyone."

But, they warned, "armed confrontation

between various army factions would be likely if it becomes apparent that the only alternative is 40 more years of fascism."

Since late July at least thirteen officers have been arrested by the regime for seditious activities. The UMD has perhaps 1,000 members and supporters out of a total officer corps of 28,000. Its five-point program includes demands for democratic rights, including the right of workers to form unions and strike; amnesty for political prisoners; an end to corruption in the government; "social-economic reforms leading to an equitable distribution of (national) wealth . . ."; and "the convening of a democratically elected Constituent Assembly to draft a Constitution for Spain that would allow us to become integrated again in Western Europe."

The imperialist rulers throughout Europe have been unanimous in recommending

democratic concessions in Spain to avoid a social explosion. However, the fascist movement nurtured by Franco is still alive, and it has complicated the task considerably.

The November 1 issue of the *Economist*, the British financial weekly, gave a rundown of some of the activities carried out by the fascists.

"During the past few weeks," it said, "right-wing extremists have murdered a Basque café owner (the brother of an ETA man) and a lawyer who was investigating a financial scandal in which right-wing politicians are alleged to be involved; . . . they have kidnapped and tortured a dozen or so supporters of the democratic opposition; they have beaten up journalists; and they have set off bombs in bookshops, cultural centres and even a kindergarten owned or managed by reputed democrats. . . ."

"When officers of the civil security police called on the owner of a bombed bookshop recently their main concern was to obtain the names of journalists, teachers and other vulnerable people who had sent him messages of sympathy and solidarity. When a man arrested in Barcelona in mid-October, for breaking into a foreign-owned shop, told the police that he was a Fuerza Nueva [a fascist group] militant, he was released immediately."

Old fascists from the days of the civil war are well represented inside the government and in key positions in the army, another factor making any genuine liberalization from within the regime unlikely.

Writing in the November 2 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Walter Schwarz reported, "Franco's recent reshuffle of generals has left ultras in key positions. The new head of the vitally important Civil Guard is General Angel Campano, a man who once volunteered to serve with Hitler's troops in Spain's 'Blue' division.

"Others among the leaders include General Alvarez Arenas, just appointed Captain General of the Madrid Region, who has been ostentatiously training his men for antiguerrilla operations. He is another veteran of the 'Blue' division."

According to *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca, Juan Carlos was warned by a group of generals not to appoint a reformer as his prime minister. Acoca reported in an October 27 dispatch from Madrid that the prince's liberal advisers suggested "it was better to sacrifice his image for a period of months than to try to oppose the generals. . . ."

"The prince," they said, "must move gradually and earn the trust of the far right and the military."

Working-Class Combativity

Will Juan Carlos be able to placate the veterans of the Blue division and the

increasingly combative Spanish working class at the same time? It appears excluded.

Although strikes in Spain are illegal, there were 2,196 of them in 1974, involving 700,000 workers. The candidates of the illegal workers commissions swept the elections for officials of the fascist trade unions in June, averaging 75 percent of the votes cast.

The strength of the illegal workers movement was indicated by the comment of a shop steward interviewed by *New York Times* correspondent Flora Lewis. "If a worker is arrested and held a month for distributing illegal propaganda, he is not dismissed," the steward explained. "That's a principle of ours. The company knows there would be an immediate strike otherwise."

Now, the effects of the worldwide economic recession are hitting Spain with increasing force. According to forecasts of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Spain's growth rate may be as low as 1 percent this year, compared with 5 percent in 1974.

The government has followed a policy of cushioning the workers from the worst effects of the economic downturn for fear of what would happen otherwise. According to the October 25 issue of the *Economist*, "Unemployment (officially 2.3%, but more likely 4.5%) is being kept down by refusing to let industry sack workers and by expanding government expenditure—which will rise by more than £1 billion in the next financial year. Wage settlements, up by about 25% this year, are being kept ahead of inflation, now 17%."

But the Spanish capitalists are not strong enough to keep this policy up for very long. As the *Economist* notes, "Any post-Franco government will have a bad time pushing through an unpopular combination of budgetary and wage restraint."

National Question

Another time bomb confronting the regime is the unresolved problem of the oppressed nationalities whose rights have been trampled on by the Franco dictatorship. The most explosive situation is in the Basque Country, where the government has instituted a virtual reign of terror.

In Catalonia the separatist sentiment is not as strong as in the Basque Country, but the demand for autonomy is widespread. The Catalan language is still banned from schools, courts, official correspondence, and all publications. But the government has had to loosen some restrictions on the nearly eight million Catalonians.

Malcolm W. Browne reported some of his observations in this regard in the October 29 *New York Times*. "The Catalan flag . . . is widely flown," he said, "and many of the new cars jamming Barcelona's streets and parking lots display stickers, in Catalan,

saying: 'I am a Catalan' or 'Read, Write and Speak Catalan.' Such things would not have been tolerated a few years ago."

Finally, the problem of the last of Spain's North African colonies has also come to a head with the changing of the guard in Madrid. On November 2 Juan Carlos, dressed in a general's uniform, flew to Aaiún in the Spanish Sahara and vowed to protect the "honor and prestige" of the Spanish army against any attempts by Morocco to take over the territory, which it claims.

The day before, a worried C.L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times* reviewed the situation in Spain and asked: "Can these trends be harmonized and controlled from the top? Will the social revolution already in evidence assume an uncontrollable political shape?"

Under the circumstances, the bourgeois commentators are understandably afraid that Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón may not do any better than his ancestors in France two hundred years ago. □

FBI Lied About Destroying Its 15,000-Name 'Enemy List'

The FBI has been caught lying again. This time the culprit is post-Watergate FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley, who was assigned the job of cleaning up the agency's image, if not its operations.

On October 22 Congressman Robert Kastenmeier made public an assurance from Kelley that the FBI's "security index"—a list of some 15,000 persons the government would send to concentration camps in the event of a "national emergency"—had been abolished.

This was a lie. The original "security index" has been maintained intact in the FBI's files, the October 25 *New York Times* reported. A streamlined version, currently pruned to about 1,600 names, is used as an "administrative aid." The new version is updated every month.

According to the FBI, the index is "a record of individuals who would merit close investigative attention pending legal steps by the President to take further action" in the event of a "national emergency."

Kelley denied that the index was compiled on the basis of opposition to government policies or membership in supposedly "subversive" organizations. He claimed that those on the index must have "exhibited a willingness or capability of engaging in treason, rebellion, sedition, sabotage, espionage, assassination of Government officials, terrorism, guerrilla warfare," or other acts that would disrupt the operation of the government.

Proof of this, however, was not forthcoming. Kelley refused to reveal any of the names on the list "for reasons of privacy."

How Franco Came to Power

By David Frankel

The defeat of the Spanish revolution and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship in 1939 was one of the great tragedies suffered by the European working class. The fascist victory after nearly three years of civil war left 600,000 dead out of a population of 24 million. It ushered in thirty-six years of brutal repression in Spain, and it was the prelude to World War II.

Franco's fascist uprising was the answer of the Spanish capitalist class to a situation it could no longer control by traditional methods. The Great Depression had shattered the fragile stability imposed by the military dictatorship of Gen. Miguel Primo de Rivera. In 1930 the dictator was forced to resign. The following year, under the pressure of massive political strikes, a republican mutiny in the army, and a decisive electoral defeat, King Alfonso XIII left the country and a republic was proclaimed.

Hopes for 'Bloodless Revolution'

A coalition government of the Social Democrats and various capitalist parties was set up, engendering high expectations among the masses. "Under a régime of liberty, the bloodless revolution is still more possible, still easier than under the monarchy," the Anarchist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* declared in April 1931.

But the capitalist regime proved unable to solve even the agrarian problem—the most pressing and most elementary of the tasks facing it. Seventy percent of the Spanish population lived on the land—almost all of them partially or wholly dependent on wage labor on the big estates. The division of the land was even more unequal in Spain than it had been in Russia, and starvation among the peasantry was commonplace.

In his book *The Spanish Cockpit*, Franz Borkenau discussed the problem from a liberal capitalist perspective:

The republicans were no socialists; neither were those who called themselves "socialists"; they were, under Caballero's leadership, fully satisfied for the time being with the democratic republic and social reform. And much could be said to prove that their attitude was sound. But if a democratic republic was to exist, it had to get rid of the independence and the claims to power of the Church and the army, and this could only be achieved by breaking the power of the landed aristocracy and getting the sincere allegiance of the yet untouched peasantry. Abolition of *de facto* serfdom, splitting up of the *latifundia* in the South

and the Centre, legislation securing humane conditions of land tenure for the tenants of the North and the East, and a sweeping diminution of rents on land, would have been a minimum programme to give the republic a solid backing in the countryside. The bourgeoisie, though not touched immediately by these measures, would probably join hands with the aristocracy in fighting them, because it would be afraid that expropriation would spread to industrial property. But the Government, provided it was strong, need not allow that extension; and it would be strong when backed by the support of a numerous peasantry, who, by agrarian reform, had become individual proprietors. The republicans would have been able to put the agrarian reform through, in the rush of the first months, without much resistance. Once put into effect, it would have constituted a solid basis for a democratic republic with tendencies far from socialist, as it has procured a solid basis for such a régime in France. Later, the bourgeoisie, reassured about their own property, could have been induced to collaborate with the republic.

Unfortunately, Borkenau noted, "the opportunity was lost."

The Spanish capitalists—linked by blood, marriage, and bank mortgages to the landowners—could not apply Borkenau's indyllic solution. And the republican government followed their orders. As Borkenau admits, not even the toothless land-reform measures eventually passed by the republic were actually carried out:

The civil service, deeply implicated with the interests of the large landowners, sabotaged the reform, and the only way left to make it effective would have been to appeal to the peasants to take their claims into their own hands; which would have meant social revolution. The republicans were far from wanting that. Exactly as in 1873, but with more violence, the republic had awakened the masses of the peasants, who, without the invitation of the Government, tried to speed up matters by revolting against the guardia [riot police] and the landowners. All over the country ran a wave of peasant risings. They merged, in a disquieting manner, with proletarian risings in all the larger towns of Spain. The workers, too, had expected the republic to introduce a new régime to their advantage, and, as they got nothing without a fight, they tried to take their cause into their own hands. Under the leadership of the CNT [the Anarchist-led trade-union federation], Spain was filled with combined risings of workers and peasants. The Government had little hesitation in deciding how to deal with them; it called for the help of the guardia and the army, and thus put itself into their hands.

The republican government went so far as to put down a general strike in Seville by shelling the working-class districts. Asaltos, the republic's special police, moved in to break up a land occupation in the village of

Casas Viejas by shooting down the peasants. Prisoners were shot without trial.

In November 1933 new elections were held. After their experience with the liberal bourgeoisie, the masses withheld their votes from the republican parties and the Social Democrats. An openly rightist government was formed.

However, the combativity of the workers and peasants remained unbroken. The new government was met by a series of general strikes.

Another dimension to the mass resistance was added by the national liberation struggle of the oppressed Basque and Catalan minorities. These minorities accounted for roughly five million persons. The rigid centralizing policies of the rightist government resulted in growing opposition in the Basque Country and Catalonia.

In October 1934 representatives of the clerical-fascist party of Gil Robles were invited into the government for the first time. The working-class parties compared this move to Hindenburg's appointment of Hitler as chancellor of Germany the previous year. General strikes were called in numerous cities. In Catalonia the nationalists led a revolt. In Asturias the Anarchists and left Socialists led an insurrection and declared a socialist commune. All were put down.

The Asturian workers in particular were suppressed in the most brutal way. Under the command of Gen. Francisco Franco, who had made his name in the colonial war in Spanish Morocco, foreign legionnaires and Moroccan mercenaries killed 3,000 persons, most of them after they had surrendered. More than 30,000 political prisoners were held in connection with the rebellion.

Popular Front Comes to Power

But the repression of the Asturian workers created a rallying point for the masses instead of intimidating them. New layers of the population were drawn into political activity by the campaign for amnesty for the political prisoners. Street demonstrations against the government repeatedly drew hundreds of thousands of participants.

The regime staggered from one crisis to another; finally, new elections were called for February 1936. In these elections the Communists and Socialist parties joined with the bourgeois republicans in an electoral bloc pledged to release the political prisoners. With the tacit support of the Anarchists, the Popular Front coalition swept to victory. A new government was formed under the leadership of Manuel Azaña, who headed the republic from June 1931 until the rightist victory in 1933. Among the points in the Popular Front's program were the following:

The republicans do not accept the principle of the nationalization of the land and its free distribution to the peasants. . . .

The republicans do not accept the subsidy to unemployment (dole) solicited by the workers' delegation. . . .

The republican parties do not accept the measures of nationalization of the banks proposed by the workers' parties.

In addition, the Popular Front program had nothing to say about the right of Morocco to independence or the right of the Basques and Catalans to self-determination.

The workers and peasants, however, had other ideas. They broke open the jails without waiting for the promised amnesty for political prisoners. A great strike wave began. "Every city of any importance had at least one general strike during those five months," Felix Morrow wrote in his description of the period between the election of the Popular Front government and the fascist revolt.*

"Nearly a million were on strike on June 10; a half million on June 20; a million on June 24; over a million during the first days of July."

Land occupations involving tens of thousands of peasant families were mounted against the big estates; in the province of Malaga 125,000 peasant families engaged in a five-week strike.

The Popular Front regime did its best to stem the tide. Press censorship and the state of alarm decreed by the previous government were extended, Anarchist leaders were arrested, and Anarchist headquarters were closed down.

"The troublemakers and fomenters will be exterminated," one Popular Front minister promised on April 15.

The same day Azaña declared, "The government will revise the whole system of defense, in order to put an end to the reign of violence."

On June 4, Minister Augusto Barcia announced that "if the syndicalists persist in disobeying the orders of the Ministry of Labor, the government proposes to declare syndicalism outside the law."

*Morrow's book, *Revolution & Counter-Revolution in Spain*, is an account of the Spanish Civil War from a Trotskyist point of view. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

Also available from Pathfinder Press is *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*, by Leon Trotsky. It contains all published material by Trotsky on Spain.

Other books cited in this article are the following:

Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1952).

Franz Borkenau, *The Spanish Cockpit* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963).

Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965).

But the Spanish ruling class had lost confidence in the ability of the reformist regime to hold the revolution in check. On July 17, 1936, the fascist rebellion began in Morocco. Within days almost all the fifty garrisons in Spain had joined in.

The republican government responded by



FRANCO: Spanish capitalists saw fascist dictator as answer to their problems.

assuring the masses that everything was under control, while it sought to make a deal with the fascist officers. For two days, with the rebellion advancing, the government refused to arm the workers. Azaña's prime minister, Casares Quiroga, announced that anyone giving arms to the workers would be shot.

The inability of capitalism to solve the problems facing Spain had been demonstrated during the failure of the reformist regime of 1931-33, and by the record of the Popular Front in power. It was proved once again by the republican reaction to Franco's rebellion.

The mass of the propertied classes went over to the fascists. Even the few bourgeois figures who remained with the republic showed that they were more afraid of a socialist revolution than of a fascist triumph. As Borkenau described it:

The ruling group disintegrated immediately. Casares Quiroga broke down. Martinez Barrios took office, and saw himself between the alternative of arming the workers or surrendering to the generals. He and his Minister of the Interior, Sanchez Roman, resolutely refused arms to the trade unions, which implicitly meant surrender to Franco.

Had the conduct of affairs been left to the republican politicians, the fascists would have come to power in Spain, as in

Germany, without a fight. It was the spontaneous uprising of the working masses in city after city that prevented this. Barricades were erected, armories seized, and garrisons stormed. The civil war had begun.

George Orwell, who fought against the fascists in Spain, wrote of the masses' response to the fascist uprising in his book *Homage to Catalonia*:

It was the kind of effort that could probably only be made by people who were fighting with a revolutionary intention—i.e. believed that they were fighting for something better than the *status quo*. . . . Men and women armed only with sticks of dynamite rushed across the open squares and stormed stone buildings held by trained soldiers with machine-guns. Machine-gun nests that the Fascists had placed at strategic spots were smashed by rushing taxis at them at sixty miles an hour.

In Catalonia, where nearly half the industrial proletariat in Spain was concentrated, the workers pushed the capitalist government completely aside in their response to the fascist uprising. The trade unions took over all transportation, public utilities, and big industrial plants. Factory committees were elected by the workers, and workers militias rapidly conquered all four Catalonian provinces. Under workers control, industry was converted for war production.

Borkeu said of this:

Neither the anarchists nor the socialists took Government office. But they alone retained real power in their respective strongholds, and exerted it through the defence committees created in the days of the street-fighting.

The rising of the generals had achieved what socialists and anarchists themselves would never have achieved: in half Spain and in six out of its seven largest towns it had played power into the hands of the revolutionary proletariat. The problems were: Could they hold it? What use could they make of it?

Within what was left of republican Spain, dual power existed. For the time being, the working class and its allies were masters, although the capitalist regime of Azaña remained the formal government. The lack of a mass revolutionary-socialist party assured the maintenance of capitalism in Spain and the eventual triumph of Franco.

The Question of Questions

The day before the fascist uprising, Leon Trotsky wrote in regard to Spain:

The question of questions at present is the Popular Front. The left centrists seek to present this question as a tactical or even as a technical maneuver. . . . In reality, the Popular Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism. For it is often forgotten that the greatest historical example of the Popular Front is the February 1917 revolution. From February to October, the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, who represent a very good parallel to the "Communist

nists" and the Social Democrats, were in the closest alliance and in a permanent coalition with the bourgeois party of the Cadets, together with whom they formed a series of coalition governments.

Even with the working class in effective control of the republican territory, the Stalinists' and Social Democratic leaders continued to insist on its subordination to the capitalist government. The extent of the betrayal is indicated by Borkenau's description of Barcelona in August 1936:

The first impression: armed workers, rifles on their shoulders, but wearing their civilian clothes. Perhaps 30 per cent. of the males on the Ramblas were carrying rifles, though there were no police, and no regular military in uniforms. Arms, arms, and again arms. . . .

The amount of expropriation in the few days since 19 July is almost incredible. The largest hotels, with one or two exceptions, have all been requisitioned by working-class organizations. . . . Practically all the factory owners, we were told, had either fled or been killed, and their factories taken over by the workers. Everywhere large posters at the front of impressive buildings proclaim the fact of expropriation, explaining either that the management is now in the hands of the CNT, or that a particular organization has appropriated this building for its organizing work.

At first the Anarchists resisted the attempts of the Popular Front government to reassert its authority. But they had no alternative to propose. The Anarchists refused to lead the working class in the establishment of its own government, since they denied that there was any difference between a capitalist state and a workers state.

When the Anarchists found the theory that the state could be ignored untenable, the world was treated to the spectacle of Anarchist ministers in a capitalist government. They joined the Catalonian regional government in September 1936, and the central government in Madrid in November of that year.

With the entry of the Anarchists into the Catalonian government, the reaction picked up steam. The local militia and antifascist committees that had been ruling the towns and villages were ordered dissolved. A decree passed October 9 read:

Article 1. There are dissolved in all Catalonia the local committees, whatever be the name or title they bear, as well as all those local organisms which may have arisen to down the subversive movement, with cultural, economic or any other species of aims.

Article 2. Resistance to dissolving them will be considered as a fascist act and its instigators delivered to the Tribunals of Popular Justice.

Through its control of the treasury and banks, which allocated credit, the central government systematically whittled away at the areas of the economy controlled by the workers.

Political censorship became increasingly heavy-handed, with frequent suspensions and even banning of left-Anarchist and

Marxist periodicals and meetings.

The government also moved to reestablish a regular army and police force. In Catalonia, where the revolution had made its most extensive advances, a March 1, 1937, decree unified all police into a single state-controlled corps, its members prohibited from association with trade unions and political parties. This was followed by attempts to suppress the workers patrols that had fulfilled police functions up to that time.

On the front lines, the Popular Front government systematically withheld arms from the units of workers militia not reorganized as part of its regular army.

These measures were vigorously pushed by the Stalinists. Although the bourgeoisie had gone over *en masse* to the fascists, the Stalinists were determined to preserve capitalism in Spain. As early as September 1936 they raised the slogan, "Protect the property of the small industrialist."

The Stalinists argued that the social revolution could only be a diversion from the antifascist struggle. In accordance with the strategy being followed by the Kremlin at that time, they advocated an antifascist alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie and the imperialist democracies.

They consciously and systematically strangled the Spanish revolution. The aim was to prevent the rise of a workers state in Spain, in hope that this would enhance Stalin's prospects for a pact with the imperialist democracies against Hitler.

In his article "The Class, the Party, and the Leadership," Trotsky said:

The most consistent policy in the ruling bloc was pursued by the Stalinists. They were the fighting vanguard of the bourgeois-republican counterrevolution. They wanted to eliminate the need for fascism by proving to the Spanish and world bourgeoisie that they were themselves capable of strangling the proletarian revolution under the banner of "democracy."

It was not easy for the Popular Front to push back the gains of the revolution, especially in Catalonia. In May 1937 the Barcelona workers rose up against the republican regime, which had been tightening its grip on the city. Their Anarchist leaders, however, refused to lead the workers in a struggle for power, and after several days of fighting, the barricades in Barcelona came down.

The December 1936 *Pravda*, the Soviet Communist party newspaper, had written, "So far as Catalonia is concerned, the cleaning up of Trotskyists and Anarchists has begun and it will be carried out with the same energy as in the USSR."

And in fact, the GPU went to work in Spain, applying the methods used by Stalin in the Soviet Union against political oppositionists, including murder.

But in rolling back the social revolution, the Stalinists cleared the way for the triumph of Franco. As Trotsky explained

immediately after the civil war began, in July 1936:

A civil war is waged, as everybody knows, not only with military but also with political weapons. From a purely military point of view, the Spanish revolution is much weaker than its enemy. Its strength lies in its ability to rouse the great masses to action. . . .

It is necessary to proclaim that, from now on, the land, factories, and shops will pass from the hands of the capitalists into the hands of the people. It is necessary to move at once toward the realization of this program in those provinces where the workers are in power. The fascist army could not resist the influence of such a program for twenty-four hours; the soldiers would tie their officers hand and foot and turn them over to the nearest headquarters of the workers' militia. But the bourgeois ministers cannot accept such a program.

Indeed they could not. In a country where peasants made up 70 percent of the population, the Popular Front regime refused to expropriate the wealthy landowners and declare the land the property of those who till it.

Failure to Back Moroccan Independence

Morocco was the base of the fascist rebellion; much of Franco's army, including many of his crack units, was Moroccan. It had taken fourteen years of warfare to subjugate the freedom fighters, but the Popular Front government refused to declare Morocco independent. Any tampering with the colonial status of North Africa would have upset the French imperialists, and it was to them the republican regime looked for aid.

The imperialist democracies, however, were afraid that the rapid defeat of the fascist uprising would result in a Soviet Spain. Paris, London, and Washington, pledging "nonintervention" in Spanish affairs, clamped an arms embargo on both sides in the conflict. In reality, this was aimed solely at the antifascist side, since Franco was liberally supplied with arms by Hitler and Mussolini.

The Nazis openly sent their "Condor Legion" and other forces, totaling about 16,000, into the war, and Mussolini dispatched 50,000 Italian troops. The Kremlin sent supplies to the republican regime, but never enough for a decisive military effort. Stalin's policy of limited aid was similar to the one followed by his successors in relation to Vietnam.

Morrow pointed this out:

Enough was given to prevent early defeat of the Loyalists and the consequent collapse of Soviet prestige in the international working class. And this fitted in, at bottom, with Anglo-French policy, which did not desire an immediate Franco victory. But not enough was given to facilitate a victorious conclusion from which might issue—once the spectre of Franco was gone—a Soviet Spain.

The worthlessness of relying on the imperialist democracies for support against

fascism was dramatically shown when London and Paris recognized the Franco regime in February 1939 while the loyalists still held one-third of Spain.

Those who argued that the Spanish workers should tailor their policies to limits acceptable to Moscow—and ultimately to the imperialists—were answered by Trotsky. He wrote in 1937:

Revolutions have been victorious up to this time not at all thanks to high and mighty foreign patrons who supplied them with arms. As a rule, counterrevolution enjoyed foreign patronage. . . . The proletariat of Russia conquered domestic reaction and foreign interventionists without military support from the outside. Revolutions succeed, in the first place, with the help of a bold social program, which gives the masses the possibility of seizing weapons that are on their territory and disorganizing the army of the enemy.

Strikes Punishable by Death

In his history of the Spanish Civil War, Hugh Thomas succinctly described the primary mission of the fascist regime:

Strikes were made punishable by death. . . . Throughout Nationalist Spain, all Masons, all members of Popular Front parties, all members of trade unions and, in many areas, everyone who had voted for the Popular Front in the elections of February were arrested and many of these were shot.

The defeat of the republic was accompanied by an exodus of approximately 500,000 refugees. Nevertheless, the Franco regime officially admitted to 271,000 political prisoners in 1940. The number of persons in prison in 1942 totaled about 241,000. The decline, however, was not because of the number of prisoners released.

Gabriel Jackson wrote in *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931-1939*:

. . . I consider it certain that close to 200,000 men died in the years 1939-43. A professional officer and lawyer, who had served with the Nationalists in the war and was appointed as a defense attorney for the mass court-martials, swore to me that on the basis of Ministry of Interior lists alone, he knew that more than 300,000 death sentences had been executed by the end of World War II.

Thomas cites an estimate that two million persons passed through Franco's prisons and concentration camps by 1942.

Even this staggering repression, however, failed to root out working-class opposition. In May 1947, for example, 50,000 Basque workers struck on May Day. Government reprisals sparked strikes that were admitted by the regime to involve 40 percent of the workers in the Bilbao area, and 75 percent of those over a broader area.

In 1951 there were even bigger struggles. In Barcelona, 300,000 workers took part in a one-day general strike in March. The following month 100,000 struck in Bilbao and other Basque towns, and students went on strike in Madrid.

With help from Washington, however, Franco was able to stabilize his regime during the following years. In January 1950, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that Washington was ready to vote for an end to the diplomatic blockade that had been instituted by the United Nations in retaliation for Franco's aid to Hitler during World War II.

In December 1950 Washington and Madrid exchanged ambassadors, and the

following year Washington began negotiations for bases in Spain. Also, Spanish officers began to train in the United States. Since concluding its 1953 military pact with Franco, Washington has supplied him with a steady flow of economic and military aid.

Now, with the reins dropping from the old dictator's hands, Spanish capitalists may soon be facing the day of reckoning postponed by the fascist victory in the civil war. □

Call for Week of Actions November 17

British Abortion Activists Hold National Conference

By Marian McManus

LONDON—The first national conference of the National Abortion Campaign was held in London October 18-19. Nine hundred persons attended, representing local NAC groups from all parts of the country, women's groups, trade-union branches, trades councils, and political groups (including the Communist party and the International Marxist Group). The conference was covered by the national radio, press, and television.

The attendance at the conference was a clear indication of the support the campaign has obtained since its initiation in March of this year.

The campaign was formed to fight all laws restricting abortion. It set as its immediate task the defeat of the Abortion (Amendment) Bill, introduced at the beginning of the year by Labour Member of Parliament James White. The bill, if passed, would amend the existing 1967 Abortion Act, forcing 80,000 women who would be eligible for abortion on the National Health Service to have unwanted children or face back-street abortionists.

The campaign mobilized 25,000 persons on a demonstration June 21 and now has more than ninety local groups active throughout the country. The decisions of the conference reflected the determination of NAC to remain an open, mass-action campaign.

The main decisions of the conference were the following:

To build a mass national campaign to defeat all restrictive abortion legislation. Specifically, the campaign's slogan will be "Free Abortion on Demand—A Woman's Right to Choose."

To call for a national week of action from November 17 against the government's plans to reconstitute a parliamentary Select Committee to examine the White Bill.

According to British parliamentary procedure, a Private Member's Bill has to pass

three "readings" in the House of Commons and be passed in the House of Lords before it becomes law. If it does not receive its third reading it automatically fails.

In a situation virtually unprecedented in parliamentary procedure, the Labour government intervened after the White Bill's second reading and set up a Select Committee—with a majority of anti-abortionists—to examine it. The government, obviously under pressure, used this as a delaying tactic.

Both the Trades Union Congress and the Labour party conference passed resolutions this year supporting the demand for contraception and abortion on request. The NAC conference pointed to the importance of these decisions and will be campaigning locally and nationally to make sure they are implemented.

"Concretely," the conference stated, "NAC has called a week of action in November to coincide with the start of a new parliamentary session. . . ." One day of action "will be concentrated on direct discussion with gynaecologists in NHS hospitals about the unequal application of the present act.

"Other activities will include regional rallies, particularly in areas where the NHS has not been implementing the Abortion Act. . . ."

On March 6, "we will be demonstrating for 'Abortion on Demand—A Woman's Right to Choose,'" to commemorate International Women's Day and to highlight the fact that "abortion is one of the central issues affecting women today."

An indication that a stiff fight lies ahead came on the second day of the conference. On October 19 the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, a right-wing anti-abortion outfit supported by the Catholic church hierarchy, staged a demonstration of 60,000 persons to secure reestablishment of the parliamentary Select Committee. □

Portuguese Stalinists Go In for 'Revolutionary Theater'

By Gerry Foley

LISBON—The advance publicity for the "great united demonstration," which had been called by "hundreds of workers and tenants committees" for October 23, was quite impressive.

Most of the national daily papers and the national networks did their best to help build the demonstration. With few exceptions, the commentators reported excitedly that a vast groundswell of support was developing.

The reports appeared plausible, particularly in view of the accounts of a "people's power" demonstration the day before, according to which 100,000 persons turned out to demand reopening of Rádio Renascença; that is, leaving the station in the hands of leftists.

A newscaster on Rádio Clube Português, one of the two national networks, spoke enthusiastically of "great masses" of demonstrators in "one of the biggest actions" he had ever covered.

Here is an example of the advance publicity translated from the October 22 issue of *Diário de Lisboa*:

The answer to the counterrevolution will be given tomorrow by the great united demonstration, which the workers and tenants committees of the Lisbon industrial belt are calling, at 7:30 in Rossio Square and which has already received the support of numerous other committees and rank-and-file people's organizations.

Intersindical [the Communist party-controlled trade-union federation], after taking account of the nonpartisanship and objectives of this action of people's struggle, gave its support to the demonstration and calls on all the workers and toiling masses in Lisbon and the surrounding areas to participate actively in it.

Innumerable motions have been received in our office expressing adherence to, and support for, the great united demonstration tomorrow, thereby indicating that it will be a grandiose action of struggle in defense of the gains of April 25.

One of the slogans of this demonstration refers especially to the situation of some news media in struggle against attempts to silence them by the Sixth Provisional Government: "Progressive News Reporting, Yes; Economic Blackmail, No" is the slogan that will echo in the streets of Lisbon, showing clearly the determination of the masses to repudiate the threats by the government to stop financing the news media dependent on the state.

That these paragraphs appear to reflect the line of the Portuguese Communist party is hardly surprising. Like *Diário de Notícias*, *Diário Popular*, *A Capital*, and *O Século*, the *Diária de Lisboa* is owned by the state. These newspapers became public property when the banks that owned most

of their capital were nationalized. All of them support the Communist party line on decisive questions, although the degree of Stalinist control varies.

A Luta, the paper that reflects the views of the Socialist party leadership, helped in its own way to stir up interest in the "great united demonstration." According to the October 23 issue, the mobilization was part of a plot to overthrow the sixth provisional government:

Prepared with even more drumbeating than usual, this demonstration has more than dubious objectives.

The seriousness of the aims behind this action obliges us to divulge what we know and to call the attention of our readers to these facts.

Reliable sources say that there is a possibility the demonstration will be used as a cover for an adventurist action directed at several power centers. The removal of mayors unrepresentative of the population, which is considered to be a "purge of the left," may serve as a pretext for an occupation by the demonstrators of the Ministry of Internal Administration and the Civil Government of Lisbon. The need for imposing a government of the left could be the argument for occupying the Palácio de São Bento [the meeting hall of the Constituent Assembly and the official residence of the prime minister].

The backing of certain military units for a project of this type is said to worry military and civilian circles that support the Sixth Provisional Government. Other units are following with the greatest apprehension the development of these events, which in their opinion are a clear reflection of the designs of certain political forces that are on a suicidal course.

An October 22 Associated Press dispatch was even more alarmist:

According to some senior military and government officials, there is a danger the Cabinet may not have another meeting. The officials fear a leftist demonstration, scheduled for tomorrow night, could be the springboard for a coup attempt.

