

RISING PRESSURE IN PORTUGAL AGAINST AZEVEDO

By Joseph Hansen

In Reply to a Petty Practitioner of the Big Lie

On Healy's 'Investigation'--What the Facts Show

Other Articles:

Uproar in Australia

Growing Pressure for Perón to Resign

Washington's Cover-up on Nuclear Safety

Angola Gains Independence From Portugal

Israel—A Nuclear Time Bomb

Libano—Un Polvorin en el Medio Oriente

NEWS ANALYSIS

Zionism: 'A Form of Racism'

Is Zionism a form of racism?

On November 10 the United Nations General Assembly answered yes, voting 72 to 35 in favor of a resolution to that effect. Two other resolutions, calling for the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in all Mideast peace negotiations, and setting up a UN committee concerned with the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, were also passed overwhelmingly.

The imperialist response was swift and unequivocal. Washington's position, U.S. chief delegate Daniel P. Moynihan said, is "that it does not acknowledge, it will not abide by, it will never acquiesce in this infamous act."

Prime Minister Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg, the president of the General Assembly, issued a statement warning of the "adverse consequences" of the vote, which he termed the "unhappy product of pressure by those who wanted to impose a point of view which is historically and philosophically false."

The resolution on Zionism and racism was "an appalling thing," one British delegate told *New York Times* reporter Kathleen Teltsch. In her November 12 article Teltsch also quoted a diplomat from the Netherlands, who called the resolution an attack "on the existence of a people. . . ."

"Folly at the UN," the lead editorial in the November 12 *Christian Science Monitor* declared. The following day the *New York Times* ran an editorial on the "Shame of the U.N."

In Washington, both houses of Congress passed unanimous resolutions condemning the UN vote, and the Senate called for hearings to begin "immediately to reassess the United States' further participation in the United Nations General Assembly."

Senator James B. Allen of Alabama, one of the best-known segregationists and head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said Congress should "give consideration to withdrawal from the General Assembly."

Congressman Benjamin S. Rosenthal declared, "Hitler would have been proud of those 72 delegates to the General Assembly who voted last night to condemn Zionism."

In New York City, tens of thousands of persons attended a rally November 11 organized by pro-Zionist groups. They carried signs saying, "Those Who Condemn Zionism Condone Hitler," and "Anti-Zionism Code Word For Anti-Semitism."

Was the UN vote really a sign that a new anti-Semitic wave is sweeping the world?

The two basic arguments put forth by the defenders of Zionism are the claim that anti-Zionism is simply a new word for anti-Semitism, and that Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish people. Both were answered in the General Assembly debate by Dr. Abdallah al-Sayegh of Kuwait.

He pointed out that the first and most vocal opponents of Zionism were Jews. "Long before Zionism had become a world phenomenon, it was within the Jewish community that the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with and identical to Judaism (was challenged). . . . We reject the claim of Zionism to be coextensive with the Jewish people. And, therefore, we reject the claim of Zionism that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic."

Addressing the argument that Zionism is a national liberation movement, Sayegh explained: "No movement that views its salvation through the enslavement of others can be a true liberation movement. No movement that seeks its ingathering through the dispersal of others can be a true national liberation movement."

The essence of the Zionist program was the establishment of a Jewish state on the land of another people. This was accomplished through the colonization of Palestine by Jewish settlers and the eventual expulsion of the majority of the Arab population. Thus, the very foundation of the Israeli state is laid on discrimination and injustice practiced against the Palestinian people.

In defending their "right" to the land of the Palestinians, the Israeli settlers have developed a typically racist, colonialist mentality. *Time* magazine published a Harris poll in its April 12, 1971, issue that showed the depth of the racism fostered by Zionism. Seventy-four percent of those asked said they thought "Arabs are less intelligent than Israelis." Two-thirds believed "Arabs are more dishonest than Israelis," and the same percentage felt "Arabs are inferior to Israelis." Eighty percent thought Arabs were not as brave as Israelis.

The racist attitudes of the Zionist settlers, reinforced continually by the need to maintain and justify the dispossession of the Palestinians, are reflected on every level of daily life in Israel. Public funds for schools, health, and social services are

allocated in a discriminatory way to favor the Jewish areas.

Employment discrimination against Arabs is rife, often under the pretext of demanding that job applicants have completed their military service. This automatically eliminates Arabs because they are banned from the armed forces.

In the field of politics, Arabs are categorically denied the right to form nationalist parties or associations. Furthermore, police repression in the form of threats, beatings, nighttime searches, and other formally illegal procedures is used regularly against Arab activists.

Discrimination in housing is not only legal, it is actively encouraged by the government under the guise of "demographic" considerations—i.e., encouraging Jewish settlement and the formation of a Jewish majority in various areas. Property owned by the Jewish National Fund, which represents a substantial amount of Israeli land, cannot be leased to non-Jews.

In the area of citizenship, the Law of Return guarantees entry to Jews from anywhere in the world. At the same time, Israel denies the right of 1.5 million Palestinian refugees to return to their homes.

If this record of oppression does not mean that Zionism is a form of racism, the word has no meaning. The objective result of Zionist policies, measured over a period of decades, has been the denial of democratic rights to, and the systematic dispossession of, a whole people because of their national origin.

The hypocritical indignation feigned by the capitalist politicians in the United States in response to the UN vote was partly motivated by vote-getting considerations. Henry Kissinger, who does not have to worry about getting elected, took a cooler view of the whole affair.

He warned November 12 that ". . . we must not now swing to the extreme of not realizing some of the benefits that the United Nations with all its failings still has for the United States."

But the UN action was a setback for the imperialists. Although they are not about to withdraw from the United Nations, they are doing their best to discredit the vote on Zionism.

They know that if the fact that Israel is a colonial-settler state with a racist ideology begins to be understood by the American people, the result will be a growing wave of protest against the billions of dollars of U.S. aid pumped into that imperialist outpost. And they fear that it would threaten their ability to back up the Zionist state with U.S. forces in future Mideast wars.

Ironically, in the name of Jewish survival, Zionism has led its followers into an alliance with precisely those racist, imperi-

alist forces out of whose ranks will come the real candidates for a new Hitler.

It is not the Palestinian people, with their demand to live together with the Israeli Jews in a unitary state, who pose a threat to Jewish survival. It is the rulers in Washington who will prove just as willing to use anti-Semitism in the future as they have been in the past to use anti-Black, anti-Arab, and anti-Asian racism.

"The attempt to solve the Jewish question through the migration of Jews to Palestine can now be seen for what it is, a tragic mockery of the Jewish people . . ." Leon Trotsky wrote in July 1940 in a passage that could as easily have been written with the present situation in mind.

"The future development of military events," he continued, "may well transform Palestine into a bloody trap for several hundred thousand Jews. Never was it so clear as it is today that the salvation of the Jewish people is bound up inseparably with the overthrow of the capitalist system." □

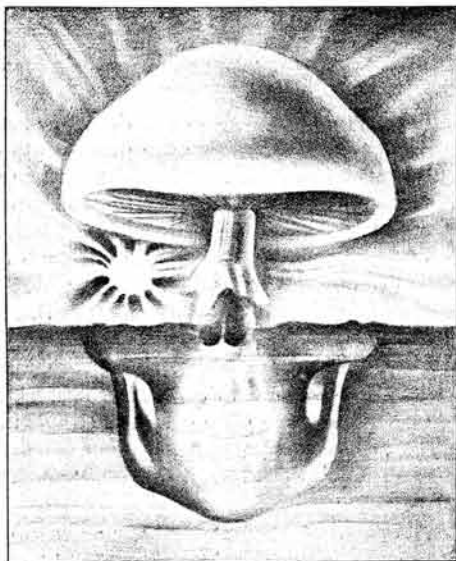
Slight Miscalculation

A U.S. Senate committee announced in September that the Pentagon had revised its estimate of how many Americans would be killed in a "limited" nuclear war.

When he first argued before Congress his plan for a U.S. "first strike" option against Soviet missile silos, former Pentagon chief James Schlesinger claimed that a Soviet counterattack would result in a maximum of three million American fatalities.

The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment did a little probing and after several months concluded that the Pentagon's figures "were substantially too low."

The generals went back and consulted their computers at the Pentagon and came up with a new figure—a maximum 22 million dead. But it is still a "limited" war.



Robert Pryor/New York Times

In This Issue

Closing Date: November 17, 1975

FEATURES	1636	On Healy's "Investigation"—What the Facts Show—by Joseph Hansen
PORTUGAL	1620	Masses Mobilize Against Azevedo Regime —by David Frankel
ANGOLA	1622	Angola Gains Independence From Portugal —by Ernest Harsch
PUERTO RICO	1625	Masses Worse Off Than Ever
AUSTRALIA	1626	Uproar Over Ouster of Labor Government —by Peter Green
PHILIPPINES	1628	Marcos Bans All Strikes
SOVIET UNION	1629	An Interview With Leopold and Luba Trepper
ARGENTINA	1630	Growing Pressure for Perón to Resign —by Judy White
	1632	The Ranchers' Strike —by Juan Carlos Coral
BRITAIN	1633	Memo to Healyites on Gold Puzzle —by Dick Roberts
ISRAEL	1634	A Nuclear Time Bomb in the Middle East —by David Frankel
INDIA	1635	Workers Hit Hard by Economic Slump
U.S.A.	1650	Prisoners Like Sardines in a Can
	1664	And Cockroaches for New Yorkers
NEWS ANALYSIS	1618	Zionism: "A Form of Racism"
	1619	Slight Miscalculation
AROUND THE WORLD	1651	
CAPITALISM		
FOULS THINGS UP	1652	Washington's Cover-up on "Nuclear Safety"— by Ernest Harsch
DOCUMENTS	1654	James P. Cannon's Reply to the Perjurer Budenz
	1655	Trotsky's Tribute to Robert Sheldon Harte
DRAWINGS	1620	Mário Soares; 1621, José Pinheiro de Azevedo; 1626, Gough Whitlam; 1631, Maria Estela Martinez de Perón; 1635, Indira Gandhi; 1657, Rashid Karami —by Copain
EN ESPAÑOL:		
LIBANO	1656	Un Polvorin en el Medio Oriente —por Peter Green
DOCUMENTOS	1662	Por la Independencia Total e Inmediata del Sahara—por J. Rocha

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Masses Mobilize Against Azevedo Regime

By David Frankel

The biggest mass demonstration to take place in Portugal since the enormous May 1, 1974, celebration of the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship was held in Lisbon November 16. It represented a stunning blow to the regime of Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo, the sixth government since the fall of Caetano, and marked a new surge forward in the class struggle.

"With raised fists and shouts of 'Out with Pinheiro de Azevedo!' the demonstrators marched down Lisbon's palm-lined Avenue of Liberty," reported a dispatch in the November 17 *New York Times*. "They were led by a procession of cement-mixers, tractors, bulldozers and Land-Rovers."

More than 100,000 persons turned out for the antigovernment protest, called by unions and workers commissions from Lisbon's industrial belt and supported by the Portuguese Communist party. This compares with a turnout estimated as low as 20,000, and at most 40,000, at a progovernment rally on November 9.

The Socialist party leadership, slavishly supporting the military regime, issued a statement denouncing the demonstration as a move to "subvert the democratic Government." In fact, Azevedo's regime is no more democratic in origin or policies than the five others that have gone before it. In every single one of those governments the real decisions have been made by an unelected junta of military officers. This state of affairs has been reflected in the response of the masses.

At the November 9 progovernment rally, called jointly by the SP and the capitalist Democratic People's party (PPD), Azevedo cataloged and denounced the challenges facing his government, lashing out at what he called impossible wage demands, wildcat strikes, unauthorized seizures of farmland, and a lack of discipline in the armed forces.

The massive outpouring on November 16 was the second big defeat for the government in two days. On November 14, thirty-six hours after he was besieged in his official residence at the São Bento Palace, Azevedo announced to the 20,000 construction workers camped outside that he would meet their demands for a 40 percent wage increase.

Rightists Enraged

The victory of the construction workers was a powerful blow to the government's



SOARES: SP denounced mass protest as move "to subvert the democratic Government."

attempts to limit wage increases, and one more sign of its extreme weakness. A frustrated Gen. António Pires Veloso, the northern regional commander of the armed forces, told a progovernment rally in Oporto: "The best answer to all the tumult in Lisbon that the north of Portugal can give is hard work."

Another answer was proposed by angry rightists, who attacked the Oporto Trade Union Federation and burned the contents of the building after hearing of Azevedo's decision. There were also attacks on the Union of Communist Youth and the Communist Student Union. Other rightists temporarily took over a left-wing radio station.

Francisco Sá Carneiro, leader of the Democratic People's party, attacked President Francisco da Costa Gomes "for not taking the necessary measures" to suppress the workers. However, that would have been easier said than done.

There are 300,000 construction workers in Portugal, and even the bourgeois press admitted their nationwide strike was 80 percent effective. During the strike both the SP and the PPD urged their followers to

mobilize in the streets against the siege of the São Bento Palace. But the masses were not willing to oppose the demands of the construction workers, and they refused to respond to this progovernment call.

The result of the construction workers' strike shows the dilemma facing the Portuguese ruling class and its reformist supporters. The mass radicalization set in motion by the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974 continues unabated, and attempts to crack down on the workers, soldiers, and peasants threaten to provoke a response that could overwhelm the fragile barriers the capitalists have managed to set up to protect bourgeois property relations.

The radicalization in the countryside among Portugal's sizable peasant population has been indicated by the occupation of more than half a million acres of farmland by landless peasants. The government has been powerless to prevent these illegal land occupations, although an indication of what it would like to do was given on October 27 when cavalry troops were used to expel squatters and protect the holdings of a landowner near the town of Azambuja.

While workers in the cities and peasants in the countryside have been defying the regime, the ferment in the military has proceeded apace. The involvement of the ranks in politics and their insistence on the right to discuss and decide on the ways in which they will be used has sent a shiver of fear through the Portuguese rulers.

Admission of Weakness

The necessity of negotiating and compromising with its own rebellious troops, and of giving in to the demands of the construction workers, were both examples of the weakness of the government. Another, even more graphic, example was the way the regime dealt with the dispute around Rádio Renascença.

Formerly the voice of the Catholic church in Portugal, the station had been taken over by members of several left groups who opposed Azevedo's government, favoring instead the fifth government headed by former Premier Vasco Gonçalves. In September troops were ordered to shut the station down. Then, on October 22, soldiers and civilians opposed to Azevedo broke into the station and began broadcasting again in defiance of the regime.

Any other government in the world would

have sent a detachment of police to clear the dissidents out that same night. Azevedo would have liked to have done this, but he was not able to. It was not until two weeks later that a detachment of soldiers under government orders settled the matter by *blowing up the station's transmitter*. Destroying useful equipment is usually one of the last precautions of a retreating army, not the act of a ruling government.

Numerous appeals for discipline in the military, the formation of the specially chosen "Military Intervention Unit," and the establishment November 1 of special military courts for state security cases have so far proved unable to reestablish the government's capacity for repression.