An official said he doubted the government had the force of the leadership to defend itself at once.

At the Show in Rossio Square

In expectation of seeing some dramatic events, I went to Rossio Square early. Perhaps it would be packed already. But at seven o'clock only a scattered crowd had assembled, really not much more than normally gathers in the evening around the statue and the flower market in front of the water fountain.

However, a truck with a loudspeaker was already circling the square. Young activists were pitching out handfuls of leaflets. Most

of the leaflets stayed where they fell, perhaps to be read by the pigeons in the morning.

By eight o'clock a few thousand persons had gathered. The monitors kept them busy shouting slogans and moving their fists up and down. Once the march got started, the small crowd made a certain impression, tightly packed as it was in the relatively narrow streets. It moved very slowly down the Rua do Ouro, the usual route of marches out of Rossio Square.

I expected it to go to the Palácio de São Bento, where such marches generally stage their rally. But a policeman told me that it was headed for the Terreiro do Paço, the big square overlooking the river bank.

That was the first indication that the organizers wanted to avoid trouble. Although there are government buildings in the square, it is not the center of political authority. Furthermore, a crowd could be safely contained and isolated in the huge square, which is empty at night.

Only one spot was really crowded, the opening into the square. I tried to avoid the jam by ducking through the portico of an adjoining building. But I was blocked by a team of monitors. They had ringed the building to prevent marchers from getting too close to any government offices.

The high point of the march occurred midway along the Rua do Ouro. I saw a bank of red flags advancing toward the head of the crowd. The slogan "Soldiers always at the side of the people" was chanted furiously. Behind the flags marched a group of men in uniform. They were led by a heavily built man in civilian clothes, who waved his fist in the air with such energy as to virtually personify "militancy."

It was a dramatic scene. However, this impression faded when it became apparent that there were only about fifty uniformed personnel behind the red flags. What the effect was on the Communist party marchers was difficult to determine.

A large crowd watched from the sidewalks, but almost none seemed to be joining the march. Occasionally a few middle-aged men, probably old CP supporters, gave the clenched-fist salute.

Thinking of the many theatrical Maoist demonstrations I have seen in Portugal, it occurred to me that I was now witnessing a performance by the original producers of such "revolutionary theater."

The Portuguese CP is the mother church of all the Maoist and ultraleft cults that have carried the ritual of "revolutionary toughness" to bizarre extremes. However, when necessary the mother church itself can put on a performance that even the newer sects find enviable.

This ultraleft strand of Stalinism was most clearly expressed in the "third period" between 1928 and 1934. Among other things, Stalin at that time refused to seek a united front with the Social Democratic leaders against the ominous advance of Nazism. He contended that the Social Democracy was only a form of fascism, and constituted the main danger in Germany, not Hitler and his brown shirts.

The demonstration showed this as well as the relation between the extremist posturing of the Stalinists and their underlying opportunism.

The leaders started up the chant, "Down with Social Democracy." This alternated with "Against a government of the right; revolutionaries for the Revolutionary Council."

Other Communist party slogans included expelling the bourgeois party, the Partido Popular Democrático (PPD—Democratic People's party), from the government. The proposed replacements were "revolutionary officers," that is, bourgeois bonapartist figures. It was clear that what the CP leadership wanted was more representation for the military officers it regards as its allies in the bourgeois government. Many of the marchers carried pictures of Vasco Gonçalves.

The main theme of the demonstration was a call for "people's power"; that is, the incorporation of "activist" bodies into the state apparatus.

At the Terreiro do Paço, the crowd filled only a small part of the square. I estimated the number of persons at 20,000. Certainly there were no more than 25,000, a small fraction of what the CP was able to attract at its final election rally only six months ago.

In view of the preceding buildup in the mass media, the turnout represented a considerable defeat for the Communist party. The speeches were routine, and the crowd soon began to wander away.

Although the demonstrators were probably pretty much hardcore CP supporters, they were not unfriendly to the many distributors of Trotskyist literature belonging to the Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party, a group that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International).

The October 23 demonstration thus did not advance the counteroffensive the CP launched after the fall of Vasco Gonçalves. It brought great discredit to the CP-controlled press. The blatancy of its big-lie



CUNHAL: When necessary, his CP can put on performance even Maoists find enviable.

technique is hard to believe unless you see it firsthand.

For example, some of the leaders of the PRT told me that they had carefully estimated the number of participants in the October 22 Rádio Renascença demonstration and could say with certainty that no more than 5,000 to 7,000 were present. Yet Rádio Clube Português reported a turnout of 100,000.

I had assumed that while the reports in the Stalinist press were biased, they probably had some relation to the truth.

Do the Portuguese masses accept such crude propaganda? Most persons I have asked say that they simply disregard the claims. They are thoroughly familiar with the unreliability of a controlled press.

The Social Democrats say that the press is worse than under Salazar. But that is not true. The effects of the democratic fervor released by the fall of the old regime are still evident. The communiqués of most groups on the left are reported, although bias is shown in the emphasis given to them.

In most of the left parties, sectarian attitudes are hardening. Consequently this "pluralism" in the press is diminishing. The unofficial Socialist party newspaper *A Luta* is far from innocent in this regard, although it is by no means as crude as the Stalinist-dominated papers.

Two Stars on a Tightwire

The Social Democrats are less uniform in their approach than the Stalinists. While *A Luta* was whipping up the ranks with tales of an impending Stalinist take-over, and SP leader Sotomayor Cardia was accusing the CP in the Constituent Assembly of revert-

ing to the "revolutionary adventurism" of the Bolsheviks, the main party leader and most openly right-wing figure, Mário Soares, offered a cooler appraisal of the CP's tactics in his column in the official SP paper, *Portugal Socialista*:

Does the CP really want to bring down the Sixth Government, despite the appearances that would lead a hasty observer to this conclusion? Personally, I have my doubts.

Soares did not say what he thought the CP's real objectives were. It would be awkward after all to say that the "totalitarians" were interested only in a larger share of the spoils. That would raise the question of what the SP was interested in.

I have asked some SP leaders what kind of concessions they think would satisfy the CP. The response has been distinct embarrassment.

Le Monde's correspondent José Rebelo was probably fairly accurate in an article in the October 24 issue of the Paris daily in which he assessed the CP's objectives:

After a period of silence following the fall of the government of General Vasco Gonçalves, the Communist party again took the initiative. It now appears as the main "promoter" of the grass-roots committees that have multiplied in the country and it is trying to take advantage of the soldiers' challenge to authority, although the Soldiers United Will Win movement developed out of the initiative taken by certain "ultraleft" groups.

Alvaro Cunhal's party has thus regained the position of being the fundamental element for "political and military stabilization." But is the price demanded by the party too high? The Communist party needs a smashing victory to wipe out its previous failures. This could come with the expulsion of the Partido Popular Democrático from the government bodies.

Certainly a part of the ranks of the SP would not accept too close a rapprochement with the CP, but on the other hand, an exclusive alliance with the friends of Sá Carneiro [a right-wing PPD leader] would provoke discontent, the results of which could not be foreseen. Thus Soares finds himself obliged to conduct a policy of balancing between two radically opposed formations.

On the last point, Rebelo exaggerated the difficulties faced by Soares, at least for the time being. It is true that the political differences between the SP and the PPD have been sharpening. On most of the key questions in the Constituent Assembly, for example, the SP and CP have been compelled to join forces.

This has led the PPD to publicly voice its irritation. An article in the October 25 issue of the weekly *Expresso*, which reflects the views of the PPD, described the CP delegates ironically as "talented" in exploiting differences between the PPD and the SP.

Actually the differences are not the product of the "talented" tacticians of the Communist party. The differences arise from the conflicting bases of support of the two parties. In fact, it is precisely the policies of the Stalinist leadership that have saved Soares from the consequences of the

dilemma created by these objective contradictions.

To stake out a special claim as defenders of the revolution, entitling them to more representation in the state apparatus, union leaderships, and press than could be justified by their popular support, the Stalinists have had to campaign against the SP under the fraudulent claim that it is a rightist, if not fascist, party. In conjunction with this campaign, the CP has aligned itself with antidemocratic military figures.

The result is that the ranks of the SP have come to believe that if the CP ever gained any real power it would eliminate them. Thus Soares can get away with defending his alliance with the PPD as a necessary measure of self-defense against the CP.

The chant of "Down with Social Democracy" at the October 23 rally in Lisbon, for example, was hardly the sort of thing that could separate the SP from the PPD. Quite the contrary. This line reinforces the arguments used by the SP leaders to justify alliances with bourgeois forces of various kinds.

Thus, while Rebelo touched on a contradiction that could give Soares problems, he overlooked the contradiction in the CP's policy.

Nonetheless, *Le Monde's* correspondent did raise a pertinent question in asking whether the price demanded by the CP was too high. In fact, the October 23 rally indicates that the CP overplayed its hand.

Soares was quick to pillory the Stalinist leaders for the contrast between their frenetic buildup for the demonstration and the less than brilliant results. "The mountain gave birth to a mouse," he said.

He scored a point, for it was a dramatic indication of the decline in CP strength when the party could bring out no more people in the Lisbon area than the rightist Centro Democrático Social (CDS—Social Democratic Center) brought out at its first successful public rally in Oporto on October 19.

It is now becoming clear to all the political forces on the scene what the Communist party's line of "people's power" amounts to and what its objectives are. This has further undermined the CP's standing.

For example, the ultraleft neoanarchist coalition, the Frente de Unidade Revolucionária (FUR—Front for Revolutionary Unity), did not support the October 23 demonstration as it has previous demonstrations of a similar character.

The Soldiers United Will Win movement was sharply divided over the question of whether to participate, and apparently only a small section did. Because of the clandestine nature of this movement, however, it is difficult to determine how representative any of those are who speak in its name.

Of all the organizations standing to the left of the Communist party, only the União Democrática do Povo (UDP—People's Democratic Union) seems to have mobilized its supporters to participate in the demonstration. This organization is Maoist in origin but increasingly anarcho-centrist in practice. It tends to function as a more workerist and aggressive fringe of the CP, and is becoming virtually indistinguishable from it, despite its repeated denunciations of "revisionism," which are directed against the CP.

The Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, the Portuguese sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) unfortunately gave formal, if critical, support to the demonstration. The LCI was motivated by a desire to support democratic organization of the masses and to oppose the repressive moves of the government.

The Frente Socialista Popular (FSP—Socialist People's Front) has not yet indicated why it did not participate, as it has in previous demonstrations of this kind.

The Movimento de Esquerda Socialista (MES—Movement of the Socialist Left), another member of the FUR, apparently did not participate either. This might have been one of the results of a split in this anarcho-centrist organization.

About forty members in Coimbra left, charging that the organization had become in effect a satellite of the CP. The dailies close to the SP claimed that in the split the MES lost nearly all the activists it had in the Coimbra region.

The Stalinist-controlled *Diário de Notícias* published an interview in its October 24 issue with Augusto Mateus, the leader of the MES who has presided over the pro-CP course of the organization. He claimed that the dissidents were afraid of the revolution.

It is doubtful that such statements, spread by such means, will reassure MES members who are beginning to fear that because of illusions in "MFA-People's Power," the party was tricked into serving as a tool of Stalinism.

That the Stalinists have turned toward the use of ultraleft tactics in a general way is indicated by the following example.

On October 24 I went to an assembly at the Liceu Nacional de Amadora. The high schools have not yet opened, and the beginning of the new term is being delayed by the Ministry of Education, ostensibly for financial and other material reasons such as registrations far beyond the number of places available.

The Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores hoped to get a mass mobilization of high-school students started to force the opening of classes and increase the pressure for higher appropriations for education.

However, the Communist party has moved in with force to regain control of the Amadora school, which is located right in

the middle of its main stronghold on the north side of the Tejo River. Over the summer, CP activists worked on parents to get their children to vote against the Trotskyists, who hold a majority in the student associations, and who led all the mass struggles at the school last year.

The Stalinists have not attacked the PRT as "ultraleft." Instead, they say that the Trotskyists are not hard enough against the sixth provisional government and that they are soft on Social Democracy.

These attacks are echoed by the ultraleft groups. The MES says that the PRT members are "social fascists" and constitute the "main danger" in the high-school movement. The UDP holds a similar position.

The CP says that while the PRT may not be fascist it is a right-wing organization that could serve the ends of fascism.

All this abuse is the result of the PRT's defense of the principle of working-class unity in which a united front would have to include the majority of the working class and toiling masses who support the Socialist party.

In the debate at the meeting, the PRT representatives stated forcefully that they were just as opposed to the sixth provisional government as they were to the preceding five, and that they want to mobilize a mass movement to oppose the reactionary policies of this government as in the previous instances.

The Stalinists accused them of wanting to "beg favors from the ministry." They proposed "direct action" like "occupying" the school buildings.

Actually this would have the effect of dispersing the movement and keeping it within bounds set by "progressive" teachers. But the budding Stalinist demagogues presented this line with the most extravagant super-red rhetoric. They were supported by all the ultralefts and all the teachers, including some notorious right-wingers.

The Stalinists sought to drive independents away from the meeting by repeated disruption from the floor. The ultralefts gave them a hand in this, welcoming a chance to "express themselves."

The tactic succeeded this time. The bloc of Stalinists and ultralefts dragged out and disrupted the meeting until most of the noncommitted persons left.

The PRT lost the vote by a small margin. However, these high-school Trotskyists were sure that if the schools were reopened and the student movement started up again, they could defeat the Stalinists and their ultraleft, or more precisely, neo-Stalinist, allies.

The future of the Portuguese revolution depends on the few honest and alert forces like the PRT who know how to recognize and fight Stalinist betrayal in its "left" as well as its rightist form. □

Lebanon—a Powder Keg in the Middle East

By Peter Green

For more than six months, Lebanon has been racked by bitter and bloody fighting. The clashes have been fiercest in Beirut but have also occurred in most other major towns and much of the countryside.

As many as 5,000 persons have been killed since April, while estimates of the wounded run as high as 16,000. This in a country whose total population is about 3 million. The equivalent in terms of a country the size of the United States would be more than a quarter of a million dead.

The economy has been thoroughly disrupted, and damage to property has been put at \$5.5 billion.

Ranged on one side in this conflict are left-wing political organizations, the Muslim community, the bulk of the workers and poor peasants, and the 300,000 Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. On the other side are various right-wing parties based on the Christian community, and most of the bourgeoisie, often with their private militias. There are fifteen "official" militias in the country, containing an estimated 150,000 men under arms and possessing 300,000 firearms of all calibers.

The Lebanese bourgeoisie once liked to picture their country as "the Switzerland of the Middle East," a peaceful haven in a troubled area that managed to embrace a multiplicity of religious and ethnic groups. That was never the reality, of course, but today that myth stands starkly exposed. Since the fighting began in April, repeated cease-fires have been negotiated and decreed. All of them have broken down.

How did the conflict start? What are its roots? Some commentators have portrayed it as purely a confrontation between Christians and Muslims. Others consider it as the "just combat" of "Lebanese nationalists against the Palestinian terrorists." The *New York Times* sees the cause in outside agitators, "mischief-making by the most radical forces in the Arab world"—Libya being high on the list.

Such interpretations are false but they illustrate the complexity of the issues. A decisive factor is the class conflict between the masses of workers and poor peasants—mostly Muslim—and the Lebanese bourgeoisie—mostly Christian.

Also involved is the continuing struggle by the Arab masses throughout the region against imperialism and its neocolonialist plans for the area. In this struggle for national liberation, the Palestinian effort to dismantle the Zionist state of Israel and

regain their homeland plays a central role.

The region now known as Lebanon has played an important role in the growth of the Arab national movement during the past 100 years.

Beirut was perhaps the most culturally advanced city in Greater Syria, the area under Ottoman rule that was subsequently divided into Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Lebanon. It was there that the first Arab nationalist secret societies were born. These early groups were distinguished by the participation of both Christian and Muslim Arab intellectuals.

When the years of underground agitation and propaganda promoting Arab national sentiment bore fruit in the Arab revolt during World War I, a central condition the Arab leaders laid down to the British in return for taking up arms against the Turks was the independence of all of Syria. This was agreed to in various statements and promises.

But Britain, France, and tsarist Russia had other plans. In 1916 they signed a secret treaty, the Sykes-Picot Agreement, allocating the southern part of Syria—present-day Jordan and Palestine—to British control, and the northern part—present-day Syria and Lebanon—to the French.

Although the other imperialist powers acquiesced in Paris's desire to add Syria and Lebanon to its colonial empire, granting it a "mandate" over the area at the San Remo conference in April 1920, problems still remained.

In addition to the overwhelming Arab sentiment favoring independence and national unity for the whole of Syria, the population was violently opposed to any French presence.

The King-Crane Commission, sent to the area by President Wilson to ascertain the wishes of the Arab population, reported a tremendous desire for independence and opposition to any French involvement. More than 60 percent of the petitions presented to the commission strongly protested against mandating territory to France.

In July 1919, a Syrian National Congress met in Damascus. It claimed political independence for a united Syrian state under a constitutional monarchy, rejecting any French or Zionist claims to the area. On March 8, 1920, the congress proclaimed independence for Syria, granting a certain

amount of autonomy within the state to the former Ottoman Sanjaq (province) of Lebanon. The area, inhabited mostly by Maronite Christians, had been made a separate province by the Ottomans in 1864 under pressure from London and Paris.

But French imperialism was determined to claim its share of the spoils, and in July 1920 French troops occupied Damascus after bloody fighting. For the Arabs, 1920 became known as the "Year of the Catastrophe."

The new rulers quickly set about consolidating their position, granting privileges to minority interests and ethnic groups to counterbalance the unifying tendency of the Arab nationalist movement.

Maxime Rodinson, in his book *Israel and the Arabs*, wrote that "minority religious communities such as the Jews and, above all, the various denominations of Christians were supported against Islam, the majority religion, itself historically linked with Arab nationalism. This was the key to French policy in the Lebanon, in particular."

Paris carved its mandate into several parts, of which Lebanon was one. The rest of French Syria was divided into three separate states with four distinct administrations. It was not enough, however, to give the Maronite Christians in the Lebanon Mountains a state of their own. Paris had a bigger role reserved for them, as the guarantors of French control in a much larger area.

In August 1920, the French commander, General Gouraud, issued a decree creating the "State of the Greater Lebanon." The old Sanjaq of Lebanon was expanded by the addition of the predominantly Muslim towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre, and Sidon; southern Lebanon down to the Palestinian border with a population mainly of Shiite Muslims; and the fertile Bika Valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon Mountains. The boundaries were drawn to include as much territory as possible without making the Muslims a majority. In May 1926 the country became the Republic of Lebanon.

The new state was about twice the size of the former Sanjaq and had twice the population. George Antonius said in his pioneer work on the rise of Arab nationalism, *The Arab Awakening*, published in 1937:

Its new boundaries gave it a considerable

accretion of Moslem citizens, thus reducing the preponderance of its Christian element to a bare majority, and control of the ports of Tripoli and Bairut which between them served practically the whole of the sea-borne trade of Syria. On both those grounds, the aggrandisement of the Lebanon was a short-sighted act: by depriving Syria of its normal outlets to the sea, it created a movement of irredentism which will have sooner or later to receive satisfaction; and by the annexation of regions inhabited mostly by Moslems, it exposed the Christian majority to the fate of becoming in course of time a minority in a state designed to ensure its predominance. But worse still, it introduced a new bone of contention in a country already rich in motives of dissension; and if the measure is also to be judged in the light of its human consequences, of the passions it aroused, of the bitterness it engendered and of its effect in resuscitating sectarian hatred, then the French deserve condemnation for an act which is as remarkable for its mischievous disregard of moral values as for its inherent short-sightedness.

The 'National Pact'

The whole of Syria previously contained a great diversity of religious groups within its borders. The French gerrymandering concentrated a good proportion of these within the enlarged state of Lebanon, accentuating and exploiting antagonisms that existed before.

The largest grouping in the new state was the Maronite Christians, Catholics who look to the pope but have their own patriarch and follow the Eastern rites. The other Christian groups, in order of size, included Greek Orthodox, Greek and Roman Catholics, Armenian Orthodox, and Armenian Catholics.

The largest Muslim grouping was the majority Sunni branch. But not far behind was a large concentration of Muslims adhering to the Shia branch of Islam. Next largest were the Druze, a sect with roots in Islam but also incorporating elements from Christianity and other religions.

With the Maronites no longer in an absolute majority in the new country, however, and with Christians of all sects in only a bare majority, French imperialism and its local allies had to find some way to perpetuate and guarantee Christian—and by proxy, imperialist—control of the country.

France tried to retain direct control for as long as possible. In the spring of 1943, however, it was forced to hold elections, with seats in parliament allocated on the basis of thirty Christian and twenty-five Muslim and Druze members. The most slavish lackeys of French imperialism were defeated.

In response, the leading bourgeois Christian and Muslim politicians reached informal agreement in September on a "national pact," dividing posts on a religious basis at all levels of Lebanese political life.

In November 1943 the new government also voted a revision of the constitution, removing all French limits to its sovereign-

ty. Three days later, however, the French suspended the constitution, arrested the president and the majority of the cabinet, and installed Emile Edde as a puppet head of state.

The response was a general strike. A remnant of the government established itself in the mountains to gather an armed force to resist the French and French collaborationists. After World War II, the French were finally forced to concede formal independence.

The unwritten "national pact" the leaders of the main religious and political groups agreed to in 1943 has been adhered to up until the present. According to this agreement, all political positions—from cabinet posts and seats in parliament, through the civil service, to local government level—were parceled out in the ratio of 6 Christians to 5 Muslims.

The presidency, a powerful position under the Lebanese constitution, has traditionally been reserved for a Maronite, as has the post of army chief of staff. The agreement provides that the premier be a Sunni Muslim, the speaker of the Chamber a Shi'ite, and the foreign minister usually Greek Orthodox. All told, seventeen different religious and ethnic groups are officially recognized.

In addition, the different religious groups have control over their own laws concerning such matters as marriage, divorce, adoption, and inheritance. The state makes no provision for civil marriage or divorce. All state expenditures are also divided according to the 6-to-5 ratio.

But even when it was initiated, this system was based on a French-conducted census whose accuracy is suspect. It was intended to maintain Christian hegemony and imperialist influence when France could no longer rule directly.

The agreement was also a static arrangement. Even if the Christians were a majority in 1932, it is generally agreed that because of a higher birthrate, the Muslims are a majority today. A report in the October 6 *Newsweek* estimated that Muslims now outstrip Christians 60 to 40. According to Jonathan Randall, writing in the September 28 *Washington Post*, "Lebanese sociologists now believe that the Shia have become the biggest group by far, followed by the Sunnis and finally the Maronites."

The holding of a new census has thus become an explosive issue in Lebanon, with the Maronites strongly opposing any suggestion of it. "Such is the Maronite neurosis," Randall said, "that not only is any mention of a new census taboo, but no new telephone book has been published for fear that it would contain more Moslem names than Christian ones."

In the past when Western commentators and Lebanese businessmen smugly described Lebanon as the "bankers' republic,"

or referred to Beirut as "this charmed city," they were not completely wrong. For some people it *did* provide a comfortable life.

In a five-part series on Lebanon carried in the Paris daily *Le Monde* September 20 to 25, Eric Rouleau described the Lebanese capitalist class as "a bourgeoisie uninhibited about displaying the signs of its affluence."

Rouleau continued:

The privileged lead ostentatious lives: several big cars, preferably American and sometimes fitted with telephones, per family; country homes in the hills with swimming pools, tennis courts, even a golf course, all surrounded by a big estate to which one escapes in the hottest times of the year. Apartments in Paris, Geneva, London, or New York are used for short stays when on business or in search of pleasure. Yachts anchored out at Taslik, off Beirut, make it possible to spend pleasant weekends with friends.

Beirut's capitalist class does not rub shoulders with ordinary mortals. Their luxurious apartments are in the city's posh, often as not Christian, quarter, a kind of ghetto where high-society folk converse only in English, French, or, in a pinch, 'Franbanais,' an artificial mix of French and Lebanese Arabic. At lunchtime they gather on one of the strictly "members-only" private beaches. By night Beirut offers a vast range of restaurants, nightclubs, and gaming houses where one can live it up at a very high price.

For most of the population, however, Beirut is a city of slums and misery. After Tokyo, it is the most densely populated city in the world, with a population of 1.5 million now and growing rapidly. Here, in the Middle East's financial capital where the banks are bulging with cash and the wealthy few arrogantly flaunt their riches, more than a third of the populace are living on the threshold of starvation.

Around downtown Beirut—encircling the homes of the rich and the commercial center—is an almost continuous belt of slums and refugee camps. It is known as the "belt of poverty."

The Palestinian refugees were the first to move there in numbers, about twenty-five years ago. They were followed by Sunni Muslims (Arabs or Kurds), and then by Shia Muslims, fleeing from southern Lebanon and the Bika in the hope of scraping a living in the city. The Shia now make up the majority of the inhabitants of these areas.

Here the death rate is two or three times higher than the national average. Proper medical care or educational facilities are practically nonexistent. The inhabitants are forced to work for cut-rate wages, if they are lucky enough to get a job at all.

In a city where the cost of living is as high as in New York, 72 percent of the workers earn an average of £425 (US\$193) a month, which is less than half the minimum necessary for feeding and providing relatively decent housing for a family of six, without allowing for clothes, transpor-

tation, schooling, and medical care.

Although Lebanon's per capita income—\$700 in 1972—is one of the highest in the Middle East, its distribution is very uneven. According to one estimate, half, if not more, of the national revenue goes to 5 percent of the population, whereas agricultural, industrial, and construction workers get only between 12 and 15 percent. Last year, moreover, the gross national product recorded zero growth, while inflation reached 15 percent.

The country is a "tax haven" for the bankers and traders, not merely because of the ridiculously light taxes levied on the rich, but also because of the large-scale tax frauds committed with the full knowledge of the government and often with its complicity. One economist has estimated that if the fiscal regulations were strictly applied, income tax revenue would be three to four times higher than is actually collected.

Agriculture has been left to decay, impoverishing the peasantry and forcing them to flock to the cities.

"Bika used to be the Roman Empire's granary," an agricultural engineer told Rouleau. "But it's dying today. Since the country became independent thirty-two years ago, the government has not initiated a single irrigation or hydraulic project, or given any technical or financial assistance to the farmers, who are on the verge of bankruptcy."

Faced with the tremendous gap between rich and poor it is not surprising that the masses were eventually goaded into action. Nor is it surprising that the wealthy minority sought to defend their privileges by force. This is part, at least, of what the recent fighting has been about.

In the course of this struggle, the inhabitants of the slums and refugee camps surrounding Beirut have taken control of their own communities. Government authorities have not been able to enter the "belt of poverty" for several months. The residents there refuse to pay rent or electricity and gas bills. Instead, they hand the money over to the committees that administer the areas.

If Beirut's impoverished masses had got the better of it in the recent fighting, they could have cut off the capital. "We are literally besieged," Raymond Edde, leader of the right-wing Christian National Bloc, told Rouleau. "The poor, the Shia, the Sunni, the Palestinians, and the Communists can choke us off at any time."

'A Bastion Against the Muslim Hordes'

The fear of the Arab populace felt by the privileged Christian minority is not new. It was deliberately fostered by the French. This policy has been continued by the main Christian political parties—the National Liberals of President Suleiman Franjeh



Der Spiegel

Street scene in Beirut after recent fighting.

and former President Camille Chamoun, Raymond Edde's National Bloc, and the Phalangists, led by Pierre Gemayel.

The Phalangists have taken the lead in fanning the flames of sectarian hatred. They are not the largest of these three parties but they are the most right-wing and the most active in the current fighting. They also have the largest militia, with as many as 10,000 men under arms.

The Phalange party (or Kataeb, as it is known in Arabic) was founded by Pierre Gemayel in 1936, after he returned from the Berlin Olympics. He borrowed the name from Franco's party, and the ideology and methods from Hitler and Mussolini, complete with squads of green-shirted bully boys. The Western press has delicately referred to the Phalange as "right-wing," or "conservative." In its ideology and methods, however a better description would be fascist. Its slogan is God, family, and country.

It presents itself as the bastion of "the Christian West faced with the Muslim hordes." This is also how it sees Lebanon itself, a viewpoint shared by the other main Christian parties, especially the National Liberals. In defending the perpetuation of Christian minority domination of Lebanon, it argues that there should be at least one state in the Middle East run by Christians. Phalangist leaders have thus drawn satisfaction from the success of the Zionists in carving out their "Jewish homeland" in the same region.

Perhaps also taking their cue from the Zionists, some of the right-wing Christian leaders have tried to discover a historical basis for their "nationalism," claiming that they are the descendants of the ancient

Phoenicians. They have tried at all costs to manufacture a separate Lebanese nationalism distinct from the Arab national sentiment, even though the Christian masses speak Arabic, are of the same racial stock as the rest of the Arab masses, and have few cultural differences apart from religion.

Charbel el-Kassis, president of the Order of Maronite Monks, is quite explicit. For him, Lebanon is a sort of special confederation of nations. No matter that it is widely known that the Muslims are no longer a minority, arguments can always be found to justify the status quo: "The national pact is not based on numbers but on ethnic, cultural, and territorial considerations. The Christians are not privileged, they merely have vested interests."

Several smaller Christian parties are even more fanatically sectarian than the Phalangists. Among these are the Maronite League, sometimes called the "Christian Rejection Front" because of its uncompromising stand, and the Cedar Defense Front, baptized the "Lebanese Ku Klux Klan" by its opponents. Both of these groups are said to be backed and financed by the Order of Maronite Monks. Both operate their own clandestine militias.

Not all the Christian community, however, most likely not even a majority, has participated in this sectarian campaign against the Muslims and Arabs. One left-wing Maronite intellectual quoted by Rouleau accused some of the Maronites of being "possessed by a Massada¹ complex."

1. Massada was a fortress on the Dead Sea where the Jewish group, the Zealots, made their last stand against the Romans in 70 A.D. The last

Monsignor Gregoire Haddad, the former Greek Catholic archbishop of Beirut and founder of the interdenominational Social Movement, says it is "absurd" to speak of a threat of genocide and points out that Islam is basically tolerant:

The irrational fear of many Christians is due to a host of factors, including education and the ghetto existence. But it is exploited by those who defend the interests of big business, the upper ranks of the clergy, and the right-wing parties. The supporters of brute capitalism play upon ambiguities like the imminent threat presented by the left-wing (mainly Muslim) groups, and hammer into the disadvantaged Christian masses the idea that any change would imperil their physical existence.

In January 1974 a new movement was formed by Lebanese Christians, including members of the clergy, called the Assembly of Committed Christians. It took a stand against imperialism and affirmed the historic links of Lebanon with the Arab nation, recalling the role of Christian Arabs in the national liberation movement. The organization held a meeting at the Lebanese University under such slogans as "No to isolationism!" (with respect to the Arab world) and "Capucci² is only the beginning!" A representative explained the group's point of view:

We are unconditionally committed on the side of the oppressed. Monsignor Capucci has furnished the proof that Christianity does not necessarily have to be synonymous with a disregard for the social and national conflict. Instead it can mean a total commitment in this conflict to do away with all forms of oppression. . . .

We Christians are definitely committed on the side of the Palestinian resistance. We denounce all forms of confessional conflict and declare that Christians and Muslims in Lebanon are not in two opposed camps. In reality, it is the forces of stagnation that are opposed to the forces of change. As for us, we are on the side of all those forces struggling for change and progress.

Not only is the Christian community not monolithic, but the Muslim groups also cover the political spectrum from far right to far left. Although the Lebanese bourgeoisie is predominantly Christian, and the Muslim community in its majority consists of workers and poor peasants, there are also Muslim big landowners and businessmen. The Maronites do not have a monopoly on semifascist parties either. The Syrian National party and the Muslim Brotherhood are two others.

In addition to the militias organized by the political parties, there are literally dozens of private militias. The big property owners and the "feudal" heads of clans all

survivors killed their wives and children and then each other so that none were left alive to fall into the hands of the Romans.

2. Monsignor Hilarion Capucci is the Greek Catholic archbishop of East Jerusalem. He was arrested by the Zionists in December 1974 on charges of smuggling arms to Palestinian guerrillas.

have their private armies. At Zghorta, the northern village outside of Tripoli where President Franjeh was born, all five of the big families there (including that of Franjeh himself) have their own militias. Prime Minister Rashid Karami has a militia in his Tripoli stronghold. Former President Camille Chamoun maintains a personal guard of about 100 men.

The most recently formed private army is that of business tycoon Henri Sfeir, Rouleau reported. He said of Sfeir:

An "independent" Maronite with links to the Chamounists, he has set up his 200-man corps of shock troops on his property only a few hundred meters away from his summer home at Reyfoun in the Kesrouane region. Top man there, after Sfeir, is Major René Gaudet, a French mercenary and former paratrooper in the Foreign Legion who distinguished himself in the Korean, Indochinese, and Algerian campaigns, before he lent his services to Moïse Tshombe in the Congo.

Sfeir is glad he was able to get Major Gaudet to train his men. "Of all the foreign mercenaries working for the Phalangist and other Christian militias," he told me, "Gaudet is the best. That's why I'm paying him £2,000 . . . a month, which is twice the going rate."

A pistol strapped to his hip and a grenade dangling from his waist, Major Gaudet prodded his men to the attack, screaming—force of habit, no doubt—"Jump to it lads, there's wogs up ahead. . . ."

The 'Progressive Front'

In opposition to the right-wing Christian parties and their militias, the main left-wing and Muslim groups have formed a "Front of Progressive Parties and National Forces." The dominant grouping in the front is the Progressive Socialist party, led by Kamal Jumblatt. Jumblatt recently issued a statement summarizing the main points in the front's program:

- Ending of the political system in which posts and parties are determined by religious affiliation.

- Introduction of comprehensive electoral reforms to replace the existing system with a system of proportional representation (every 1,200 voters to be given the right to have a deputy in parliament) and to extend voting rights to eighteen-year-olds.

- Creation of an economic and social council to implement a series of economic reforms in accordance with the needs of the country.

Jumblatt, the leader of the Progressive Front, is a feudal aristocrat, the leader of the Druze community, and lord of the Shouf, the mountain stronghold of the Druze southeast of Beirut. He is also a believer in astrology, an admirer of Mohandas Gandhi, a poet, and winner of the 1972 Lenin Peace Prize. He took up his family's parliamentary seat in 1943.

As minister of the interior in 1970, he was responsible for having a philosopher indicted for criticizing religion. But that same

year, he unilaterally issued a decree legalizing the outlawed Communist party and other banned left political groups, and granting amnesty to left-wing political prisoners.

Also included in the Progressive Front are the Communist party, the Organization of Communist Action in Lebanon, Nasserites, and Iraqi and Syrian Baathists. In response to the militias formed by the right-wing parties, the left-wing parties have also armed themselves.

Georges Hawi, secretary of the Communist party, said:

In principle we are against violence and would far prefer a democratic evolution guaranteed by peaceful means. But we are forced to reply in a revolutionary way. Faced with the default of the army, we founded our militia in January 1970 to defend our frontiers against Israeli aggression, as well as the Palestinians against the plots of Lebanese reaction. In the appropriate situation our militia will also be used to protect popular struggles.

Throughout southern Lebanon, the Communist militia is in control, Rouleau reported. It patrols the frontiers, while the Lebanese army is mostly kept to its barracks. At any time it can isolate the region from the rest of the country, as it did by cutting the Beirut-Nabatiyah road to force the government to release three of its members. In Sidon, a committee representing all the "patriotic and progressive" forces runs the town. Tripoli is likewise under control of a similar committee.

Most of the elements of the Lebanese situation outlined so far have been present for decades—the communal antagonisms bequeathed by the French imperialists, the social contradictions, and the impact of Arab nationalism. To be sure, the contradictions have grown more acute year by year. Nothing offered by the Lebanese bourgeoisie comes close to presenting a solution, as indeed no measure can within the present capitalist setup. But these issues were the same ones that in 1958, for example, touched off a virtual civil war, leading Washington to send in the marines.

At that time, the fighting was also described by some in purely confessional terms, that is, a religious conflict between Muslims and Christians. Muslim pressure for a greater say in parliament had been growing, and it exploded into large-scale fighting after President Camille Chamoun tried to take a second consecutive presidential term, in defiance of the rules.

But the incident that sparked the explosion was the assassination by the right of a prominent opposition journalist, who happened to be a Maronite Christian. The opposition established their control over three-quarters of the territory of the country. Then on July 14 the revolutionary overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in Iraq sent an exultant wave of nationalist feeling throughout the Arab world.

Intercontinental Press

The imperialist powers and their local puppets were terrified at the ramifications of the Iraqi events. In Lebanon in particular, coming on top of a popular rebellion, the crisis was acute. On July 15, President Eisenhower ordered in the marines to "restore order," maintaining as many as 14,300 U.S. troops in the country at one point.

Although the underlying causes of the civil strife that has erupted in Lebanon since April this year are similar to those in 1958, there are also important differences. In the first place, as James M. Markham pointed out in the October 24 *New York Times*, the fighting is on an even larger scale than in 1958, with many more dead and wounded.

But the biggest change is the presence of the Palestinians.

Although Palestinian refugees have lived in Lebanon since the Zionists established their state in 1948, they were not a major political factor until the new growth of the Palestinian resistance movement after the 1967 war. The brutal assault on the Palestinians in Jordan by the Hashemite regime in September 1970 made Lebanon even more important as a refuge for the freedom fighters.

Exact figures are not known, but it is estimated that there are more than 300,000 refugees in Lebanon today, including about 20,000 fedayeen. A third of them are concentrated in about fifteen camps on the outskirts of Beirut and in the south, which are generally under the control of the Palestinians themselves.

The Israeli army has carried out repeated raids across the Lebanese border. The aim is to terrorize the Palestinian refugees and pressure the Lebanese government to curb the Palestinian commandos.

In 1969 a major offensive against the fedayeen was launched by the regime of President Charles Helou. Demonstrations in April urged the government to lift restrictions it had placed on the activity of the fedayeen, forcing the resignation of Premier Rashid Karami (who has since been reinstalled in that post during the current crisis).

In October 1969 the regime ordered the army to escalate its attacks on the fedayeen, resulting in large-scale clashes. A truce was negotiated in Cairo under the urging of Egypt's President Nasser, giving the Palestinians the right to control their own camps.

Heavy fighting between the army and the Palestinians again broke out in May 1973. The army launched a strong offensive following mass demonstrations by 250,000 persons protesting government inactivity over an Israeli raid on Beirut that killed three leaders of the Palestinian resistance.

The Zionists looked on approvingly. "I am afraid the situation in Lebanon is too



QADAFFI: Chief "mischief-maker," according to pundits of New York Times.

confused to result in the final, all-out confrontation that occurred in Jordan," an Israeli official said, recalling the September 1970 slaughter in which as many as 10,000 Palestinian civilians were killed. "But at the same time, the Lebanese seem more determined than ever to gain a greater control over the guerrillas. From our point of view, that is all to the good."

Although quick to attack the Palestinian resistance, the Lebanese army has done little to patrol the borders and defend the population against Israeli raids. In many cases it has been only the Palestinian commandos and the local militias that have mounted any resistance.

Although the army is relatively weak—an estimated 18,000 men under arms—the main reason for the default in face of the Israeli attacks is the conscious policy of successive Lebanese governments and the army officers themselves, who are predominantly Christian.

The Phalangists have even codified this into a theory, holding that Lebanon must remain a weak state to avoid inviting Israeli attacks. As for the Zionists, they are not content just to try to wipe out the resistance. They have their eye on a chunk of southern Lebanon as well, regarding the Litanie River as an advantageous "natural border." This would involve annexing the southern fifteen miles of Lebanon, including the city of Tyre.

During the current crisis, the Zionists have done their best to heat up the tensions, continuing their border raids and sending

fighter planes over Lebanese cities, especially whenever a cease-fire seemed to be in sight.

The Israeli attacks and the default by the Lebanese army have not only led to a flight by many of the inhabitants of southern Lebanon but have also served to radicalize the population and strengthen the ties with the Palestinians.

A young member of the Progressive militia quoted in the September 26 *Le Monde*, speaking about the refugees from southern Lebanon, said:

It's not hard to win these people to our cause. After the Israelis, the actions of the Kataeb suffices to convince them. The Phalangists first organized an army with the aim of keeping us down by force. Because of the default of the authorities, we in turn have to arm to defend ourselves. As we had neither arms nor money, clearly the Palestinian resistance came to our assistance.

The actions of the Lebanese army also impel the population toward the Palestinian resistance, as is indicated by the following experience related by Rouleau:

At midnight on July 23 of this year, Israeli commandos sneaked into the Lebanese frontier village of Kafr Kila, where they blew up several houses and withdrew, taking seven villagers with them. It was a routine operation in this daily war of attrition between Israel and the fedayeen. The skirmish lasted several hours, and the Lebanese army, as usual, did not step in. The kidnapped villagers, all Lebanese citizens, were subjected (according to them) to a "tough" interrogation before being released two weeks later at the frontier station of Naqoure.

That wasn't the end of their ordeal, however. They were then seized by the Lebanese army and grilled night and day, just as they had been by the Israelis, for information about the fedayeen camping out not far from there with—and this was the height of irony—the Lebanese government's permission. The seven captured men were suspected of collaborating with the Palestine resistance. "Why else would the Jews have seized you?" screamed one of the questioners.

"We were treated far more harshly by the Lebanese soldiers," Mohamed Hammoud, one of the men involved, told me, "than we were on the other side of the border." And Abou Omar, a mason and local leader of the People's Watch (Communist militia) who directed the resistance to the Israeli commandos, concluded, with the unanimous approval of the villagers standing around us: "We have two foes: Israel and the Lebanese state, which both have the same interests."

Both the Palestinians and the Lebanese masses, Rouleau said, "feel they belong to the same 'fellowship of wretchedness,' to borrow the phrase of Ghassan Tueni, labor and social affairs minister. 'It is a communion of hate for the Lebanese state, the army, and the Maronite bourgeoisie, which are considered enemies.'"

The Palestinians have served as a catalyst in the current crisis, but it has been the Christian bourgeoisie, with the Phalangists in the lead, who provoked the armed clashes. The Phalangists' aim was either to

smash the Palestinian resistance or force the Lebanese army to step in and do the job. They want the guerrillas disarmed, so as to facilitate the dismantling of their "state within a state" in the refugee camps and the countryside (or even their complete expulsion from the country, since they tip the religious balance even further in favor of the Muslims).

After the October 1973 war, Lebanese leaders nursed the hope that the Palestinians would quit Lebanese soil to set up their own "ministate." But they were disappointed in this. On January 12, 1975, the Lebanese border village of Kfar Shouba was bombed and destroyed by the Israelis. Many villagers were killed, and 166 of the village's 202 houses were destroyed.

The left responded by organizing protest demonstrations. The religious leader of the Shia Muslims, the Imam Moussa Sadr, declared that "Lebanon has to mobilize a force to protect the south from Israeli occupation, and I will be the first to sign up for military service if there is a national defense plan."

The response of the Phalangists, however, was to intensify their attacks on the Palestinians, accusing them of "abusing our hospitality and democracy" with the aid of the "international subversive left." At first, on January 20, Gemayel demanded that the state reestablish its authority over all parts of the country. Then on February 20 he demanded that a referendum be held on the Palestinian presence in Lebanon.

In February, Palestinian workers in Sidon went into the streets with Lebanese fishermen who were demonstrating against the government's granting a fishing monopoly to the Protein Company, an enterprise formed by two prominent Christians—Tony Franjeh, the president's son, and Camille Chamoun, the former president and current interior minister.

Eleven demonstrators were killed by the army, including a former Nasserite deputy for the area. Lebanese and Palestinians erected barricades, seized the town, blocked the road to Beirut, and called a general strike. In Beirut, the Phalangists with Gemayel at their head paraded through the streets acclaiming the heroism of the soldiers, five of whom were killed in the fighting in Sidon.

On April 13, with tensions increasing throughout the country, the Phalangists carried out a cold-blooded massacre that was to set off general hostilities, first in the capital and then throughout the country. A bus carrying Palestinians home from a rally was ambushed by the Phalangist militia, and twenty-seven Palestinians were gunned down.

Premier Rashid Solh resigned May 15, accusing the Phalangists of bearing "full responsibility" for the massacre. On May 23, President Franjeh appointed a military

cabinet, the first in Lebanon since independence. This was seen as a clear gain for the Phalangists, who had stepped up their demands for the army to intervene against the Palestinians. But the formation of the military cabinet touched off an explosive upsurge among the masses, and on May 24 the country was shut down by a general strike. The regime was forced to resign after three days.

An Impasse for the Bourgeoisie

The Syrian regime, the leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and most of the bourgeois politicians are all desperately looking for a solution to the crisis that would not fundamentally change the status quo. But they are at an impasse. Despite numerous attempts to restore stability, all the "truces" negotiated so far have quickly broken down.

The Lebanese regime is operating under a severe handicap, since it is extremely difficult to use the army to intervene. In the first place, its troops are outnumbered by the different militias. More importantly, because of its predominantly Christian officer corps and the well-founded suspicions on the part of the Muslim masses that they would order the troops to fight alongside the Phalangists, use of the army could prove very dangerous. It could set in motion a popular upsurge far surpassing anything that has occurred so far.

In addition, although the officers are mainly Christian, many of the ranks are Muslim. The army itself could prove unreliable, particularly in view of the polarization of Lebanese society.

So far the regime has taken only tentative steps to test the army. It first sent it to separate the popular forces in Tripoli from the Christian militias in the nearby town of Zghorta. Then on October 24 it deployed about 100 soldiers in some areas of Beirut.

If events show the helplessness of the regime, several forces waiting in the wings have indicated their readiness to step in. In the wake of the steep domestic and international price Washington paid for its Vietnam debacle, the White House has to be more cautious than it was in 1958 about direct military intervention, relying more on regional supporters to keep things in check.

But the Zionists have repeatedly warned that they would have no hesitation about invading if events begin favoring the Palestinians. The head of the Israeli army, General Mordechai Gur, sensing that the Phalangists might be losing ground, declared June 27: "If a modification of the internal structure of Lebanon occurs, the consequences would be very serious for Israel, in that it affects the activities of the fedayeen which are launched from that territory against Israeli settlements."

In an interview October 14, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin accused Syria of trying "to exploit the unstable situation in Lebanon to achieve its purposes. . . . Any attempt to conquer Lebanon would create a situation which will adversely affect Israel's security."

Paris is also concerned. The French government issued a statement July 2 declaring that "it is essential that the independence, unity, and integrity of Lebanon be preserved." The French imperialists said they were ready to give Lebanon "the help that it might want to receive in the difficult circumstances through which it is passing."

Although eighteen members of the Arab League meeting in Cairo October 16 adopted a resolution warning they would use "all their resources" in concerted action if Israel used the civil strife in Lebanon as a pretext for taking over southern Lebanon, Egypt's position has been ambiguous.

In an interview with *Le Monde* in January, President Sadat went out of his way to say that Egypt's commitment to go to war in case of an aggression against Syria did not apply to Lebanon, even if Israel sought to occupy the southern part. In a speech October 16 he warned all countries to keep their "hands off Lebanon," but observers interpreted this as being directed more toward Syria and Libya than Israel.

A twenty-member "National Dialogue Committee" representing most of the major political trends in Lebanon has been meeting since September 25 in an attempt to work out a solution but without success. The Phalangists have insisted that the state reestablish its control in all parts of the country—i.e., disarm the Palestinians and popular militias—before they will agree to any reform of Lebanon's political structure.

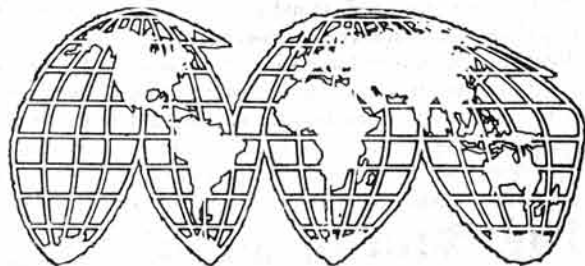
But many of the more astute Christian politicians are beginning to realize that methods less blatant than the "national pact" or naked force are required. Some are now in favor of "deconfessionalizing" the conflict.

However, while "deconfessionalization" and a series of measures to reform Lebanon's political structure might have been able to defuse the situation a few years ago, such reforms by themselves are unlikely to dampen the militancy of the Muslim masses.

In addition, there is the issue of the Palestinians. As long as the Palestinians insist on their rights, the Zionists and the Lebanese bourgeoisie are faced with an explosive and radicalizing issue.

In face of these circumstances, there is little prospect the Lebanese bourgeoisie and its imperialist backers can clamp a permanent lid on the powder keg that is Lebanon today. □

AROUND THE WORLD



Political Prisoners Tortured in Uruguay

The Uruguayan Political Prisoners Defense Committee issued a statement in Paris October 26 calling attention to the continued use of torture by the Bordaberry regime. Among the cases it cited are the following:

"On September 29 military authorities returned the corpse of Pedro Ricardo Lerena to his family, stating that he had been hanged. However, the hands of the body were broken. The body also showed cigarette burns and the markings of electrical torture. Pedro Lerena, who was arrested this year, had been a political activist for more than ten years.

"Today, numerous political prisoners are threatened by death from torture, as the death of Alvaro Balbi July 31 showed. He was turned over to his family, dead, ten days after his arrest."

The statement also noted that "some persons, imprisoned for a long time, are once again being savagely tortured. These include Carlos Coitiño; Romero Soto; Pablo Anzalone; Roberto Pérez; N. Basilio; Elisa, the daughter of Senator Michelini; and others."

The committee asks that letters demanding an immediate end to the torture of political prisoners be sent to Ministry of the Interior, Gen. Hugo Linares Brum, Montevideo, Uruguay. Copies of all protests should be sent to Committee for the Defense of Uruguayan Political Prisoners, Centre de Rencontres, 67, rue du Théâtre, 75015 Paris, France.

Hunger Is a Profitable Business

The world fertilizer shortage of 1972-74, which was contrived by the producers to drive up prices, has now turned into a "glut." Although fertilizer prices have dropped to one-half or less of the peak 1974 level (they had jumped as much as 1,000% between 1972 and 1974), they are still considerably higher than two years ago. The result has been a decline in use of fertilizer by the world's poorest countries—those most in need of higher food production to feed their hungry populations.

Fertilizer use in the Philippines dropped 40% in the first six months of 1974; in India it fell 25 to 30% last year. According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture

Organization, the poor countries will need to import about three million tons of fertilizer for the 1975-76 growing season, but will only be able to afford two-thirds of that amount. The shortfall of one million tons of fertilizer is equivalent to ten million tons of food grains.

While hundreds of millions of persons in the underdeveloped countries remain on the brink of famine, the fertilizer companies have been reaping a fortune from inflated prices. International Minerals and Chemical Corporation, the largest American producer, marked a 182% jump in its profits for the fiscal year that ended June 30. The previous year it chalked up a 123% increase in profits.

SP Scores Gains in Swiss Election

The Swiss Socialist party won a plurality of seats in the National Council, the lower house of the Swiss parliament, in the October 25-26 elections. They gained 9 seats for a total of 55, becoming the largest party in the 200-seat house. They also gained a seat in the upper house, the States Council.

The Christian Democrats gained 2 seats in the lower house for a total of 46 seats. Other results in the lower house were as follows: Center Union Democrats, 21; Radical party, 47; Alliance of Independents, 11; Liberals, 6; Evangelicals, 3; Labor party (Communist), 4; Autonomous Socialist party (dissidents from the Socialist party), 1; and Nationalists, 6.

The Communists lost a seat from Geneva.

The Revolutionary Marxist League (Swiss section of the Fourth International) and the Organization of Swiss Progressives ran candidates but did not win sufficient votes to gain a seat.

Prisoners Used for Forced Labor in Indonesia and Philippines

Two Japanese firms, Onoda Cement Company and Mitsui Bussan, together with local Indonesian investors, are planning to construct a \$17 million cement plant in Karangatalun, Indonesia. The plant site is near Nusakambangan prison island, which holds more than 4,000 political prisoners. Some of the prisoners are to be used as forced laborers to mine the limestone deposits on Nusakambangan.

According to an October 17 New Asia

News dispatch from Tokyo, the United Fruit Company of the United States is reported to have carried out a similar project in the Philippines, in which it built the Tadeco Banana Plantation with prisoners from the Davao penal colony.

De Gaulle's Murder Squad

The de Gaulle government operated a secret "assassination committee" during the 1960s, according to former French secret agent Philippe Thiraud de Vosjoli, who has written a book titled *The Committee*. De Vosjoli said the committee was composed of senior intelligence officials and government functionaries and was sometimes presided over by Prime Minister Georges Pompidou (Pompidou later became president).

One successful target of the murder squad, according to de Vosjoli, was Italian oil official Enrico Mattei, who was killed in 1962. French agents were responsible for sabotaging Mattei's plane.

The committee also kept a permanent list of assassination "objectives," including Guinea President Sekou Touré and Habib Bourguiba of Tunisia, who were considered opponents of de Gaulle.

De Vosjoli also revealed that French agents systematically opened the diplomatic mail of foreign embassies, operating a specially equipped van at Orly Airport to intercept the mail.

White Exodus From Rhodesia

According to a report in a Rhodesian newspaper cited in the October 30 *New York Times*, during a recent month 500 more whites left the country than arrived as immigrants, the first time this has happened in years. This is despite huge numbers of Portuguese arriving from Angola and Mozambique.

Another Victim of Pinochet's Camps

Alberto Corvalán, the son of Chilean Communist party leader Luis Corvalán and leader of the Chilean Young Communists, died from heart failure October 26 in Sofia, Bulgaria. The cardiac arrest was the result of damage to his health suffered during his imprisonment in Chilean concentration camps after the Pinochet coup. He was thirty-two years old.

Chapter 15

The Birth of the SMC

By Fred Halstead

Robin Maisel had a bent toward attention to detail and this had led him to play a key role in the first successful campaign against germ warfare research on an American campus. He was a student at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, the oldest university in the country, which had once been headed by Benjamin Franklin. In the mid-1960s it was heavily dependent on government research grants for its financing.

In the summer of 1965 Maisel had a part-time job at the university bookstore. His duties included delivering books ordered by various departments on campus, including the Institute for Cooperative Research (ICR) located on the second floor of a building which served otherwise as a warehouse. His curiosity was aroused, he said later, by "the rather peculiar setup at the ICR. . . . There were locks and buzzers and peepholes and ID

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badges and all the other rather obvious paraphernalia of a secret operation, straight out of a class D spy movie. On reflecting on it today it seems they were downright silly as well as deadly."¹

Maisel started paying attention to the books he was delivering to the ICR, which aroused his curiosity further. He looked through the bookstore's records for the invoices for ICR orders for the previous six months and copied down the titles. Separately they were innocent enough, but together they showed that the ICR had a central interest in rice, epidemic diseases of both plants and animals, air turbulence, and Vietnam. It didn't take too much imagination to guess that the ICR was doing research on dropping something nasty on Vietnam.

Maisel attended the Assembly of Unrepresented People in Washington in August 1965 and there announced that the University of Pennsylvania Committee to End the War in Vietnam was onto something big in connection with war research at the university. With assistance from other antiwar activists he collected enough information to be sure that chemical and biological warfare research was being done by the ICR. Maisel wrote a paper detailing the facts for the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam. In October 1965, when the fall semester was under way and a maximum number of students were on campus, and just ten days before the scheduled International Days of Protest activities, the CEWV sent the information to the president of the university, Gaylord P. Harnwell. Copies of the letter were sent to the United Nations Special Commission on Genocide, the International Red Cross, all the local press, and selected members of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

1. Letter from Robin Maisel to the author, May 25, 1965.

The exposé created a furor on campus. Dr. Knut Kreiger, director of the ICR's operations Spicerack and Summit, then admitted these projects were involved in chemical and biological warfare research for the U.S. military. Kreiger saw nothing wrong in this. In its essence his position was backed by Harnwell, who was obviously embarrassed but who claimed his first duty was to assure adequate financing for the university.

At a rally at city hall October 15, which was part of the International Days of Protest, Maisel spoke on the ICR activities. Staughton Lynd was also a speaker and that night he told the story at the fiftieth anniversary dinner of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The antiwar movement was well alerted. The campus and Philadelphia Area CEWVs then began a concerted campaign that took over a year—assisted by further exposés in *Viet Report* and *Ramparts*—before the university was finally forced to terminate the projects.

The campaign was not an easy one. Maisel was fired and the CEWV had to repeatedly defend its pickets outside the ICR offices against organized physical attacks. It succeeded in winning the sympathy of most of the student body and faculty at first for its simple right to speak out on the secret project. It used that right in a careful and deliberate campaign during which it refused to be provoked—though a few fists did fly—and kept itself squarely on the side of academic freedom, free speech, and against the degrading manipulation of the university, until the majority of the academic community was won to the protest itself.

A pamphlet published by the Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam early in 1966, before the germ and chemical warfare projects had been forced off campus, declared:

"It has been shown that the campus is a good place to look around for ways to expose the Johnson administration on the Vietnam war. The role of the university in military work can be shown successfully and the work done for the war effort can be seriously hampered and delayed by such costly things as having the operation move off campus and deeper underground. Exposure makes it harder for the university to get people to work on the 'dirty' projects. The faculty can be reasoned with and discouraged from working on projects that might jeopardize their standing with their colleagues. Only the second-rate brains at the University of Pennsylvania will now be attracted to the ICR. The university community, its teachers, researchers and students, must refuse to permit their knowledge to be used as a tool of the government's new foreign policy. The businessmen, bureaucrats and Pentagon Strangeloves can be forced to go it alone, without the help of the 'community of scholars.'"²

Later Maisel commented:

"In my opinion the anti-ICR activity was a model of how the antiwar movement could turn public opinion and help to stop the

2. *Germ Warfare Research for Vietnam: Project Spicerack on the Pennsylvania Campus* by Joel Aber, Jules Benjamin, and Robin Martin (Philadelphia Area Committee to End the War in Vietnam, 1966), p. 27. Due to an editorial error Robin Maisel was listed as Robin Martin in this pamphlet. His original paper, slightly rewritten, is reproduced in part as section one of the pamphlet. The appendix contains the book list he discovered.

war. We went on a nonstop campaign of publicity, demonstrations, protests, letter writing around the world, etc. We got professors of biology as far away as Australia to write the U. of P. to say they would never set foot on the campus as long as the ICR was there. We hounded them every minute. We had to have fist fights to defend our rights to speak out. A small band of dedicated activists became a huge band of dedicated antiwar students who finally put the ICR to rest."³

This experience made Robin an unshakable optimist regarding the ability of the antiwar movement to actually affect the war itself. He never appeared to tire or become discouraged. The Spicerack experience, he said, kept him going. Maisel was a member of the YSA and in the above sense he personified its political line on the perspective of the antiwar movement. This attitude was true of the YSA as an organization, though not of course, of every individual member all the time. But the fact that the YSA was a disciplined organization and, what is more, one in which the line was hammered out in discussions involving the entire membership, settled by majority vote, and acted upon in unison, greatly reinforced the staying power of its members.

The YSA also set for itself quite businesslike norms regarding technical organizational matters and for Maisel this was entirely in character. When decisive action was in the air these qualities were often appreciated by others, but to those whose mood or perspective was otherwise at any given moment, they were a source of irritation. So it was when in early December 1966, Robin was given the assignment of going to Ithaca to help get out the first issue of the Spring Mobilization Committee's newsletter, the *Mobilizer*.

Following the November conference I drove from Cleveland to Ithaca with Patricia Griffith and Robert Greenblatt to check out the Glad Day Press. This was a printing cooperative that supplied material to teach-ins and was one of the several groups which shared offices—and Pat Griffith's talents—with the Inter-University Committee.

On the way Griffith expressed concern that the Spring Mobilization Committee had no staff as yet, and that she wouldn't be able to devote much time to it, since she had only been on temporary loan from the Inter-University Committee for the November 5-8 activities. She mentioned that Robin Maisel had stopped through Ithaca on his fall tour, had helped put out a big mailing, and she had been impressed by his efficiency. So it was agreed that I would ask Maisel to go to Ithaca.

Douglas Dowd was out of the country when Maisel arrived. By that time Greenblatt and Griffith had apparently had some second thoughts and were hesitant about the Spring Mobilization, or at least about having the Ithaca office used in connection with it. For one thing, Griffith was already overworked.

Maisel recalls: "I waited all day at the Glad Day Press for him [Greenblatt], working away like a busy bee, but he never showed. Finally, about midnight, when they were closing up shop, I asked Pat Griffith if she could get someone to put me up for the night. She said no. So I rang the bell of the people who lived upstairs from Glad Day Press, woke them up and asked to sleep on their floor that night. They said I could, so I did, and reflected on the rather cool welcome I had gotten."⁴

The next morning Maisel returned to the office. "During the day they made it perfectly clear I was unwelcome but there was no way they could gracefully get rid of me. They suggested that I could not use the office equipment. . . . They suggested that I go rent my own office. I got a room in a boarding house, got a typewriter on loan from IBM's office in town and called you [Fred Halstead] at the Parade Committee. You said to keep plugging away and that A.J. Muste would look into fixing things up.

3. Letter from Maisel to author, May 25, 1975.

4. Ibid.

Meanwhile I prepared the mailing list for the first issue of the *Mobilizer*, which as yet had no material.

"By the third day Griffith and Greenblatt were talking to me again and I was eating one meal a day at their expense, for lunch, while they tried to explain to me why there could not be an issue of the *Mobilizer*. I listened and ate and waited until late evening to call you for instructions. As I recall your words, you said to get the *Mobilizer* out at all costs even if it just had pictures. The main problem was to get something out that said Volume I, Number 1. That would mean No. 2 and No. 3 would follow and eventually we would have the Spring Mobilization.

"You sent an article by A.J. up to me which I proceeded to type out in full, justifying the lines, making it look as attractive as possible, while I tried to think of some way to convince Griffith and Greenblatt to go ahead with the *Mobilizer*."

After about a week, Greenblatt and Griffith flew to New York to attend a meeting on the Spring Mobilization at 5 Beekman Street. We discussed the *Mobilizer* there and it was my impression they agreed it should be put out immediately. A few days later Maisel called me and said he was still having difficulty. I told him to "Get that goddamn thing out!"

Finally, recalls Maisel, "I called the guy who ran the printing press about 6:00 in the morning and persuaded him to come right down and run off the *Mobilizer* . . . to the tune of 3,500 copies. He got it done before noon when the crew began to straggle in. [Maisel apparently could not resist this jibe at "new left" office hours.] It had A.J.'s article, an announcement of the Student Strike meeting to take place in Chicago, a thing about Christmas vigils, a return address, and a couple of pictures. But most of all it had Volume I, Number 1 at the top.

"Griffith and Greenblatt were furious; I had to put out the mailing alone, which I proceeded to do."

Maisel borrowed the stamps from one of the committees in the office, took the mailing to the post office, loaded the files of the Mobilization Committee in his car, and drove back to New York.

"The next day," he continues, "I took the files and stuff down to the Parade Committee loft. We had about 1,500 copies of the *Mobilizer* left over after the mailing (maybe a bit less). I had succeeded in antagonizing virtually everyone in Ithaca with my insistence on getting out the *Mobilizer*. I had become everyone's most unfavorite person, so I think that put the kibosh on any further work in the Spring Mobilization Committee for me." And so it did, which was the committee's loss.

For my part I had hit it off well with both Griffith and Greenblatt and we enjoyed each other's company, in spite of differences, after as well as before this incident. Not so with Robin Maisel. The incident, however, was really my doing and to some extent Muste's, who was gently prodding me as well as others, though not in the stark terms I had used with Maisel. But Maisel got the blame for being too pushy. In truth he had only been a good soldier. It was one of those little injustices that people sometimes find themselves willy-nilly involved with, and which could have discouraged—or even worse, embittered—a young activist if he had taken it personally. Fortunately, Maisel was not inclined to do so, at least not so it showed. I shouldn't have let Maisel take all the heat, but I still don't think I was wrong to press the matter.

Among other things, what was involved here was an act of *will*, and there are moments when that's what leadership is all about. The Cleveland conferences had laid the groundwork for building the Spring Mobilization, but it was still a hesitant, tentative process. The inertia had to be overcome or the momentum would never develop. I had learned before—and Muste had enough experience with mass movements to know—that in such situations timing is of the essence, and he who hesitates is lost.

The working committee had agreed unanimously not to put out the formal call to the Spring Mobilization until we had time to broaden the base and secure wide sponsorship. This was wise and

necessary, but it also left a certain gap. For a time the only announcement was a press release that the conference had taken place. It emphasized the Christmas vigils, since the time was short for preparing this. It mentioned only in passing that the conference had planned a massive mobilization for the spring and gave no details at all.