As a result, the capitalists have no alternative but to rely on the support of the reformist workers parties to maintain their rule. The competition between the Stalinists and the Social Democrats complicates this process and introduces an additional element of instability.

In the construction workers' strike, although the demands were economic in form they were directed against the government, and the SP leadership attacked the strike as an antigovernment maneuver by the CP. These Social Democrats are willing to defend the capitalist regime against the legitimate demands of the workers because they have been given a few extra seats in the cabinet.

When the CP had the upper hand in the government, which was the case until Azevedo took over from Gonçalves in September, the CP leadership used the same tactic, labeling strikes as counterrevolutionary plots.

Behind the Coup Charges

The same parallel holds true in relation to the mass demonstrations organized by the SP and CP. When the SP leaders called the masses into the streets against the Gonçalves government on July 19, concentrating on the legitimate resentment against the assaults on democratic rights being carried out by that regime in league with the CP, the Stalinists accused the SP leaders of planning a rightist coup. Actually, the SP leaders wanted to use the mass mobilization—which drew about 100,000 persons into the streets—only as leverage in their maneuvers over posts in the capitalist government.

Now, the roles are reversed. The SP's national secretariat described the November 16 demonstration as "clearly insurrectional in nature," according to a report in the November 16 *New York Times*. The SP claimed: "It is obvious that such a mobilization is aimed to block traffic in the city and cover up the assault of strategic positions of the state machinery."

But the real aim of the Stalinists had

been stated the day before when the CP leadership demanded "a reinforcement of the [pro-CP] left in the political and military structure."

This was made even clearer on the



AZEVEDO: Hanging by a thread.

November 16 demonstration, when the names of Vasco Gonçalves and Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho were chanted by the crowd. (Carvalho is the figure in the ruling military council who has taken greatest pains to cultivate a left-wing image.)

The fact that both the SP and CP have proved successful in mobilizing huge anti-government demonstrations, while neither has been able to do the same to support the capitalist regime of their choice, can lead to only one conclusion: The masses are not enthusiastic about any capitalist government.

For a Workers and Peasants Government

What the workers and peasants of Portugal need is a government of their own that will really represent their interests. The workers need a government that will place their needs before profits, and that will not try to solve the economic crisis by holding down wages. The peasants need a government that will give the land to those who till it, and that will provide them with loans, modern agricultural equipment, and new irrigation projects.

And both peasants and workers need a government that will provide full employment, decent medical care and housing, and educational and cultural opportunities for all.

The desire for such a government was expressed in April when the Portuguese masses gave an absolute majority to the CP

and SP in the elections to the Constituent Assembly. However, the sectarian and opportunist squabbling of the two largest workers parties in Portugal over posts in a capitalist government has deeply divided the working class. It can only end by demoralizing it and opening the road to a victorious reaction.

The perspective of a workers and peasants government is one that could reinspire the Portuguese masses, unifying and mobilizing the majority behind it. An unelected capitalist regime that could not even hold a radio station would be in no position to stand up to the demand of the masses for a government that would really represent them.

The Stalinist and Social Democratic leaders know this. They refuse to break with the MFA and to move toward the formation of a CP-SP government because their whole perspective is to maintain capitalism, not to overthrow it. The task of revolutionists in Portugal is to win the majority from the reformist leadership of the CP and SP. And this can only be done by exposing them to their followers, who believe their socialist rhetoric is really sincere.

The cutting edge of the call for a CP-SP government is that it would require a break with *all* the representatives of Portuguese capitalism, above all with the military hierarchy that is currently calling the tune. This demand would gain vast popularity if it were raised as part of a consistent campaign, including calls for joint CP-SP actions to defend the democratic rights and economic interests of the workers, soldiers, and peasants. Eventually, the big workers parties would have to respond or else risk losing mass influence to the revolutionary groups carrying out such a campaign.

The rising sentiment against Azevedo, reflected in the November 16 demonstration in Lisbon, shows once again the desire of the masses for a government representing their class interests, not a seventh provisional government of Portuguese capital. □

U.S. Customs Agents Were Ordered to Harass Visitors From Chile

U.S. customs officials have revealed that during the Allende regime they were ordered "to step outside customs law and regulations . . . to harass the people and cause delays in delivery of shipments" from Chile.

The testimony, given at an October 23 session of the Senate Finance Subcommittee on International Trade, came from a former customs official in Denver and was confirmed by the deputy district director in Detroit. The latter also stated that two top customs officials in Houston had confirmed the order.

Angola Gains Independence From Portugal

By Ernest Harsch

After 490 years of direct colonial rule, the Portuguese flag in Angola was taken down for the last time in the early evening of November 10. The remaining Portuguese troops, about 2,000 of them, boarded naval transport ships for the trip back to Portugal.

Just before leaving, Adm. Leonel Cardoso, the Portuguese high commissioner for Angola, declared:

In the name of the president of the Portuguese Republic, I solemnly proclaim, effective from zero hours of the 11th day of November 1975, the independence of Angola and its full sovereignty, rooted in the Angolan people, who shall decide the forms of its execution.

Within hours of the final Portuguese withdrawal, two rival Angolan regimes were proclaimed. The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) established the People's Republic of Angola, with its capital in Luanda.

The Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Angola, with Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) as the temporary capital.

The country's future remains clouded by the continuing warfare, as contending imperialist powers step up their intervention and jockey for control over Angola's vast natural resources. But the end of direct colonial rule nevertheless marked a historic victory for the Angolan masses.

Angola is rich in oil, diamonds, iron, and other minerals, and its agricultural land is among the most fertile in Africa. Although the Portuguese imperialists "claimed" Angola in 1485, they did not begin pillaging these resources until about a hundred years ago. Their first interest was in the Angolans themselves: From the early sixteenth century until the mid-eighteenth century, up to four million or more Africans were shipped out of the country as slaves.

From the end of the slave trade until the early 1960s, Africans were subjected to forced labor on the European-owned coffee, sugar, and sisal plantations. Millions of Angolans were forced to flee the country to escape the appalling living and working conditions. In the late 1940s, the infant mortality rate stood at 60 percent. In 1950

the overall literacy rate was 1 percent, increasing to 30 percent by 1970 only with the influx of hundreds of thousands of white settlers.

When Angolans organized to oppose the harsh colonial rule, they were met with massive repression. After a widespread uprising in northern Angola in March 1961, organized by the União das Populações de Angola (Angolan Peoples' Union, the forerunner of the FNLA), the Portuguese bombed and napalmed villages and massacred tens of thousands of Africans.

Despite Lisbon's barbarous use of force, it was unable to crush the Angolan nationalist struggles. The resistance of the FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA placed a great strain on Lisbon's empire.

The economic and human cost of Portugal's war against the Angolan nationalists, as well as those against the freedom fighters in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, nurtured a growing antiwar sentiment within Portugal itself. The troops charged with maintaining the empire were especially responsive to this antiwar mood. Protests in other countries against Portuguese imperialism's role in Africa applied further political pressure on Lisbon and encouraged the Portuguese anticolonialists.

Lisbon's inability to win its colonial wars led to the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship on April 25, 1974. The Portuguese bourgeoisie realized that the only way it could hold on to its economic interests in Africa was to give up formal political control and adopt neocolonial methods of rule.

The Portuguese imperialists intended the transition to neocolonialism to be a gradual one. But the coup touched off a massive upsurge in Portugal and led to the rapid growth of the nationalist forces in the colonies. This limited Lisbon's ability to maneuver and hastened the process toward independence.

The demonstrations in Lisbon in early September, involving several hundred Portuguese troops demanding that they not be sent to Angola and that Lisbon get out of the colony, were the most recent indicators of the deep opposition to Portugal's colonial role in Africa.

Angola's assumption of formal independence November 11 was the final stage in the dismantling of the Portuguese African empire. Guinea-Bissau won its independence on September 10, 1974; Mozambique

on June 25, 1975; the Cape Verde Islands on July 5, 1975; and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe on July 12, 1975.

However, unlike the other Portuguese African colonies, where one liberation movement won political hegemony within the nationalist struggle in each country, Angola's independence forces remained divided.

This allowed Portugal and the other imperialist powers the opportunity to play the groups off against each other—the old technique of divide and rule, long ago perfected by the imperialist powers. The aim was to weaken the nationalist movement as a whole and to elicit as many political compromises as possible from them before the end of direct colonial rule.

In addition, by delaying the granting of formal independence for more than a year and a half, the Portuguese military junta set the stage for all the contending imperialist powers to intervene in a civil conflict in which only the Angolan masses themselves will be the losers.

The Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) established a coalition regime with representatives of the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA in January 1975. The intent was to draw the three groups into the MFA's neocolonial plans and to test their willingness to "cooperate."

By accepting posts in the Portuguese-dominated regime and by agreeing to a prolonged timetable for the "transition" to independence, the three organizations dangerously compromised the struggle for independence and fostered illusions among the Angolan and Portuguese masses about the MFA's real aims.

While participating in the regime, each of the three groups showed that it favored the survival of capitalism in Angola, despite the socialist rhetoric used by some of them.

Leaders of the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA actively carried out, and in many cases initiated, anti-working-class policies. Each pledged that foreign investment would be encouraged in an independent Angola.

These overtures to imperialism have continued even after the departure of the Portuguese. For instance, a dispatch in the November 12 *New York Times* reported that at the MPLA's independence day celebrations MPLA leader Agostinho Neto "said foreign investment would be welcomed from all abiding by Angolan laws."

One wing of the MFA apparently considered the MPLA the most "reliable," or useful, of the three groups in safeguarding Lisbon's particular interests in the country. The most outspoken representative of this wing was Adm. Rosa Coutinho, who served as high commissioner to Angola before the establishment of the coalition regime.

In early September Lopo do Nascimento, a member of the MPLA's Political Bureau, described the economic program drawn up by Vasco Vieira de Almeida, a Portuguese minister in the coalition regime, as "valid." Among other points, that program called for the "reinforcement" of the economic relations between Portugal and Angola.

Another factor that influenced the attitude of this wing of the MFA was the MPLA's strong political influence on the Luanda workers and the Mbundu people in the Luanda-Malange region. For this reason, the MPLA was viewed as being in a better position to control workers struggles in Angola's main industrial center than either of the two other rival organizations.

However, the policy of the Lisbon military junta as a whole toward the three groups was a cautious one.

A pro-MPLA report in the October 10 Mozambique *Noticias* explained one reason for this caution:

Circles related to the Portuguese Government state that they for the moment have to act with care. They ask for understanding in this matter. Thousands of settlers still are in the areas under control of the FNLA and UNITA reactionaries, and their lives would seriously be endangered in case the Portuguese Government would show its sympathy and openly support the MPLA.

A more important reason was the uncertainty of the MPLA's chances of winning the fratricidal war. If Lisbon openly aided the MPLA in its struggle for power, as the MPLA asked it to do, Portuguese interests in Angola could be jeopardized in the event of an FNLA and UNITA victory.

The safest policy, in the view of the Portuguese, was to leave open the doors to "cooperation" with whatever nationalist force gains dominance. For this reason, the MFA declared that it was formally "neutral" in relation to the factional struggle.

Despite the MFA's public "neutrality," its overtures to the FNLA and UNITA, and its occasional threats against the MPLA, some of its actions in Angola have in reality given the MPLA an advantage over its rivals.

The formal dissolution of the first coalition regime in mid-August, after the MPLA drove the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda, enabled the MPLA to gain control of most of the governmental apparatus. At the same time, the MPLA continued to cooperate with the Portuguese imperialists, remaining in the regime with them.

Following the September 18 announce-



Associated Press/November 13, 1975

AP map credits FNLA with control over area A, MPLA with area B, and UNITA with area C.

ment that Lisbon would withdraw most of its troops by November 11, a British Broadcasting Corporation reporter mentioned a report that the Portuguese arms and war matériel in Angola would be equally divided between the three liberation movements.

The October 5 *Jornal de Angola*, which is controlled by the MPLA, reported Admiral Cardoso's denial:

I have never said that. . . We shall transfer everything to the administrative or governmental institutions. The Navy's share will be handed over to the *Serviços de Marinha*. The ships have been handed over already on October 1. The *Aeronautica Civil* will receive the things of the Portuguese Air Force, while the Army will transfer some matériel to the Road-building Service, some to the Institute of Industrial Development, etc. (Cited in the October 18 *Amsterdam Facts and Reports*.)

With the MPLA in virtually total control of Luanda, where almost all the remaining government bodies were located, such a move would be a *de facto* turnover of Portuguese arms to the MPLA.

In addition, the MPLA called on Lisbon to formally recognize it as the "only legitimate" Angolan liberation movement and to turn official governmental authority over to it. Such a move would have made it easier for the MPLA to present itself as the "legal" regime in its bid to gain international recognition and material support for its fight against the FNLA and UNITA.

The MPLA staged demonstrations in Luanda, and the Portuguese Communist party and a number of ultraleft groups held actions in Lisbon, to pressure the MFA to recognize the MPLA regime.

According to *New York Times* reporter Marvin Howe, in a November 11 dispatch from Lisbon, important forces within the

MFA also favored this. Howe said:

Until the last minute, however, there were strong pressures on the Lisbon Government and military leadership to recognize the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola as the legitimate administration. Among those who fought for recognition of the Popular Movement in meetings yesterday was President Francisco da Costa Gomes.

Also included in the wing of the MFA favoring recognition of the MPLA regime were Cooperation Minister Vitor Crespo, Gen. Carlos Fabião, and Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, according to the November 12 *Jornal Novo*.

The meeting in Lisbon that discussed this question lasted from the night of November 9 until dawn the next day. All top government officials, as well as leaders of the Communist party, Socialist party, and the bourgeois *Partido Popular Democrático* (Democratic People's party), participated. The final decision was to withdraw from Angola without recognizing any of the nationalist groups at that time.

In the months preceding November 11, the MPLA took a number of steps to consolidate its control of Luanda.

One of the first targets was the Luanda labor movement, which carried out a series of strikes beginning shortly after the April 1974 Portuguese coup and continuing until mid-1975. While a participant in the capitalist coalition regime with the two other groups, the MPLA supported a law providing for the military mobilization of striking workers.

The MPLA continued these policies after the ouster of the FNLA and UNITA from Luanda. MPLA leaders constantly exhorted workers to "produce more." One of its slogans was "Refusing to work is treason against the Angolan people."

The dock workers, who had staged some of the most militant strikes, bore the brunt of this campaign. Troops and representatives from the MPLA-dominated "neighborhood committees" went to the docks to "help" the workers load and unload ships. The workday at Luanda harbor was extended to last until 9:30 or 11:30 at night. In a speech in late September, Nascimento accused dockers who did not work of carrying out "sabotage."

The various self-defense organizations, which were formed spontaneously in some of the Luanda ghettos in 1974 after white settlers conducted terror raids against Africans, have also come under MPLA attack.

Le Monde correspondent René Lefort reported in the October 23 issue of the Paris daily that these armed groups were dissolved, reorganized with "politically conscious elements" in leadership, and then placed under the direct control of the MPLA military command. Any armed groups

outside the MPLA's army or militia were declared illegal.

The MPLA's political influence still appears to be limited to the Luanda area and the region east of the capital, despite its efforts to extend MPLA control throughout the country and its claim that it is the only "real" Angolan nationalist organization.

For several weeks it militarily occupied the coastal and southern cities of Lobito, Benguela, Moçamedes, and Sá da Bandeira, but withdrew from the latter two cities in late October in face of a joint FNLA-UNITA force. Lobito and Benguela were also reported retaken by the MPLA's rivals, although fighting was still continuing near those two cities on independence day.

All three groups have sought increased international support to bolster their positions—both from the imperialist powers and from the workers states.

Although Lisbon did not extend formal recognition to the MPLA government on November 11, it was quickly recognized by the Soviet Union, Cuba, Mozambique, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, and Brazil. According to an MPLA official in early November, there were more than eighty governments that would recognize the MPLA regime.

The MPLA gets much of its material aid, including arms, from the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states. Arms shipments from the workers states have increased sharply over the past several months. In addition, several hundred Cuban advisers have reportedly been sent to aid the MPLA.

The MPLA also gets support from several Scandinavian governments, as well as from

various European Communist and Social Democratic parties.

The October 30 *Jornal Novo* reported that according to MPLA leader Paulo Jorge, the British Labour party had given its "total support" to the MPLA. Judith Harth, a member of Parliament and a leader of the Labour party, appeared at a news conference with Jorge in London.

According to *New York Times* reporter Michael T. Kaufman, the MPLA may also be getting backing from an American oil company with large investments in the Cabinda enclave, which has been occupied by MPLA troops for several months. He reported in a November 9 dispatch from Luanda:

Gulf has reportedly concluded a deal with the Soviet-supported Popular Movement and has been continuing production although at a reduced rate during the recent turmoil.

Since August, when a transitional government composed of all three liberation factions dissolved in combat, the company has been paying its concession fees into a blocked account here.

This money, now totaling about \$100 million, will presumably be turned over to the government that will be installed here by the Popular Movement soon after the Portuguese flag is lowered for the last time tomorrow night.

The MPLA charges that its two rivals are "puppets of international imperialism" and denies that they have much support within Angola. At an October 24 news conference in New York, for instance, MPLA representative Saydi Mingas claimed that the FNLA recruited many of its members at gunpoint from among the Bakongo living in neighboring Zaïre.

It is undoubtedly true that the FNLA and UNITA, like the MPLA, receive foreign

backing from imperialist powers, each of which is playing its own game in Angola. FNLA and UNITA leaders have made overtures to various imperialist interests to aid them in their struggle against the MPLA, which they charge with being a "tool of Soviet social imperialism."

Although the FNLA and UNITA also get aid from Peking, and claim they favor "socialism," they have both called for the maintenance of "private enterprise" in Angola.

It is not true, however, that the FNLA and UNITA are simply puppets of imperialism. They are both strongly implanted in their respective areas of the country and have a long history of resistance to Portuguese colonialism. The massive repression after the 1961 uprising in the north and the years of counterinsurgency operations by the Portuguese were incapable of weakening the FNLA's influence over the Bakongo people, who live in the districts of Uíge and Zaire. The UNITA has a strong base among the Ovimbundu in the central plateau region. The Ovimbundu are estimated to number about 40 percent of the Angolan population.

The FNLA and UNITA's methods of rule are no more democratic or proletarian than those of the MPLA. In August, UNITA General Secretary Miguel Puna was quoted by *Jornal de Angola* as saying that all Angolans in UNITA-controlled territory were required to carry identity cards. These cards were to be checked by "control groups."

A few days before the departure of the Portuguese, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi called for the disarming of the Luanda

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population, indicating what may be in store for them if the UNITA is successful in "liberating" Luanda from the MPLA.

There are a number of reports that white troops are fighting with the FNLA and UNITA.

Newsweek correspondent Edward Behr filed a dispatch for the November 17 issue of the magazine from Ambriz, a city north of Luanda controlled by the FNLA. He reported seeing Col. Gilberto Santos e Castro, a former Portuguese officer who was now believed to be the FNLA's chief of staff.

Behr said that "it soon became apparent to me that many white officers, NCO's and technicians are holding key posts in the 30,000-man FNLA. . . . The whites became tight-lipped when asked about their origins, but it was clear that most were not in the conventional sense mercenaries. They were Portuguese Angolans who wanted to remain in Angola—drawn to [FNLA President Holden] Roberto by his promise to treat 'white Angolans' who supported him like 'first class citizens.'"

Portuguese settlers and former troops are also in the ranks and leadership of the two other nationalist organizations.

There have been several reports that South African troops are actively involved in the Angola fighting. The November 15 *New York Times* quoted a British newsman as saying, "We now have confirmation that the South African Army has a base camp at a town called Sa Da Bandeira . . . 250 miles inside Angola."

Several neighboring Black African countries have also threatened direct military intervention in Angola.

Until the Benguela railway in central Angola was shut down by the fighting, Zambia exported most of its copper, its major export, through Angola. Speaking before a group of Zambian air force officers near Lusaka September 19, President Kenneth Kaunda warned, "The impact of the Angolan crisis on our economy and security is bound to be incalculable and must invariably involve the Zambian defence forces."

In the days before November 11, the Zaïrean and Congolese armies reinforced their troop contingents on the borders of the oil-rich Cabinda enclave. Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko declared November 10 that he did not consider Cabinda a part of Angola.

Amid reports of fighting between the MPLA and troops of the Zaïre-backed faction of the separatist Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (Cabinda Liberation Front), the Congolese regime of Marien Ngouabi, which supports the MPLA, declared that it will send troops to Cabinda if it is taken by the MPLA's rivals.

Not the least interested in exploiting the

new opportunities in the former colony are the U.S. imperialists.

In a November 6 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Leslie H. Gelb reported:

Administration officials told a Senate committee today that the Administration was covertly supplying arms to liberation groups in Angola, according to officials with direct knowledge of the testimony, which was given in a closed session.

Under Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco and William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, said that the Administration wanted Congressional support for a substantial amount of budgeted arms aids for Zaïre, Ethiopia and Kenya. They defended both types of aid on the grounds that the United States needed "bargaining chips" with the Soviet Union and that it is as important to maintain the balance of power in Africa as it is anywhere else, the sources said.

Results In on 'Operation Bootstrap'

Puerto Rican Masses Worse Off Than Ever

The results of twenty-five years of U.S. imperialism's "Operation Bootstrap" in Puerto Rico are in. They reveal a situation of heightened unemployment, serious inflation, a contraction of the job market, and a populace heavily dependent on U.S. federal food stamps for survival.

Bootstrap was launched in 1950 to transform Puerto Rico "from an area of neglect into a success symbol for the developing world," correspondent David Vidal said in the October 15 *New York Times*. The aim was to promote imperialist investment on the island by providing special "incentives." Among them were a huge unemployed labor force, compelled to work at very low wages, and a 100% exemption from any taxes for up to thirty years.

Vidal's article gave some indication of the scheme's "success" insofar as the Puerto Rican masses are concerned.

Today about 71% of the 3.3 million residents of the island depend on U.S. federal food stamps.

Unemployment has reached 40%; it was 12.9% when the program started. In one town of 14,000 inhabitants, 96% of the work force is unemployed.

Moreover, these figures do not take into account "underemployed" workers, that is, those who want full-time work but can find only part-time jobs. In 1970 Puerto Rican government statistics showed 30.4% unemployed and 35% "underemployed." There is no reason to believe that "underemployment" has not escalated since then, especially in face of the worldwide economic downturn.

Sisco also "justified the Administration's covert supply of rifles, machine guns, vehicles and ammunition to the two anti-Soviet liberation movements in Angola. He maintained that the United States did not want to defeat the Soviet-backed liberation group but sought to make the other groups strong enough to negotiate a coalition government, the sources said."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told a news conference November 10 that Washington would not tolerate Soviet "hegemonical aspirations" in Angola.

Such clear threats of increased intervention by Washington and other imperialist powers present a serious danger to the Angolan masses in the weeks ahead. □

As of the 1970 census 59.6% of all families had annual incomes below the U.S. federally defined poverty level. The impact of that statistic becomes clearer if viewed in the context of an inflation rate that was running close to 30% by January 1975.

Unemployment is likely to continue to rise. Although manufacturing, along with construction and tourism, was one of the principal areas projected to expand under Operation Bootstrap, there was a decrease of 23,400 factory jobs during fiscal year 1975. Construction permits for new projects fell off almost 29% during the same period, and five luxury hotels are reported on the verge of closing. Agriculture, which in 1950 provided work for 214,000 persons, employed only 53,000 in 1974.

In addition, more workers are competing for fewer jobs. During the 1950s and 1960s Puerto Ricans in search of work generally emigrated to the United States. But between 1970 and 1974 the economic slump in the United States reversed this pattern: 21,000 more Puerto Ricans returned to the island than left it. □

Just a Freudian Slip?

"On eight separate occasions in his 21-minute written speech, Reagan read 'third world war' for the words 'third world.'"

"Finally, as the audience grew restless, he stopped his reading and said, 'It must be Freudian; I keep wanting to add the word 'war.'—*San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22.

Uproar in Australia Over Ouster of Labor Government

By Peter Green

Demonstrations and strikes erupted throughout Australia within hours of the unprecedented dismissal of Labor party Prime Minister Gough Whitlam on November 11 by the queen's representative, Governor General Sir John Kerr.

Kerr's "coup" installed millionaire rancher Malcolm Fraser, leader of the conservative Liberal party-National Country party (L-NCP) coalition, as prime minister. He was commissioned to form a "caretaker" government until elections—scheduled for December 13—are held for both houses of Parliament.

Thousands of workers downed tools as soon as they heard the news. Dockers around Australia went on a twenty-four-hour strike. Seamen walked off their ships in port, and the Seamen's Union office was flooded with calls from ships at sea condemning Kerr's action.

Workers at the railway workshops in Sydney and Newcastle went out, the state dockyards in Newcastle were shut down, and 1,500 workers walked off the job at the Whyalla shipyards.

More than 3,000 meat workers closed many plants throughout Queensland, and metalworkers and others in many individual factories also went on strike.

In Canberra thousands of civil servants stopped work in protest and demonstrated outside Parliament House. Nearly 1,000 demonstrators mobbed Fraser's car as he left Parliament by a back door to be sworn in by the governor general.

In front of Parliament House 2,000 workers and students rallied to hear speeches by Whitlam and Bob Hawke, the president of the Labor party (ALP) and of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU).

Whitlam led the crowd in singing "Solidarity Forever." He told his supporters: "Maintain your rage and enthusiasm. You will have a Labor Government again." But he also appealed for restraint.

The brunt of the task of holding back the furious workers fell to Hawke: "Let's cool it as much as we can so the issues can be talked out in peaceful rallies and the like," he said.

As many as 10,000 workers and students gathered in Melbourne's City Square for a rally and march to Government House. About 1,500 demonstrators then marched on the Victorian Liberal party headquarters. Police attacked the demonstration,



WHITLAM: Dismissed by governor general.

driving vehicles through the crowd to try to break it up.

In Sydney about 6,000 workers marched through the streets carrying signs calling for a general strike. Demonstrations also took place in Adelaide, Perth, and Brisbane that day.

'Mockery of Democracy'

Twenty-seven days of political crisis preceded the action by the governor general, who was accused by Whitlam of having "made a mockery of democracy."

On October 16 the Senate, the upper house in the Australian Parliament, refused to pass the Labor government's annual budget. The conservative opposition in control of the Senate said it would block passage of the budget until Whitlam resigned and called an election for both houses.

This move cut off the supply of funds to government departments, and it appeared the government would run out of money to pay civil servants by November 27 unless one side backed down.

Traditionally, the party that holds a majority in the lower house, the House of

Representatives, forms the government. The Labor party still holds a majority there.

According to the Australian constitution, the Senate cannot amend money bills. It does not specify whether it can reject them, but the tradition since Federation seventy-five years ago has been that it does not.

As for other bills that are rejected by a hostile Senate, the government has the option of calling a double dissolution of both houses and then putting the disputed bills to the vote at a joint sitting of the new Parliament.

The unprecedented L-NCP action in the Senate followed months of scandalmongering over the so-called loans affair. The scandal developed around attempts by the Labor government to borrow money from Arab countries through "unorthodox" channels in order to buy back Australia's mineral resources from overseas companies.

Treasurer Dr. Jim Cairns and Minister for Minerals and Energy Rex Connor were caught making false statements to Parliament on the matter, and the ensuing publicity in the press led to their dismissal by Whitlam.

But the "loans affair" was merely a pretext for the opposition moves. Fraser wanted an election in order to take advantage of Whitlam's plummeting popularity, with inflation soaring to almost 20 percent and unemployment at about 400,000, the worst since the Great Depression.

When Whitlam showed no signs of backing down and agreeing to a double dissolution, Kerr stepped in. The governor general, traditionally only a figurehead representative of the queen, dismissed Whitlam and commissioned Fraser to form a government.

Within a half hour the Senate passed the budget. In the House of Representatives, however, a motion of no confidence in the newly appointed government was passed by 64 to 54.

Kerr disregarded this and shortly after dissolved both houses of Parliament. He cited several previously deadlocked bills as grounds for the dissolution, and set general elections for December 13.

Whitlam hinted that if he were returned to office he would get rid of the governor general. In an angry tirade from the steps of Parliament House he played on the phrase "God Save the Queen" in Kerr's proclamation dismissing him.

"He may well say, 'God Save the

Queen," Whitlam shouted, "because nothing will save the Governor General." Later, complaining that he was the first prime minister to be dismissed by the crown since King George III dismissed British Prime Minister Lord North 200 years ago, he said:

No Prime Minister with a majority in the House of Representatives will ever have his commission withdrawn by the Governor General again.

Workers Call for General Strike

Many workers reacted to the undemocratic dismissal of an elected Labor government by demanding that the ACTU organize a nationwide general strike.

The Federal Council of the Australian Building Construction Employees and Builders Laborers Federation called for an immediate general strike and the resignation of the governor general.

A federal organizer of the 13,500-member Waterside Workers Federation, T. Bull, protested the governor general's interference in democratic processes. "If this process is to continue," he said, "there will be a real groundswell of reaction from the trade union movement and the community."

WWF Federal Secretary Charles Fitzgibbon called the governor general's act "totally reprehensible." "We have called on the ACTU for an immediate national strike in protest," he said.

The Amalgamated Metal Workers Union—Australia's biggest union, with 186,000 members—called on the ACTU to put in force a recent ACTU executive resolution to withhold the supply of labor. AMWU Federal President R.E. Scott said the ACTU should call for coordinated industrial action.

The secretary of the Queensland AMWU said the dismissal was a severe blow to democracy and clearly showed how ruthless the capitalist system was. He stated, "They will go to any lengths to get their own way."

Other calls for a general strike came from the Newcastle Trades Hall Council and Hugh Hamilton, state president of the Queensland branch of the Building Workers Industrial Union. There were also calls for a national teachers' strike.