Muste's article in the first *Mobilizer*—which also contained the motions adopted at Cleveland—was addressed centrally to this broadening process within the overall peace movement. It was vital that the movement itself—in the narrow sense of the few thousand activists of all varieties who would read the *Mobilizer*—be aware that this process was seriously under way and become involved in it as soon as possible.

In the article Muste said it had been agreed that "pending the issuing of the formal 'Call' for the April 15 Mobilization, there should be a prompt exploration of what forces, individual or collective, might be enlisted in support of this mobilization."⁵ He analyzed what these various forces might be, and which could be realistically expected to be involved in the immediate future.

He then addressed an appeal to the most moderate elements critical of the war, as follows:

"It seems to me that the question whether we should continue to do what we are doing to the Vietnamese people and thereby to ourselves—not to say escalate—is not something that is tolerable or debatable or negotiable. You seem essentially to agree. If so, what follows? A murder is being perpetrated on the public highway, on our own doorstep, as it were, in our name. Then, the time to stop it, to refrain at least from anything which somehow eases things for the murder, is NOW. If the several hundred thousand leading Americans who probably hold some such position as this would make that public and act upon it, a salutary change in American life would take place. It would mean the breaking of a spell, a new day for mankind. What are we waiting for."

Turning to the more radical elements, of which the Cleveland conference was more representative, he said:

"Naturally, there were vigorous exchanges on the floor of the Conference between those who, to put it crudely, pleaded that the anti-war movement needed and could mount the greatest demonstration ever of Americans against the abomination being perpetrated in Vietnam by the government of this country, and those on the other hand who questioned this approach and emphasized the need of work on the local level, geared to the problems of people and thus developing a truly democratic 'power base for radical action.' My impression is that during the Conference itself and at the meeting of the provisional Working Committee the next day the participants agreed that, properly dealt with, these two approaches were not antithetical but go together. . . .

"My own very strong conviction is that all the anti-war radical forces in this country should and must *concentrate* attention and efforts as the new year begins, rally forces, and that a Spring Mobilization is relevant, and indeed imperative in this context. There is—let us not lose sight of it for a moment—the elementary fact that atrocious murder is being perpetrated every day, every hour, in Vietnam.

"The feeling of let-down, of hopelessness, which overcomes some at times because the Johnson war-machine grinds on is in the final analysis something to be ashamed of. Johnson and the war-machine are things to be faced, to stand up to, not to stand in awe of or cringe before. Our task is to disarm them, not to be morally and politically disarmed by them. Did we really think the job would be easy and to be attained at a modest price?"

Muste finished his article with a reiteration of the Mobiliza-

tion's stand on nonexclusion in which he touched on one of the profound political processes that the new antiwar movement had impelled:

"We adhere to the policy of 'non-exclusion,' first and most of all, because it is right in principle, necessary to the political health of the nation. People of the Left (Communists with or without quotation marks) should be permitted and expected to function normally in the political life of the country.

"The concept that Communist nations are *ipso facto* enemies, which expresses itself as we have already pointed out, in the strategy of supporting by arms any government provided it is anti-Communist, and the deep-rooted anti-Communist psychology in the American people—these are the factors that in the final analysis back the war in Vietnam and support the American military establishment. I do not think we can effectively combat these evils while at the same time practicing an exclusion or containment policy within the anti-war movement itself.

"In practice a non-Communist coalition is in danger of becoming an anti-Communist one, though it may desire to avoid that. In any event, its program will in the long run tend to be moderate and its resistance to the war restrained in policy. It will tend to seek allies to its right. If by any chance its resistance to the war policy should be stiffened and become radical then it will find itself classified with the Left, the 'enemy', anyway and in its actual withdrawal of support from the Administration and from the war actually will be in that revolutionary and noble position."

Muste's concluding words—in light of all that followed later their wisdom is more striking than appeared when I first read them—were as follows:

"To maintain a radical anti-war coalition is a difficult and delicate task. It is not, be it noted, an attempt to merge parties or to build a political coalition but a cooperative effort of individuals covering a wide spread of opinion. It demands a high sense of responsibility on everyone's part. Nor does it require slurring over differences and avoiding genuine dialogue, but rather, in a notable phrase of Buber's, 'bearing these differences in common.'

"What no doubt clinches the matter is that if we were to abandon the 'non-exclusion' principle we would quickly disintegrate. Our advocacy and practice of it has obviously not, as some prophesied would happen, put an end to popular discontent with the war or other forms of opposition and criticism. 'Non-exclusion' is, therefore, something to be proud of and to nail to the masthead of the Spring Mobilization, confident that an increasing number of Americans will come to understand its correctness and its potentialities."

The Mobilization then, would start where it was, consolidate its own immediate potential base on the principles that had brought it this far, and reach out from there. One of the most important parts of this base was the student antiwar movement. As of the date of the first *Mobilizer*, December 19, 1966, it was largely in a state of disarray so far as national focus was concerned. The *Mobilizer*, however, carried the following brief announcement:

"A meeting to plan a national student strike has been called for December 28th and 29th in Chicago. The call for the meeting was issued by a list of almost 200 individuals. The purpose of the strike, according to the issuers of the call, is to put the colleges on notice that students oppose the war in Vietnam and the use of the universities as an agent for the prosecution of the war.

"The conference on the Student Strike is being hosted by the Chicago Peace Council. It will be held at the University of Chicago." There followed addresses to contact for further information.

* * *

The student strike conference was initiated by Bettina Aptheker, a student at the University of California at Berkeley who had earlier been on the steering committee of the Free Speech

5. *Mobilizer*, Vol. I, No. 1, December 19, 1966. Published by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. (Copy in author's files.)

Movement there. It is a measure of the prevailing depth of the anticommunist psychology in the United States that she made national news when she was elected to the student government after she had publicly announced her membership in the Communist Party in November 1965. Such an occurrence would have been unthinkable in the previous fifteen years or so. She was also a member of the Berkeley chapter of the Du Bois Clubs, the daughter of the Communist Party's best-known scholar, Herbert Aptheker, and a genuine student leader in her own right with a certain charisma.

In the spring of 1966 Bettina wrote an article for the Du Bois Clubs discussion bulletin which indicates that her thinking on some matters was moving in a different direction from that of Hugh Fowler, the Du Bois Clubs' national chairman. In this article she defended the idea of supporting candidates within the Democratic Party, but she also took issue with the antidemonstration mood of SDS, and suggested a nationwide student-faculty strike and a march to "bring a million people to Washington" against the war and for a real war on poverty. "Let's propose such a demonstration," she wrote, "and bring together the entire movement to do it."⁶

Bettina Aptheker did not attend the Cleveland conferences, but at the one in September a mimeographed paper signed by her was distributed entitled: "Proposal for a National Student Strike for Peace." It tentatively announced a meeting to plan such an action, declaring: "If, within the next few weeks a number of people from various sections of the academic community will sign the call for a meeting in Chicago during the *Christmas recess*, the call will be printed, with the signatures, and mailed and distributed as widely as possible." In motivating the idea, she wrote: "We need a nationally co-ordinated student action to give focus and direction to the movement, as well as making it possible for students who are organizing on campuses with a small movement to feel a part of a national action, and less isolated. The primary object is to develop a *militant, effective and broad united* demonstration against the war. . . . The strike is proposed for the Spring, 1967."⁷

By the time of the November Cleveland conference the Chicago student meeting had been set and it was agreed to include the announcement of it in the Spring Mobilization Committee material.

The SWP and the YSA were initially hesitant in their attitude toward this meeting. For one thing a national student strike was simply not realistic in the near future, in their view. For another they were not eager for a repeat of the NCC convention a year earlier, and it was clear that this conference was being promoted by the CP and to a certain extent by the Du Bois Clubs. Since Bettina was the central figure in calling the conference, and she was a member of both the CP and the Du Bois Clubs, there was some fear that the whole thing would simply be controlled by those groups and the YSA would not get fair treatment.

The conference, however, was getting broad sponsorship, including local SDS figures, and in talks Bettina gave during this period she said she was flexible on the question of a strike and that the main thing was to call a national student action and to create a national center for the coordination of student antiwar activities. So the YSA decided to help build the conference. At the very least it would be a place to plug the Spring Mobilization.

Several Chicago YSAers, including Dan Styron, a student at Roosevelt University, volunteered their assistance to the group organizing the student conference out of an office in Chicago. They found the atmosphere cooperative. Styron was asked to

serve on the preparations committee, which included youth from moderate organizations like the Young Christian Students, as well as some from the Du Bois Clubs, the CP, SDS, and a few unaffiliated activists.

The national office of the Du Bois Clubs had been moved to Chicago sometime earlier, and it soon became clear, according to Styron, that one thing the CP and the Du Bois Clubs had in mind was that out of the student conference would come a national student antiwar center in which they would play a significant role. But it also became clear that the difference between Hugh Fowler of the Du Bois Clubs and Arnold Johnson of the Communist Party which had appeared at the founding conference of the Spring Mobilization Committee existed among the people in Chicago building the student strike meeting.

Styron and the other YSAers found themselves blocking with Bettina Aptheker, Danny Friedlander, a student at the University of Chicago, and others who favored close cooperation with the Spring Mobilization Committee, against some of the Du Bois Club and SDS members who were not strong for the spring demonstration.

One of the problems Styron had anticipated was a fight over the negotiations versus immediate withdrawal demands. On December 20 in a letter to Lew Jones he wrote: "Yesterday, however, with no big push on my part, Bettina volunteered the information that she thinks the correct demands for the conference to adopt are (1) Immediate withdrawal of all American troops, and (2) Self-determination for Vietnam."

Styron further observed: "The phrase, 'What we don't want is another NCC,' is repeated over and over again by the CPers."

Styron continued: "The agenda, which we agreed to, implements this line. As it stands now . . . the conference will open with the delegates (everyone who comes) voting on the convention rules, agenda, who the chairman will be, etc. Then Bettina and [Sidney] Peck will make short statements. . . . In these statements they will emphasize (1) The purpose of this conference is to project a spring student action based on the campuses and for the purpose of building a student anti-war movement on the national level. (2) One of the main purposes of the student action will be to mobilize students to attend the national mobilization on April 15. (3) The conference looks on the Mobilization committee as a broad formation which the conference should collaborate with in the closest possible way. (4) A strike looks impossible at this time, and we should discuss what forms the spring student action should take."

Styron then listed the various proposed workshops, including opposition to war research, antidraft, defense of civil liberties, etc. "The general spirit of the conference," he wrote, "is supposed to be that of an active workers conference just prior to an organizing drive."

In conclusion Styron said: "Both Bettina and I have the keys to the office and are looked on as being in charge of the general operation, although she is the undisputed leader." Then he commented rhetorically: "Obviously, this can't happen. Tell us what the hell is going on?"⁸

The conference opened December 28 in a building at the University of Chicago. This was not available beforehand, so housing assignments for delegates arriving the night before were given out at the SDS national office, which was conveniently located. An informal conference steering committee meeting was held there that night as well, which I sat in on as an observer. There is no record of this meeting but two things about it stand out in my memory.

First was the SDS national office itself. I had not seen it since the preparations for the SDS march on Washington in early 1965 when it was in New York and C. Clark Kissinger was the national

6. *Dimensions*. Discussion journal of the W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs. Spring 1966. (Copy in author's files.)

7. Proposal for a national student strike for peace. Submitted by Bettina Aptheker, University of California, Berkeley. Emphasis in original. Undated. (Copy in author's files.)

8. Letter from Dan Styron to Lew Jones, December 20, 1966. (Copy in author's files.)

secretary. Then it was maintained in a businesslike fashion. But in Chicago in December 1966 it was different. The national officers were not present at the time because of an SDS National Council meeting in Berkeley, but they had certainly left the office in a monumental mess.

Fastidiousness is not one of my strong points, but I could hardly believe my eyes when I saw it. There wasn't a desk in the place where you could find space to put down an ordinary piece of paper to take notes. Desks and tables were piled high with old leaflets, inky used stencils, filing folders with their contents spilling out, coffee cups, used food bags, and assorted other impedimenta. There was a large rack for trays of mail-address plates, but some of the trays had not been replaced. They were on the desks, stacked on top of typewriters, on the floor, some of them spilled out, and loose plates scattered around. Most painful of all were the disorganized heaps of unopened mail, some of it on the floor with footprints ground into it.

I leafed through some of the envelopes looking at the return addresses and postmarks. It was from small towns and big cities across the country including areas the radical movement had little or no contact with as yet. Some of it was weeks old. If that's the way they operated as a rule, and apparently it was, there must have been hundreds, perhaps thousands, of youth who had written in for literature, ideas, guidance, and inspiration and had simply never been answered.

I had some differences with SDS before that, of course, but from that night on I had a hard time taking that outfit seriously. No matter how bright or bold their projects might be they would never be effectively organized without a little respect for ordinary work and for the tools of the trade.

The second memory is of the meeting itself. Bettina opened it with a somewhat hesitant approach. The preparations committee had pretty much set aside the strike idea for the moment as unrealistic, but the people now present from out of town had not been part of those discussions. She began simply asking questions, trying to draw the others out in a sort of Socratic method. But no one answered for the longest time. Just to get it started I found myself answering along the lines of supporting the Spring Mobilization. I was ill at ease in this since I was not a delegate and certainly not a student or youth, but the others didn't speak. Willy-nilly the first part of the meeting turned into a dialogue between Bettina and me in which I laid out the whole perspective outlined by Peck and Muste and urged the students to build the Spring Mobilization in addition to whatever else they might do. There was general agreement, or at least no contrary perspective presented, and the meeting then proceeded to go over a proposed agenda for the following day which made the spring action the first point after the routine procedural matters.

The conference was attended by some 250 youth from around the country as well as from Canada and Puerto Rico. There were a few older observers and guests like Jack Spiegel of the hosting Chicago Peace Council, Sid Peck, Brad Lyttle of CNVA, and myself. Paul Booth, while not sanguine about the proposed spring action, agreed to act as parliamentarian and help chair the conference. The Parade Committee delegate was Linda Morse Dannenberg, who was on the committee's full-time staff and of student age.

The ideological spread of those attending was broader and proportionately much more representative than had been the case among the youth at the November Cleveland conference. This in itself indicated that a certain momentum had already begun to develop.

The point on a spring action opened with remarks by Bettina Aptheker, Eugene Groves, representing the National Student Association, Steve Kindred of SDS, and Sid Peck. Kindred, who had been a leader of the anti-draft-ranking demonstrations at the University of Chicago, said he saw good reasons for occasional mass actions. But he raised some questions he said were on the

minds of SDSers present, including whether a demonstration would help the movement "go beyond protest" and whether it wouldn't "soak up resources and energy" and thereby detract from local actions. These questions were discussed extensively with points being made that national action can be complementary to local activity and was important for reaching other layers of the population.

Peck ended the discussion, saying the Spring Mobilization was not viewed as simply another International Days of Protest. "We think it is important," he said, "to keep the notion of 'mass' in front of us. . . . It is not merely a matter of making the record because we feel guilty about the war. . . . We hope to energize and consolidate opposition movements throughout the world."⁹

Workshops took place that night and the next morning. A committee from these then drew up a proposal for the spring, which was presented to the conference as a whole. It contained the following:

"We, the Student Mobilization Committee, urge all those students who wish to oppose the criminal war in Vietnam to dedicate themselves anew to the task of ending the war. Specifically we propose that April 8-15th be designated as Vietnam Week. We urge national student action during Vietnam Week which will culminate in the transportation of as many students as possible to New York and San Francisco as part of the general Spring Mobilization of the antiwar movement on April 15. Finally, we propose that the focus of End the War in Vietnam Week be on: 1. Bringing the GIs home now; 2. Opposing the draft; 3. Ending campus complicity with the war effort."¹⁰

The University of Chicago had been the scene of another conference on December 4 attended by some 500 people to protest the university's complicity with the draft and to discuss draft resistance. Thirty-two of those present, including Paul Booth and SDSer Jeff Segal, had signed a "We Won't Go" pledge. (Segal was out on bail pending appeal, having already been convicted and sentenced to four years in jail for refusing induction.)

There was some discussion of this development and the resolution was amended to include after "opposing the draft," the words "and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system." This formula committed the new group to support draft resisters but did not limit it to those who advocated or engaged in draft resistance.

During the discussion Steve Kindred reported, somewhat regretfully, that the SDS National Council, then meeting in Berkeley, had by a narrow margin declined to endorse the Spring Mobilization. He said he hoped the position might be reversed, possibly by referendum, after discussion with those SDSers who took part in this conference.

The spring action proposal as amended was passed overwhelmingly.

There was only one sharp dispute at the conference. Significantly it was reminiscent of one that had taken place at the workshop at the Assembly of Unrepresented People in 1965, which had founded the NCC. The issue was where the national office of the new Student Mobilization Committee would be located. And on this point the marriage almost broke up before the honeymoon was over. The two proposals were Chicago and New York. (Some wit called out "Madison!" and was almost hooted out of the room.)

The CP and the Du Bois Clubs supported Chicago. The YSA and some radical pacifists supported New York. The SDSers by and large, as well as most of the rest of the delegates, were indifferent on the matter. The underlying question was, of course, what political atmosphere the new group would be influenced by. The Du Bois Clubs' national office was located in Chicago, the

9. *Militant*, January 9, 1967.

10. Resolutions adopted by the national student conference in Chicago, December 28-30, 1966. (Copy in author's files.) Also reproduced in the *Student Mobilizer*, Vol. I, No. 1, January 17, 1967.

YSA's in New York. But much more important, Muste and the radical pacifists were strongest in New York. This last fact was decisive in the thinking of Jack Barnes and myself. In our opinion the new group would have by far the greatest chance of holding together if it were close to Muste's universally acknowledged influence and skill as a reconciler. What is more the Spring Mobilization in the Eastern half of the country was not to be focused on Chicago but New York.

The meeting soon divided into three sharply defined groups: those adamant on Chicago, those adamant on New York, and those who didn't see the difference—or who did and wanted no part of *this* argument—and simply abstained from the discussion or voting. The relationship of forces was tested when a procedural matter—whether to adjourn for dinner—came up on which those favoring Chicago voted one way and those favoring New York the other. The vote was a tie, about one-third one way, exactly the same number the other way, and about a third not voting. Linda Dannenberg, who was chairing that session, took the vote again. Exactly the same result to the last digit. She tried a third time. Exactly the same. "That's discipline for you," she cracked, and used her prerogative as chairperson to move to another point on the agenda while caucusing proceeded in the rear of the hall.

There followed a painful period, with messages going back and forth between caucuses while those left on the floor of the conference stalled for time on the remaining pieces of relatively noncontroversial business. It finally came down to a worried discussion in the lobby between Jack Barnes, Bettina Aptheker, and Mike Zagarell, the CP's youth leader. Barnes eventually convinced Bettina on New York, at least for the initial period, and Zagarell went along.

Overnight, Zagarell had second thoughts and the same tension occurred the next day. Bettina, however, finally persuaded Zagarell to accept New York and the conference so voted.

The idea of a national student strike was not discussed but referred for further discussion, groundwork, and reconsideration at a later time. Strikes would be considered for the spring only at a few selected campuses where the situation might be favorable.

The conference also voted to send out a number of suggested proposals for ongoing local activity, for Vietnam Week, and for preparations for the April 15 mass mobilization. These were not simply a hodgepodge listing of every suggestion made during the workshops, but a set of well-defined, reasonably thought-out proposals including antidraft actions, opposing recruitment for the military and war industries on campus, campus tribunals for exposing university complicity with the war, etc. Most of them were actually implemented to one degree or another.

The conference also voted to publicize the War Crimes Tribunal which had been initiated by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and was scheduled to begin in February 1967. In addition it resolved "to condemn the colonial imposition of the draft onto Puerto Ricans."¹¹

A separate student call to the Spring Mobilization was adopted including the demands for immediate withdrawal, against the draft, and ending university complicity with the war. The adopted implementation document declared:

"1. The groups involved in the conference are urged to send a staff person to the New York April Spring Mobilization office to immediately begin organization and mail out the proceedings of this conference.

"2. That the immediate major task of this staff be to search out major figures in the academic community, the civil rights, peace, and student movements to be included as sponsors of the national call that emanates from this conference. That sponsors be initiated by local committees as well as the New York staff.

"3. That upon accomplishment of this broadening, a Continuations Committee be composed of a representative from each

11. Ibid.

organization that composed the steering committee of this conference, plus one from any organization or individuals who volunteer to participate in Vietnam Week and agree to the call. That this continuations committee make further plans.

"4. That all this be done in cooperation with and consultation with the Spring Mobilization Committee officers, but that the continuations committee also maintain a separate identity oriented toward the involvement and organization of the campus and youth in the national student Vietnam Week and the April 15 Mobilization and other anti-war actions. That the question of whether or not the full student mobilization committee remain in New York or be located in some other place be decided by the student continuations committee on the basis of future development of the mobilization.

"5. That this conference direct the continuations committee to encourage solidarity actions with the April 15 Mobilization particularly in the Midwest and South, and that they urge the Spring Mobilization Committee to join in encouraging those solidarity actions.

"6. That this continuations committee convene a conference on as broad a basis as possible following the Spring Mobilization to evaluate the national student anti-war week and mobilization and consider plans for future action."¹²

It was understood that the CP, the YSA, and hopefully SDS would immediately each provide a staff person in New York, and that Linda Dannenberg would be acting executive secretary. Thus the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam was born.

The antiwar movement, then, entered 1967 with two viable national coalitions, distinct but cooperating. One in a position to appeal to the broadest forces in the adult arena and the other, more radical, based on students and the immediate withdrawal demand. Both were founded on the principle of nonexclusion. A long detour had ended, at least for the time being. Now the big job of organizing could begin.

[Next chapter: April 15, 1967]

12. Ibid.

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Capitalism Fouls Things Up

The Poison That Lasts 80,000 Years

Government officials and scientists who advocate greatly expanded use of nuclear energy in the United States have consistently downplayed the environmental dangers.

They claim, for instance, that the health hazards caused by nuclear power plants are far less than those of the typical coal-fueled power plants now being used.

However, a recent study conducted by Robert O. Pohl, professor of physics at Cornell University, has revealed that in addition to the perils usually cited, there is a little-known aspect of the present nuclear power program that will take a staggering toll in human life.

In an article in the September *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* discussing the findings of the Pohl study, David Comey wrote: "if the number of U.S. nuclear power plants projected for the year 2000 by the former Atomic Energy Commission are actually built, the result will be at least 5,741,500 future deaths from lung cancer over the next 80,000 years. A little over 3 million of these deaths will be among the population of the eastern United States, the remainder in the rest of the Northern Hemisphere."

While most previous studies focused on the health effects resulting from the radioactive emissions produced during daily nuclear plant operations, Pohl examined the environmental effects of the radioactive waste produced during the milling of uranium ore, from which the uranium to be fabricated into fuel elements is extracted.

This waste, called tailings, is now simply piled in huge outdoor heaps. As the tailing piles dry out and the radioactive isotope thorium-230 decays, a gas called radon-222 is released into the atmosphere. This gas, which travels long distances, also decays, producing the isotopes polonium-218 and polonium-214.

Because of their chemical and physical properties, these two isotopes are deposited in the bronchial tissue of human lungs, bombarding a specific region of the lung with a large dose of radiation and causing cancer.

Thorium-230 has a radioactive half-life of 80,000 years and continues to produce the radon-222 gas for more than one million years.

More than 100 million tons of these deadly uranium tailings are already piled up in the Western United States.

Pohl calculated that the radioactivity released from a typical tailings pile of 250 acres will kill fifty-seven persons, by inducing lung cancer, during its first 100 years. During the next few decades, the number of these piles is expected to increase considerably.

In order to produce the 1,090 gigawatts (one gigawatt equals one million kilowatts) of electricity scheduled to be generated by nuclear power plants by the year 2000, enough uranium tailings will be produced

during that year alone to kill at least 390 persons during the first 100-year period.

If the power plants are kept running for thirty years, enough tailings will accumulate to kill 11,700 persons during the next 100 years.

Pohl's calculations, however, are conservative, since he does not take into account any growth in the size of the population. Comey estimated that if population growth and other factors are taken into consideration, the death estimates could be up to two and a half times larger.

There are at present no adequate methods of safely disposing of the tailings. □



Slightly Atomic Rabbits

In the 1950s, the Atomic Energy Commission (now called the Energy Research and Development Administration) transferred 32 million gallons of liquid radioactive wastes from underground storage tanks to unlined trenches on its reservation in Hanford, Washington.

Containing 900,000 curies of radiation from strontium-90, cesium-137, tritium, cobalt-58, and plutonium, the waste eventu-

ally solidified into large cakes of salt twenty to thirty feet below ground surface.

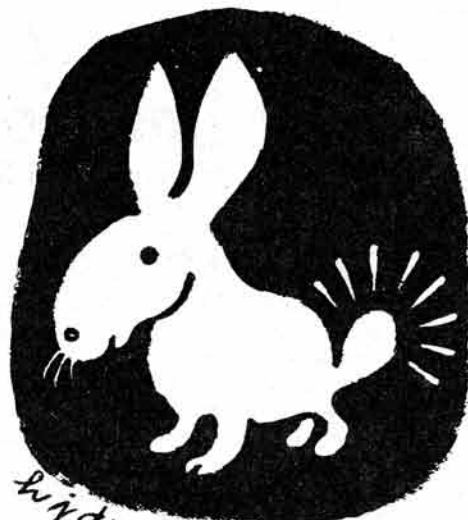
The animals in the area found the radioactive salt tasty. "Between 1958 and 1960," reported scientists Thomas P. O'Farrell and Richard O. Gilbert, "native mammals, probably badgers or coyotes, burrowed into one of the back-filled trenches, exposing the salt cake. . . . No doubt the area became a focal point for native wildlife as salt licks are rare in the area."

When AEC employees discovered the burrows in 1964, they paved over the salt cakes with asphalt and later added huge mounds of gravel.

"But by then," the scientists said, "an unknown quantity of radioactivity had been spread over several square kilometers in the feces of jackrabbits and their predators."

Jackrabbits ate the radioactive salt, as did pocket mice and deer mice. They were eaten in turn by coyotes, bobcats, badgers, eagles, and several types of hawks and owls.

In 1972 and 1973, O'Farrell and Gilbert tested the area around the salt cakes, using Geiger counters. "Radioactive jackrabbits' pellets were found in all directions," they reported, the majority being found less than a half mile from the salt cakes. The area covered by the predators was larger, how-



San Francisco Chronicle

ever, extending to about twenty square miles.

None of the pellets were less than ten to twelve years old, but some still contained a considerable level of radioactivity. Geiger counters held over rabbit pellets or bone fragments registered 20,000 to 100,000 clicks per minute, at times indicating 100 times the normal level of radiation. □

Memo to Detroit

Recent findings show that the gasoline shortage in the winter of 1974 was accompanied by a dramatic drop in deaths from all causes, and especially from heart and chronic lung diseases, in San Francisco and Alameda counties in California.

Scientists discussing these findings in the October issue of the British journal *Nature* said they believe that reduced exposure to pollutants in motor-vehicle exhaust may have been the most significant factor explaining the unusual decline in deaths.

Excluding deaths from auto accidents, there was a 13.4% drop in deaths from all causes in San Francisco County during the first quarter of 1974. In Alameda County the overall death rate dropped 7.7%.

Deaths from chronic lung disease dropped nearly 33% in San Francisco County and 38% in Alameda County. Cardiovascular diseases dropped respectively 16.7% and 11.2%.

The researchers considered other possible causes of the reduced death rate—weather patterns, influenza and pneumonia deaths, and other pollution factors—before zeroing in on reduced exhaust fumes.

In the second quarter of 1974, when the gasoline shortage disappeared, the death rate climbed back to its usual level.

What They Didn't Tell You About Those Nuclear Tests

The plutonium fallout from the atmospheric nuclear tests conducted in the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s has caused a dramatic rise in the number of lung cancer cases in the country. These are the findings of a recent study by Dr. John Gofman, professor emeritus of medical physics at the University of California, columnist Jack Anderson reported September 19.

"For the USA alone," Gofman said, "it is estimated that 116,000 persons have been committed to plutonium-induced lung cancer. In the entire Northern Hemisphere, the total number is 1,000,000 persons."

Gofman predicted that the lung cancer casualty rate from plutonium would increase even more sharply in the future because of the growing use of nuclear energy in the United States.

Even if the nuclear power industry "contains its plutonium 99.99 per cent

perfectly," he said, "it will still be responsible for 500,000 additional fatal lung cancers annually. This would mean increasing the total death rate in the United States by 25 per cent each year, since 2,000,000 persons currently die from all causes combined."

Deadly Cargo

Dr. Leonard Solon, director of New York City's radiation control bureau, says the odds are 50-50 that a major nuclear disaster, affecting a five-mile swath of the city, will occur over a four- to five-year period if the Long Island Lighting Company is allowed to ship radioactive waste through the city.

The company has applied to the state for permission to ship radioactive waste from its proposed nuclear reactors through the city's streets.

The contemplated shipments would contain several million parts of mixed fission products and tens of thousands of mixed plutonium isotopes. A leak of any vaporized material from a single shipment could drift and settle over a five-mile radius, causing serious illness and possible death.

National Council of Churches Denounces Use of Plutonium

A policy statement approved by the governing board of the National Council of Churches October 10 denounced the use of plutonium in nuclear power plants as "morally indefensible and technically objectionable." Citing inadequate safeguards, the council said that release of the poisonous element could cause "unprecedented and irremedial disaster."

The church statement was based on a background report prepared by a twenty-one-member committee headed by microbiologist René Dubos and anthropologist Margaret Mead, and endorsed by sixty noted figures, including sixteen Nobel Prize winners.

The board's preliminary approval of the statement marks a significant change in policy by the council, which represents forty million members of thirty-one churches. A 1960 policy statement by the group expressed virtually unqualified support for all peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

Workers Exposed to Chrome Pigments Run High Risk of Fatal Lung Cancer

A study of workers in three pigment manufacturing plants in the eastern United States has found "an unusually high lung cancer risk among workers exposed to lead chromate pigments," according to a report in the October 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

Of the 38 deaths identified among 580 workers exposed to the pigments, 29 percent (11 deaths) were due to lung cancer. About 1,000 workers in the United States are

directly involved in the manufacture of the deadly pigments. An additional 100,000 to 200,000 workers are exposed to them when they are used in manufacturing other products.

Another study, reported in the British journal *New Scientist*, found that the death rate from lung cancer among chrome workers at a Nippon Denko Kuriyama plant in Japan was more than twenty-six times higher than the national average.

35% in France Oppose Nuclear Plants

EDF, the state-owned electrical utility, carried out a poll in August to determine what French people think about the government's program of building nuclear power plants.

"The press was discreet about the results," reported the September 27-October 4 issue of *Tribune Socialiste*, "except to point out that 55.5% of the population favored nuclear power plants. This discretion is understandable if one examines the results of the poll. . . ."

"Although the bourgeois parties are unanimous in their support of the program and the Communist party and Socialist party are not hostile to it, 35.5% of those questioned nonetheless opposed the program. And it is worth noting that 43.5% of those who voted for the CP and 38% of those who voted for the SP are opposed to the government's nuclear power projects."

Bad for the Ears and the Ozone

The new supersonic Concorde jetliner, developed jointly by British and French interests, is six times noisier than present jet transports and will disturb twelve times more persons around London airport, according to a report released October 20 by the Greater London Council.

In addition to the ear-splitting noise, the exhaust released by a large fleet of supersonic transports (SSTs) flying at high altitudes could seriously damage the ozone layer in the stratosphere, which shields the earth from the lethal effects of the sun's ultraviolet radiation.

London and Paris are the only governments to date to authorize production of the supersonic transport. One factor that could scuttle further development of the airliner is the opposition of environmentalists, particularly in the United States. The Environmental Defense Fund, for instance, has pledged to take the issue to court if Washington allows Concorde flights to the United States.

One congressman, who represents a district near John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City, said, "I have received strong protests against the SST from local school boards, the mayors of towns and villages and from united citizens action groups."

In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective

By Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields

Every group in the world that claims to be Trotskyist is being tested by the requirements of the working class under new conditions of world economic crisis. In the past, the Trotskyist movement was confined largely to a propaganda existence isolated from the broad movement of the masses by the continuing capitalist economic boom. One could, in that period, advocate all kinds of policies; but the opportunity to *live* those policies in practice within one's own country was extremely limited. For this reason, a real sorting out of revolutionary forces could not take place.