In face of this upsurge of protest against the capitalist parties and desire for militant action, Whitlam tried to cool down Labor's supporters. He urged them to "maintain their rage," but not to demonstrate too vigorously.

Hawke was also strong on rhetoric, but ordered workers to refrain from militant action. He described the opposition parties as "the greatest bunch of hypocrites this country has ever seen." He continued:

Men who have said they believe in law and order and conventions have trampled them

underfoot. They cannot expect the trade union movement to have much sympathy for them.

At the demonstration outside Parliament November 11 he urged the unions not to strike.

Answering a chorus from the crowd of "We want a general strike. When do we want it? Now," he said:

The view has been expressed that there should be a national stoppage or a national strike.

I question the integrity of people presenting that point of view. . . . I have been going around Australia in the past month and I know that this is not what people want.

They want stability and decency in government, and we can provide that.

Hawke said that the Australian Labor party was appealing for one day's pay from all workers for its election campaign. He said workers should adopt the slogan "A day's pay for democracy" rather than take strike action.

Hawke said there had never been greater provocation of the industrial movement to take direct action. But he added:

. . . we have got to show we are not going to allow this situation to snowball and there is a real possibility it will snowball into violence. We must not substitute violence in the streets and anarchy for the processes of democracy.

Of course I am upset but it is not just a question of a Labor Government appearing to fall, my concern is about the future of this country. What has happened today could unleash forces in this country the like of which we have never seen.

We are on the edge of something quite terrible and therefore it is important that the Australian people respond to leadership.

However, if Australian working people obey Whitlam and Hawke's orders to sit tight until December 13, they could lose out then as well. Labor is already suffering from capitalist control of the press, radio, and television. It was revealed that the L-NCP had paid \$1 million (US\$1.27 million) to buy all the available prime TV advertising time so that none was available to Labor.

'Bitter Class Hatred' Worries Capitalists

The initial reaction of the bourgeoisie in Australia and abroad to Whitlam's dismissal was unmasked glee. Business executives in Sydney toasted each other with champagne. The Sydney stock exchange index rose 17.32 points, or 4.31%; the Melbourne index rose 3.5%. Shares in Broken Hill Pty. Ltd., the country's largest industrial concern, jumped 96 cents to \$7.50 in less than an hour.

After the euphoria died down, however, some of the more far-sighted sectors of the bourgeoisie began voicing fears about the possible dangerous consequences for them of the governor general's action.

One result is that whereas a few months ago Whitlam would probably have been trounced in any election, Labor is now said

to stand a good chance of being returned. A new Labor government, moreover, would have a politically aroused popular sentiment behind it, making it harder for the reformist Labor leaders to betray working-class interests.

Perhaps the *Melbourne Age*, one of the country's major daily newspapers, recognized this when it termed Kerr's action a "triumph of narrow legalism over common sense and popular feeling."

Another consequence of the governor general's action the ruling class fears is the radicalization of the working class it is provoking—"bitter class hatred" in the words of the London *Daily Telegraph*. Many workers will no doubt look for solutions beyond the confines of reformism and parliamentary politics. Whitlam himself gave clear warning of the "dangers" at a news conference after his dismissal:

If my government is not elected the third time then there can be very great apprehensions that people in Australia will believe that Parliament is not a vehicle for reform. They'll try to go outside the system.

The London *Times* voiced its own doubts November 12:

Australia has now entered uncharted seas. The constitutionality, the impartiality as well as the wisdom of the Governor-General's intervention are being attacked, and this could bring into question the whole structure of authority.

An editorial in the November 12 *New York Times* recognized that "there are serious doubts in Australia about the constitutionality of Kerr's action. It continued:

Australia's 74-year-old constitutional system will doubtless survive its worst crisis in decades; but it will require a higher order of statesmanship than has been demonstrated either by Mr. Whitlam or his opposition to restore effective government and political tranquillity to the Commonwealth.

An editorial in the November 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, a newspaper whose views frequently reflect thinking in the U.S. State Department, expressed the fear that "if the bitter outbreak of strikes and demonstrations against the Whitlam ouster continues in Australia, the flow of resources to the United States and other countries could suffer."

Controversy understandably continues over such a dramatic sequence of events, the editors said.

But all friends of Australia must hope and pray—the word is not too strong in the current turbulence—that bitterness will be muted. That Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor Party and head of the Council of Trade Unions, is listened to when he asks that demonstrations be kept peaceful.

Despite the prayers of the bourgeoisie,

demonstrations continued to take place in all the main cities.

On November 12, 3,000 dock workers and students marched on the Sydney stock exchange. In Melbourne 2,000 demonstrators rallied in the City Square, and 1,000 staged a sit-down protest, blocking one of the main streets. In Brisbane 5,000 workers and students held a city rally, and 2,000 unionists marched down the main street to the state Liberal party headquarters. Two demonstrations took place in Adelaide, while in Canberra 3,000 persons rallied outside Parliament House. In Darwin, 500 workers marched on the Legislative Assembly.

Demonstrations took place in the capital cities November 13 as well. About 2,000 persons demonstrated in Sydney, and half the crowd then marched on the offices of News Ltd., publishers of several conservative daily newspapers, and burned bundles of the papers. In Adelaide 1,000 persons demonstrated.

After his dismissal, Whitlam recalled the 200-year-old British precedent but made no mention of a case closer to home. In 1932 in the midst of the depression, the Labor premier of the state of New South Wales, Jack Lang, was dismissed by the state governor. Lang had suspended interest payments on the state's debt to bondholders in London.

A huge upsurge by the Labor movement protested Lang's dismissal, but Lang, demagogic Social Democrat that he was, provided no leadership. A quarter of a million workers attended an election rally for Lang in Moore Park, Sydney, demanding action. Lang betrayed them, however, and refused to conduct a militant fight. He was soundly defeated at the polls.

Perhaps Whitlam's reticence on this precedent was because he was aware of the lessons but refused to draw them: For the workers to win in a struggle like this, they and their allies must take to the streets; if they do not, it even lessens Labor's chances at the polls.

Socialist Election Campaign

Even before November 11, the opinion polls showed Labor's popularity was recovering. A Morgan-Gallup poll taken November 1, after the opposition blocked the budget in the Senate, indicated that 47% of the population thought the Whitlam government was doing a good job, compared with 38% in July. At the same time the L-NCP's popularity had slumped from 55% to 42%.

Whitlam has already revealed that he intends to conduct Labor's election campaign almost solely on the issue of the unconstitutionality of his dismissal. He will offer no way forward to the masses of workers who are worried about the disastrous effects skyrocketing inflation and

unemployment are having on their living standards. According to a poll published in the November 11 issue of the *Australian*, 77% of the electorate regard unemployment as a serious problem, while 84% see inflation as serious.

In order to pose a socialist alternative to Whitlam and provide answers to the problems of unemployment, inflation, and the rights of women and Blacks, the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers League are standing candidates in the December 13 elections. The SWL will be campaigning vigorously for the return of a Labor government. The League will demand that Labor mobilize its supporters in militant action to show that the undemocratic action of Fraser and Kerr will not be tolerated.

The SWL will be fielding nine candidates for the Senate, urging voters to "Vote 1 Socialist Workers! Vote 2 ALP!"* Candidates will be running in New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Tasmania, and the Australian Capital Territory.

SWL National Secretary Jim Percy toured New Zealand at the end of October speak-

* Australian elections are by preferential ballot. Thus if the voter's first choice is not elected, his or her next preference is counted as a full vote, and so on.

ing on the political crisis in Australia. He was interviewed about the crisis by *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly Trotskyist newspaper, and described the type of campaign the SWL will be running. He said the SWL will participate "to put the kind of programme that will be necessary if the bosses' offensive is to be defeated." He continued:

We want the Labour Party to fight for the people that elected it, for the trade unions and the other oppressed layers in society. We want it to fight for the oppressed throughout the world, with a progressive foreign policy.

Labour cannot defeat the bosses' offensive on a policy that concedes in advance that the system can work, or that they will try and make the system work. Our campaign will point this out.

An example of the sort of campaign ours will be in Canberra, where there are two senators to be elected. Labour could win both these seats, but rather than take a risk, they are standing down in one seat, and backing John Gorton, a reactionary of the highest order. Gorton is a former Liberal prime minister who has turned against his own party and opposes the blocking of the budget.

Rather than have Labour Party preferences go to the butcher of Vietnam, Gorton, we're going to run a candidate who was a leader of the Melbourne antiwar movement, who was marching in the streets while Gorton was attacking Vietnam.

That's an example of the sort of campaign we'll be running, one that is in the interests of the working people in Australia and around the world. □

Marcos Bans All Strikes in Philippines

Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos banned all strikes November 3 after a successful sit-down strike at the largest distillery in the country. It was the first major strike since the imposition of martial law in September 1972.

Strikes "in vital industries" had previously been outlawed and the martial law regulations were thought to ban all strikes. The strike at La Tondena Incorporated October 24 was thus considered a test of the martial law regulations.

The strike was launched by 700 "temporary" workers who demanded that they be classified as "regular" workers (many had been working at the distillery for years). The reclassification would have brought an increase in pay.

The strikers were supported by Catholic dissidents and squatter community organizations. Troops of the paramilitary Philippine Constabulary broke up the sit-down strike October 26, hauling away strikers in eight buses and charging them with violating the martial law curfew.

The November 14 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported: "The street outside the plant was filled with people watching the proceedings and cheering the strikers as they were hauled away. . . ."

The strikers were released within twelve hours. The distillery company agreed to reclassify 300 of the workers as regulars and hold negotiations with the rest.

The presidential decree banning all strikes also made it a crime for any workers or farmers organizations in the Philippines to receive aid from foreign church groups.

According to a government official, the strike ban was designed to prevent the success of the La Tondena strike from inspiring other workers to walk off their jobs. In fact, that was exactly what happened: Strikes soon followed at a large textile mill and at the country's largest rubber-sandal factory.

Abortion Referendum Set in Italy

The Supreme Court of Italy declared November 7 that a petition with 557,677 valid signatures required the government to hold a referendum on the issue of abortion. Sponsors of the referendum seek a law to permit abortions when two doctors agree that the physical or mental health of a woman is endangered by pregnancy.

It is estimated that more than one million illegal abortions are performed in Italy each year.

'Only the Trotskyists Never Went Down on Their Knees'



Informations Ouvrières

LEOPOLD TREPPER

Leopold Trepper, the former head of the Red Orchestra (the Soviet anti-Nazi espionage network in Europe), pays special tribute to the moral and political courage of Trotskyist victims of Stalin's purges in his recently published autobiography, *Le Grand Jeu* (The Great Game).¹

Trepper joined the Communist party in 1925 and went to the Soviet Union from Poland in 1932 as a student. Afterward he entered the Red Army intelligence service, rising to the head of the Red Orchestra during the Second World War. His network correctly informed Moscow in 1941 of the imminent Nazi invasion. But Stalin, confident of the pact he had signed with Hitler, disregarded the information.

Trepper was captured by the Nazis during the war, but escaped. In 1945 he fell victim to a Stalin purge. He spent nearly ten years in Lubianka prison. After his release he went to Poland, only to suffer further persecution during the anti-Semitic campaigns under Wladyslaw Gomulka and Edward Gierek. Following an international solidarity campaign, he won permission to emigrate and now lives in Denmark.

In his memoirs, Trepper explains how most of his generation of Communist militants succumbed to the Stalinization of the first workers state:



Informations Ouvrières

LUBA TREPPER

The degenerated revolution had given birth to a system of terror and horror where the ideas of socialism were overturned in the name of a fossilized dogma that the butchers still had the gall to call Marxism.

But we went along with it, torn apart but tamed, eaten away by the rot we ourselves had set in motion. Cogs in the wheel, terrorized to the point of desperation, we had become the instruments of our own subjugation. All those who did not stand up to the Stalinist machine are responsible—collectively responsible. I do not exempt myself from this verdict.

But who did protest in this period? Who stood up to shout their disgust?

The Trotskyists can claim this honor. Starting with their leader, who paid for his firm convictions with an icepick in his head, they fought tooth and nail against Stalinism. They fought alone.

At the time of the great purges, they could no longer give voice to their revolt in the frozen wastes where they had been taken to facilitate their extermination. In the camps their conduct was dignified, in fact exemplary. But the sound of their voices was lost in the tundra.

Today the Trotskyists have the right to accuse those who bayed with the pack for their blood. They should not forget, however, that they had an immense advantage over us. They had a coherent political system capable of replacing Stalinism that they could hold on to in the deep distress of the revolution betrayed. They did not "confess" because they knew their confessions would serve neither the party nor socialism.

In an interview with the Paris weekly *Informations Ouvrières* (the newspaper reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste—

Internationalist Communist Organization), Leopold Trepper's wife, Luba, paid her own tribute to the Trotskyists. "In the USSR only the Trotskyists never went down on their knees. They always struggled," she said. "I am not a Trotskyist, but I can say that they fought back in the Soviet Union, in the camps, everywhere."

Leopold Trepper told Denis Foliass and Jacques Meyrand of *Informations Ouvrières*:²

At the time when Trotsky analyzed what was happening in the Soviet Union, many militants did not believe him. But afterward you did not have to be a Trotskyist to understand that [the bureaucratic caste] is real, had developed as Trotsky had foreseen. It is enough to live two years in a socialist country—and not as a delegate from a fraternal party, in which case one can understand nothing—but to live one, two, or three years in any one of these countries. And without being good at theory, you can tell that this caste exists. You can call it a caste or class, as you wish.

Leopold Trepper stated later in the interview that in his view the Soviet bureaucracy "is not a class."

"What is the worst sickness in the Soviet Union?" Trepper asked rhetorically. He answered:

I think it is that we have come to the point where millions and millions of workers are not involved politically; they are depoliticized. How has it been possible to depoliticize the Soviet Union? We can explain that historically. This country experienced a democratic life for only a few years. With everything that happened, the worker faced the problem. Find the means to live a little better, to escape the lamentable conditions of life . . . They came to say we must leave politics to those on the top.

While Leopold Trepper remains very pessimistic about the prospects for radical change in the Soviet Union, Luba Trepper is optimistic.

I have to say this: In the Soviet Union for the past six or seven years there have been many spontaneous movements of workers and youth, occupations of mines, peasant protests, many strikes, but they did not last long. What is unfortunate is that these spontaneous movements are not organized by a single political force. The youth in the Soviet Union knows what it wants. There is underground literature, samizdat. When we began the struggle we were very small in number. Of course, because of the severe repression in the USSR, it is very hard to struggle. However, at the time of the Hungarian events in 1956, thousands of students protested against the military intervention. It is necessary that this

1. Paris: Albin Michel, 1975. 417 pp. 49 francs (about US\$11).

2. See issues Nos. 711, 712, and 714 of July and August 1975 for the full text of the interview.

struggle find a response outside, and it is the role of the left to let it be heard. That would be a great thing. . . .

Struggles have taken place inside the CP of the USSR as well, but we do not hear of them in Europe. The Communist parties have never given any help. Today the situation is altogether different. There is a left critique of the Communist parties and they are going to have to accept our views. Moreover the youth again seeks its way forward, the youth wants to struggle.

While Leopold Trepper remains pessimistic about current prospects for change in the

USSR, he shares Luba Trepper's confidence in the youth. At the end of his book he writes:

In Denmark, in the fall of 1973, a young man asked me at a public meeting: "Didn't you sacrifice your life in vain?" I answered, "No." No, on one condition—that people draw the lesson of my life as a Communist and a revolutionist and do not sell themselves to a deified party. I know that the youth will succeed where we have failed, that socialism will win, and that there will not be the stain of Russian tanks crushing Prague. □

Economic Crisis Deepens in Argentina

Growing Pressure for Perón to Resign

By Judy White

The tug-of-war between contending class forces in Argentina continued into mid-November with no indication that the advantage was shifting decisively to one side or the other.

At one end of the rope is the Argentine working class, which has suffered a 150 percent increase in the cost of living since the end of May.

The latest round of struggles to prevent further deterioration of living standards began in September with a wave of strikes by civil servants. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 27, p. 1447.) In October the civil servants were joined by workers in auto, rail, banking, oil, mining, shipping, commerce, radio and television, and printing, among others.

The details of two of these strikes reveal the growing separation between the ranks of labor and the Peronist union bureaucracy, whose grip over the working class has up to now assured continued rule by the Peronists.

The 4,000 workers at Mercedes Benz went out on strike October 8.

The forces arrayed against the strikers were formidable. The official leadership of SMATA (Sindicato de Mecánicos y Afines del Transporte Automotor—Union of Automotive Machinists and Allied Trades) declared it did not support the struggle and sent carloads of goons to intimidate the workers. On October 11 the Ministry of Labor declared the strike illegal. Three days later the bosses attempted to split the workers by firing about 120 unionists.

The strikers responded forcefully. Daily assemblies outside the factory were organized to elect a strike leadership and decide tactics. Outreach committees were formed to seek solidarity from other plants and the local community.

On October 22 a support rally of 2,000 persons was held. Local merchants partici-

pated by shutting down their businesses.

Five days later the bosses offered to reinstate some of the 120 fired workers and open the building so that assemblies could be held in the plant; SMATA handed out a leaflet saying they had negotiated a substantial wage increase.

The strikers met and decided that no one would go back unless all of them could. The nine-person strike executive committee called for a march on the Ministry of Labor to present the workers' grievances directly.

When the march and meeting with the Labor Ministry did not resolve the conflict, the strikers voted to mobilize at the central offices of Mercedes Benz October 29. The mobilization forced the bosses to agree to reinstate all dismissed workers, to recognize the strike executive committee and the division representatives who had been leading the struggle, and to discuss demands on wages, benefits, and job classification.

Meanwhile, bank workers won a 72 percent increase in their minimum wage October 28. The victory followed a lengthy struggle that began in June when Asociación Bancaria (Bank Workers Association) bureaucrats signed a collective-bargaining agreement that fell within the wage ceilings of the government's austerity program.

Mobilizations led by committees in several banks raised the possibility of a nationwide general bank strike in late October, threatening to permanently displace the union bureaucrats.

Although Asociación Bancaria officials jumped on the bandwagon to press for a wage increase—but one compatible with the current guidelines—they were booted off the platform at meetings in several banks when they tried to take credit for the victory.

These labor actions, and the threat of those to come from more powerful sectors of the trade-union movement, forced Argen-

tine President Isabel Martínez de Perón to announce an across-the-board wage increase of about 20 percent November 4. This figure was quickly surpassed by striking oil workers, who won a 45 percent raise a few days later.

At the other end in the tug-of-war are the repressive forces of the Argentine state.

Since the crackdown on the metalworkers in Villa Constitución last March (see *Intercontinental Press*, June 9, p. 766), these forces have not openly been used on any significant scale against the working class. However, there has been an escalation of extralegal violence against the working class and opposition political parties in recent weeks.

An average of two worker or student activists were assassinated by rightist gangs each day of the week ending November 1. Others have been kidnapped. Two headquarters of the Communist party, one of the Intransigent party, and one of the Radical Civic Union have been shot at or bombed, as have the homes of several trade unionists.

The November 1 issue of *Política Obrera* published a list of recent victims of rightist assassinations and kidnappings:

- October 12, medical students Carmelo Giordano and Paula Negro were kidnapped in Rosario.

- The bodies of Susana Sanandrea and Graciela Astorga, high-school students, were found in La Plata.

- October 17, Carlos Ruescas, a former shop steward at Acindar, Julio Palacios, a thirty-four-year-old metalworker, and Concepción de Grandis, a labor lawyer, were found shot to death in Rosario.

- October 19, journalist Ana Basualdo was kidnapped, interrogated, and tortured by a group of armed civilians.

- October 20, Raúl Gregorio Kossoy, a leader of the Maoist Vanguardia Comunista (Communist Vanguard), was kidnapped along with journalist Ana María Estevo. Two days later their bullet-riddled bodies were found.

- Luis Márquez, a shop steward at Transax, was kidnapped in Córdoba.

- October 29, the bodies of María Ester Magnini, a professor at a teachers college, and Liliana Pérez were found in Rosario. On the same day the bodies of radio newscaster Mario Goldberg, student Hugo Vita, and Esther Giorzo were found in Bahía Blanca.

- October 30, Antonia Mercedes Bultron and Susana Lina María Olivo, both university students, were found shot to death in Rosario. Bultron was a member of the Communist party. The same day Juan Domingo Taborda, a leader of the metalworkers' strike in Villa Constitución, was shot down in front of his home.

In addition to this extralegal violence, new repressive legislation has been passed.

Intercontinental Press

The intent is to pave the way for the military and police to probe the possibilities of openly cracking down on the workers movement through an "antisubversive" campaign.

The most extreme expression of this aim was spelled out by Gen. Benjamín Rattenbach in a November 4 speech.

Warning about the inability of Isabel Perón to deal with the crisis racking Argentina and the failure of the bureaucrats of the CGT (Confederación General del Trabajo—General Confederation of Labor) to maintain their "control over the working masses," Rattenbach pointed to "subversion" as the underlying cause of the crisis.

"Subversion," according to the general, is "one form of action in a revolutionary war." As such, he proposed to confront it on a war footing.

"There is a visible deficiency in the repressive measures being studied by the government in the current situation," he said, calling for the organization of the population to "root out the subversive enemy" and "reinforce the army and police when necessary." He advocated banning the Communist party and other currents of the legal left, and a purge of Marxist literature.

Rattenbach went on to list by name "ten clandestine groups and six that are not clandestine" that he alleged are aiding the guerrillas and must be banned.

Although Rattenbach represents the most hawkish wing of the Argentine military, a communiqué from the navy announcing a massive "antisubversive" operation in Bahía Blanca launched November 3 had a similar ominous tone:

"... the naval command reported that activities of the civilian population would not be affected by the troop movements. Nonetheless, the Comando de Operaciones Navales [Naval Operations Command] suggested that to avoid confusion with irreparable consequences, the population should pay special attention to the suggestions and recommendations of the military personnel." (*La Opinión*, November 4.)

Radical Civic Union leader Ricardo Balbín has spoken repeatedly of the need to combat "industrial guerrillas," by which he means militant workers in the plants.

Moreover, the Ministry of the Interior anticipated Rattenbach's warning about the role of "subversives" in spreading Communist ideology through the communications media. A November 2 communiqué from the ministry made a call "for reflection and responsibility on the part of those who direct and orient the communications media so that they not only will succeed in avoiding adding to the subversives' plentiful, multifaceted, subtle, and insidious psychological action but also will do every-



ISABEL PERON: Accidentally deposited \$741,500 check in a personal account.

thing possible and necessary to contribute to the fight against it. . . ."

In the midst of this turmoil, the various sectors of the bourgeoisie are scrambling to gain leverage.

The strike by Argentine cattlemen (see article elsewhere in this issue), continuing cabinet shifts, charges of government corruption, and growing calls for Isabel Perón's resignation are only a few of the most visible signs of the deep tactical differences among the Argentine bourgeoisie.

What has been called the Argentine Watergate began in June. At that time a deputy from the Peronist Justicialist party called for a parliamentary investigation and impeachment of then Social Welfare Minister José López Rega, the regime's right-wing strongman, and Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo. (These two ministers were forced to resign as a result of the general strike in late June.)

In mid-August a check signed by Isabel Perón brought the question of high-level financial manipulations to the fore. The check transferred \$741,500 from the Cruzada de Solidaridad Justicialista (Crusade for Justicialist Solidarity), a social welfare fund formerly administered by López Rega, to the estate of Juan Perón.

The president claimed she had signed the check by mistake. But the lid was off a financial scandal that has mushroomed to encompass oil deals with Libya, dozens of suspicious checks from the Cruzada de Solidaridad Justicialista, manipulations

between the Social Welfare Ministry and a transport company, and missing funds appropriated for public construction projects.

Former Social Welfare Minister Rodolfo Roballos has since been arrested, along with several other government and corporate officials.

In an attempt to keep her regime afloat, Isabel Perón has informally co-opted into the cabinet two top CGT bureaucrats, Lorenzo Miguel and Casildo Herreras, and the commanders in chief of the armed forces.

These steps have not prevented deepening divisions within the Peronist movement itself. Nor have they headed off discussion of impeachment proceedings against the president and calls for her resignation from sectors of the military and virtually all the bourgeois opposition parties.

However, whoever takes the reins of bourgeois power in Argentina will be faced with the same dilemma.

The severe economic crisis facing Argentina continues, forcing workers into struggle to protect themselves from inroads on their standard of living. Any attempt to clamp down on them through a radical shift to the right could escalate the workers' demands to the political plane.

The Argentine ruling class got a glimpse in June of how rapidly such a process can develop when protests that began over the regime's refusal to grant agreed-upon wage increases quickly took up the demand for the ouster of López Rega.

Given the growing disillusionment with Peronism, the workers may not stop with the demand for the ouster of a government minister the next time. □

Brain Damage from Lack of Food Affects a Million Children in U.S.

A team of scientists at the University of California has estimated that more than a million infants and young children in the United States have either suffered stunting of their brains or face that fate because of malnutrition. When malnourished pregnant women are added to the estimates, one million babies yet to be born are also affected.

The scientists found that many persons living near or below the poverty level showed serious chemical deficiencies. They said that the malnourished infants and young children they studied had head circumferences so far below the normal range for their ages as to suggest hampered brain development.

"Finding evidence that a substantial proportion of the population of an affluent country like the United States is in jeopardy for brain growth and development comes as a shock to us," the scientists remarked in their report.

The Ranchers' Strike in Argentina

By Juan Carlos Coral

[The following article appeared in the October 31 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly newspaper of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The cattlemen are on strike. When it appeared that the country had exhausted its experience with such matters, having witnessed in recent months not only hundreds of workers' strikes but also strikes by the most diverse sectors of society—teachers and police, doctors and fruit growers, merchants and court employees—a strike of the traditionally most privileged sector of our bourgeoisie takes place—a strike by the owners of the land and cattle, prudently hidden among “the 600,000 producers of the countryside.”

This unusual and unexpected strike, now well into its second stage, naturally was not launched to secure better wages. Nor have its leaders, the powerful cattlemen Aguado and Pereda, been accused by the government of being professional agitators. They are not portrayed as adapting industrial guerrilla warfare—that esoteric discovery recently made by Dr. Balbin¹—to farming and cattle breeding.

This so-called agrarian work stoppage is not even a lockout by the bosses, because the farming and stockbreeding companies are continuing normal production.

It is blackmail of the government by the ranchers, who hope that by creating a shortage they will force a substantial increase in the price of beef—in other words, a substantial increase in profits for those who winter the stock.

On a more general level, the strike is an expression of the ranchers' strategy in the push by all sectors of the bourgeoisie to achieve a bigger share of the national income.

It is also part of the unbridled struggle among the different capitalist sectors that has replaced that fleeting honeymoon—that idyllic period of “agreements,” “coordina-

tion,” and “Pacts of Compromise”—on which the current Peronist government was founded. The 1973 interclass alliance does not stop the bourgeoisie in 1975 from fighting over who is to get a greater share of surplus value and power.

The aim of the ranchers' demands is to raise the average price of beef to the consumer to 10,000 pesos a kilogram. However, this figure does not arise from the costs of production, which are the lowest in the world because of the exceptional conditions on the Argentine pampas and the extremely low wages of rural labor. The figure comes from the stockbreeding “strikers” seeking to take as a point of reference the international price of beef.

Starting from this false criterion, they are demanding 2,500 pesos a kilogram for steer on the hoof, which would mean raising the price of the best quality cuts to 15,000 pesos for the consumer. But these prices, demanded in accord with the “international price,” will have to be paid by workers who earn “Argentine wages.” Among the demands made in the “rural work stoppage” there is nothing about “international wages” for the workers of \$400 [a month]—that is, something like four million pesos.

The holdings of the ranchers are not limited to the best natural pastures, where the business of wintering—that is, the fattening of the steer—is carried on. The current structure of the meat-packing industry is based on the growth of holdings among the cattle oligarchy, which is oriented toward the absolute control of the internal market.

With regard to the market in the federal capital and Greater Buenos Aires, where 42 percent of the country's slaughtering is done, the meat-packing industry achieved a total monopoly after suppressing the so-called underground butchers. Through this monopolistic maneuver they have artificially raised the price of the product as follows (according to figures of the Centro de Estudio Sociales [Center of Social Studies]):

September 1973	90%
March 1975	173%
September 1975	192%

The entire wage policy of the Peronist government from the Social Pact to the Cafiero Plan² has been imposed successful-

ly, despite the active resistance of the workers, on the basis of the relatively low prices of beef. This is true not only because it is our basic food item but also because it exercises a decisive influence over all other products in the family shopping basket.

The price of meat determines in substantial measure the value of labor power, that is, the price the worker must pay to eat every day to be able to maintain productive activity.

Thus an abrupt increase in the price of beef—like the one that the “striking” stockbreeders are aiming for this time—will end up sinking the workers to levels still lower than those of the famous period of the “Rodrigazo.”³

The current aggressiveness of the cattlemen, which has reached a peak with them calling their own strike, reveals a much older process than the policy of the Peronist government and a much deeper one than the current conjunctural lack of foreign markets.⁴

In reality, it is the sharpest expression of the structural crisis of Argentine cattle raising—the foreign trade crisis imposed by Britain in the last century. At the same time it is fundamentally the crisis of the system of land ownership, which maintains intact the colonial limits of the plantation in the midst of the rise of cybernetics and nuclear energy.

In the epoch of the “fatted calf,” high prices, and big foreign sales—when they did not need to go on strike—the Peredas and the Aguados used their fabulous profits for all types of high living, speculative investments, or other activities.

Aguado, for example, president of CAR-BAP⁵ and in the front ranks of those who are wintering cattle, is also director of Petroquímica Argentina Koppers. Celedonio Pereda, president of the Sociedad Rural⁶ and a big landowner and rancher, is also director of the yankee cattle syndicate King Ranch of Texas.