For Trotskyists it is not only a matter of supporting revolutions that break out in other countries—Cuba, Algeria, or even Vietnam—which they of course do to the best of their ability, but of how they respond to the emergence in their own country of a working class that is determined to fight but that lacks an understanding of how to fight and a leadership to carry out that fight. This is the supreme test of all revolutionists. All tendencies must and *will* be sorted on this basis. At the same time, important theoretical questions from the past, the confusion and disorientation from that period, will be sorted out on this basis as well.

The International Committee, led by Gerry Healy, and its American political supporters in the Workers League have failed this test completely. The IC has specialized for many years in proclaiming an economic crisis even when the capitalist boom was still going full blast. When it is now a matter of the *actuality* of the crisis, which poses the need to actually determine concrete policies under these new conditions, the IC has completely collapsed.

The Socialist Workers party has met this concrete test so that it not only can play the central role in the construction of the revolutionary party in the United States but can give an important lead to the forces of Trotskyism throughout the world. This is our judgment after a decade of struggling to build the International Committee and the Workers League, at many points in the sharpest opposition to the SWP.

We urge all Trotskyists in the world to do as we have done, and in an objective and fresh way reassess all the tendencies throughout the world claiming adherence to Trotskyism. We hold that the sole basis upon which Marxists can make such an

assessment is to see how these tendencies respond to the needs of the working class itself in this critical period of class struggle. Marxists have no other interests outside those of the working class. We have no other basis for political judgment.

International Perspectives

Let us turn to the manifesto of the Sixth International Congress of the International Committee, issued May 24, 1975. Entitled "Build the Party of the World Socialist Revolution," it is the latest definitive statement of the position of the IC.¹ This document tells us: "What is now at issue, in all the capitalist countries, is the outbreak of mass struggles in which the first responsibility is the actual preparation by the working class for the taking of state power."

This theme runs throughout the entire document. For example: "Not a single burning problem of the working class in Britain, the United States or any other country can be resolved outside the preparation of the struggle for state power."

And again: "Every elementary demand of the working class, every defence of past gains, every attempt of the capitalist state to control the trade unions, brings forward the two great necessities for the working class: the preparation of the conquest of state power and the building of the revolutionary party to lead this struggle for power."

That this is no passing fit on the part of Healy is illustrated by an article on Portugal by Alex Steiner in the August 12 *Bulletin*, which criticizes the SWP for denying "that the working class internationally is faced with the struggle for power as an immediate practical task."

Well, Comrades Healy and Steiner, you can add us to the list of those who deny that the task today internationally is the "immediate practical task" of the struggle for power!

In fact, it would appear that the IC itself is a bit confused on the issue, at least in its practice (it is after all as Steiner sees it a practical matter), for the photographs accompanying the manifesto show a demonstration in the United States for a *labor*

party and one in Australia in defense of the *trade unions*.

If the immediate practical task before our movement is the seizure of power, then certainly demonstrations calling for all power to the soviets would appear more appropriate to the task. Of course, this might be a bit confusing in Australia and the United States, where, to our knowledge, no soviets exist.

It is of course true to say that today *in general* all struggles of the working class pose the necessity for workers to come to power *in the future* because the crisis of capitalism allows for no lasting reforms and propels the capitalists themselves into ever sharper attacks on the working class. It is quite another thing to state the question of power as an immediate task. With Healy, abstract demagoguery replaces concrete appraisals and appropriate policies.

The actual state of affairs in the world is far different from the simplistic and schematic dreams of Healy. World capitalism is today in its deepest crisis, a crisis the capitalists can resolve only through a massive defeat of the working class internationally. But they are unable at this point to make any progress toward such a defeat. It is precisely the great strength of the world working class that at each point deepens the crisis and internal contradictions of the capitalist class.

The working class, however, comes into this new situation not only with the strength it built up during the period of the boom, but also with the illusions and old leaderships from that period. In its first struggles, it, out of necessity, tests these old forms of thought and old leaderships. It will turn to a revolutionary leadership only under conditions in which this leadership learns to reach the workers and goes with them through the experience of testing out the old leadership, fighting around the Transitional Program and method in this process and assembling and training a proletarian cadre. As Trotsky noted in his struggle against the Bordigists:

"The expectation of the Bordigists that revolutionary events will of themselves push the masses to them as a reward for their 'correct' ideas, represents the crudest of illusions. During revolutionary events the masses do not inquire for the address of

1. See *Workers Press*, June 2, 1975.

this or that sect, but leap over it. To grow more rapidly during the period of flux, during the preparatory period, one must know how to find points of contact in the consciousness of wide circles of workers. It is necessary to establish proper relations with the mass organizations. It is necessary to find the correct point of departure corresponding to the concrete conditions of the proletarian vanguard in the person of its various groupings."²

This is why all the lessons of Lenin and Trotsky's struggles over the questions of democratic demands, the slogans in favor of workers governments, united fronts, etc., have a new immediacy in this period. The practical tasks of today flow from this situation and not abstract notions of the struggle for power.

We must recognize that we have the *time*, precious little time yes, but the time, to carry out this patient work. This time is given to us by the strength of the working class on the one hand and the prostration of the capitalist class before this strength on the other. This is the central lesson to be drawn from the military victory in South Vietnam and Cambodia. This is a most critical point; for to deny this time, to seek to panic the movement with visions of imminent revolution on the one hand and imminent fascism on the other, is to *foster revisionism*. And this is precisely what Healy seeks to do.

The very same manifesto that speaks of imminent struggles for power, that hails the Vietnamese revolution, draws another conclusion: the immediate danger of World War Three. "The blind alley of capitalism's crisis drives the imperialists inevitably toward the launching of World War Three," the manifesto predicts.

The older cadres of the Fourth International, and the younger ones who have studied its history, will say: "Burnt once is enough. We have no intention of being burnt twice!" It was Michel Pablo who told the Fourth International in 1950 that war-revolution was imminent. On this basis, he sought to avoid the laborious process of winning and training Trotskyist cadres in that difficult period by looking for other forces to do the job. He became convinced that a section of the Stalinists could be transformed into revolutionary instruments under the pressure of the masses in this "new reality."

The IC misses the main point of the Vietnam victory. It expresses the *great weakness* of the capitalists in carrying out their interests through war. It is above all the movement of the masses that holds back the trigger finger of the imperialists.

This position of the IC expresses the tremendous lack of confidence in the working class that distinguishes Healy and all ultralefts. It expresses a petty-bourgeois hostility to and distance from the working class, which they see as simply being pushed around, stepped upon, and dominated by the imperialists and would-be fascists.

Let us now look at the question of Portugal. Today, as we said, the acid test of every revolutionist is one's relationship to the movement of the working class within one's own country. It is also true that Portugal plays a special role in this process.

As the most advanced revolutionary development at present, it poses questions that will be raised in the next immediate period in many other countries. Thus, each tendency internationally is being put to the test by Portuguese developments, simultaneously with being forced to face up to the responsibility of the working-class struggle in its own country. This is what gives to the Portuguese discussion now going on in the ranks of all organizations claiming adherence to Trotskyism such richness.

The heart of a revolutionary strategy in Portugal must be the recognition of the Armed Forces Movement as the central instrument for the maintenance of capitalist rule and the central constituent in the tottering capitalist state. Capitalism continues to exist in Portugal only because of the support given by the workers parties to one or another section of the AFM and, through the AFM, to capitalism.

Our strategy must therefore be to expose this relationship by putting forward demands for a united front of the CP and SP against the right; for a CP-SP government as an expression of the majority vote these two parties received in the recent election and the majority of delegates they have in the Constituent Assembly; for a socialist program as the platform of such a government; and for the independent development of the factory committees and other embryonic soviet forms in defense of the democratic rights and socialist aspirations of the masses. With such a strategy even a small Trotskyist cadre in Portugal could grow extremely quickly in opening up revolutionary possibilities.

However, the overwhelming sentiment in left circles in Portugal and internationally has been opposed to such a perspective. In one fashion or another these groups have oriented towards the CP and sections of the AFM with the illusory hope that these forces will make a revolution. This approach is but a new form of the theories that Michel Pablo developed in the early 1950s. But it is not just a matter of wrong theories. In practice these ultralefts have been an important cover and prop for the Portuguese CP and have definitively aided the capitalists in giving them time to attempt a reconsolidation of their strength.

The Socialist Workers party has refused to go along with such an approach. It correctly defended the right of *República* to be published, as a paper reflecting the views of the SP, when ultralefts supported the CP's successful campaign to remove the editors. It correctly defended the existence of the Constituent Assembly when ultralefts favored its dispersal—an action that would leave only the military government in charge. It fought for united action by the SP and CP and against the collaboration of both parties with the AFM.

Healy, rather than recognizing this principled position of the SWP with which in many respects he agreed (and perhaps seeing in it the possibility for some common actions or discussions, as have the French OCI), has decided instead to step up a campaign of slanders and distortions directed against the SWP. He hopes in this fashion to hide from his supporters the truth of the principled international position the SWP has taken on the most important international event of the day.

We can sum up the basic orientation of the IC internationally as a resurrection in a pseudo-Trotskyist form of the old "third periodism" of the Stalin-dominated Comintern in 1929-33. The article "The 'Third Period' of the Comintern's Errors" by Leon Trotsky, just published in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1930)*,³ should be made must reading for every member of the IC sections the world over. We would suggest to Healy that he could make good use of his newly acquired country estate by devoting the studies there to this work alone.

The IC over the past ten years has devoted considerable efforts to an assessment of the world capitalist crisis. We, ourselves, have contributed to that work. While Healy correctly pointed to the signs of an economic crisis developing underneath the capitalist boom of the 1960s, he confused these signs with day-to-day reality, the potential with the actual, the general character of the epoch with the specific conjunctural development of capitalism. That today this crisis affects the lives of all workers does not justify the past course of Healy. As Trotsky states in his polemic on the "third period": "One who predicted daily the eclipse of the sun would finally live to see this prediction fulfilled. But we are unlikely to consider such a prophet a serious astronomer."

It is astounding to see the degree to which Healy's present-day approach is literally lifted out of the approach of Stalin in the "third period." Thus Trotsky's writings of that time now take the form of a polemic against Healy. We will cite a few passages to illustrate the point:

"It goes without saying that from the

2. *Documents of the Fourth International*, page 63. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014, or Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

3. Pages 27-70. See footnote No. 2.

point of view of *our epoch as a whole* the development of the proletariat advances in the direction of the revolution. But this is not a steady progression, any more than the objective process of the deepening of capitalist contradictions. The reformists see only the ups of the capitalist road. The formal 'revolutionaries' see only its downs. But a Marxist sees the road as a whole, all of its conjunctural ups and downs, without for a moment losing sight of its main direction—the catastrophe of wars, the explosion of revolutions."

"What does depend on us, and what we are obliged to do, is not to close our eyes to facts in the name of pitiful schemata, but to see the course of economic development as it really is and to work out trade-union tactics on the basis of facts."

"The tasks of communists is not to predict crises, revolutions, and wars every single day, but to prepare for wars and revolutions by soberly evaluating the circumstances and conditions that arise *between* wars and revolutions."

"In the prewar period, the basic and the conjunctural processes developed much more evenly than in the present period of abrupt changes and sharp downturns, when comparatively minor shifts in the economy breed tremendous leaps in politics. But from this it does not follow that it is possible to close one's eyes to the actual development and to repeat three incantations: 'contradictions are sharpening,' 'the working masses are turning to the left,' 'war is imminent'—every day, every day, every day. If our strategic line is determined *in the final analysis* by the inevitability of the growth of contradictions and the revolutionary radicalization of the masses, then our tactics, which serve this strategy, proceed from the realistic evaluation of each period, each stage, each moment, which may be characterized by a temporary softening of contradictions, a rightward turn of the masses, a change in the relation of forces in favor of the bourgeoisie, etc. If the masses were to turn leftward uninterruptedly, any fool could lead them. Fortunately or unfortunately, matters are more complicated, particularly under the present inconstant, fluctuating, 'capricious' conditions." (All emphasis Trotsky's.)

American Perspectives

Now we must turn to the United States and judge the reaction to the crisis here both of the Workers League under the Mazelis leadership, the American political supporters of the International Committee, and of the SWP. The position held by our movement in the United States for some time has been that the next big step for American workers, following the organization of mass trade unions in the CIO period, is to move toward political independence from the capitalist parties through forma-

tion of a labor party. In the past, in our opinion, the Workers League made a positive contribution to popularizing this demand, especially in the campaign in the 1973-74 period around the slogan "Force Nixon Out."

Today, however, this situation has changed. That is, while in the past, developments in the workers movement were such that the fight for a labor party could not go much beyond some broad propaganda work, today the conditions are beginning to be created where such a party can actually emerge.

The task of revolutionists in this period thus changes. We must propagandize and educate for a labor party as we have in the past. A labor party will not be created unconsciously by some automatic process out of the upheavals of the masses. The pioneer work of Trotskyists around the labor party slogan will be a critical factor. *But* a labor party will not emerge out of such propaganda alone. It will come from the *experiences* of masses of workers in actual struggle against the capitalists as we at the same time participate in and seek to lead those struggles, drawing the lessons from the struggles as to the need for a labor party and preparing for the day when the actual movement of masses for a labor party begins.

It is this interim period that we are now in. We have passed through the stage where we talk of the labor party but there is no broad movement of the masses. We are entering the stage where this movement will take place. We have yet to reach a period where this movement leads to broad *political* struggles for such a party. But we cannot reach this latter stage, what we can call the stage of actual agitation and organization of a labor party movement, unless we are able to play a leading role in this stage and on that basis prepare for the next stage.

The Workers League continues to approach the labor party question in a completely abstract manner. Thus it finds itself in *opposition* to the actual movement of the working class now taking place. Therefore it does not aid but retards the struggle for a labor party in the United States.

The position of the Socialist Workers party is different. Its recent convention was entirely devoted to an assessment of the economic crisis and therefore the need of the SWP to turn to the working class, leading concrete struggles that relate to the actual stage of development of the working class and its history. Within this context the SWP's ambitious election campaigns around a socialist program and its propaganda for a labor party can and will begin to take root in the masses. This development of the SWP is what now leads Healy to resort to such heights of slander against

the SWP and its leaders.

We must understand the basic problem of the development of the American working class determined by the past of American capitalism. Because of the existence up to the American Civil War of a slave system in the South and the inability of the capitalist class, following the Civil War, to fully resolve the democratic tasks posed by that revolutionary war, the American working class is deeply divided on race lines. Subsequent migration of masses of Puerto Ricans into the Northeast, the growth of a Chicano population in the Southwest (part of whom were the original settlers in the area), the small but important Asian community, the Native Americans, have all added to this race division.

The political and social development of the American working class cannot proceed without a head-on confrontation with this problem—in many ways the central problem of the third American revolution.

The strategy of the American ruling class is completely based upon a recognition that only by dividing the working class racially and driving a wedge between the masses of minority peoples, who are primarily workers, and the rest of the working class can it maintain its social and political domination over the working class as a whole. Against this strategy, the American workers can achieve political independence from the ruling class, as a first step to revolution, only by breaking down the divisions within the working class and developing a broad social movement of the entire class with the trade-union movement at its center.

The period of the birth of the CIO expressed the beginnings of such a tendency. The years since this period have objectively created a far more powerful basis for this unity, with the massive migrations of the Blacks from the countryside into the cities and their partial integration into basic industry.

At the same time, a conservative bureaucracy has grown up in the unions, which defends white worker privileges and is intimately tied to the capitalist class and particularly the Democratic party. The unity of the working class can be achieved only through a bitter battle against this bureaucracy, including all its wings. Such a struggle will lay the basis for the development of a political party of the working class as a whole.

We will take up a few specific developments over the past year to show how both the WL and the SWP were put to the test in the actual events of the class struggle.

The first is the movement in defense of school integration and against racist attacks, which has centered on Boston. Here we had a critically important democratic struggle necessary to the political development of the working class. It could not be sidestepped. We could not act as if racism

did not exist and did not have a grip on a whole layer of white workers. We could not bend to these prejudices, hoping to perhaps "unite" workers by ignoring the racism, which does exist. Only a head-on confrontation with that racism in action, in actual practice, could win over the Black workers and youth to socialism and lay a basis to reach the older white workers as they pass through the bitter experience of the capitalist class's attacks on them as well.

The fight against racial discrimination was a democratic demand, which workers parties had not only to support but to fight to lead. This is exactly what the SWP did do. It turned its entire forces sharply into this battle, developed a mass base of support for this campaign, and participated in two marches of over 15,000 each in Boston.

We noted this development on the part of the SWP very early after our break with the Workers League in the fall of 1974. At a point when we were seeking to rejoin the WL in order to carry out a struggle for clarity within it—a proposal sharply rejected by Mazelis under orders from Healy—we proposed to the WL leadership that they participate in the first Boston march and carry their own banners, making whatever criticism they wished of the policies of the leadership of the march. This was roundly rejected by the WL, which instead launched an attack on the marchers themselves, accusing these marchers of being the source of racism within the working class.

This policy was repeated in the spring of 1975. At no point did the WL do anything on its own to mobilize forces against the racist attacks in Boston. It hides behind abstract demands for a labor party and conducts activities far removed from the real problems tearing apart the American working class.

There was an important difference between the fall and spring marches. The fall march was much more dominated by old radical elements with large contingents from the Maoists, etc. It was, however, a beginning! The spring march represented a real development, with a far larger representation of Black youth and trade unionists.

This was made possible by two things. First, a wing of the NAACP, responding to pressure from the Black masses, expressed a willingness to participate in mass action. The Workers League declared that the collaboration of the SWP with the NAACP represented a terrible betrayal! We see it as a principled and necessary step in winning over new militants in the workers movement in actual struggle. We remind Mazelis that in the late 1950s, when he together with Tim Wohlforth was in the leadership of the YSA, the YSA carried out just such a policy with the NAACP, CORE, and other groups in the fight to build Northern

support for the Southern sit-in struggle.

Of course, the SWP and YSA's activities were not limited to the NAACP. They acted in the unions across the country and a number of trade-union bodies endorsed the Boston action. This type of action, too, had been pioneered in the early days of the YSA with the sit-in movement and before with the Montgomery bus boycott.

The second item that contributed to the changed character of the second Boston march was the development of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Through the energetic work of the YSA, a new layer of youth, many in the high schools, were brought into the demonstration. NSCAR was, and is, open to everyone in agreement on the need to fight racism. Despite important work in the past among Black youth, the WL refused to participate in this development, even though it could have fought for its views within NSCAR, as it had in the past in the Student Mobilization Committee.

Did the WL abstain from NSCAR because it knew that its position opposing a struggle against racism not only would have influenced no new people but would have meant the loss of any youth it brought to NSCAR meetings? We think so. It was the activities of NSCAR that brought the bulk of the 15,000 to Boston in the spring.

Now we must take up the related question of the WL's militant defense of the union seniority system, a position on which they have the wholehearted support of George Meany and the most conservative layers of the labor bureaucracy.

First we must place this question within its proper historical context. In the course of this century the Blacks, an oppressed racial minority, began a massive migration from the rural areas of the South into the urban areas of the North and South. This process was tremendously accelerated by World War II and the boom following the war. As Blacks moved into the cities, they began to move more and more into industry alongside white workers.

This was a tremendously progressive development, for it laid the objective basis to unify Black and white workers on a common class basis against capital. As we have already noted, a revolution is impossible in the United States without such unity.

However, this movement came up against a formidable obstacle in the form of the labor bureaucracy, particularly in the skilled trades. These bureaucrats sought to maintain their unions as job trusts for a privileged layer of white workers. This created a divisive wedge between the union movement and the Black masses.

The laws and court decisions that forced these unions to set up various minority hiring programs were of extreme importance in this context. Congress and the

courts were, of course, only responding to the massive movement of Blacks, beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott through to the Watts and Detroit rebellions. While it is true to say that what legislation did come into existence was only of the most minimal nature, it should also be noted that such legislation came into being only because of the massive class movement of the Blacks, which was but a precursor of the class struggle of the entire working class now in preparation. Furthermore, such legislation did allow for certain sections of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women to get into industry.

Now, with the tremendous growth of unemployment, these programs are in shambles and the Blacks who made it into these unions are being laid off because of low seniority.

Of course, we fight first of all for *no layoffs* and for a shorter workweek as part of our transitional program. But we must insist that in those cases where we lose on the no layoff demand, any layoffs that do occur maintain the proportion of women and minority workers in the unions. Only such a fight can lay the basis for bringing together the movement of the minorities with that of the unions in a struggle against the capitalist class.

The WL's defense of seniority under these conditions is a racist defense of all that is backward in the American labor movement. *It shows that abstract revolutionism is but a thin cover for conservatism and even opportunism in practice.*

Now let us turn to the recent events at Carson Beach in South Boston where Blacks fought to assert their right to use the beach only to meet a violent onslaught from racist thugs. The SWP and YSA, together with NSCAR, were there seeking to defend the Blacks in a common battle against these racist forces. *Where was the WL???*

Mazelis, in the August 8, 1975, *Bulletin*, exhibits the most outright gall as he depicts the SWP as relying only on the forces of the capitalist state to defend the working class. This outright slander has been concretely answered by the SWP in practice as it helps organize a militant defense campaign against the Boston goons.

While Mazelis, from his office in New York, asks the SWP which side of the barricades they are on, the SWP is out in the streets in the forefront of the actions. The WL was nowhere near the barricades at all, so little was it concerned with the fate of the Black community when faced with a racist onslaught! Yes, Mazelis, it is far safer to content oneself with revolutionary phrasemongering than to take up an active defense, *in practice*, of the American working class.

The Workers League has fared no better when confronted with the monumental crisis of the capitalist administration in

New York City, the major metropolitan center in the richest capitalist nation of the world. This budget crisis meant and means a wholesale attack upon the city labor movement simultaneous with vicious slashes in every social service available to the working class as a whole in the city. Thus, it affects directly both the organized working class, itself containing many minority workers, and the mass of minority workers who are not in trade-union jobs or who are unemployed.

This crisis offered an unexcelled opportunity to fight for a policy in which the labor movement could lead the class as a whole in a struggle against the capitalist administration. In this concrete way, an objective basis could be laid for a fast development of a movement for a labor party.

The SWP sought to implement precisely such a strategy. Its members within District Council 37—and it had members in the Delegates Assembly because of careful attention in previous years to trade-union work—fought for the labor movement to call a massive march on City Hall, bringing into such a march not only the entire New York organized labor movement but also large sections of the Black and Puerto Rican community directly affected by the cutbacks in social services.

Needless to say, this policy was vigorously resisted by the Gotbaum “liberal” leadership. It was one thing to mobilize people in Washington against a Republican administration and another to fight here against a Democratic one. When various trade-union figures and locals sought to rally what forces they could on an exemplary march, the bureaucracy campaigned in the unions to keep all local unions out of the demonstration.

Such a tactic, combined with a campaign within the unions for general strike action against the city, illustrates the kind of approach needed to bring forward the fight within the unions and to link that fight with broader sections of the working class, thus laying a basis in action for the political unity of the working class in a labor party.

The position of the Workers League was completely bankrupt. While denouncing the SWP for calling for a demonstration by the labor movement, it had no impact whatsoever on these events. Even where it had a couple of supporters in a city union, it led these supporters into the blind alley of demanding, at the local’s Delegate Assembly meeting, that the union come out not only for a labor party but for one committed to the nationalization of basic industry.

Thus, the WL refused to act in a way that would allow a mobilization of the working class against the capitalists, during which many militants could learn through their own experiences about the nature of their leadership and the need for a labor party. It

replaced ultimatums to the working class for actual struggle. It sought to artificially impose its own schemas on events as an excuse for not actually fighting against the labor bureaucracy. By so doing, it was the WL and not the SWP that capitulated to the Gotbaums and the labor bureaucracy.

Philosophy of Idealism

The sectarianism and abstentionism of the IC has been justified by a head-on onslaught against materialist dialectics, the foundation of Marxism. What is involved is as fundamental a revision of Marxism as was carried out by James Burnham in 1940.

Whereas Burnham insisted on viewing facts in isolation from the underlying class nature of societies and justified his betrayal of the defense of the Soviet Union with an open defense of bourgeois philosophy, Healy denies the significance of facts altogether, destroying the materialist nature of dialectics. In this fashion dialectics becomes transformed into a bourgeois philosophy closed off from the ever-changing movement of matter. Thus a philosophical justification develops to preserve the IC as a sect separated from the masses.

This turn to idealism takes the form of a purported struggle against pragmatism. For instance, the recent attack on us by the Workers League Political Committee “What Makes Wohlforth Run?”⁴ states: “Wohlforth’s abandonment of revolutionary politics and all the practical tasks that flow from it comes out of and at the same time reinforces his abandonment of Marxist philosophy. He has gone over to the bourgeois philosophy of American pragmatism.”

This rather serious charge is based upon a single quote from our original statement “The Workers League and the International Committee”: “We begin at every point from a concrete, from a particular. The dialectical process can never begin from a universal.” This, the WL-PC asserts, is the same starting point as the empiricists and pragmatists. Instead they propose to begin with the universal and particular.

This represents a direct attack on materialism itself. All *new* knowledge begins with a sense perception of a particular object or objects. To deny this is to drive matter out of the thinking process. Immediately your *mind*, through a cognitive process, seeks to connect the object observed to other objects—to identify a tall green object as a tree. Thus a particular is brought into conflict and unity with a universal.

This we stress is a mental process and is

4. See the *Bulletin*, April 15, 1975; or send \$1 for a copy in pamphlet form. Labor Publications, 135 West 14th St., 7th Floor, New York 10011.

impossible without the *first* initial impulse from the material world. Of course the universal relation is no less real, a part of matter, than the particular. It is simply that in nature the universal is expressed through the particular and does not exist separate from it. There are particular trees in the world but no universal “tree” lacking particularity.

To claim as the witch doctors of the Workers League do that one starts with both the universal and particular is not only theoretically absurd, as we have shown, but a cover for the actual position of the WL and IC. What the WL does is begin with the universal, with abstract, formal, and rigid conceptions, which it seeks to impose upon reality.

The argument of Healy’s followers that it is somehow a compromise with pragmatism to note that pragmatism and Marxism both begin in the cognitive process with facts, the particular, is infantile. Pragmatism and Marxism share a common starting point, but when one assesses the two theories of knowledge as a whole their opposed character is revealed.

Pragmatism deals with facts in isolation from the totality of the material world in its interconnections and evolution. It cannot comprehend this world in its contradictory movement. It even doubts the objective existence of contradictions. Marxism begins from a consistent materialism that accepts the world and its contradictions as existent and material, interconnected and in continuous motion. The pragmatist moves from facts to ameliorative action, while the Marxist moves to a higher level of abstraction to discover the place of the fact in the struggle of classes and acts accordingly to advance the class struggle and prepare for a change—a leap in the basic way man is organized to conquer nature.

Nothing shows the bankruptcy of the IC’s new metaphysics more clearly than Boston. We are attacked in this alchemical treatise of the WL for beginning “from the particular—from the events in Boston. . . .” Well, we plead guilty! We begin with these events, relating them to the whole capitalist crisis and the historical development of American capitalism. On this basis we were able to understand that a mass campaign against racism would be a concrete step in the preparation for a labor party. The WL began with an abstract and ultimatic concept of the labor party and thus came in conflict with an actual preliminary development towards a labor party.

Stalinist Organizational Practices

The organizational practice of a party is an expression of its political perspectives, its methodology, and ultimately the class forces it reflects. Understood in this light, the organizational question can assume

considerable importance.

The SLL-WRP has existed from 1960, when the Behan group was expelled, until the fall of 1974, without a tendency life, dissident internal documents, preconvention and convention struggles. Such a situation, unique in the history of our movement, did not mean differences did not exist in the party. They were *suppressed*.

Such an organizational method expressed a tendency to construct a petty-bourgeois sect, centered on an individual, and distant from the working class.

This tendency towards organizational practices alien to the Trotskyist tradition has developed to a feverish pitch as the economic crisis develops, making it necessary for Healy to have real policies to build a serious workers movement or to turn ever more sharply against the movement of the working class. This is what has happened:

1. *The purge of the Workers League leadership.* The growth of the Workers League in the 1971 to 1974 period created a serious challenge to Healy. The League had an indigenous leadership, a significant press and apparatus, and support among minority youth. This posed to Healy the problem of how to maintain the subordination of the Workers League leadership to him *personally*.

In late August of 1974 Healy made the outlandish charge that Nancy Fields, a leading party figure, had CIA connections because a relative of hers once worked for the CIA. He then insisted that Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the WL, support him in moves against Fields. Fields was suspended from the party and Wohlforth removed as national secretary at a hysterical session of the Central Committee held in the middle of the night at a party camp in Canada.

The action was taken without any prior investigation of the so-called charges, and when such an investigation did take place, the charges were declared unfounded. But the leadership was nonetheless basically changed and the movement held more than ever under the thumb of Healy.

2. *The Alan Thornett expulsions.* Immediately following the Workers League witch-hunt, Healy moved against Alan Thornett and about two hundred supporters, largely industrial workers from the Oxford, Swindon, and Reading areas.

Thornett's crime was to put forward in written documents a defense of the Transitional Program as the basis for party work rather than abstract revolutionism. It should be noted that Thornett was also accused of being a police agent. Once again Healy moved against a section of the party responding to the movement of the working class and capable of independence from Healy's personal rule.

3. *The Irene Gorst affair.* According to reports in the British bourgeois press, Irene

Gorst, a TV actress, was subjected to a seven-hour interrogation at a WRP school being held in a country estate the party recently acquired for such purposes.

During this ordeal Gorst was refused permission to leave the room and was accused of being a police agent. Healy has so far refused to comment on this affair, which is reminiscent of his conduct in relation to Nancy Fields. Gorst went to the press over the matter and the police used the press account as an excuse for a police raid on the school.

We, of course, unconditionally defend the WRP against this attack on its democratic rights and against the absurd charge that the WRP ever had any connection with terrorism or guns.

Nevertheless, if such an interrogation did take place it would indicate that not only is Healy persisting in his Stalinist organizational practices but at this moment is particularly fearful of his grip on the actor section of his party now that he has lost important international support and much of his trade-union base.

4. *The Joseph Hansen slander campaign.* The *Bulletin* and *Workers Press* have run a whole series of articles entitled "Security and the Fourth International," going into detail on every effort of the GPU or police to penetrate the Fourth International. The real purpose of this series becomes clear in the last article, which accuses Joseph Hansen of responsibility in the death of Trotsky, covering up for GPU penetrations, and perhaps of being an agent himself.

All this is based on facts so flimsy as to be ridiculous. Hansen, it is revealed, met an American official after Trotsky's death and pressed him to investigate possible American connections with the assassination. It so happens Trotsky himself had seen the same official prior to his death and urged a similar investigation in relation to the first unsuccessful attempt on his life.

Then we are told that footnotes in various Pathfinder books are not of sufficient length in their description of various people who turned out to be GPU agents, that the *Militant* coverage of the revelations of GPU activity in the Fourth International in the 1950s was not sufficient, etc. This is seen sufficient to slander the reputation of a man prominent in the Trotskyist movement for four decades! How can we help but draw a parallel between such techniques and those that Stalin directed against Trotsky in the 1920s and 1930s?

We are not dealing here simply with a matter of paranoia or "crazies." There is a method to the madness of Healy, for surely it is madness. Healy has developed a method of political functioning consistent with his idealist philosophical method and sectarian policies, whose aim it is to perpetuate himself and a small group of cult followers at the expense of the interests of

the working class and of the principles and traditions of Trotskyism. It is madness all right, but it is madness used consciously to cover a political course hostile to Trotskyism. It has already done much to damage the name of Trotskyism in England and elsewhere and to disperse important cadres of the Trotskyist movement.

Of course, Healy's "inquiries" have done nothing to defend the movement from police attack and penetration. Undercover police love inquiries and accusations, which they exaggerate for the purpose of disrupting movements. The Gorst case illustrates how Healy's own actions can serve as a pretext for police raids. His other actions have done more to disperse the cadres of Trotskyism and break up movements than the police could ever hope to do.

In contrast, the SWP has been subjected to four decades of police infiltration and disruption efforts as is now clear from the Cointelpro material. But despite these efforts, the FBI and CIA did not succeed in seriously hindering the SWP's development. This is because the SWP did not respond with panic, with its own witch-hunts and suspicions, but instead persisted in a mature course of constructing a movement on political positions.