3. Economics Minister Celestino Rodrigo was forced to resign after nationwide general strikes in late June and early July. The strikes were triggered by Rodrigo's attempt to invalidate wage increases negotiated by the trade-union movement in June.

4. The 80 percent of Argentina's foreign-exchange earnings that come from farm exports was seriously affected in August 1974 when the European Common Market halted the importing of beef until it exhausted a glut of homegrown beef. Previously, the Common Market countries bought nearly three-quarters of all Argentine beef exports.

5. Asociaciones Rurales de Buenos Aires y La Pampa (Rural Associations of Buenos Aires and the Pampa).

6. Rural Association, composed of the big landowners association and the Argentine Chamber of Commerce.

1. Ricardo Balbin, head of the main bourgeois opposition party, the Unión Cívica Radical (Radical Civic Union), began a campaign in September against the Argentine workers movement. He charged striking workers with being “industrial guerrillas.”

2. The Social Pact and Cafiero Plan are the first and most recent, respectively, of the wage-freeze plans decreed by the Peronists since they took office in May 1973.

Memo to Healyites on Gold Puzzle

By Dick Roberts

The International Monetary Fund changed the price of gold in central reserves of the world banking system August 31 and decided that it could sell some of its own gold reserves in order to raise cash to help the balance-of-payments deficits of semicolonial countries.

This was not a move of major import in the world economy, but it should have interest to the followers of the British Revolutionary Workers party and its general secretary, Gerry Healy.

For more than a decade, from the early 1960s until recently, Healy's disciples were taught that the central problem in international finance was the discrepancy between the value of the gold reserves of central bankers, especially the U.S. Treasury, and the face value of international currencies. So often was this doctrine repeated that it took on somewhat the character of a catechism. No matter what the price of gold, its presaged world collapse.

Take the March 5, 1973, *Bulletin*, the newspaper of the Workers League, the American counterpart of the WRP: "The most frantic gold rush in modern history—which last week drove the price of the precious metal up to \$95 per ounce—is a warning to the working class that the latest dollar devaluation is a direct prelude to the complete collapse of the world economic system."

Since then, of course, the price of gold rose much higher—to \$200 an ounce in 1974—more than twice the *Bulletin's* 1973 "gold rush" figure. In the weeks following the August IMF meeting its price has sharply declined. Speculators have been as anxious to sell the yellow stuff this fall as they were to buy it previously.

Despite this roller-coaster gyration of gold prices, world capitalism did not collapse.

"Doesn't this indicate once again that there is more to the world economic crisis than the price of gold?" I asked in *Intercontinental Press*, July 30, 1973, and I ask it again.

Interestingly, the IMF meeting allowed central bankers to revalue their gold holdings upward to reflect the free-market price. *Bulletin* writer Jeff Sebastian says in the September 9 issue,* "the IMF move is

designed to pave the way for central banks to be able to buy and sell gold on the free markets." True enough, and Sebastian's few sentences on the question indicate that for the American Healyites the central role of gold is gone but not forgotten.

Yet Sebastian fails to see the irony of what the IMF bankers did, from the standpoint of Healyite theory. *The IMF closed much of the gap between the value of gold in central reserves and the value of paper money outstanding simply by raising the price of gold.* What had for years been a central economic problem to the Healyites turned out to be mainly a bookkeeping problem for world capitalism. □

tember 9, 1975" but correctly gives September 9 as "Tuesday."

Something to Squawk About

The Thames Water Authority in Britain has approved a £122,000 (£1=US\$2.07 grant toward a pilot scheme for the conversion of human sewage to animal food.

According to a report in the October 19 *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, "The scheme embodies revolutionary and highly profitable changes in municipal waste management programmes, and recognises for the first time the high protein and other nutritional content of sewage. One measure of its value is that the waste from a family of four would be sufficient to fatten a table chicken once a fortnight."

According to initial calculations, sewage-fattened chickens would indeed be a highly profitable item. Production costs of sewage-based poultry feed would be "under £16 a ton," the *Guardian* reports, "compared with the present price of comparable nutritional value at £60 to £70 a ton."

If it is assumed that the feed purveyors tack on a relatively low 100 percent markup and sell treated sewage to farmers at £30 a ton, "a plant serving a population of 250,000 people would make a profit of almost £500,000 a year."

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*The date given on the front page is "Friday, September 9, 1975." However, pages 5 and 8 of the issue bear a different date, "Friday, September 5, 1975." The subsequent issue is also dated "Sep-

Meanwhile, Argentine cattle raising for the most part stuck to the 1880 model while our clients in the European Common Market not only have become self-sufficient in this commodity but have also become our competitors. The Soviet Union, for example, which as the result of an ongoing drought must buy about 10,000 tons of meat to round out its internal supply, leans toward the Common Market rather than Argentina.

Competitors have even arisen within Latin America. Even Brazil and Colombia have recently been mentioned with trepidation by Celedonio Pereda.

In addition, since our production of high-quality meat has continued fundamentally within the framework imposed by English "taste," Argentina is not in a position to win new markets among consumers of lower-quality meat. Nor is it in a position to respond to the growing international demand for cooked and prepared meat. Not to speak of the new market our cattlemen discovered in desperation—the market for canned meats for animals, which is becoming an important factor in the United States. Who could imagine a shorthorn, so carefully crossbred to satisfy the English aristocrats, feeding yankee cats and dogs!

Finally, at the bottom of the entire beef crisis is the survival of large landholding—32,000 property owners with 156 million hectares [1 hectare=2.471 acres], who received an income of \$2 billion in 1974. This prevents rational utilization of the land; productive investment of the surplus; planning of production; and a just distribution of the wealth among the workers in the countryside, who are not big cattlemen but the rural proletariat and small farmers.

In view of the government's inaction, the first days of the current cattlemen's strike yielded optimum results for its organizers. The price of beef has already climbed to 8,000 pesos; that is, it is halfway to their goal—the international price. The Peronist government, which never took serious steps against the oligarchy, has up to now limited itself to declaring that the cattle trade is subject to expropriation while offering to continue negotiations with the "striking" cattlemen. It has the same conciliatory attitude toward the oligarchy that previously led it to fix price supports for those who winter cattle and to postpone indefinitely the imposition of a tax on the land's potential income.

That is why the pressing, immediate solution can only be a socialist agrarian policy: expropriate the landholding and cattle-raising oligarchy. Not only to increase production—more food for the people, more raw materials for industry, more foreign exchange for the nation's economy—but also to recolonize the countryside and place the income from the land at the disposal of the entire community. □

Israel—A Nuclear Time Bomb in the Middle East

By David Frankel

The Arab-Israeli war of October 1973 led to a worldwide alert of U.S. military forces. Richard Nixon later called the incident "the most difficult crisis we've had since the Cuban confrontation of 1962," saying that it could have led to a nuclear showdown. But the man with his finger on the button assured everybody that "the tougher it gets, the cooler I get."

In future Mideast wars someone else with an itchy finger will be hovering over the global "destruct" button in the White House. And indications are that a similar character will be operating out of Jerusalem.

This prospect is hardly calculated to aid the sleep of most persons, but it is welcomed by Robert W. Tucker. This professor of international relations gained notoriety last January when he advocated a U.S. invasion of Arab oil fields.

In the November issue of *Commentary*, a magazine published by the pro-Zionist American Jewish Committee, Tucker returns to the attack, this time calling for an Israeli nuclear attack force. The title of his article is "Israel and the United States: From Dependence to Nuclear Weapons?"

The essence of Tucker's argument in favor of arming Israel with nuclear weapons is the following: "In a nuclear environment, the Arabs' goals—or rather the goals of pan-Arabism—cannot be fulfilled save at an unbearable cost to those major Arab states who alone can fulfill these goals."

Tucker asserts that the threat of annihilation from an Israeli nuclear attack will avert not only future wars but even skirmishes with guerrillas. "Even with respect to guerrilla warfare," he claims, "it is misleading to say that a nuclear deterrent would have little, if any, effect. Guerrilla forces do not inhabit a vacuum but the territory of sovereign states who have something to lose by permitting guerrilla movements to operate at liberty."

What would these governments lose? The professor explains: "When the possibility—even though small—arises that guerrilla operations may one day bring mass destruction rather than mere inconvenience, governments can be expected to take a rather different view of these activities."

Presumably the Israeli regime could establish the credibility of its threat by dropping the bomb on a relatively isolated village before beginning on larger targets.

The Dr. Strangelove character of Tucker's

article should not be allowed to obscure the very real danger involved. During the last year there have been a series of signs that Israel is moving in exactly the direction advocated by Tucker.

In early January, following a statement the month before by Israeli President Ephraim Katzir that Israel possessed nuclear capability, Professor Yuval Neeman, the country's top nuclear physicist, was appointed scientific adviser to the defense minister.

Later in January Washington announced plans to sell 200 Lance missiles, designed by the Pentagon as a nuclear weapon, to Israel. Now, the White House has promised to send Pershing missiles as well. "No conventional (non-nuclear) warheads exist for Pershings and none are planned," Robert Keatley said in the October 2 *Wall Street Journal*. "This relatively inaccurate missile is deployed only for delivering atomic explosives."

Farouk Kaddoumi of the Palestine Liberation Organization charged in a November 3 speech before the United Nations General Assembly, "The United States has introduced nuclear armament into our area through its ally, Israel. . . ."

'One Hundred Targets'

Articles similar to Tucker's have been appearing in the Israeli press for some time. For example, Shlomo Aharonson said in the June 29 issue of the Israeli daily *Haaretz*:

Nuclear weapons are one of the means which could upset Arab hopes, since a sufficient number of atomic bombs mounted on appropriate launching vehicles can badly damage all Arab capitals and cause the collapse of the Aswan Dam. An additional quantity can hit other cities and oil installations. Thermo-nuclear bombs (H-bombs) can destroy area targets, including Palestinian concentrations in the Lebanon if, for instance, they are dropped into the sea in the target area and thus generate recoil waves (that will flood the coastal board). There are some one hundred targets in the Arab world whose destruction will change the area out of all recognition and take away from the Arab world the advantages gained since the Yom Kippur War in oil, money and political position. (Middle East International press release, July 8, 1975.)

Yoel Marcus, one of the senior correspondents of *Haaretz*, said in the March 25 issue:

. . . we shall have to deprive them [the Arabs] not only of those achievements that result from the use of force, but we must also prevent the

successful implementation of military actions whose aim is to terrorize the world. This is not only a matter of proper military deployment on our part, but also one of *principled readiness to be slightly mad*. . . . If the Free World is frightened and the West is in a process of decline, it may be that we have a number of means available to terrorize it more than the Arabs could. A word to the wise is enough. [Emphasis added.] (MEI press release, March 26, 1975.)

Clearly, those who write such material have already demonstrated their "readiness to be slightly mad." The source of the madness, however, is social, not individual. This was indicated in a November 9 article by *New York Times* military expert Drew Middleton, who said:

Israel is reportedly pressing the United States for weapons—missiles or aircraft—that would give it the means of launching a pre-emptive first strike with conventional weapons against Arab states in the event of a crisis comparable with that of October 1973.

United States and Israeli sources emphasized that Israel was not thinking in terms of a pre-emptive strike with nuclear weapons.

Such a "denial" is obviously intended as a threat.

Tucker draws a more circumspect scenario than his colleagues in Israel:

There is no reason why Israel cannot move to the stage of a known nuclear deterrent in the manner it moved to the stage of a known nuclear option. To avoid giving unnecessary provocation, whether to adversaries or to friends, would be no more than elementary prudence. The move would be no less effective for being taken without fanfare and in stages, since the important thing is that it be known.

Tucker bases his analysis of the need for an Israeli nuclear force on the argument that Washington cannot be relied on to defend the interests of the Zionist state because its own interests are different. Leaving aside Tucker's failure to understand the role of the Israeli settler-state in propping up imperialist interests in the Middle East, his arguments are of some interest because of what they reveal about the character of Zionism.

In complaining about Israel's total dependency on the United States, Tucker writes that the basic idea of Zionism "was not simply to create another small nation-state, but one in which Jews would live without fear and one in which they could be masters of their own destiny rather than protected individuals."

It is a devastating commentary on the future offered to the Jewish people by the

Israeli state that establishing a balance of nuclear terror is seen as the best way for them to "live without fear." In Tucker's world, those who are able to choose suicide are "masters of their own destiny."

Danger of 'Moral Erosion'

Furthermore, the option of nuclear suicide suggested by Tucker is based in part on opposition to Israel becoming "another small nation-state"—presumably like most of the others in the world. "It is not only Israel's bare physical survival that is at issue here," he says, "though one day it could possibly come to this, but the loss of control that may lead to the psychological and moral erosion of a people."

Not only must there be an exclusive Jewish state, according to this argument, but it must be able to rattle A-bombs lest its citizens suffer "psychological and moral erosion"!

Actually, Tucker need not worry about Israel becoming a small state like any other. Because of its character as a settler-colony, it will remain an imperialist outpost locked in warfare with its neighbors for as long as it exists.

The increasing sense of international isolation that was felt by supporters of Israel even before the November 10 United Nations vote labeling Zionism a form of racism is reflected in Tucker's article. He wants an Israeli nuclear force because he is unsure how long the American people will tolerate Washington's support to Israel.

He says that "whatever the emotions aroused in this country over Vietnam, the emotions that might one day be aroused over Israel could make that former experience pale by comparison. . . . the internal divisiveness brought by Vietnam could appear almost benign alongside the divisive potential of Israel." □

Ky Ready to Invade Vietnam

Former South Vietnamese dictator Nguyen Cao Ky is earning a crust these days on the lecture circuit of American campuses, but his speech writers are finding it harder and harder to think up new jokes with which to entertain the audiences.

At Yale University recently he came up with a novel twist to his act—he said he would be willing, if asked, to place himself at the head of an invasion force to recapture the country from the Communists.

Questioned by reporters, Ky refused to expand on the comment. If there were thousands of Vietnamese clamoring for him to lead them in a new crusade, then Ky was keeping it under his hat. He did admit, however, that sending American troops back to Vietnam—an idea he touted earlier—was "not realistic right now."

'How Much Unemployment Will Worsen Is Anybody's Guess'

Indian Workers Hit Hard by Economic Slump



GANDHI: State of emergency signaled full-scale attack on workers' living conditions.

NEW DELHI—"Retrenchment Galore." Under this headline the October 16 *Economic Times* gave a detailed report of the massive retrenchment drive [reducing hours of work] launched against Indian workers since Gandhi's imposition of the state of emergency June 26.

"The ban on lay-offs," the *Economic Times* reported, "is being openly violated by several industries which are of course severely affected by demand recession. The auto industry is foremost among them. In place of a waiting period of years, car manufacturers are now offering show-room delivery. How much the unemployment situation will worsen is anybody's guess."

Mahindra and Mahindra, the largest jeep manufacturer, has prematurely retired more than eighty persons from its managerial staff alone. Hindustan Motors, another large auto plant in the private sector, has been practising rotational lay-offs for the past few months, with production declining drastically.