Healy's supporters in the United States have not fared as well. A simple series of facts, if we are permitted to refer to such things, will prove what Healy's disruption of the Workers League has wrought.

According to figures in the *Bulletin*, the average net press run for the year preceding the removal of Wohlforth and Fields was 18,420, quite sizable for a twice-weekly paper. Of these 11,742 were subscriptions. The figure for the issue printed nearest to filing was also impressive, though reflecting the first month of the Mazelis leadership: net press run, 16,500; subs, 10,022. The figures just released for the first year of the Mazelis leadership are the following: average net press run, 7,110; subs, 1,918; and for the issue nearest filing: net press run, 7,600; subs, 818.

Thus, subs have fallen to less than 10 percent of what they were and total circulation to well under one-half. Every other indication bears out the same *liquidationist* story of a movement turned into itself, the youth movement in shambles, the trade-union work hardly begun, this fall's camp with attendance so low the *Bulletin* is afraid to print the figure, and continuous efforts to raise money to meet debts because of a shrinking membership and periphery. What a farce it is that Healy still claims we were removed because *we* liquidated the movement and dispersed its cadres!

Healy's IC is well on the road to becoming a personal cult. But openly religious groups do better at cultism. Thus Healy's IC is well on the way to becoming an unsuccessful shrinking cult. It has absolutely

nothing in common with Trotskyism!

We wish in conclusion to bring up an important lesson from the history of the American working class. When the Russian revolution shook the very foundation of the thinking and practice of American revolutionists, it became the impetus for a new regroupment of revolutionary forces into the fledgling Communist party. Hardly a handful of people came into this new party out of the sectarian Socialist Labor party of Daniel De Leon. After devoting years to

the defense of "revolutionary policies" in the abstract, the followers of De Leon almost to a man turned their backs on the proletarian revolution itself.

The best fighters and the leadership of the new CP came out of the Industrial Workers of the World and the left wing of the Socialist party. These were people who had actually participated in the class battles of their time.

So it will be in our day. Those like the WRP and the WL who have transformed

"revolution" into an ultimatic abstraction are already turning their backs on the beginning of revolutionary struggles internationally. Those like the Socialist Workers party who turn toward these struggles, and are willing to learn from them, will reach the best fighters of our generation. It will be these fighters who will build the revolutionary movement to lead the American Socialist Revolution. We intend to be with those real fighters of our day!

October 19, 1975

How Canadian Labor Movement Can Fight Wage Controls

[The following editorial appeared in the October 20 issue of the Canadian revolutionary-socialist fortnightly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

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 NDP [New Democratic party, Canada's labor party] should be a full participant at such a gathering.

For there is no mistaking the meaning of Trudeau's Thanksgiving Day [October 13] message. Working people are going to have to tighten their belts. They're going to have to pay for the present economic crisis. Ottawa and the big companies are going to make sure that their incomes don't even keep pace with inflation.

That's what the Prime Minister meant when he attacked "the revolution of rising expectations," as he called it, the concept that "cheap and plentiful food, energy, housing and government services, together with an ever-improving standard of living" were "a matter of right."

These things were never cheap nor plentiful for most Canadians, of course. What Trudeau was really saying was that from now on food, energy, housing and services were going to get even scarcer, and they were going to cost more.

Trudeau talked more honestly when he spoke of a "wrenching adjustment of our expectations," when he said that "we are in for a long, hard struggle." The struggle for most Canadians will be to maintain their already inadequate standard of living.

Compulsory wage controls—that's what Trudeau has created. There are no serious measures posed to keep down prices. And even if there were such proposals, companies would easily find many ways to evade them.

But there are many detailed provisions to keep down wages. The big corporations need little enough encouragement to take a

hard line against labor. Now they will be backed to the hilt by the government and the law. In addition, all levels of government will set the pace against their own employees.

The ten percent wage limit will not even allow working men and women to keep up with inflation. The cost of living rose at an annual rate of 13.9 percent during the months of June, July and August, according to official figures (which, it is well known, underestimate the actual increase). This means that millions of Canadians will have their real incomes cut.

There are no measures to find jobs for the more than 700,000 unemployed. Interest rates, the cost of credit, and the price of housing escape the federal controls. The food chains are allowed to keep raising their prices with the excuse that they are merely "passing along" increases charged to them by others.

It is quite simply a lie to claim, as Trudeau does, that wage increases cause inflation. In 1971 wages accounted for 72.9 percent of national income; they declined in 1974 to 70.5 percent. Meanwhile, before-tax profits rose from 12.3 percent of national income to 17 percent. Monopoly profit-taking is one of the chief causes of inflation.

In reality, as much as recessions and unemployment, inflation is rooted in the basic nature of the capitalist system. All that workers can do as long as they live under such a system is fight to defend their interests and those of their allies, the poor and the oppressed.

Holding down wages is the real purpose of the new measures. While labor's wage gains had barely kept up with increases in the cost of living, they were considered by the bosses to be too high to permit them to face increased international competition and to improve their profit position.

The labor haters were emboldened by the success of the Québec government in imposing trusteeship over four construction unions in the province earlier this year. They especially took heart when NDP Premier Dave Barrett succeeded in forcing

B.C. [British Columbia] labor to knuckle under to his strikebreaking Bill 146.

The Canadian Manufacturers Association and the Chamber of Commerce endorsed the pay limits, as did the Conservative party. Labor leaders on the other hand were unanimous in denouncing the moves.

The United Auto Workers, with 120,000 members in Canada, announced that it would defy the pay curbs in its bargaining next summer. It declared that it had "no intention of allowing the auto companies to hide behind the Trudeau dictatorship wages."

Joe Morris, head of the Canadian Labour Congress, added: "There is no way we can go along" with the guidelines.

Federal NDP leader Ed Broadbent termed the proposals both unfair and unworkable. "Prices for meat, canned goods, clothing and gasoline will continue to rise next week, next month, next year. . . . The only truly effective part of the Prime Minister's proposals will be the control on ordinary people's salaries and wages."

Ontario NDP leader Stephen Lewis remarked: "The effect of Mr. Trudeau's announcement is really wage controls without price controls, and it means that the workers, the wage earners of Canada, are paying the price for the failure of the Trudeau government. Once again the wage earner is the scapegoat for inflation."

The first victims of the new measures are already designated: 22,000 postal workers, caught in the middle of taking a strike vote as Trudeau delivered his speech. Even if Ottawa agrees to exempt them from the wage controls they are to be forced back to work on management's terms, which they have already rejected.

In a similar situation are the 50,000 B.C. workers whose strikes were broken by Barrett.

Teachers and government employees on all levels are also prime targets.

Among those hardest hit by Trudeau's "New Economic Policy" will be the poor, the unorganized workers, and those on fixed incomes: pensioners, the disabled, and others. There is no provision to increase

their revenue; but they will have to pay out more as prices keep rising.

Low wage earners are effectively frozen at inferior pay levels—the two percent “catch-up” increase allowed is a cruel mockery for the hundreds of thousands who have fallen behind what they need for year after year.

Trudeau also indicated that Ottawa would slash spending on some services. This means that health care and education needs will fall under the axe. But one category of spending will rise, said the Prime Minister. There will be more cops.

Trudeau's speech marks a major turn in Canadian politics. His call for austerity, backed by wage limits, marks an important change in strategy of the ruling class.

From now on it will be more difficult for working people to win concessions. They will have to fight harder to win even less from a government and bosses displaying a stiffened resistance. Moreover, workers in the public sector, who have been in the forefront of labor struggles in recent years, are to bear the brunt of the attack.

The new situation faces the labor movement with a formidable challenge. The wage controls must be broken. But how?

A first move is to put the full weight of organized labor behind the 50,000 B.C. workers, and the postal workers. They should not have to reduce their demands one cent. Instead, they should be assured of the full support of the union movement and of the NDP should they decide to undertake strike action for their demands in defiance of the pay curbs. The NDP and the labor movement should now begin to explain the issues to Canadians.

The Canadian Union of Public Employees, the country's largest union, called on Oct. 14 for an emergency meeting of labor leaders to prepare a response to Trudeau's moves. This is a good idea. Labor needs to meet and discuss how best to respond.

A first priority at such a meeting must be the mapping out of a plan to give effective support to the more than half a million workers who are either currently in negotiations, or will be negotiating before the end of this year. These include railway workers, public employees, pulp and paper workers, and teachers. They need to be given active support 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.

In addition, the labor movement needs to offer its alternative to the present economic crisis—for it alone can pose solutions which are in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

Among the key elements of a labor alternative are:

- For full cost of living protection for all

workers and for those on fixed incomes. Only an uncapped COLA, revised monthly, can provide adequate protection against inflation.

- Fight unemployment. Reduce the hours of work with no cut in take-home pay.

- Defend labor's rights. Governments and bosses must know that the NDP and the labor movement will give full, active support to any unions threatened by strike-breaking legislation or other arbitrary moves.

- For NDP governments in Ottawa and the provinces. Labor needs to seriously mobilize behind its political arm, the NDP. But, as the experience with Barrett's strike-breaking shows, this is not enough. Labor needs to also fight inside the NDP to ensure that the party is clearly committed to policies which defend the interests of working people.

The NDP must take up the same pro-

gram, campaigning for it inside both parliament and the provincial legislatures, and outside, by supporting and building the strikes, demonstrations and other forms of action that working people will use to defend their rights.

That is the kind of response demanded by the new situation the labor movement now faces.

What is required to begin to implement it, and to mobilize the labor movement in struggle behind it, is not a small meeting of top union officials, but a broad, representative gathering. The best vehicle for this would be an emergency convention of the Canadian Labour Congress. To ensure its full representativeness, the Québec unions outside of the CLC, and the NDP, should also be fully represented at the gathering. The convention should be called without delay. □

The Executions in Spain and Iran



Le Monde

SHAH: Butcher of Iranian workers.

[The following letter appeared in the October 10 *Le Monde*. The signers are French lawyers.]

* * *

At a time when, for good reason, a nearly unanimous world opinion proclaims its reprobation and indignation about the

conditions under which five Spanish youths were judged, condemned, and executed, we think it useful to remind this same world opinion of the unfortunately still graver situation in Iran.

Having each carried out a fact-finding probe into the conditions of arrest, detention, judgment, and execution of political prisoners in Iran, on behalf of various international organizations in defense of human rights, we have brought back the conviction and in some cases the proof of many very serious violations of these rights.

A recent “Free Opinion” [column in *Le Monde*] by Mr. Badinter, regarding Spain, recalled the rights of political prisoners recognized by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Without even speaking of those who “disappeared,” those who died under torture, we recall that in the course of the last three years nearly 300 executions have been officially acknowledged in Iran. These executions, by legal standards, constituted an obvious violation of the above mentioned rights.

There have been more deaths by execution squads in Iran than in six years in an Ireland that everyone thinks is under fire and blood.

Without taking anything away from the abominable character of the five Spanish executions, it seemed to us necessary and just that this be remembered.

Nuri Albala, Yves Baudelot, Christian Bourguet, Françoise Rozelaar-Vigier, Bertrand Vallette, Bernard Goutet. □

Los Isleños de Bikini Demandan al Gobierno de los E.E.U.U.

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Bikini Islanders Sue U.S. Government" que apareció en el número del 3 de noviembre de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Anteriormente, la Isla Bikini era parte de un círculo de veintiséis pequeñas islas en Micronesia, formando un círculo con una laguna de veinticuatro millas en el centro. Alrededor de 160 personas vivían en el área total de dos tercios de una milla cuadrada de Bikini.

Actualmente varias de las islas han desaparecido y sólo unas 75 personas viven en los restos deshabitados de Bikini, y lo hacen con grandes riesgos para su vida.

Después de evacuar la isla a la fuerza en 1946, el Pentágono detonó veintitrés bombas nucleares en el atolón. Las explosiones hundieron miles de toneladas de buques de guerra de la segunda guerra mundial que se encontraban anclados en la laguna, y destrozaron varias de las islas en la orilla occidental del atolón.

Además de contaminar las aguas, la tierra y las plantas, las explosiones dejaron los restos retorcidos en el fondo de la laguna los cuales son la fuente principal en el mundo de la contaminación de plutonio.

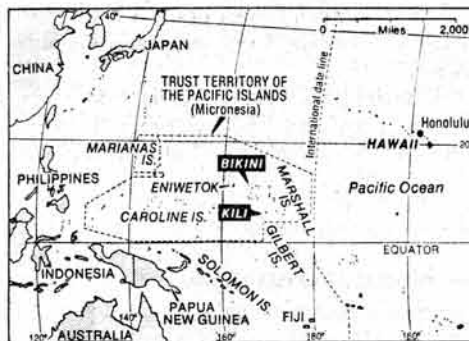
Después de veintinueve años de exilio forzado, el pueblo de Bikini está demandando al gobierno de los Estados Unidos. El objetivo es obligar a Washington a resolver el problema de su restablecimiento y, si es posible, a proteger su regreso a su hogar.

La demanda exige el reconocimiento de sus más elementales derechos humanos y democráticos.

Un informe sobre el trato antihumano a la gente de Bikini por parte de Washington apareció en el *New York Times* del 17 de octubre. Los hechos merecen ser estudiados muy cuidadosamente. Dicen muchísimo acerca de la naturaleza del dominio capitalista norteamericano.

"En una demanda entablada en la Corte del Distrito Federal aquí, el corresponsal Jon Nordheimer informó desde Honolulu, "el pueblo de Bikini acusó a las agencias del gobierno de no haber cumplido su obligación de proteger a los indígenas que ya habían regresado a la isla.

"Los isleños afirmaron que se habían medido inadecuadamente los niveles de radioactividad, lo que podría haber puesto en peligro a unas 75 personas que actualmente habitan la isla.



The New York Times/Oct. 17, 1975

"En un sentido más amplio, la demanda busca resolver todo el problema del restablecimiento en su conjunto, y refleja la pérdida de confianza en que el gobierno permitirá alguna vez a todos los isleños regresar al atolón desgastado por las bombas nucleares."

Al pueblo de Bikini, que ahora llega a las 816 personas, se le ha prometido un regreso permanente desde 1968. En ese entonces el Presidente Johnson anunció que los niveles de radiación en la isla se habían reducido a un nivel más bajo del que se considera peligroso.

"El primer paso hacia el restablecimiento empezó en 1972 cuando tres familias y trabajadores regresaron a Bikini para construir casas y plantar de nuevo la vegetación que había sido destruida por los 23 dispositivos atómicos y de hidrógeno que fueron detonados en el atolón entre 1946 y 1958.

"Pero, el agosto pasado, el Energy Research and Development Administration [la Administración para la Investigación y Desarrollo de la Energía] revocó sus juicios anteriores y dijo que la isla, su agua potable y sus plantas estaban todavía contaminadas." Al llegar a la conclusión de que su regreso se estaba retrasando de nuevo por un tiempo indefinido, el pueblo de Bikini decidió llevar el caso a la corte.

"Su demanda exige primero un estudio científico completo de la isla de Bikini para determinar terminantemente si es saludable para la vida humana. Hasta ahora, la demanda ha sostenido que el gobierno ha abordado el problema de una forma desigual y descuidada, negándose a usar equipo técnico altamente sofisticado para medir la radiación."

La gente de Bikini también pidió que el gobierno reubicara temporalmente a los que ya vivían en la isla y que usara los mejores métodos disponibles para investigar si han sido afectados por la radiación.

"Hasta ahora, a pesar de la advertencia de la agencia nuclear, todo lo que han hecho los médicos del gobierno es examinar los especímenes de orina de aquéllos que habitan la isla. . . .

"Algunos de los nuevos colonos han estado bebiendo agua del suelo y consumiendo vegetales de la isla por casi tres años, fue señalado.

"Ya nos habíamos empezado a preocupar cuando las semillas de palma que sembramos se volvieron anaranjadas," dijo uno de los dirigentes de Bikini presentes en Honolulu para levantar la demanda."

La mayoría de la gente de Bikini vive actualmente sumergida en la pobreza en la pequeña, lejana isla de Kili, a más o menos 450 millas al sureste de Bikini. Lore Kessibuki, el magistrado de Kili, le dijo a Nordheimer que a la gente de Bikini no le quedó otra alternativa más que obedecer cuando la Marina los reinstaló "temporalmente" en 1946.

"Ellos tenían todo el poder," dijo Kessibuki. "Nosotros estábamos atemorizados."

Exiliados con las pocas posesiones que pudieron llevar, los habitantes de Bikini fueron "transportados por la Marina a Rongerik, una isla donde los American Seabees [ingenieros de la construcción en la Marina] habían erigido precipitadamente viviendas improvisadas en una comunidad parecida a un suburbio norteamericano en vez de seguir las normas tradicionales isleñas que respetaban las divisiones entre las familias y el poder."

Además, su nuevo hogar parecía haber sido escogido sólo como un lugar conveniente en donde abandonarlos, apropiadamente lejos de la atención pública.

"Rongerik no era un atolón y no tenía ninguna laguna en donde pescar, y sus recursos de cocos y frutos de pan no eran suficientes para mantener a la nueva población. A principios de 1948, los habitantes trasladados de Bikini ya se estaban muriendo de hambre."

Eventualmente, Washington ordenó que fueran transferidos a Kili, que resultó ser sólo un poco menos inhóspito. "Kili también carecía de laguna y constituía sólo la sexta parte del área de su anterior hogar. Además, Kili tenía cinco veces la cantidad de lluvia anual y el eje de la isla en forma de diamante carecía de sotavento durante los vientos alisios del noreste en los meses de invierno, imposibilitando así la llegada de abastecimientos por barco durante cinco meses del año.

"Aún en los períodos más tranquilos los

buques de abastecimiento tardaban cuatro días en llegar a la isla desde la pista de aterrizaje más cercana.”

Los prospectos del regreso a Bikini no parecen ser buenos. Además de causar el problema de la contaminación de plutonio, “las explosiones nucleares en el atolón despojaron a la isla de Bikini de sus árboles, y actualmente la isla está cubierta de matas. . . .”

Según el fiscal George M. Allen, la naturaleza tóxica de la vida marítima dentro de la laguna misma no es completamente conocida, pero un cambio ha sido la

introducción de grandes tiburones que entran por el nuevo pasaje submarino que fue abierto en los arrecifes por las explosiones.

Washington es el tercer poder imperial que ha gobernado a Bikini en este siglo. Hasta que las tropas norteamericanas desembarcaron ahí en 1944, había estado bajo el dominio japonés desde 1914. Anteriormente, la isla había sido una colonia alemana.

La destrucción progresiva de Bikini fue concluida con una eficacia típica de Washington. Lo que Berlín y Tokio no pudieron

lograr a través de décadas de gobierno represivo, los doctores Strangelove en la Casa Blanca lograron en cuestión de meses.

La indiferencia salvaje de Washington por los derechos de esta pequeña nación debe ser condenada por todos aquéllos que apoyan los derechos humanos y democráticos más elementales. El esfuerzo por parte del pueblo de Bikini de obligar al gobierno de los Estados Unidos a restablecerlos bajo condiciones de vida decentes, habitables, merece el apoyo de todos los individuos y organizaciones que buscan la libertad. □

Quieren Armas Nucleares para el Bundeswehr

La Línea de Pekín Enreda a los Maoístas Alemanes

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo “Peking Line Ties German Maoists in Knots” que apareció en el número del 3 de noviembre de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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La grandiosa recepción que Mao Tsetung organizó este año para Franz Josef Strauss, el conocido representante de la reacción en la República Federal, fue recibida con pleno apoyo por los maoístas de Alemania Occidental.

La visita—junto con la postura diplomática de Pekín de hacer un llamado a la unidad de todos los pueblos y naciones (incluyendo a los países imperialistas) contra la amenaza a la paz mundial presentada por las dos “superpotencias,” la Unión Soviética y los Estados Unidos—puso en evidencia un cambio en la posición de los maoístas de Alemania Occidental.

Estos intérpretes auto-nombrados del Pensamiento Mao Tsetung, habiendo considerado cuidadosamente el significado para Alemania Occidental de este último giro de Pekín, han llegado a unas conclusiones verdaderamente asombrosas.

El KPD (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands—Partido Comunista de Alemania) declaró su posición en uno de los artículos principales del número 28 de su periódico, *Rote Fahne* (Bandera Roja). Si *Rote Fahne* llegó a extremos en su número anterior, llamando a armar al gobierno de Alemania Occidental con armas nucleares,¹ su última contribución—“Luchemos Contra las Superpotencias, Rechacemos al

Pacifismo”—llega a un punto todavía más alto en su apoyo servil al imperialismo alemán.

He aquí unos de los aspectos notables de ese artículo:

- *Apoyo al envío de tropas norteamericanas a Alemania Occidental*: “Actualmente la situación es tal que los países europeos no tienen suficientes fuerzas propias de defensa para poder contestar exitosamente un ataque militar por parte del social imperialismo soviético, el enemigo principal del pueblo y los estados europeos.” “La lucha contra las tropas norteamericanas en nuestro país únicamente sirve al social imperialismo soviético.”

- *El incremento a los armamentos para la OTAN y el Bundeswehr (ejército de Alemania Occidental)*: “Mientras más débil sea la OTAN, más fácil es la agresión social-imperialista.” “Los estados de Europa Occidental deben llevar a cabo un incremento masivo en sus esfuerzos de defensa para ponerse a la par con la máquina militar del social imperialismo.”

- *Fin a la lucha contra las bases de la OTAN como sitios para maniobras militares*: “No a las acciones de protesta contra la construcción de sitios para las maniobras de las tropas de la OTAN; el fortalecimiento de las defensas independientes de Europa Occidental es la línea político-militar correcta para hoy en día.”

Por supuesto, el KPD también exige la indemnización por los daños causados por los ejercicios de las tropas, y la participación de las tropas en la reparación de las tierras de los granjeros. Esto, por supuesto, es aceptable para el CSU derechista (Christlich-Soziale Union—La Union Social Cristiana), que tiene interés en el voto de los agricultores.

- *Contra la propaganda antimperialista*:



STRAUSS: Una calurosa bienvenida.

“La propaganda general que tiene como objetivo el socavar al Bundeswehr actualmente únicamente le da un impulso al social imperialismo soviético. Lo mismo es cierto de la propaganda general antimperialista.” “El pacifismo, no la propaganda armamentista y el belicismo, es actualmente la ideología más peligrosa.” “Por lo tanto, estamos formulando demandas que ayuden a mejorar el entrenamiento militar . . . en el Bundeswehr, y que contrarresten todas las medidas que lo debilitarían.”

El KPD no ha olvidado introducir una

1. “Las armas nucleares en manos de los estados de Europa Occidental son armas de justicia cuando defienden la libertad y la independencia contra las superpotencias.”

pequeña auto-crítica sobre su línea anterior hacia el trabajo militar, y se compromete a una "lucha aguda" contra el "revisionista DKP/SDAJ,"² que hace mucho tiempo comenzó la tarea de desbaratar y socavar el Bundeswehr."

Esta es una invitación abierta al aparato del Estado, prometiendo la ayuda del KPD para hacer pedazos el recién comenzado trabajo antimilitar que se está llevando a cabo dentro del Bundeswehr. Pero eso no es todo. Aún la juventud del KPD, el KJV (Kommunistischer Jugendverband—Unión de Juventud Comunista), puede participar en el acto:

"Cuando se imparte la instrucción militar en las escuelas, cuando los estudiantes secundarios visitan los cuarteles, etc., esto no es malo en sí. Más bien, ofrece una oportunidad para que nuestros camaradas en las secundarias avancen la línea correcta de la coalición antihegemónica."

No todos los grupos maoístas de Alemania Occidental han ido tan lejos como el KPD. El Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschlands (KBW—Liga Comunista de Alemania Occidental), por ejemplo, denuncia la línea del KPD como una traición a la clase trabajadora de Alemania Occidental. El KBW maneja esto, por supuesto, mientras que aprueba con todo el corazón la política exterior de Pekín (incluso el espectáculo de Strauss) y sin llegar al punto de llamar a la defensa de la Unión Soviética en una guerra con los poderes imperialistas.

Tal vez la posición más interesante es la del KPD/marxista-leninista, un grupo que está participando en negociaciones de unidad con el KPD. En contraste con el KPD, el KPD/m-1 tiene a un viejo stalinista de mucha experiencia, Ernst Aust, en el mando.

Aust sabe como aplicar una línea transmitida de Moscú o Pekín. Instruye a sus camaradas en un artículo que apareció en el número 31 de *Roter Morgen* (Alba Roja): "La posición desarrollada en este artículo de *Rote Fahne* [No. 28] significaría la capitulación al imperialismo norteamericano, apoyo al imperialismo de Alemania Occidental, y el abandono de la revolución proletaria."

Son palabras fuertes, pero continúa: "Por supuesto, es incorrecto proponer la demanda del retiro unilateral de las tropas norteamericanas." "Es obvio que es incorrecto luchar contra el imperialismo de Alemania Occidental y el Bundeswehr como el mayor peligro de guerra. Esto sería de gran utilidad para el imperialismo ruso, pero haría mucho daño a la causa de la liberación nacional y social de nuestro pueblo." □

2. Deutsche Kommunistische Partei/Sozialistischer Deutsche Arbeiterjugend, el Partido Comunista Alemán (pro-Moscú) y su juventud, la Juventud Trabajadora Socialista Alemana.

Pnompenh Es una 'Ciudad Muerta'



SIHANOUK: Pnompenh era irreconocible.

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Pnompenh Is a 'Dead City'" que apareció en el número del 3 de noviembre de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

Pnompenh es una "ciudad muerta," de acuerdo con los miembros de un grupo que viajó con el Príncipe Norodon Sihanouk, el Jefe de Estado titular de Camboya. Los colaboradores, quienes acompañaron a Sihanouk a Pnompenh en su visita del 9 de septiembre, han sido los primeros en exponer de primera mano la vida en la capital camboyana desde la expulsión de los periodistas de Occidente a fines de abril.

Sus informes, resumidos en un despacho de Agence France-Presse del 12 de octubre, proveniente de Pekín, confirman y añaden nuevos detalles a los reportes publicados* acerca de la evacuación forzada de la población civil de Pnompenh.

"Los Camboyanos quienes regresaron a Pekín con el Príncipe Sihanouk a fines del mes pasado dijeron que ya no reconocían a Phnom Penh," informó Agence France-Presse. "La describieron como una 'ciudad muerta.'"

Los colaboradores de Sihanouk calcula-

ron la población de Pnompenh en cuando mucho 50,000, en comparación a su población antes de la guerra, que era de cerca de medio millón, una cifra que se expandió a más de dos millones como resultado de los bombardeos masivos de Washington en el interior.

"Los testigos dijeron que los únicos habitantes de la ciudad parecían ser ahora miembros de las fuerzas armadas," informó AFP. "Cada soldado, señalaron, tenía que usar una insignia para poder transitar en las calles.

"Los miembros del grupo del Príncipe informaron que se les había permitido desplazarse únicamente en el área alrededor del palacio real y que siempre fueron acompañados por 'guías.'

"Todo el tráfico ha desaparecido de las calles y todas las tiendas están cerradas, informaron los miembros del personal del Príncipe. Agregaron que parecía haber menos monjes budistas en la ciudad actualmente. Las pagodas en la capital que todavía estaban abiertas tenían únicamente cinco o seis monjes cada una en vez de los 300 que tenían anteriormente, dijo el grupo.

"Algunas de las fábricas que visitó el grupo del Príncipe en las afueras de Phnom Penh estaban siendo manejadas completamente por soldados e ingenieros chinos, dijeron. Algunas fábricas nuevas han sido erigidas por los chinos y estaban siendo manejadas por ellos, dijeron los visitantes."

Reportaron que la población entera de Camboya está organizada actualmente en "comités" cuyos dirigentes son nominados por las autoridades gubernamentales.

"Estos comités, dijeron, eran responsables de distribuir alimentos, ya que no había tiendas ni dinero en circulación. Los alimentos se estaban distribuyendo a la gente de acuerdo con sus 'méritos,' informaron."

Únicamente a los partidarios incondicionales del nuevo régimen se les permite vivir en áreas cercanas a las fronteras de Camboya, dijeron los colaboradores de Sihanouk. Las personas "sospechosas" son obligadas a vivir en el centro del país.

Además de ser arrancados de sus hogares y sus trabajos, "todos los camboyanos excepto los miembros con los puestos más altos en la nueva administración" han sido obligados a "abandonar sus viejos nombres y adoptar nombres nuevos escogidos por las autoridades," informó AFP.

Se cree que esta medida tiene como objetivo el "reforzar la política de dispersar los habitantes de la capital a través del campo." □

* Ver *Intercontinental Press*, 19 de mayo, p. 642 y 2 de junio, p. 726 para un resumen de informes de primera mano por parte de corresponsales del *New York Times*, *Le Monde*, el *Sunday Times* de Londres, y Agence France-Presse.

Por un Curso Político Correcto en Portugal

Por Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen y George Novack

El Peligro de Desacreditarse

[Continúa de la semana pasada]

Se podría argumentar que en el contexto de un avance masivo de los obreros, el principio de la libertad de prensa era eclipsado en Portugal por el desarrollo de un verdadero poder de la clase obrera en el camino a establecer una forma superior de democracia.

Si tal fuera el caso, la supuesta peculiaridad tendría que ser explicada muy claramente para evitar confusión acerca de los principios en juego. Sería especialmente importante remarcar nuestra completa oposición a cualquier supresión de los derechos democráticos en nombre de la revolución socialista. Foley señaló esto en el número del 16 de junio de *Intercontinental Press* [ver el número del 30 de junio para la traducción en español]:

"Inclusive, el proceso revolucionario de Portugal se está dando en un contexto diferente al de las luchas en los países coloniales y semicoloniales. Lo que representa este proceso es precisamente el cambio del eje de la revolución mundial, de los países subdesarrollados hacia los centros imperialistas, empezando con el imperialismo más débil y parasitario. El lado más positivo de esto para los revolucionarios portugueses es que ya ha habido una apertura más democrática y más extensiva en Portugal que en cualquier país colonial o semicolonial.

"Sin embargo, si el proceso revolucionario en Portugal se identifica con la represión y con los métodos totalitarios, los temores anticomunistas de los trabajadores europeos occidentales, temores que tienen su base en la realidad de los regímenes stalinistas, se multiplicarán enormemente al igual que los obstáculos que encuentra la revolución socialista en los países avanzados. Esta es sin duda una de las razones de por qué los capitalistas se han valido del caso *República* para montar una pequeña campaña sobre el tema del 'terror rojo.' Es como invertir en el futuro.

"Es casi inevitable que los partidos stalinistas se van a desacreditar más por el papel que juega el PC portugués. Sin embargo, también hay el peligro de que sectores de la juventud radicalizada que rompen con el stalinismo también se vayan a desacreditar al identificarse con un PC aparentemente más combativo que da la

impresión de que está dando una lucha contra los defensores de la 'democracia burguesa.'

"En el mismo Portugal, empezando con el conflicto sobre la ley de la 'unidad sindical,' grupos que anteriormente habían estado a la izquierda del PC, tales como el centrista Movimiento de Esquerda Socialista, empezaron a ser atraídos a la estrategia del PC. Le han dado una interpretación de izquierda y romántica al dogmatismo y sectarismo stalinistas, y de hecho han sido usados como peones de ajedrez en maniobras sectarias. El papel del MES y de grupos similares con menos ataduras políticas, como el Frente Socialista Popular, ha sido evidente en casos como el del incidente del Primero de Mayo.

"El FSP participó en el ataque contra los contingentes del PS. El MES denunció al PC por hacer 'concesiones' al PS. Ha sido también el MES el que ha desarrollado la defensa de 'izquierda' más extensa de la línea antidemocrática del PC, tratando de llevarla más lejos bajo la creencia de que un stalinismo 'más duro' equivale a un método más revolucionario. Por ejemplo, en el número del 28 de mayo del órgano del MES, *Esquerda Socialista*, dijeron:

"Efectuar elecciones para la Asamblea Constituyente, con los resultados previstos, fue una victoria para la reacción interna y extranjera, que está ahora usando el voto registrado en estas elecciones burguesas para revertir el proceso político. Con este objetivo han recurrido a provocaciones (como los incidentes del Primero de Mayo) y pretextos (tales como la lucha de los obreros de *República* contra la línea contrarrevolucionaria del periódico)."