According to an October 15 dispatch from the New Delhi Bureau of the *Economic Times*, thousands of workers in Delhi and the industrial areas of Faridabad and

Ballabgarh have been retrenched or laid off since the emergency was decreed. Despite government instructions, more than 5,000 workers have been laid off in Faridabad alone.

The hardest hit have been unskilled laborers in Delhi and its surrounding townships. The majority of these workers used to work on daily wages.

Skilled workers in the durable consumer goods industries are sitting idle and are being paid half wages. In the air-conditioning and refrigeration industry alone about 1,000 workers have been idled in this way.

In Faridabad, small iron and steel foundries and steel rolling mills have been seriously affected by the slump. Nearly 90 percent of them have closed down. The majority of their work force was unskilled and has been rendered jobless.

Related employment such as loading at factories, transportation of goods at railway stations, and unloading there, have also been adversely affected, threatening the jobs of about 1,200 workers.

Within the Union Territory of Delhi itself, the radio and television industry has laid off more than 25 percent of its workers.

Retrenchments and lay-offs have also begun to hit clerical and middle-management staffs.

Except for issuing a warning to the bourgeoisie as a whole, the Gandhi regime has not taken any concrete steps to halt the retrenchments and lay-offs.

In the current economic conditions, lay-offs and retrenchments have a contradictory effect.

While starting in the durable consumer goods and luxury goods industries, they have begun to spill over into other industries, such as textiles, where huge stocks are now piling up. By swelling the industrial reserve army of the unemployed, they help keep down the level of nominal wages, while inflation, which is far from being completely curbed, takes care of real wages.

On the other hand, growing unemployment, coupled with other curbs placed on workers' buying power during the emergency, reinforces the decline in demand.

The Gandhi regime has shown no sign that it is capable of overcoming these contradictory effects. □

A subscription to *Intercontinental Press* is still a BEST BUY.

Check rates inside cover.

On Healy's 'Investigation'—What the Facts Show

By Joseph Hansen

The careful verification of every fact and every figure was typical of Ilyich. He based his conclusions on facts.

This eagerness to base every conclusion on facts is plainly revealed in his early propaganda pamphlets. . . . He did not foist anything on the workers, but proved his contentions with facts.

—N.K.Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, vol. 1, p. 185.

Last April 26, the AFL-CIO staged a "Rally for Jobs Now" in Washington, D.C. Called by the bureaucracy in response to pressure from the ranks resulting from the depression and mounting unemployment, the demonstration was widely recognized as an event of considerable significance. Not for decades had labor organized a political demonstration like this against government policies.

All the radical tendencies were there, marching with the contingents of the unions they belonged to and distributing their literature to the tens of thousands of participants.

Of uncommon interest was the leaflet passed out by members of a small sect, the Workers League. One side featured an argument pointing out the need for a labor party in the United States.

The other side carried an advertisement for a public meeting featuring Cliff Slaughter. Subject: "The World Crisis and the Fourth International—The International Committee of the Fourth International Answers the Attacks of Joseph Hansen *Socialist Workers Party*."

Cliff Slaughter is one of the leaders of the Workers Revolutionary party, the British group headed by Gerry Healy, which maintains fraternal relations with the Workers League.

At his meeting in Washington, D.C., the British celebrity sought to voice the mood of the participants in the AFL-CIO "Rally for Jobs Now" by answering the attacks of Joseph Hansen.

Despite the fervor of Cliff Slaughter, however, his American followers seem to have concluded that he did not succeed in completely exorcising Joseph Hansen. Perhaps Washington, D.C., was not the right place.

About six months later they appeared at another important event, this time in Boston, where the second conference of the

National Student Coalition Against Racism was held October 10-12.

The 1,300 activists at the NSCAR conference spent three days discussing a range of problems that have arisen in face of the efforts of a belligerent wing of the racists to kill busing, using Boston as a test area. The conference decided to launch a national campaign to defend school desegregation and fight racism.

The Workers League abstained from participating in the conference. The leaders had other fish to fry. A contingent outside the hall distributed a reprint of a four-page article taken from three issues of the *Workers Press*, "newspaper of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International."

The title of the article: "WE ACCUSE JOSEPH HANSEN AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY."

The fourth page of the throwaway carried an advertisement for a "Workers League Meeting." Subject: "We accuse Joseph Hansen."

No speaker was listed. Perhaps that was because the Workers League has no American leader whose name would draw a crowd; and the cost of flying an authority like Cliff Slaughter from London for the occasion was prohibitive.

Between the meeting held April 26 in

Washington, D.C., and the one held October 11 in Boston, the subject on which the Workers League was seeking to create public interest obviously underwent a certain escalation. In Washington, D.C., "Cliff Slaughter, International Committee of the Fourth International," only answered "the Attacks of Joseph Hansen *Socialist Workers Party*." In Boston, the nameless speaker (or speakers?) was billed under a title indicating that the tables had been turned: "We accuse Joseph Hansen."

What put the Healyites on this kick? Why should a small isolated group of would-be revolutionists consider it more important to denounce the attacks of Joseph Hansen than to bring the message of socialism to workers marching in Washington, D.C., against the depression? Why should they consider it more important in Boston to "accuse" Joseph Hansen than to participate in a discussion with militants from all over the United States on how best to counter the murderous attacks of lynch-minded racists?

Clearly they consider it a matter of vital importance. The Revolutionary Workers party in Britain and the Workers League in the United States were shaken to the bottom, it would seem, by the attacks of Joseph Hansen. Their very existence as a political formation having been placed in doubt, all other considerations understandably went by the board.

The 'Attacks' That Staggered the Healyites

It should be understood that the word "attack" has a special meaning in the language spoken by the Healyites. In carrying on public polemics that could be of interest to quite a number of revolutionary-minded workers if the issues were argued on the basis of facts and principles, the Healyites include outrageous and even slanderous personal charges and characterizations.

If no response to such garbage is forthcoming, a campaign is mounted. Perhaps this will yield something that can be worked up into more articles. Often the campaign includes arrogant demands for a reply, as if the top body of the Healyites were a latter-day Inquisition holding special rights and powers.

If a response is made at any point, this is labeled an "attack," necessitating a vigor-

ous "defense," which turns out to be a new attack, often more scurrilous than the first.

The Healyites obviously consider this polemical method to be one of their most attractive features; and I would be the last to attempt to persuade them otherwise. I ask only that it be kept in mind in what follows.

Somewhat more than a year ago, the name of Tim Wohlforth vanished from the pages of the *Bulletin*, the newspaper he founded and developed into a twice-weekly as the voice of the Workers League. His name also vanished from the pages of the *Workers Press*. This caused some speculation, inasmuch as he was the national secretary of the Workers League and one of the international leaders of the tendency headed by Gerry Healy, the general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary party.

The mystery was cleared up in a lengthy statement by Wohlforth, explaining what had happened to him and his companion Nancy Fields, which he made public in mimeographed form. Because of its obvious interest to the left as a whole, *Intercontinental Press* published it in four installments under the title "The Workers League and the International Committee."¹

The appearance of Wohlforth's statement in *Intercontinental Press* caused considerable fluttering in the Healyite dovecote. The tactic of trying to dispose of Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields through silence had failed.

The February 21, 1975, issue of the *Bulletin* carried a statement by the "Workers League Political Committee," entitled "AN ANSWER TO THE SLANDERS OF ROBERTSON & WOHLFORTH." The statement was reprinted without comment in the March 1 issue of *Workers Press*.

"The circumstances of Wohlforth's resignation as presented by Robertson (and Wohlforth) are a pack of lies," the statement affirmed.

Furthermore: "In the revisionist circles, our deep concern on these matters is put down to 'paranoia' about the CIA. Here is the petty bourgeois liberal face of all revisionist groups. This is just one of the profound differences between us and them."²

The admission that "all revisionist groups" have been referring to "paranoia" as a possible explanation for the peculiar concern of the Healyites on these matters should be noted. It will come up later.

Wohlforth's account was directed to the members of the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary party. He took up various theoretical and political issues of particular concern to these two organizations and sought to show that under Healy's leadership they were going badly astray. In this context, his description of Healy's organizational intervention in the Workers League was completely convincing.

Wohlforth described in the most concrete way, giving names, dates, places, and dozens of details as an eyewitness and one of the victims, how Healy whipped up a witch-hunt atmosphere at the group's summer camp in 1974 on charges that Nancy

1. The first installment appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, February 24, 1975, p. 279. *Workers Vanguard*, the newspaper of the Spartacist League, published excerpts from the document in an article entitled, "Confessions of a 'Renegade': Wohlforth Terminated." The article was unsigned, but the style suggests James Robertson, the head of the Spartacist League, as the author.

2. For the text of the statement, see "The Healyite Reply to Tim Wohlforth's Exposures," *Intercontinental Press*, March 24, 1975, p. 411.

Workers League Public Meeting

THE WORLD CRISIS AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

The International Committee
of the Fourth International
Answers the Attacks
of Joseph Hansen
Socialist Workers Party

The liberation of Cambodia and the collapse of the Saigon regime are the greatest defeats for imperialism since the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Throughout the capitalist world, the economic crisis is raging out of control. Global inflation and mass unemployment are on the agenda.

These are the conditions for the construction of parties of the Fourth International in every country to lead the struggle for power.

Saturday, April 26 4pm

Elliot Junior HS 18th & Constitution Ave NE

contribution: \$1

Cliff Slaughter, International Committee
of the Fourth International

Leaflet distributed by Healyites at April 26, 1975, AFL-CIO march in Washington, D.C., against unemployment.

Fields was a possible agent of the CIA and that Wohlforth was guilty of not having obtained a "security clearance" for her.

At a session that began after midnight on August 31, Wohlforth was ousted as national secretary and Fred Mazelis named to succeed him. Nancy Fields was suspended.

Later an inquiry commission found that there was no substance whatever to Healy's charges. He had acted out of pure suspicion.

To this day, the Healyites have not attempted to refute any of the specific details in Wohlforth's account. That is because they cannot. They have made only general assertions, such as "a pack of lies." To help avoid answering, they have done everything possible to divert attention from

the witch-hunt methods that were brought to public attention by Wohlforth.

By itself, Healy's performance at the summer camp of the Workers League remained completely enigmatic. No CIA agents had been trapped. Not a single one. Yet heads had rolled. They had rolled on the basis of nothing but *mere suspicion* in the mind of a single individual.

How could a leader claiming to be a *Trotskyist* do something like that? How could *Trotskyist* cadres—if that is what they were—permit it? What kind of thinking was it that had raised the question of "security clearances" to central importance in a group that believes it is following the practices of *Lenin* in party building?

In an article "The Secret of Healy's 'Dialectics'—The Logic of Factional Hooliganism," published in the March 31, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, I sought to show that the treatment of Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields was not an isolated incident but part of a general pattern to be seen in the group led by Healy. I pointed to the following examples besides this one:

- The severe beating administered to Ernest Tate by stewards of the Healyite group on November 17, 1966. Tate's crime, apparently, was to hawk a pamphlet entitled *Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International* in front of a Healyite meeting in London. When Tate protested by sending letters about the incident to working-class organizations, Healy responded by filing a lawsuit against him and two journals that published his letter.

- The experience of James Robertson at the April 1966 conference of the "International Committee" in London. Because Robertson did not offer a sufficiently abject apology for missing a session, he was ousted from the conference. Robertson had no discernible political differences with Healy; in fact, he went to considerable lengths to display his conformity.

- The expulsion of Alan Thornett, who sought to open an internal discussion in the Workers Revolutionary party. Thornett, along with about 200 other worker activists, was thrown out on the eve of the first annual conference of the organization, which was held in London December 15-17, 1974. The treatment of members of the Thornett group was strikingly like that meted out to Wohlforth and Fields.

- The details of Wohlforth's testimony.

The Need to Secure a 'Sanity Clearance'

There were several ways the Healyites could respond to these "attacks."

1. They could recognize the validity of the criticisms and seek in an open way to come to grips with the despotic internal regime, fighting to change it and to establish the norms of democratic centralism. In particular, the leadership could seek to modify Healy's obsessive concern over "security," putting into effect the principles observed by Leon Trotsky and James P. Cannon on this question.

2. Without making any public statements, they could simply proceed to make these changes for the better.

3. They could continue to operate in the old way without bothering to answer the "attacks."

4. They could seek to obtain a "sanity clearance" for their leader.

In accordance with the character of their organization, they chose the latter course.

This required proving that the real world is in conformity with the thought of their

These corroborated the conclusions drawn by previous victims about the internal regime in the British Healyite group while offering invaluable new evidence along the same lines.

These cases taken together, I contended, proved beyond reasonable doubt the existence of a despotic regime in the Workers Revolutionary party. Such a regime, however, is in harmony with the ultraleft, sectarian politics of the WRP and in consonance above all with the leader's philosophical outlook, which amounts to a private religion.

"Wohlforth describes Healy's performance as 'madness,'" I said. "Would it not be preferable, and perhaps more precise, to use a modern term like 'paranoia'?"

"If the term fits, then the true explanation for Healy's obsession about CIA agents, police agents, and plots against his life, as well as his rages, 'extreme reactions,' and strange version of dialectics is to be sought not in his politics, philosophical methodology, or models like Pablo or Cannon, but in the workings of a mind best understood by psychiatrists.

"We also have a better appreciation of Healy's aversion to facts, and to the reflections of this foible in the *Workers Press*, making it one of the most unreliable journals ever produced in the radical movement."

In light of these considerations, I drew some additional conclusions from the facts that had come to public notice about the WRP and the "International Committee." For lack of space I will not repeat them here but refer whoever may be interested to the article.

extraordinarily suspicious leader. Some difficult hurdles had to be surmounted such as proving that "Joseph Hansen and the Socialist Workers Party to which he belongs" were guilty of "criminal negligence in relation to the security implications of the death of Trotsky and the tasks of revolutionary security in relation to the defense of the Fourth International."³

It probably never occurred to these tacticians that taking this course might provide weighty evidence for the correctness of the diagnosis of "paranoia."

In view of the importance of getting a sanity clearance for the top leader, no expenses were to be spared:

"The International Committee is recommending to the Sixth World Congress that a special fund be started to provide resources for a thoroughgoing investigation into

3. See "Introduction" to the Healyite compilation *Security and the Fourth International*, p. vi.

security in the Fourth International and the role of individuals such as Hansen."⁴

With ample funds at their disposal, the Healyite sleuths did a first-rate job from a certain point of view. We will examine their findings presently and trace how they worked up the raw material.

The guiding lines of their "investigation" are clearly indicated in the following paragraphs from an article, "Hansen's Campaign of Slander," published in the April 25, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*. Despite its length, the extract is well worth studying:

The source of Hansen's outraged [*sic*] and slanderous attack on the International Committee of the Fourth International is the desertion by Wohlforth, ex-national secretary of the Workers League, following fully substantiated charges of negligence on internal security. His article explicitly defends the method—or lack of method—employed by Wohlforth in protecting the Workers League from infiltration, disruption and provocation by state police agencies. At the same time, he raises a frenzied witch-hunt against the International Committee and in particular Comrade Gerry Healy, general secretary of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Where Wohlforth undermined the *internal* security of the Workers League, Hansen sets out consciously to whip up a lynch atmosphere of violence to threaten the *external* security of the Workers League and the International Committee.