"Estos pequeños grupos centristas no tienen ninguna perspectiva de construir un partido revolucionario, no están ni tan siquiera interesados en eso. Por su misma naturaleza, son formaciones parasitarias que necesitan estar vinculadas de una manera u otra a corrientes reformistas más grandes. El FSP está compuesto de elementos descontentos del PS en búsqueda de puestos, que descubrieron que el partido era burgués después de que no pudieron obtener los puestos de dirección que esperaban. Es claramente una formación oportunista de izquierda. El peligro, no obstante, es que

estos grupos sirvan para conducir a la juventud radicalizada de nuevo bajo la órbita stalinista.

"Este proceso podría también crear la impresión entre muchos sectores de la clase obrera en otros países de Europa Occidental de que los jóvenes que rompen con el stalinismo simplemente son stalinistas más agresivos, más impacientes, y que sus diferencias con los stalinistas son meramente tácticas.

"Inclusive, no hay razón por la cual la juventud radicalizada les deba permitir a los social demócratas o a la prensa burguesa utilizar el punto de la democracia. Si Soares quiere una alternativa más flexible que el PC y la dirección del MFA en estos momentos, esto no invalida que él está de la misma manera comprometido a apoyar al régimen bonapartista militar. Como reformista difícilmente podría dejar de hacerlo. Está comprometido con el colaboracionismo de clase, y el MFA en estos momentos es la única dirección política burguesa viable en Portugal.

"En la conferencia de prensa en el Hotel Altis, Soares fue muy claro en el sentido de que a él no le importaría que hubiera una dictadura militar descarada con tal de que le permitiera al PS funcionar.

"Una cosa que ha dicho el secretario general del Partido Comunista, que creo que es correcta, es al respecto de que si hay un gobierno totalmente militar, eso no quiere decir que se ha establecido una dictadura militar en Portugal.

"El gobierno puede ser militar, pero si se respetan las libertades públicas, si tenemos pluralismo en los medios de comunicación, en las elecciones de los sindicatos y de los municipios, etc., si la vida política continúa operando normalmente hasta que haya una nueva constitución, y entonces, dentro de los términos del pacto-programa [que le da el poder efectivo al MFA], se llevan a cabo las elecciones para la asamblea legislativa, entonces en mi opinión, de hecho no habrá dictadura militar."

El análisis de Foley es inatacable, en nuestra opinión. ¿Por qué los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se oponen a él tan vehementemente? Quizás la explicación se encuentra en el juicio expresado por Foley de que los pequeños grupos centristas "no tienen ninguna perspectiva de construir un partido revolucionario" y son "formaciones

parasitarias” que “necesitan estar vinculadas de una manera u otra a corrientes reformistas más grandes.”

En contraste con nuestra postura, los

camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel los consideran parte de la “nueva vanguardia de masas” con la cual se puede forjar una “dirección revolucionaria adecuada.”

¿La Dictadura Militar más Benévola del Mundo?

Las direcciones de ambos el Partido Comunista y el Partido Socialista, como hemos visto, están a favor de un gobierno militar no electo en Portugal. Todo lo que piden es que se les permita funcionar junto a y bajo él. Y ambos compiten por la posición de agentes principales dentro del movimiento obrero bajo esta forma de gobierno burgués. Hasta ahora, el PC ha estado dispuesto a pagar un mayor precio político por los puestos y privilegios que busca. El precio es un creciente desprestigio entre las masas.

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se oponen, por supuesto, a estas maniobras despreciables y hacen lo posible por denunciarlas. Sin embargo, caen inadvertidamente en una postura que se los impide. Ponen tal énfasis en el clima de libertades que existe actualmente en Portugal bajo el gobierno militar no electo, que éste parece inofensivo. Escriben:

“Sólo aquéllos que han sido completamente mistificados por la opinión pública de la burguesía y cegados por la stalinofobia pueden hablar de Portugal como un país donde los derechos democráticos han sido corroidos por una ‘dictadura militar.’ En realidad, Portugal es el país más libre del mundo hoy día, un país donde todas las fuerzas políticas tienen las mayores posibilidades de hablar abiertamente y de dar a conocer sus opiniones, donde todas las actividades políticas y sociales de las masas trabajadoras son menos restringidas que en cualquier otra parte. Cualquiera que visita el país hoy tiene tan sólo que ver las pintas en las paredes, ver la gama de material disponible en los puestos de periódicos, o asistir a una de las incontables reuniones públicas diarias, para notar este hecho tan obvio.”

Es cierto que hay menos represión efectiva en Portugal que en otros países bajo gobiernos burgueses. ¿Cómo podía ser de otra manera en una situación prerrevolucionaria? Pero, ¿significa esto que el poder no está en manos de una dictadura militar? ¿Una dictadura militar se define exclusivamente por la represión, como afirmó Soares?

De hecho, algunas dictaduras militares pueden ser menos represivas que algunos regimenes parlamentarios. Se pueden encontrar ejemplos en la historia de América Latina. Lo que define a una dictadura militar no es el grado de represión en un momento dado, sino el gobierno de un régimen no electo basado abiertamente en

los militares. Soares está dispuesto a aceptar a semejante gobierno si le permite al PS funcionar como una de sus agencias en la clase obrera.

Si las declaraciones hechas arriba por los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel son tomadas literalmente, se podría concluir que encuentran a tal gobierno relativamente tolerable—“Portugal es el país más libre del mundo hoy día. . . .”

¿Pero qué acerca del derecho democrático de la mayoría de los trabajadores de elegir al gobierno de su preferencia? Si una dictadura militar es menos represiva que una dictadura parlamentaria, ¿deberíamos entonces oponernos a las elecciones y rechazar el principio del gobierno de la mayoría?

Hay dos problemas políticos aquí. Uno es la relación entre la democracia y la revolución socialista. El otro es la actitud adoptada hacia el gobierno del MFA y sus pretensiones revolucionarias. Esta “problema” está planteada bastante bien en el pasaje citado anteriormente del número del 28 de mayo de *Esquerda Socialista*. Los dirigentes del MES prefieren confiar en el gobierno del MFA para que avance el proceso revolucionario, antes que tratar de aprovechar las elecciones para ganarse a la mayoría de las masas al programa de la revolución socialista.

La tradición marxista y trotskista en lo que concierne a la relación entre la democracia y la revolución socialista es diferente, como hemos ya explicado. Por ello, hubo una verdadera prueba de los principios trotskistas en Portugal, no sólo de los principios relacionados con la democracia, sino de la cuestión intrincadamente ligada a esto: la independencia con respecto a un gobierno burgués que dice actuar a favor de las masas sin haber recibido la autorización explícita de éstas y sin haber roto con el capitalismo.

¿Cómo respondieron ante esta prueba los trotskistas portugueses que siguen la dirección política de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel? ¿Cómo les ayudó la dirección de estos tres experimentados dirigentes trotskistas a responder al desafío?

Primero, veamos la respuesta de los periódicos de algunas de las secciones de la Cuarta Internacional ante el caso *República*.

El periódico de la sección alemana, *Was Tun*, dedicó la primera página del número del 26 de junio a este caso. El artículo

concluía con este párrafo:

“Vemos que el parloteo de los partidos y la prensa burguesa acerca de la ‘libertad’ en Portugal y los ‘derechos fundamentales de la libertad de prensa y de opinión’ no es otra cosa que hipocresía pura. Dicen que el caso *República* es una prueba para la libertad de opinión en Portugal—y ellos quieren decir una prueba para la libertad de opinión burguesa; para la libertad de agitar a la gente contra las luchas de los obreros y sus organizaciones, la libertad para obstruir el desarrollo de la conciencia entre las capas atrasadas, y la libertad para envenenar el clima público de discusión, de aprendizaje de las masas a través de la experiencia y de su actividad, con mentiras y manipulaciones. Puesto que el monopolio burgués sobre la opinión ha sido roto, Portugal es actualmente el país que, bajo condiciones capitalistas, tiene la mayor libertad de prensa.” (Énfasis en el original.)

El mismo artículo dió la siguiente explicación de los orígenes del caso *República*: (Los obreros respondieron a la amenaza de despidos. Eligieron un comité obrero después de la ocupación, expulsaron al gerente, y exigieron una nueva administración bajo control obrero. También se encontraban involucradas diferencias políticas con los editores. En la opinión de los trabajadores, los redactores estaban publicando ataques contra otros partidos obreros, especialmente el PCP, ataques provenientes frecuentemente de los maoístas, en las páginas principales del periódico. Reaccionaron como miles de obreros más en Portugal actualmente cuando ocupan fábricas para oponerse a amenazas de desempleo o para proceder contra órganos de los medios de comunicación que recurren a la manipulación y dispersan informes falsos, y son financiados por fuentes oscuras (frecuentemente extranjeras).”

Muchos pasajes de este editorial parecen ser paráfrasis directas del artículo del camarada Mandel publicado en el número del 23 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*. Pero que disculpa tan miserable, que revoltijo tan miserable de justificaciones.

¿Fue la razón por la que se tomó *República* económica o política? Si fue política, ¿deberíamos los trotskistas defender la toma?

Obviamente había cuando menos un aspecto político. Se hace la sugerencia de que este era tan sólo secundario, pero no se examina. ¿En qué difería la línea de *República* de la de los otros diarios de Lisboa? ¿Era el único que “recurría a la manipulación” y que “dispersaba informes falsos” o enfatizaba “ataques contra otros partidos obreros”?

La mayoría de los periódicos de Lisboa estaban dominados por el PC. ¿No recurrían a la “manipulación” o a “dispersar informes falsos”?

¿Por qué había contradicciones en las

declaraciones del "comité obrero," señalando algunas veces que la razón por la que se tomó el periódico fue política, mientras que en otras ocasiones indica que fue económica? ¿Por qué, además, fueron introducidas estas contradicciones a la prensa trotskista europea sin ningún cometario? De hecho, un giro imperceptible de la razón económica a la política apareció en estos periódicos trotskistas.

Por ejemplo, en su número del 24 de julio, *Red Weekly*, el órgano del International Marxist Group [IMG—Grupo Marxista Internacionalista], la sección británica de la Cuarta Internacional, publicó una entrevista de media página con Marcolino Abrantes, vice-presidente del Sindicato Textil Portugués, un sindicato dirigido por miembros del MES que trabajan en estrecha colaboración con el PC. Entre otras cosas, Abrantes dijo:

"La lucha de los trabajadores del periódico *República* es un claro ejemplo de esto [una "lucha abierta contra los diferentes aspectos del capitalismo"]. El hecho de que un partido que claramente no ha estado defendiendo los intereses de los trabajadores, quisiera controlar el periódico para expresar exclusivamente sus propias posiciones, muestra la importancia de la lucha en esta área. El hecho de que los trabajadores no estaban dispuestos a ceder, sino que por el contrario, estaban listos a luchar contra las maniobras reaccionarias, fue demostrado claramente de nuevo por los trabajadores de la estación de radio propiedad de la Iglesia Católica, Radio Renascença. . . ."

En un artículo analítico publicado junto a esta entrevista, los editores de *Red Weekly* escribieron:

"Pero los trabajadores estaban decididos a convertir a *República* en un periódico verdaderamente independiente al servicio de la clase obrera, en vez del órgano encubierto del Partido Socialista en que se había convertido. A pesar de la capitulación del Consejo Supremo de la Revolución militar a las demandas del Partido Socialista, los trabajadores se mantuvieron firmes. El 9 de julio anunciaron que 'no estaban dispuestos a esperar indefinidamente' a que el gobierno encontrara una solución, y que iban a publicar el periódico 'bajo la responsabilidad de los trabajadores.'

"Confrontado con esta acción decisiva, el gobierno cambió su posición y nombró a un oficial militar como director del periódico, permitiendo así que se publicara legalmente. Pero la producción del periódico permaneció bajo el control de los trabajadores.

"Desde el 10 de julio *República* ha aparecido regularmente, y ha sido recibido ávidamente por los obreros combativos de Lisboa, quienes entienden que es suyo. El nuevo *República* es un modelo de periodismo de la clase obrera, presentando informes regulares y prominentes sobre las principa-

les luchas obreras, y abierto a las diferentes corrientes de opinión dentro del movimiento obrero.

"Lo absurdo de la calumnia de que la lucha de los trabajadores era un intento de 'toma por parte del Partido Comunista' se muestra en el hecho de que *República* publica una columna prominente llamada 'obreros en la lucha' (al menos una página entera, y frecuentemente dos, en cada número) en el momento en que el Partido Comunista se ha opuesto a las huelgas por 'inoportunas' y ha puesto todo el énfasis en la 'batalla por la producción.'"

Los redactores de *Red Weekly* deciden enseguida reimprimir las frases agradables de un manifiesto del "comité obrero" que explica que la toma había sido realizada con el fin de usar el periódico "para fines relacionados con la transformación del hombre y de la vida, y no con la multitud de políticos, con los privilegios de minorías corruptas, o el exhibicionismo de los partidos políticos. . . ."

En el número anterior de *Red Weekly* (17 de julio), estos mismos redactores publicaron una foto de otro representante del "comité obrero," con un pie de foto que decía, entre otras cosas:

"Domingues explicó durante su visita que 'fue el Partido Socialista quien decidió inflar este asunto.' Cuando el creciente prejuicio del periódico se hizo claro, fueron los trabajadores quienes sugirieron que se convirtiese en un órgano abierto del PS, y la gerencia quien se negó." (Énfasis en el original.)

¿Por qué no cuando menos comentaron los redactores de *Red Weekly* sobre estas contradicciones? ¿Qué sucedió con las supuestas razones económicas para la toma?

No se puede realmente culpar a los seguidores alemanes, ingleses y belgas de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel por no examinar este tejido de justificaciones, aún cuando ha sido una de las principales contribuciones históricas del trotskismo el denunciar los objetivos reaccionarios escondidos bajo retórica revolucionaria. Ellos consideran al camarada Mandel en particular como su autoridad en el marxismo. El explicó qué era lo que "verdaderamente estaba en juego" y ellos añadieron el resto.

Sin embargo, el resultado no podía ser más desacreditante para el movimiento trotskista. Es asombroso leer en un periódico trotskista que el hecho de que el depurado *República* publicó informes sobre huelgas demuestra que no estaba influenciado por el PC. De acuerdo con este criterio, diarios como *Diário de Lisboa* y *Diário de Notícias*, por no decir nada del órgano mismo del PC, *Avante!*, el cual podría ser declarado libre de influencia stalinista.

Aún más, ¿podría alguna persona familiarizada con las maniobras políticas creer que le beneficiaba al PC convertir el

periódico, alrededor del cual se había levantado una gran controversia, en un vocero obvio del partido? Además, ¿cuál fue el efecto político neto de la operación? Un periódico que había sido un periódico no oficial del PS por años había sido destruido. Más importante aún, ¿qué acerca de la línea del periódico con respecto al MFA? Aparentemente nunca les cruzó por la cabeza esta pregunta a los redactores de *Red Weekly*.

El abandono de los argumentos acerca de la justificación económica, defensa de sus empleos, etc., es interesante. No son repetidos en la contribución de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel. En su lugar, estos camaradas se centran ahora en la cuestión de si acaso Foley quería enviar a los militares a "reprimir" a los trabajadores de *República*. ¿Han aceptado los tres el análisis que ofrecía Foley en el número del 23 de junio de *Intercontinental Press*?

"¿. . . era razonable," preguntaba Foley, "pensar que si *República* cambiase su línea para que se asemejara más a aquélla de los otros cinco periódicos vespertinos [en aquél entonces dominados o influenciados fuertemente por el PC] que su circulación se incrementaría, especialmente en un clima de crisis económica general en el cual la industria del periódico padecía de desventajas especiales? Eso no es muy probable. De hecho, la posibilidad más inmediata para rescatar al periódico de las dificultades financieras hubiera sido más ayuda del PS, el partido más grande del país. Esto, sin embargo, es exactamente lo contrario, según todos los informes, de lo que querían los trabajadores de la imprenta, quienes provocaron la clausura del periódico. Tampoco plantearon estos trabajadores la cuestión de la nacionalización o el apoyo del Estado como los trabajadores de otras empresas en bancarrota."

Si el camarada Mandel se ha convencido de que la toma no fue en realidad llevada a cabo para defender los trabajos de los trabajadores de la imprenta, ¿no sería útil si clarificara este punto? Sin duda ayudaría a estimular una actitud más crítica de parte de aquéllos que ven en él a un experto en el marxismo. ¿No da un mal ejemplo el abandonar repentinamente este argumento y desplazarse, en base a un informe aislado y dudoso, a preguntar si Foley realmente quiere enviar el "ejército burgués" a reprimir a los trabajadores de *República*? ¿Es así como deberían de discutir y determinar la verdad los revolucionarios?

La confusión creada así es incrementada por esta frase en la contribución de los tres: "En realidad, la dirección del PS pronto abandonó la acusación de que el asunto de *República* había sido gestionado por el PC (como *Intercontinental Press* ha sostenido continuamente) y en cambio, acusó de responsables a los 'provocadores anarquistas.' (el *Times* [de Londres], 19 de junio de 1975.)"

¿Qué he hizo tiene el *Times* de Londres sobre los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel?

El PS ha repetido su acusación de que la responsabilidad es del PC muchas veces desde el 19 de junio. La acusación fue repetida en la declaración oficial sobre las razones por las cuales el partido dejaba el gobierno el 11 de julio. Esto, según parece, debe ser desechado en vista de lo que se le achaca a Soares haber admitido en un "debate televisado." ¿Qué clase de apego a los hechos están enseñando los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel a aquéllos que los ven como educadores trotskistas?

Se volvió claro durante las pocas semanas que siguieron a la ocupación de *República* que otras fuerzas estaban involucradas, que el PC estaba usando a grupos ultraizquierdistas como instrumento. Esto no era nada nuevo. Esta relación era ya aparente el 1 de mayo. Y el PC todavía está usando a los ultraizquierdistas como instrumento.

El 29 de agosto el camarada Mandel mismo se sintió obligado a hacer una crítica pública a la LCI por permitir que el PC le usara para preparar una manifestación a favor de Gonçalves.

¿Creen los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, como explicación alternativa que el UDP, el LUAR, o el PRP-BR individual o colectivamente, o, como dan a entender algunas veces, sólo un grupo de obreros ordinarios, podrían haber sostenido la operación *República* sin el apoyo del Partido Comunista y al menos un ala del MFA? ¿O surgió el "comité obrero" de *República* en la cresta de una oleada de "presión de los trabajadores" que forzó al PC y al MFA a apoyarlos?

No, ellos no aceptan esta alternativa. Ellos se inclinan por otra explicación posible:

"Los prejuicios políticos y un juicio político equivocado claramente juegan un papel importante de ambos lados. En este sentido, como hemos declarado sin ambigüedades, los trabajadores de *República* cayeron en una trampa. Cometieron un grave error político en la manera en que contestaron las provocaciones de Rêgo y Soares. Los grupos ultraizquierdistas y el PC reforzaron el error diez veces con su reacción desastrosamente sectaria y sin principios, hostil a la democracia proletaria."

Esta variante sólo enreda a los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel en contradicciones adicionales. ¿Fue tan sólo un error político cometido por estas organizaciones lo que produjo una cuestión central en la crisis más profunda desde el golpe de abril de 1974? ¿Qué es lo que convenció al PC de intervenir con su poder? ¿Cuál, en otras palabras, era la fuerza impulsora? Los tres dicen:

"En otras palabras, el MFA se negó a

usar la fuerza contra los trabajadores, no por buena voluntad, sino porque temía que los mismos soldados se negarían a usar la fuerza contra los obreros que ocupan las fábricas."

Esto equipara la toma de *República* con las ocupaciones de plantas en general que se llevan a cabo a través de Portugal.

¿Piensan los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel que el MFA es tan débil, la disciplina en las fuerzas armadas tan corroída, que el régimen no podría reunir las fuerzas necesarias para obligar a cuando mucho 150 trabajadores a que permitan al cuerpo de redactores de *República* continuar redactando el periódico? Entonces, el gobierno burgués sería en realidad tan débil que sería casi inexistente. De hecho, sería inexistente.

¿Cómo, entonces, un mes y medio más tarde, cuando los soldados de un regimiento del Copcon votaron a favor de echar a un oficial derechista, Jaime Neves, pudo Saraiwa de Carvalho reunir las fuerzas necesarias para reinstalar a este oficial y llevar a cuatro soldados ante un tribunal militar por insubordinación?

El regimiento tenía su base en Amadora,

Carvalho, ¿un Posible Fidel Castro?

Existe todavía otra explicación. Esta es que el gobierno es tan débil que no puede recurrir a una represión directa en gran escala como medida para controlar el ascenso de las masas. Por el otro lado, por el mismo hecho de que es débil y no puede mantener el control por medios democráticos, quiere iniciar la represión encubriéndose con una fraseología revolucionaria. Ya había recibido mucha ayuda y consejos del Partido Comunista sobre cómo aplicar esta técnica antes del caso *República*.

Esta no sería la primera vez que un gobierno burgués débil recurriera a semejantes métodos. La historia de la república española está llena de ejemplos similares. Esto incluye la represión contra los muy numerosos anarquistas, quienes no obstante, permanecieron en el gobierno.

Además, si ésta es la situación, sería comprensible por qué hay conflictos entre diversos equipos en el régimen militar acerca de las tácticas, para no mencionar las rivalidades entre distintos aspirantes a bonaparte.

¿Podría semejante análisis explicar los episodios en el caso *República*? Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel dicen que no:

"La obsesión del camarada Foley con el 'socavar cualquier fé en el MFA burgués' (una obsesión que comparte con Healy, Lambert y gente de su tipo) es una típica revocación sectaria de un error oportunista; está basada en el miedo de que uno pueda estar a punto de sucumbir a la tentación. El análisis del camarada Foley comparte un

un área donde el PC es fuerte, y los soldados tenían el apoyo de los consejos obreros en varias plantas bastante grandes. Y esto fue a principios de agosto, después de que el MFA había sido forzado, según los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel a legitimizar a los soviets.

Debemos señalar, también, que el MFA reunió suficientes fuerzas para arrestar a policías militares que manifestaron su oposición a ser enviados a Angola el 1 de septiembre. Y esto fue inmediatamente después de la gran manifestación de "poder popular" del 27 de agosto, la cual fue apoyada por el Partido Comunista.

El argumento es demasiado endeble para explicar la posición del gobierno en el caso *República*. Es el argumento el que es débil, no el MFA. El apoyarse en ese argumento para explicar las acciones del gobierno y el Copcon en el caso *República* llevó al desplome de las facultades críticas de aquéllos que lo aceptaron, y a la maraña de disculpas que hemos visto en la prensa de aquellos sectores del movimiento trotskista mundial que siguen la dirección política de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel.

rasgo esencial con el análisis de los seguidores centristas y oportunistas que van a la cola de la dirección del MFA: la suposición de que todo lo que está sucediendo en Portugal actualmente depende esencial, si no completamente, del papel, función, intenciones, y acciones del MFA."

Los tres le ofrecen al camarada Foley una salida de su apuro.

"Sólo si el camarada Foley regresa al método usado por los marxistas para juzgar todas las revoluciones de los siglos diecinueve y veinte—o sea, el método que comienza con una definición de las fuerzas de clase antagónicas básicas—podrá desembarazarse de las posiciones absurdas en que se ha metido. De lo contrario, compartirá el triste destino de Healy, Lambert y otros sectarios. . . ."

Por supuesto, tenían toda la razón al esperar que Foley aceptaría gustosamente este camino a la salvación del "triste destino" de los sectarios. Desafortunadamente, las buenas intenciones visibles en este consejo no son suficientes como para proveer respuestas correctas a algunas de las cuestiones políticas claves.

El MFA constituye la actual dirección política de la burguesía, que es todavía la clase dominante en Portugal. El régimen del MFA no es sólo una pelotilla arrojada de un lado a otro en la lucha de clases. Cualquier dirección que pretende servir de guía a los revolucionarios en la clase que se enfrenta al MFA tiene que analizar las movidas de su adversario y exponer sus

estrategemas y tretas. El "definir las fuerzas de clase básicas en la contienda," es tan general que puede ser extendida para justificar la peor confusión oportunista acerca del gobierno y sus objetivos.

Por ejemplo, en un pequeño libro titulado *A Farsa dos Pseudo Radicais em Portugal*, que fue publicado en mayo de 1974, el PC argumentó contra el análisis de que fueron las divisiones dentro de la burguesía las que llevaron al golpe, y que el nuevo gobierno tenía objetivos burgueses:

"Para la estrecha comprensión de estos pequeño burgueses, la historia no es, como la vemos nosotros, el resultado de la lucha de clases. Los movimientos de masas (clases unidas en una lucha común) no son la fuerza motriz de la historia. Como buenos intelectuales, ignoran la lucha del pueblo, y mientras que contemplan cómodamente, sólo ven movimiento dentro de la burguesía. El pueblo es, por lo tanto, excluido de la revolución y de su alianza dialéctica con las fuerzas armadas (el rasgo peculiar de la revolución democrática en Portugal) y reemplazado con una concepción *putschista*. . . ." (p. 17.)

Esto fue escrito cuando el PC apoyaba a Spínola.

Sin embargo, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel ofrecen un ejemplo concreto de la utilidad de su método.

"En el número del 28 de julio de *Intercontinental Press* el camarada Foley presenta al General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho como el 'posible' 'general sobre un caballo blanco,' o sea, un posible Bonaparte emergiendo de la lucha por el poder en Portugal. (p. 1063.) No tenemos ningún interés en especular sobre las intenciones secretas o el carácter básico de este u otro oficial individual. Sólo podemos juzgar tendencias políticas y de clase. Cuando decimos que el grupo de Costa Gomes y de Melo Antunes obviamente constituye el ala derecha del MFA, no es por sus intenciones secretas, sino por su defensa pública de un programa para para la revolución, la cual supuestamente ha 'ido muy lejos.'"

¿Carecía de importancia la cuestión de las "intenciones secretas" de Carvalho? Es una cuestión bastante decisiva en la guerra entre las clases así como entre otras guerras, el saber quién está y quién no está de tu lado, especialmente cuando esta persona dirige una fuerza substancial. ¿No hubo ningún problema aquí en el caso de Carvalho?

Actualmente casi todo el mundo acepta el hecho de que es un lobo vestido de oveja, ya que se alineó con "el grupo de Costa Gomes y Melo Antunes" durante la lucha entre los grupos de poder en agosto. Pero aún antes del 10 de agosto, los Comandos de Amadora, quienes trataron de destituir a sus oficiales derechistas, descubrieron en una forma bastante demostrativa, de lado de quién estaba "Otelo."

¿Diseminaron advertencias, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel, acerca de gente como Otelo y otros de su tipo? No sabemos de ninguna. Tal vez esto servirá de explicación a las siguientes afirmaciones en un artículo en el número del 26 de junio de *Was Tun*:

"No tenemos ilusiones en el MFA. No es una organización de trabajadores, no es una dirección revolucionaria del proletariado. Pero en él se reflejan las contradicciones de clase en su verdadera dinámica, los cambios en la relación de fuerzas entre las clases. De un lado están los 'moderados,' básicamente demócratas burgueses como el Ministro del Exterior Melo Antunes, el Presidente Costa Gomes, el Ministro del Trabajo Costa Martins, o el Ministro de Información Correia Jesuino. Por el otro lado están los oficiales como Rosa Coutinho y Saraiva Carvalho, radicales izquierdistas confusos pero no corruptos, quienes—y esto es claramente lo más importante en su desarrollo político—han comprendido con una claridad sorprendente un aspecto esencial de la revolución socialista y el poder obrero, aún si no ven la necesidad de un partido revolucionario de los trabajadores y un programa revolucionario. O sea, han comprendido la necesidad de la movilización independiente de los trabajadores, la acción independiente de las masas, sin riendas burocráticas.

"Hemos presentado en otra sección extractos de la discusión de la asamblea del MFA del 19 de mayo que demuestran qué tan avanzada es la conciencia adquirida por un ala del MFA.

"Y esto es, sobre todo, los sectores del MFA que tienen el verdadero aparato del poder, el ejército, bajo su mando. Saraiva de Carvalho, el actual comandante del Copcon, ocupa una posición de poder bastante diferente de aquélla, por ejemplo, de la del presidente (y jefe nominal del Copcon), Costa Gomes, o de aquélla del Ministro del Exterior Melo Antunes. Esta es una posición de poder no en sí misma, sino debido a la conciencia de los soldados, quienes discuten cada orden antes de llevarla a cabo."

Este artículo en *Was Tun* fue escrito después de la decisión del 19 de junio del Consejo Revolucionario, que fue interpretada como un retroceso para los partidarios de la "democracia directa" como Carvalho y Coutinho. El artículo empezaba de esta manera:

"La prensa internacional se siente tran-

quilizada. ¡No hay soviets en Lisboa! Después de una reunión que duró seis días, el Consejo Revolucionario Portugués anunció que 'la dictadura del proletariado' y la creación de 'milicias obreras' no correspondían al socialismo pluralista de Portugal.

"Francamente, nosotros los marxistas hubiéramos estado muy asombrados si la dictadura del proletariado hubiera sido instaurada por el régimen militar actual. Somos todavía de la opinión que la dictadura del proletariado sólo puede ser ganada por la lucha victoriosa de la clase trabajadora—también en Portugal.

"Sin embargo, el desarrollo del MFA les da a los observadores, ambos marxistas y burgueses, algo en que pensar. Qué desarrollo tan rápido de la conciencia por parte de estos oficiales, quienes hace poco dirigían una guerra colonial bajo las órdenes de la dictadura más reaccionaria de Europa. El 25 de abril de 1974, querían establecer una democracia burguesa, ¡y ahora están discutiendo seriamente la instauración de la dictadura del proletariado y un régimen de soviets! Hace tan sólo un año, los oficiales del MFA le dieron la presidencia a Spínola, promulgaron leyes de prensa y de huelga reaccionarias. El mismo comandante del Copcon, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, quien lanzó sus unidades contra los trabajadores en huelga, actualmente quiere armar a los trabajadores."

¡Qué felicidad y qué asombro para los editores de *Was Tun* cuando, dos semanas más tarde, el MFA y el gobierno burgués aceptaron el plan de los "soviets" que "estos oficiales" habían estado "discutiendo seriamente"!

¿Por qué los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no han lanzado una "fuerte protesta" contra la línea que los redactores de *Was Tun* consideraron conveniente seguir al cubrir los eventos en Portugal?

¿Será porque ellos compartían las fantasías de los redactores de *Was Tun*? ¿Les parecía que Carvalho, "el radical izquierdista no corrupto," surgiría posiblemente como el Fidel Castro de Portugal?

Si es así, podemos entender por qué se les erizaron los pelos con la mera sugerencia de que Carvalho estaba impulsando su candidatura para el papel de bonaparte. ¿Debemos de concluir qué después de todo, si tenían un interés, diferente al nuestro, "de especular sobre las intenciones secretas del carácter básico de este u otro oficial individual"?

Y el Emocionante Almirante Coutinho

¿Fueron sólo un caso aislado las ilusiones en Carvalho, que algunos camaradas "llevaron demasiado lejos"?

Un ejemplo más serio de semejantes ilusiones sería demostrado por la entrevista

de Alain Krivine con el Almirante Rosa Coutinho, uno de los personajes principales en el ala "progresista" del MFA.

El camarada Krivine es el más prominente representante de la más grande de las

secciones europeas de la Cuarta Internacional, una que en realidad sobresale por encima de las demás. Es, además, el dirigente trotskista mejor conocido en Europa, aparte del camarada Mandel, cuyo prestigio intelectual lo coloca en una categoría un poco distinta. El camarada Krivine fue uno de los principales dirigentes de las acciones estudiantiles masivas durante el ascenso francés de mayo-junio de 1968.

Por consiguiente, es imposible que el Almirante Rosa Coutinho no supiera con quién estaba hablando y cuál sería el efecto de una entrevista con Alain Krivine. La entrevista trascendió el simple periodismo, apareciendo como un sondeo por parte de la Cuarta Internacional hacia el MFA. Esto también es evidente en las preguntas y las respuestas.⁵

El camarada Krivine pregunta: "¿Así que usted favorece un amplio debate entre los trabajadores?"

El Almirante contesta: "Sí, un debate muy amplio, porque los partidos tienen que debatir, y no luchar el uno contra el otro. Usted me habló de una asamblea popular consistente de delegados de comités. Eso merece ser considerado. . . ."

El camarada Krivine pregunta: "En Portugal actualmente hay comités de obreros, comités de pescadores, comités de aldeas etc. ¿Qué piensa de una proposición de centralizar todos estos comités a nivel nacional para construir una base de poder obrero?"

El Almirante contesta: "Nosotros apoyamos a todos estos comités, porque cualquier forma de participación directa de los trabajadores debe ser alentada; ellos son los que tienen que poder escoger la clase de socialismo que se va a construir. Pero es imposible decir en estos momentos que esta forma es la mejor. Debemos experimentar y ver cuáles funcionan en la práctica. Entonces podremos pensar en darle una forma legal a las iniciativas de las cuales usted habla, si resultan."

El camarada Krivine pregunta si el almirante piensa que se puede construir el socialismo con "un partido burgués como el PPD" en el gobierno.

El Almirante le asegura que los "cuadros" del PPD son "más avanzados que las bases." En todo caso, explica, el verdadero poder permanecerá en manos del MFA, así que no se preocupe de los partidos burgueses.

El camarada Krivine expresa su preocupación por la represión por parte del MFA a los maoístas que podría llegar a ser el precedente para reprimir "a todos aquéllos que se llaman socialistas pero que permanecen críticos de la política del MFA."

No hay nada que temer, dice el Almirante. Estos maoístas son sólo agentes de

alguna fuerza desconocida pero siniestra. El MFA no está en contra de la juventud radical. Por supuesto, se tiene que proteger a las ovejas de los lobos. "La juventud tiene que comprender nuestra revolución y darle su apoyo. No la juventud degenerada del MRPP, sino la juventud que trabaja en el campo y en las fábricas."

¿No le recordó esto al camarada Krivine las calumnias divulgadas por el Partido Comunista contra su propia organización en 1968—que era un montón de "jóvenes degenerados," de "niños consentidos"?

Aparentemente no. Al menos no lo indicó. Tal vez la admisión franca por parte del Almirante de que si fuera "un oficial militar reaccionario" "atacaría desde la izquierda" tranquilizó cualquier inquietud que el camarada Krivine pudo haber sentido.

¿Estuvieron de acuerdo el camarada Krivine y el Almirante sobre el caso *República*?

El Almirante ha acusado al PS de "traición a la patria" al alzar una protesta sobre esto. El Almirante no es ningún partidario de la "democracia burguesa" tampoco. No tiene ninguna confianza en cualquier farsa electoral.

El camarada Krivine pregunta: "¿Qué piensa de una organización democrática que representase a todos los soldados?"

El Almirante responde: "Eso puede ser considerado más tarde, pero por lo pronto sería muy peligroso. Daría lugar a una división de clase dentro del MFA, entre los soldados de base y los oficiales. Preferimos tener un MFA vertical. Lo que es más, si hubiera elecciones en el ejército perderíamos, debido al atraso político de una parte del país, un poco parecido a lo que pasó en las elecciones civiles. Naturalmente, el MFA está más a la izquierda que el resto del ejército. Es como la levadura en el pan. Pero es imposible hacer pan sin la levadura, así como no se puede hacer pan con sólo la levadura."

Encima de eso, el Almirante apoya el control obrero e incluso el armamento de estos: ". . . y les puedo asegurar que en lo que nos concierne, no vacilaremos ni un segundo para armar a los trabajadores."

Un hombre como éste podría lograr cosas tremendas con un poco de estímulo. Así que el camarada Krivine pregunta: "¿Puede el MFA permanecer neutral hacia lo que sucede en sus anteriores colonias?"

El Almirante contesta: "Es difícil intervenir, especialmente en Angola. Pero es cierto que necesitamos ejercer presión internacional sobre Zaire para que Angola pueda ser realmente descolonizada. No queremos haberla librado del fascismo de los blancos sólo para que caiga en manos del fascismo negro."

Este comandante izquierdista de la Fuerza Naval no es sólo capaz de definir "las fuerzas de clase básicas en la contienda," es capaz de definir el fascismo por el color de

la piel. ¿Lo felicitó el camarada Krivine sobre eso, o mantuvo un silencio diplomático como el medio mejor calculado para infundir al Almirante el programa del marxismo revolucionario?

El Almirante no carece de debilidades. La batalla por la supervivencia económica tiene alta prioridad en su forma de ver la situación.

El Camarada Krivine pregunta: "¿Qué piensa de las demandas salariales hechas por los trabajadores, especialmente en las empresas privadas?"

El Almirante contesta: "Esta es una pregunta importante. Algunas de estas demandas son demagógicas y podrían resultar en la bancarrota de la empresa. En cuanto a las nacionalizaciones, no las vamos a continuar para siempre, por una sencilla razón: carecemos de gerentes capaces. Los trabajadores serán capaces de dirigir sus compañías dentro de tres o cuatro años. Hoy día, con algunas excepciones, eso es imposible."

Es difícil creer que el camarada Krivine no pudiera ver los defectos en esta posición. Pero la entrevista fue publicada en *Rouge* sin ni un sólo comentario crítico.

Fue reimpresa en casi todos los periódicos donde las posiciones de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel predominan. En el número del 30 de mayo de *Internationalen*, el periódico de la sección sueca, fue presentada bajo el encabezado: "Dirigente del MFA: Estamos Armando a los Trabajadores."

El artículo sobre Portugal adyacente, contradecía las implicaciones de la entrevista. Su análisis seguía los mismos lineamientos que el de Foley:

"El Partido Socialista trató de utilizar su gran avance en las elecciones del 25 de abril para incrementar su influencia en relación al Partido Comunista en los sindicatos y en los cuerpos gubernamentales locales, y también incrementar su influencia con relación al MFA."

"A través de las movilizaciones de masas el partido había demostrado una y otra vez su fuerza como medio efectivo de presión."

"Las movilizaciones de masas eran anteriormente precisamente la llave del Partido Comunista al corazón del MFA. El Partido Comunista era la única fuerza organizada en el movimiento obrero capaz de movilizar y dirigir a las masas. El MFA dependía del Partido Comunista para controlar a las masas."

"El Partido Socialista comprendió la gran importancia que estas movilizaciones pueden tener como medio de presionar al MFA, y éste se ha convertido actualmente en el método principal de lucha contra los comunistas."

"Por su parte, el Partido Comunista ha sufrido una derrota electoral. Pero el partido pronto lamió sus heridas y prosiguió la

5. Para el texto completo, ver *Intercontinental Press*, 23 de junio de 1975, p. 892.

lucha en el movimiento obrero contra los socialistas, usando su influencia ganada anteriormente en los sindicatos y los medios de comunicación, así como en el MFA.

“Los trabajadores comunistas en el periódico *República*, un periódico que apoya al Partido Socialista, comenzaron el ataque al principio de esta semana. Cerraron el periódico so pretexto de que divulgaba propaganda del Partido Socialista.

“Los militares intervinieron inmediatamente en beneficio del Partido Comunista. *República* fue clausurado.

“Esta fue una clara expresión de la actitud del Partido Comunista hacia la democracia proletaria. En lugar de luchar contra los socialistas a un nivel político, ellos explotaron la relación de fuerzas para tratar de bloquear a un oponente político.”

La contradicción entre la expresión de juicios políticos de este tipo y la explotación y exageración de material como la entrevista de Krivine con el Almirante Coutinho ha continuado en la prensa de la sección sueca. Tal vez el camarada Mandel podrá explicar cómo se deberá resolver.

El órgano de habla francesa de la sección belga, *La Gauche*, que es editado por el camarada Mandel, publicó la entrevista con el Almirante Coutinho en el número del 5 de junio con una introducción un poco crítica: “En vista del análisis que hemos hecho del papel bonapartista del MFA, obviamente tenemos diferencias con el contenido de esta entrevista.”

Pero en un artículo adjunto, titulado “El MFA: Una Maraña de Contradicciones,” no atacó ni un sólo punto en la demagogia de Coutinho. Sólo dijo: “Encarando esta situación, no se puede plantear el confiar en el ala progresista del MFA. La tarea vital es la organización independiente de los soldados y no, como recomienda el PC, la confianza en el Consejo Revolucionario.”

Rood, el órgano de habla flamenca de la sección belga, publicó la entrevista con el mismo deslinde pero ningún artículo explicando las “contradicciones” del MFA.

Intercontinental Press publicó la misma entrevista para informar a sus lectores y las bases del movimiento trotskista mundial, no de los puntos de vista “progresistas” de Coutinho, sino del sondeo del camarada Krivine. Fue publicada con una introducción que, sin entrar en polémicas con el camarada Krivine, dejó claro que Coutinho es un farsante, y que sus comentarios eran sólo demagogia con el fin de encubrir sus objetivos reaccionarios.

Poco después de esto, el Almirante pronunció un discurso ante empresarios en el Club Americano en Lisboa en el cual afirmó que faltaban décadas o más todavía para que hubiera socialismo en Portugal. Después de esto, fue enviado en una gira a Escandinavia y Alemania para asegurarles

a los capitalistas y las autoridades en esos países que el proceso en Portugal no iría “demasiado lejos.”

No obstante, el Almirante había prometido al camarada Krivine que “armaría a los trabajadores,” establecería el control obrero, “consideraría” la democratización del ejército e incluso establecería una “asam-

¿El Modelo Cubano en Portugal?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel dedicaron alrededor de la sexta parte de su “fuerte protesta” a discutir el grado en que el proceso actual en Portugal es paralelo a lo que sucedió en Cuba en 1959-60.

Concluyen finalmente que la revolución portuguesa no seguirá el modelo cubano. Seguirá el modelo de la revolución rusa de 1917 y, por lo tanto, “triunfará sólo con la conquista del poder por un proletariado organizado en soviets y dirigido por marxistas revolucionarios y de ninguna manera por los dirigentes del MFA.”

Así, según su manera de verla, la revolución portuguesa no será dirigida por un equipo pequeño burgués en el proceso de radicalizarse que tiene el apoyo de las masas trabajadoras pero que no establece órganos, como consejos o soviets, que representen democráticamente a los trabajadores.

Concordamos con ellos sobre eso. Pero sus razones para haber escogido discutir los modelos de las revoluciones cubana y portuguesa cuando aparentemente no tenemos diferencias sobre eso, permanece un misterio.

Por supuesto, una gama de grupos centristas de izquierda en Europa tienen peligrosas ilusiones en el MFA, o sea, creen que el MFA, o un ala de él, puede jugar un papel revolucionario similar al papel jugado por la dirección de Castro y Guevara.

Irónicamente, esto es cierto aún de los International Socialists británicos [IS—Socialistas Internacionales] quienes mantienen que la economía cubana es capitalista de estado. Este grupo obrerista casi apolítico no tocaría a un guerrillero irlandés ni con pinzas. Pero ha hecho una alianza con el PRP-BR, un grupo guerrillero portugués comprometido con muchas fantasías tal como la de considerar a Otelio Saraiva de Carvalho el “Che” de Portugal.

El dirigente del PRP-BR de hecho denunció al primer gobierno provisional por no haber nombrado una calle en honor de algunos de sus camaradas que murieron en la explosión prematura de una bomba. El PRP-BR es una caricatura de las formaciones castristas que se desarrollaron a finales de la década de los sesenta en Latinoamérica.

Las reglas más elementales de higiene exigen el deshacerse de los argumentos de este circo de oportunistas “de izquierda.”

blea popular.” ¿Fue todo esto sólo evidencia de sus contradicciones? ¿O pensaba que podría usar estas promesas como carnada para los crédulos? ¿Tuvo éxito?

Desafortunadamente, hay fuerte evidencia de que él, y otros como él, hizo que palpitara fuertemente el corazón de aquellos dispuestos a ser engañados.

¿Por qué los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel se han abstenido de hacer esto? Por supuesto, podrán sentir que nosotros hemos aplicado el criterio trotskista demasiado rígida y estrechamente y que existen otros factores que no hemos tomado en consideración. No obstante, todos los trotskistas deben sentir que es su deber defender los principios marxistas contra la confusión centrista.

Claramente, esto no impedirá la cooperación con grupos centristas alrededor de puntos concretos. De hecho clarificaría los objetivos limitados de semejante colaboración y por lo tanto fortalecería nuestro trabajo, particularmente al mantener la claridad política entre nuestros propios cuadros.

Sin embargo, los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no lo han hecho. La razón, lamentablemente, es demasiado obvia. Ellos están demasiado preocupados con los intereses de la “nueva vanguardia de masas.” Esto explica su tendencia a adoptar posiciones que podrían ser defendidas desde un punto de vista marxista sólo si Portugal no fuera un país imperialista y la dirección del MFA fuera el tipo de dirección antiimperialista radical que ha surgido en algunos países coloniales y semicoloniales. Esta tendencia se demuestra en un desplazamiento hacia considerar que el MFA burgués es más progresista que un partido de la clase obrera como el PS.

A veces sucede que una dirección nacionalista pequeño burguesa sí está a la izquierda de un partido social demócrata en un país colonial, o también a la izquierda de un partido stalinista, como fue el caso en Cuba. Pero en un país imperialista, la balanza de las relaciones entre las clases es bastante diferente.

Aparentemente, la comparación entre Portugal y Cuba tiene como fin el indicar el contraste entre la disposición de los autores de reconocer una revolución cuando ocurre—aunque pueda ser “deformada” en vez de conformarse al modelo clásico—y nuestra supuesta actitud que negaría la realidad de semejante revolución con el fin de conservar la pureza de nuestro criterio abstracto.

¿Por qué, entonces, se nos coloca en esta categoría de puristas dogmáticos, aunque los autores nos aseguran que ellos creen que la revolución portuguesa seguirá el modelo

clásico? Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel no indican qué evidencia han desenterrado que puede ser explicada por nuestro supuesto dogmatismo sobre este punto.

¿Ha mostrado Hansen una actitud negativa hacia los procesos revolucionarios que se desligaron de las normas clásicas? ¿No fue, junto con el resto de la dirección del Socialist Workers party, entre los primeros en el movimiento trotskista en reconocer la naturaleza de las transformaciones de la posguerra en Europa Oriental? ¿No fue el SWP el defensor más activo y más firme de la revolución cubana en los Estados Unidos y entre los primeros en reconocer su carácter socialista?

¿No se distinguió también el SWP, que encaraba muy fuertes presiones, como el mejor defensor en los Estados Unidos de la revolución en Vietnam a pesar de sus deformaciones? ¿Ha cambiado su actitud en este respecto la dirección del SWP desde el final del movimiento antibélico?

Los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel dicen que han estado tratando de convencer a "estos sectarios" durante "un cuarto de siglo" de la necesidad de una postura positiva hacia las "revoluciones deformadas." Según nuestros cálculos, esa discusión tuvo lugar en 1950 más o menos. Mencionan a Healy, Lambert y *Lutte Ouvrière* como ejemplos de tales sectarios.

Sin embargo, las diferencias de la Cuarta Internacional con *Lutte Ouvrière* datan desde 1940. El problema con Healy data desde 1960 más o menos y surgió específicamente con respecto a la revolución cubana. No se opuso a reconocer la abolición del capitalismo en Europa Oriental o China. De hecho, por un tiempo se alineó con Michel Pablo, quien no tan sólo tuvo una actitud positiva hacia estas "revoluciones deformadas," sino que pensaba que representaban un nuevo modelo histórico que replazaría al modelo clásico durante siglos.

Healy adoptó la posición que tomó sobre Cuba por la misma razón que ahora busca diferenciarse a toda costa de nuestras posiciones sobre Portugal—fraccionalismo ciego. Por el otro lado, la OCI dirigida por Pierre Lambert, no ha tratado de evadir una discusión seria sobre los problemas que han surgido en Portugal.

De nuevo preguntamos, ¿por qué plantear la cuestión del sectarismo hacia las "revoluciones deformadas" cuando estamos de acuerdo que una revolución socialista en Portugal sólo puede triunfar con toda probabilidad de acuerdo con el modelo clásico?

Podríamos plantear la cuestión aún más directamente ya que no excluimos la posibilidad, debido a la extrema debilidad política de la burguesía portuguesa, la fuerza de los partidos obreros, y las crecientes aspiraciones de las masas por el socialismo, de que un gobierno que no fuera controlado por la

burguesía pero que no fuera un régimen socialista tampoco, pudiese tomar el poder en Portugal.

Nosotros pensamos que la posibilidad es remota. Pero, desde nuestro punto de vista, no se descarta.

Lenin y Trotsky previeron que semejantes casos pudieran surgir bajo circunstancias excepcionales. Caracterizaron a regímenes de ese tipo como gobiernos de obreros y campesinos, una forma de gobierno transicional.

La aparición de un gobierno independiente con respecto a la burguesía abriría oportunidades extraordinarias para construir un partido revolucionario y dirigir a los trabajadores rápidamente hacia el establecimiento de un estado obrero. Si surge semejante gobierno, estamos preparados a reconocerlo.

¿Por qué, entonces, no mencionan los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel esta posibilidad, ya que le dan mucha importancia a la debilidad de la burguesía portuguesa, y es obvio que no hay ningún partido revolucionario?

Si ellos excluyen la posibilidad, ¿no corren el riesgo de cometer graves errores

Por qué no Hubo una Campaña Para Retirar las Tropas de Angola

Una razón por la cual las ilusiones en el MFA y el Estado que administra son particularmente peligrosas, es la aún existente guerra colonial en Angola.

Cualquier confusión sobre lo que el MFA representa o sobre cuáles son sus objetivos conduce inevitablemente a confusión acerca del deber de los revolucionarios hacia la lucha de liberación nacional en la principal colonia portuguesa. Existe ahora una cantidad considerable de evidencia de que la confusión sobre esta cuestión se ha filtrado a las filas del movimiento trotskista mundial.

En su entrevista con el Almirante Coutinho, el camarada Krivine preguntó si Portugal podía evitar intervenir en la lucha entre los tres movimientos nacionalistas en Angola. El Almirante respondió que "es difícil intervenir" pero que el MFA no tenía la intención de entregar el país al "fascismo negro" después de haberlo liberado del "fascismo blanco."

La implicación obvia era que el Almirante Coutinho estaba a favor de la intervención portuguesa en la lucha entre los tres movimientos nacionalistas. Aún más—él estaba a favor de intervenir del lado del MPLA, el grupo guerrillero considerado por los círculos "avanzados" de Europa Occidental como "progresista."

El Almirante evidentemente compartía el menosprecio de estos círculos avanzados por los "fascistas negros," "caníbales," "instrumentos del imperialismo yanqui," y "agitadores extranjeros de Zaïre," es decir, los rivales del MPLA. Obviamente estaba

sectarios si la burguesía demuestra ser demasiado débil para controlar la situación antes de que se haya construido un partido revolucionario de masas?

Así, la referencia a Cuba de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel plantea más preguntas de las que contesta. No clarifica nada.

Hemos ya señalado que otros están impulsando lo que consideran un muy atractivo posible paralelo entre los procesos revolucionarios portugués y cubano—que pueda surgir un Fidel o un Che portugués. El propósito de esta propaganda es absolutamente claro. Nosotros creemos que está siendo divulgada deliberadamente por elementos dentro de la dirección del MFA como Carvalho y Coutinho.

En nuestra opinión, el principal peligro inmediato en esta situación para aquellos grupos que se reclaman partidarios de la revolución socialista, no es el quedar fuera de un desarrollo castrista, sino capitular a una dirección demagógica del MFA que se ha mostrado hábil para manipular a "la nueva vanguardia de masas" europea, con el fin de encubrir sus objetivos reaccionarios con una careta izquierdista.

dispuesto a utilizar su considerable experiencia como administrador colonial con el fin de asegurar un régimen "progresista" en Angola.

En otras palabras, se oponía al retiro de las "progresistas" tropas portuguesas—con 24,000 soldados—en ese país.

Desde el punto de vista de los círculos "avanzados," la posición del Almirante tenía sentido. Si el MFA no era una dirección imperialista o ni tan siquiera burguesa en Portugal, entonces no lo podía ser en Angola.

Este punto en la entrevista con el Almirante, más que cualquier otro, exigía un comentario crítico en la prensa trotskista. No había absolutamente nada "progresista" en los puntos de vista de Coutinho, ya sea en abstracto o en el efecto objetivo que podrían tener en la situación portuguesa o en la situación en Angola.

Ni un sólo periódico trotskista bajo la influencia de los camaradas Frank, Maitan y Mandel señaló y atacó este punto.

Las ilusiones en el MFA demostradas por este sondeo al Almirante Coutinho han detenido a la mayoría de las secciones europeas de la Cuarta Internacional de iniciar una campaña por el retiro inmediato e incondicional de las tropas portuguesas de Angola. Su tendencia ha sido la de convertirse en propagandistas de uno de los grupos nacionalistas, el MPLA, repitiendo incluso las injurias que éste lanza contra sus rivales.

Es cierto que el MPLA tiene el apoyo de la Unión Soviética, aunque también es apoya-

do por varios partidos social demócratas de Europa Occidental. De hecho, tiene también el apoyo del Partido Socialista Portugués. Los otros grupos tienen el apoyo de Pekín, y según ha trascendido recientemente de la Casa Blanca, del imperialismo norteamericano que trata de aprovechar la situación en Angola.

Aún si todos estos informes son correctos, sin embargo, esto no es suficiente razón para creer que hay una división clara en dos campos: el proimperialista y el antimperialista. En todos los puntos programáticos claves, no hay diferencias significativas entre los grupos. Y el imperialismo norteamericano ha podido, en varias ocasiones, hacer tratos con movimientos nacionalistas que previamente habían recibido considerable ayuda material de la Unión Soviética.

Bajo la presión de una lucha armada, un movimiento nacionalista está dispuesto a aceptar ayuda material de todas las fuentes disponibles. ¿Significaba el hecho de que los Kurdos recibieron apoyo del sha de Irán (al igual que Motubu, un aliado de Washington), que su lucha era reaccionaria?

Los stalinistas afirmaban que sí. Ellos usaron este argumento para justificar su respaldo a un régimen nacionalista árabe de derecha con el cual habían realizado algunos acuerdos diplomáticos.

El movimiento trotskista no aceptó este argumento; dió su apoyo a la lucha de los Kurdos en medio de una furiosa campaña de demagogia stalinista que tuvo algún efecto en la "nueva vanguardia de masas."

Por su naturaleza, los movimientos nacionalistas tratan de explotar cualquier contradicción que exista entre las potencias mundiales para alcanzar sus objetivos. Puesto que su meta es la independencia, no aplican criterios de clase. Se ven forzados a seguir una política de buscar ayuda material, incluyendo armas, de cualquier fuente disponible, y nadie les puede negar tal derecho. Sin embargo, podemos advertirles

que no hagan concesiones políticas a las fuentes proimperialistas de esa ayuda, o a Moscú o Pekín, y oponernos a ellos a nivel político si hacen tales concesiones. Pero podemos jugar un papel efectivo en este aspecto, únicamente si dejamos claro que nuestro apoyo es a la lucha de liberación nacional como tal y no a un equipo o fórmula específica.

Aún desde un estrecho punto de vista práctico, no es inteligente para grupos revolucionarios pequeños el ligarse políticamente a organizaciones nacionalistas cuyas posiciones pueden cambiar drásticamente de acuerdo con factores que frecuentemente son oscuros o abiertamente sin principios.

En primer lugar, conduce a oscurecer el principio de autodeterminación y el deber de los revolucionarios en países imperialistas de defender la independencia de las colonias incondicionalmente.

En segundo lugar, tiende a enredar a los grupos revolucionarios en las políticas fraccionales, en ocasiones fratricidas, de los grupos nacionalistas. Esto a la vez impide a los grupos revolucionarios en los países imperialistas dar ayuda efectiva a las luchas de liberación nacional reuniendo la mayor presión posible para ponerle fin a cualquier interferencia de sus propios gobiernos en los asuntos de la colonia.

El servir de auxiliar propagandístico a uno de los grupos nacionalistas tiende a llevar inevitablemente a un grupo revolucionario a enredarse en las maniobras diplomáticas de los nacionalistas. Así, el MPLA intentó por algún tiempo utilizar su alianza con el Partido Comunista Portugués para hacer que el gobierno imperialista en Lisboa se inclinara a su favor. El PCP intercedió por el MPLA y arrastró tras de sí toda una serie de grupos más pequeños, incluyendo a la LCI.

Junto con el PCP, MES, LUAR, MDP y FSP, la LCI firmó un comunicado conjunto el 31 de mayo que decía, entre otras cosas:

"Los destinos de Portugal y Angola, así como las otras ex colonias, se encuentran íntimamente ligados por la lucha que libran contra la dominación económica y militar de las fuerzas del imperialismo y capitalismo. Por lo tanto, nunca sobra repetir que puesto que enfrentamos a los mismos enemigos nuestra lucha es la misma lucha.

"Por ello, los obreros, revolucionarios y progresistas portugueses no pueden permanecer indiferentes ante los recientes ataques por parte de las fuerzas neocolonialistas contra el MPLA y el pueblo de Angola, que han resultado en la masacre de miles de víctimas. Y al mismo tiempo que expresan su solidaridad militante, deben exponer sin ambigüedades, la naturaleza contrarrevolucionaria de los mercenarios de Holden Roberto, quienes cuentan con el apoyo de Mobutu, un títere de los Estados Unidos, y el carácter no menos oportunista y no menos reaccionario del UNITA, el cual se

encuentra al servicio del capitalismo y neocolonialismo internacional.

"Debemos exigir que el MFA y el gobierno portugués tomen una actitud clara y firme contra estas fuerzas."

¿Qué sucedió con el imperialismo portugués? ¿Fue eliminado con el derrocamiento de la dictadura de Caetano?

Una declaración emitida el 13 de mayo por estos mismos grupos, excepto el PC, había expresado esta posición más directamente. Exigía:

"e. Control real por parte de las fuerzas armadas portuguesas del transporte y las comunicaciones (camino, puertos, aeropuertos, etc.), impidiendo así su uso por el FNLA.

"f. Desarme y arresto de todos los elementos del FNLA que participen en ataques armados, y la confiscación del material logístico y de guerra usado en estos ataques."

El 8 de agosto, la LCI fue más allá en sus llamados a que el MFA hiciera lo apropiado en Angola:

"Sobre todo, es necesario tener una política revolucionaria hacia la situación en Angola, combatir los titubeos del gobierno y el MFA que han encubierto objetivamente a los reaccionarios FNLA y UNITA, y en consecuencia a las maniobras neocoloniales, y han encubierto la penetración política y militar del imperialismo en Angola.

"Exigimos el retiro inmediato de Silva Cardoso [El comisario portugués] de Angola y el desarme inmediato del FNLA y UNITA, así como de los otros mercenarios capitalistas."

Durante diez años el imperialismo portugués ha sido incapaz de "desarmar" a las guerrillas del FNLA. Pero aparentemente se pueden esperar milagros del ala "progresista" del MFA. ¿No estaba el MFA a favor del control obrero y el armamento de los trabajadores? Y ahora uno de sus principales dirigentes ha incluso prometido tomar en cuenta la sugerencia del camarada Krivine de establecer una "asamblea popular."

Las ilusiones del MPLA en el MFA se desinflaron repentinamente el 27 de julio cuando tropas portuguesas masacraron a varios de sus seguidores. Es claro que los grupos en Portugal y otros países de Europa Occidental que simpatizan con esta organización no le hicieron ningún favor al fomentar sus fantasías.

Más importante aún, la suspensión de cualquier tipo de campaña en favor del retiro total e inmediato de las tropas portuguesas de Angola, debido a un interés excesivo en las ocupaciones de la "nueva vanguardia de masas," causó la pérdida de tiempo valioso en la ejecución de este trabajo antimperialista vital en interés de la revolución portuguesa y la lucha de liberación en Angola.

[Continúa en el próximo número]

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FROM OUR READERS

The exchange of opinions between Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel on the one hand, and Gerry Foley, Joseph Hansen, and George Novack on the other as to what course revolutionary Marxists ought to follow in Portugal has been received with considerable interest by our readers.

The first article, "In Defense of the Portuguese Revolution," was published in the September 8 Intercontinental Press; the second, "For a Correct Political Course in Portugal," in the October 13 issue.

Both articles have been advertised elsewhere as "Two Views on Portugal."

A typical response is the one from a reader in Albany, New York, who asked us to send the issues of Intercontinental Press containing "Two Views on Portugal" to a person who "became interested in our analysis of events during a debate that was held on Portugal at a coffee house in this city last night. The debate was a three-way thing with a member of the YSA [Young Socialist Alliance], a member of the YWLL [Young Workers Liberation League], and a supporter of the Guardian participating."

A reader in Colombia, noting that the article by Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, and Ernest Mandel had been published in a Spanish translation in the September 22 issue of Intercontinental Press, wrote us:

"Those in my country who couldn't read the reply in English are hopeful that it will be translated and published in Spanish."

This is being done. For lack of space, we could not publish the translation in a single issue. So it is being run in installments—four in all. The first one appeared in the October 27 issue. Look for "Por un Curso Político Correcto en Portugal" in the Documentos section.

Pathfinder Press in London, who receive an airmail shipment of Intercontinental Press to be distributed to subscribers in Europe, report that the postal service from London to Sweden is even worse than the postal service inside the United States. That's mighty hard to believe, but we suppose it's possible. Anyway they sent us a complaint from G.W. in Sweden as evidence.

G.W. says he has not received an issue of Intercontinental Press since last August. "If it hadn't been for the excellent material on Portugal I just would have waited patiently another few weeks, but now I'm really getting nervous by investigating an empty mailbox every day."

L.D., a student in Lancaster, England, asks: "Can you please help me with my studies by supplying details of the biography of Portugal's Gen. Otelo de Carvalho? Aso, I would like to purchase prints of photographs of the general for private purposes only."

Intercontinental Press has been covering the Portuguese events in depth since the coup on April 25, 1974. However we have not assembled enough material to provide a biography of General Carvalho. Nonetheless, we suggest that the next time L.D. goes to London, a visit to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, might prove fruitful. Back issues of Intercontinental Press are available there.

As for *prints* of photographs, that is more difficult. Would the photographs and drawings of Carvalho published in Intercontinental Press do "for private purposes only"?

Because the October 6 issue did not reach D.F., a reader in South Carolina, when it should have, he wrote: "I must urgently ask you to send me another copy. I understand that it has a very important article about Portugal, and I would not consider myself informed if I missed it."

D.F. continues: "Your news and analysis are vital to my understanding the momentous events in Portugal, Argentina, Northern Ireland and other lands where the permanent revolution is finding fertile soil. . . . I especially congratulate Gerry Foley for his superb reporting on Portugal. Give that man a Red Star."

A duplicate copy is on the way. And we hope that the lost copy falls into the hands of someone who will find it unusually educational.

"I would like to make some helpful suggestions to the world's greatest periodical (which I think you are)," J.K. of Yonkers, New York, wrote us.

"A lot of your contributors are fond of using quotes. However, the triple column format of IP makes even single quotes very difficult to follow. I suggest:

"1. All contributors using quotes be dissuaded from doing so.

"2. All contributors using quotes within quotes be doused with scalding water.

"3. All contributors using quotes within quotes within quotes be summarily executed.

"4. That references to previous issues that published the same material replace the quoted matter where you have previously printed it (as in the article on Portugal by

Novack, Foley and Hansen, where the article by Mandel, Frank and Maitan was extensively cited).

"5. That, as in the case of many of Foley's articles, where a source not published in IP is extensively quoted, the cited article be published in IP as a document, abridged if necessary."

We tried to dissuade the copy editor from putting quotation marks on the above paragraphs, but did not succeed. Our thanks to J.K. for not having quoted anything in his letter (which would have required using quotes within quotes), as we are allergic to scalding water.

Aside from that, the tendency of a lot of our contributors to use quotes is a result of our standards concerning accuracy. No doubt the readability of articles could be improved by paraphrasing sources, a common practice of most publications. But Intercontinental Press puts accuracy first.

J.K. also calls attention to the use of initials in Intercontinental Press, a practice that makes articles more difficult to understand.

"You have got to stop using initials!!!" he says. "I know it will take more space, but you have got to stop. Since the initials are in foreign languages usually, most comrades have little or no idea of what the actual names of the groups are. . . . Spell the names out, in the original language. If you feel a need to make the article easier for those who are only at home in English, translate the names."

That criticism strikes a responsive chord. However, we felt it worth making a compromise with those who value space. Our practice is to give the name of the organization at least once, with an English translation, and a notation as to the initials. Once you know what the initials stand for, then it is handy to use them. For instance AFL-CIO or IP (ICP in some areas of the English-speaking world).

One of the small irritations we run into from time to time, particularly in some foreign publications, is the appearance of initials for an organization or government department, perhaps newly formed, without any indication at all as to what the initials stand for. Then just try to find out in time for a deadline!

So we are in favor of an international law to stop the use of initials—unless authors indicate at least once in every article what they stand for. □

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