There is not a shred of politics in the attack on Comrade Healy. Hansen is incapable of that. He resorts to personal abuse of the most slanderous kind with no other purpose than to frame him. A long time ago, Hansen earned a reputation for this kind of scurrilous abuse. In 1966 *The Newsletter* (forerunner of *Workers Press*) pamphlet, 'Problems of the Fourth International', quoted a member of Hansen's Socialist Workers Party as saying:

"When it comes to normal polemicizing against opponents there are all sorts of comrades who can undertake this task, but when Cannon wants to sharpen things up, with a real dirty below the belt job, all eyes on the committee turn automatically in the direction of Joe Hansen."

('Problems of the Fourth International', August 1966. Printed in *Trotskyism versus Revisionism*, Volume 4, New Park Publications, 1974.)

Hansen joins Wohlforth in a dubious crusade which says that if the revolutionary leadership raises political vigilance on questions of security, it is, by definition, 'mad'. Hansen writes:

"Wohlforth describes Healy's performance as 'madness'. Would it not be preferable, and perhaps more precise, to use a modern term like 'paranoia'? If the term fits, then the true explanation for Healy's obsessions about the CIA, police agents, and plots against his life, as well as his rages, "extreme reactions", and strange version of dialectics is to be sought not in his politics, philosophical methodology, or models like Pablo or Cannon, but in the workings of a mind best understood by psychiatrists."

(*Intercontinental Press*, March 31, 1975.)

These are gross slanders on Comrade Healy which have not the slightest foundation in fact. They must be repudiated. He has no 'obsession' about CIA agents, nor has he ever voiced any fears about plots against his life. These are

4. *Workers Press*, April 26, 1975.

figments of Hansen's imagination produced to titivate the fraternity of sleek Philistines and well-heeled anti-communist liberals in his entourage. The use of the term 'madness' and 'paranoia' to avoid a scientific materialist analysis of the class basis of a political leadership does not signify an episodic aberration on the part of Hansen. On the contrary it is an expression of extreme, incurable and slanderous subjectivism, the complete disorientation of a petty-bourgeois revisionist and impressionist who tries to substitute intuition and belief and myths for the existence of a real material world independent of his mind.

The method employed by Hansen is not new and is itself an expression of the social and political crisis. Let us remember that one of the best-known epithets hurled against the defendants in the Moscow Trials was 'mad dogs' and that Lenin too was subjected to an unprecedented barrage of lies by renegades and revisionists in October 1917 who described the seizure of power as the work of 'people in the grip of madness'. (See *Lenin* by D. Shub, p. 300, Pelican, 1966.) When Trotsky was fighting against enormous historical odds to build the youthful Fourth International under the continuous threat of assassination by Stalin's GPU, he had to contend with the slanders of the Stalinist and 'liberal' Press which accused him of 'persecution mania'. In fighting against any complacency on security questions in the building of revolutionary parties, the International Committee of the Fourth International is carrying forward the tradition and principles of Marxism, Leninism and Trotskyism. If this is suddenly derided as 'madness' then it is not the International Committee which has strayed, it is an expression of the complete political degeneration of Pabloite revisionism.

The authors make some excellent points

Character Assassins at Work

Let us follow the spoor left by Healy and his sleuths. The long quotation above is as good as any to begin with.

Reread that short bit about Hansen resorting to "personal abuse of the most slanderous kind with no other purpose than to frame" Healy.

"A long time ago, Hansen earned a reputation for this kind of scurrilous abuse. In 1966 *The Newsletter* . . . pamphlet . . . quoted a member of Hansen's Socialist Workers Party as saying:

"When it comes to normal polemicizing against opponents there are all sorts of comrades who can undertake this task, but when Cannon wants to sharpen things up, with a real dirty below the belt job, all eyes on the committee turn automatically in the direction of Joe Hansen."

Obviously the Healyites consider this quotation to be one of their most important bits of evidence concerning Hansen's character and reputation, which may well be so. The authors of the article in which it is cited constitute nothing less than the Political Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The importance of the quotation is shown



Workers Press

HEALY: Wins place in history for his contribution to art of building monolithic party through "security clearances."

in that final paragraph. However, they evade the real question. Is a person in the "grip of madness" thereby shown to be a Lenin? Is a person suffering from "persecution mania" thereby shown to be a Trotsky? Is a person who wears a folded paper hat and poses with his right hand in his left armpit thereby shown to be a Napoleon?

again by the fact that in the October 31, 1975, issue of the *Bulletin*, Jeff Sebastian used it as the opening paragraph of an article entitled "Spartacist—Errand Boys for Joseph Hansen."⁵

Sebastian voices the outrage of the Workers League at Spartacist pickets carrying signs in front of one of their meetings, one of which read: "WL SAYS: INVESTIGATE HANSEN! WHERE DID HEALY GET HIS SECURITY CLEARANCE?"

One change is to be noted in the source to which Sebastian ascribes the quotation. Instead of "a member of Hansen's Socialist Workers Party," he ascribes it to "a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party."

The quotation was used for the first time in an article by "G. Healy National Secretary of the Socialist Labour League" published in the September 10, 1966, issue of the *Newsletter*. Healy said the source was "a member of this leadership"; i.e., the "SWP leadership."

Let us examine the quotation a bit more

5. From the photograph in the *Bulletin* it is evident that besides "errand boys for Joseph Hansen"—which is about as low as you can sink—there was at least one errand woman.

closely. Whoever said it, clearly directed it more against James P. Cannon than against Hansen. It is Cannon who "wants to sharpen things up." Hansen merely accepts the assignment.

Note the conciseness of the quotation. It names Cannon, Hansen, and "the committee." It has "all eyes . . . turn automatically"—all this in a single sentence that also smears Hansen as a specialist in carrying out "a real dirty below the belt job." The author displayed uncommon literary ability to get so much in and yet to speak so casually.

Note some further peculiarities:

1. The author of the quotation is not named. In all three citations—by Healy, by the Political Committee of the WRP, and by Sebastian—it is ascribed to "a member" of the SWP, or to "a leading member" of the SWP, or to "a member of this leadership." Just who is a member? Or should we say, *A. Member*?

2. The date of the quotation is not given. It was "a long time ago," according to the Political Committee of the WRP. It was "once said," according to Healy. Sebastian agrees with Healy; it was "once said."

Why do these authorities avoid indicating even the year in which *A. Member* made his memorable remark?

3. The publication in which the quotation appeared is not divulged. Why are these investigators so secretive? Have they made a pact not to reveal the source of the quotation? Who are they trying to protect? What are they trying to cover up?

4. The political context of the damning quotation is not indicated by any of these polemicists. Yet as anyone can see by referring to the paragraph preceding the quotation, one of the charges leveled against Hansen is that there is "not a shred of politics in the attack on Comrade Healy. Hansen is incapable of that."

Where is the shred of politics in the decaying bit of cabbage contributed by *A. Member*?

To answer these questions, more material is required. The following quotation may prove to be enlightening:

"The reader may not know who Joseph Hansen is, so we will tell him.

"The Hansen we mean is a writer for the *Militant* and a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party. When there is some ordinary criticism or other to make of us, there is mild and fun-loving strife at the meeting of the second stratum of SWP leaders (the first stratum meets only with himself, because he is The Founder) about who shall write it. But if there is some especially dirty, unscrupulous, lying, villainous job to be done on us, the eyes of all of them turn in silent spontaneity—some with admiration, some with relief—to the one in their midst whose bucket is never empty and hands are never dry. That's Joseph Hansen."

I hope everyone on reading this noticed the phrase, "When there is some ordinary criticism or other to make of us. . . ." The "us" refers to the Shachtmanites.

The article in which these lines appeared (as the opening two paragraphs, Sebastian may recall) was entitled "The Man With the Bucket." It was published in the December 7, 1953, issue of *Labor Action*, the newspaper of the Independent Socialist League. This group, headed by Max Shachtman, consisted of the remnants of the petty-bourgeois opposition that Trotsky battled in a faction fight in 1939-40.

The article was signed by Jonah Williams. I never met Jonah Williams and cannot say for sure who he was. At the time the article appeared, I suspected that "Jonah Williams" might have been a pen name used by Max Shachtman for this venture into the use of a bucket. But I must admit that I was rather indifferent to pinpointing the responsibility. A polemic on that level is generally a waste of time.

The political context was as follows. The Cochranites, an unprincipled faction that combined a wing of unionists, worn-out so far as revolutionary struggle was concerned, and a wing that saw possibilities in friendly activities in the periphery of the Communist party, had just split from the Socialist Workers party.

An article about the split was published in the November 16, 1953, issue of *Labor Action*.

This was followed by a rather long letter to the editor from Bert Cochran, correcting some factual errors that had appeared in the article and adding an explanation from his own viewpoint of the reasons for the split.

Cochran's letter, published in the November 23, 1953, issue of *Labor Action*, represented a rather surprising move. Why should Bert Cochran choose the pages of *Labor Action* to make the first public statement of his group following the split? What was the reason for his friendly tone?

In an article entitled "A Stalinophile Warms Up to a—Stalinophobe," which was published in the November 30, 1953, issue of the *Militant*, I took up the possible political reasons for Cochran's ploy.

The article by Jonah Williams was the response from the Shachtmanites to what I said.

In the light of this background, the question that leaps out is the doctoring of the original quotation. Who did it? Where? When? Why this manipulation of quotations in the tradition of the Stalinist school of falsification?

Other aspects should not be overlooked. How does Healy explain this pawing through the garbage can of the Shachtmanites? They dissolved their organization seventeen years ago to join the Social Democracy, where they vanished. Aren't

the crusts they left behind rather moldy today?

Does Healy really see eye to eye with the late Shachtman on principled questions? If not, why is he willing to join with him in a knife job on the character of a militant who was upholding Trotsky's positions against both Shachtman and Cochran? Is such treachery proof of one's sanity?

Above all, why does Healy present Jonah Williams, a leading member of the Independent Socialist League, as A. Member of the Socialist Workers party?

More Dishes From the Healyite Kitchen

In the article in which he first used the doctored quotation by A. Member,⁶ Healy included a few other items that attest to his methods. In referring to the differences between the Socialist Workers party and the Socialist Labour League over attempting to heal a long-standing split in the Fourth International involving the faction led by Michel Pablo, Healy said the following:

Then Joseph Hansen entered the scene. His job was simple.

'Eventually', said Cannon, 'we cannot avoid discussion so your task Joe is to poison the political atmosphere inside the SWP against the SLL so that when we have to discuss our members will be dead against them.'

By implication he was saying: 'Never mind about principles and truth. We're pragmatists like President John F. Kennedy, so we do what is "best" to preserve ourselves now.'

And Joseph Hansen got to work.

His task as an ex-Mormon from Salt Lake City, was to discredit the SLL, not by political argument, but by poisonous slander and gossip.

I will begin with the last paragraph. It is true that I was born in Salt Lake City. However, an investigation, which I undertook in the pattern followed by Healy, shows that this must be viewed not as an absolute but a relative fact. The planets and the sun were in such position that being born in Salt Lake City at the precise moment was equivalent to being born in London. Healy's very unfavorable horoscope, on the other hand, shows that his place of entry into the world was equivalent to Frogtown, Utah.

Which explains a lot. Especially the voice that spreads "poisonous slander and gossip" in deep bass from the Healyite headquarters.

I must also plead guilty to having been

6. The article, which first appeared in the September 10, 1966, issue of the *Newsletter*, was reprinted by the Healyites in the compilation *Trotskyism Versus Revisionism*, vol. 4, pp. 290-91. The compilation was issued by New Park Publications Ltd., London, in 1974. That means that after eight years consideration, the Healyites had decided their frame-up had withstood the test of time.

Finally, I should like to observe how thoroughly the Healyites have proved my contention that the *Workers Press* is "one of the most unreliable journals ever produced in the radical movement."

Not a single one of its assertions can ever be taken at face value. All of them have to be checked against the original sources. Let everyone know that! It is not just a matter of congenital carelessness, although that is bad enough. It is a matter of fabrications prepared in the style of the authors of the charges in the Moscow Frame-up Trials.

born in a family that adhered to the Mormon faith. As for myself, I was never attracted to any religion, whether Mormonism, Catholicism, Buddhism, Zionism, or Healyism. The old-time atheism was good enough for me.

The words ascribed to Cannon, in which I am allegedly assigned the "task" of poisoning the political atmosphere, is a pure fabrication. The real author of these false phrases only reveals his hatred of Cannon and his readiness to resort to frame-ups if no facts can be found to support this pathological attitude.

Healy's exegesis of his own fabrication thus falls into the same category. "Like President John F. Kennedy"! A very instructive example—concocting phrases, putting them in the mouths of political opponents, and then interpreting them as confirmation of one's own positions! That's Gerry Healy. And that's the *Workers Press*.

Let me take another dish, fresh from Healy's cooker.

In the April 23, 1975, issue of the *Workers Press*, the Political Committee of the Workers Revolutionary party attempts to smear Bala Tampoe, the head of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and a leading Trotskyist in Sri Lanka, as "associated with the Central Intelligence Agency."

The charge was investigated six years ago by a commission at the 1969 congress of the Fourth International. It was found to be untrue.⁷ The slander was based on a 1967 trip to the United States taken by Ceylonese labor and political figures in which Tampoe participated. The trip was sponsored by the Asia Foundation, one of many front organizations that received funds from the CIA. Among other things, the visiting Ceylonese delegation was addressed by Robert McNamara, who was at that time the

7. See "Healyites Smear Bala Tampoe," a statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, *Intercontinental Press*, November 20, 1972, p. 1286.

civilian head of the Defense Department.

Observe now, how the Healyite "investigators" extend Operation Smear to Hansen:

Reporting a visit he made to Sri Lanka in 1972, Hansen wrote, 'Mr Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, appeared to be very well briefed on the Ceylon situation.' He was indeed—by, among others, one Bala Tampoe, Hansen's man on the island.

Lest anyone be misled by the grammar of the Political Committee of the WRP, that was McNamara, not Hansen, who made a trip to Sri Lanka.

So "Hansen wrote . . ." Did he really? Once again, let us check the original source. This can be found in *Intercontinental Press*, February 14, 1972, p. 144. The article, which is unsigned although I was editorially responsible, is entitled "A New Coalition Government in Ceylon?"

The part that has a bearing in our checking what "Hansen wrote" reads as follows:

Robert McNamara, president of the World Bank, visited Colombo January 22-23 to discuss imperialist "aid" projects with the coalition government. His impressions of the prime minister were reported on the front page of the February 3 *Ceylon News*. The item, charming in its frankness, deserves to be quoted in full:

"Mr. Robert McNamara, President of the World Bank, has been 'deeply impressed' by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike's 'outstanding

qualities of leadership,' according to diplomatic circles in Colombo.

"Commenting on the fact that Mr. McNamara appeared to be 'very well briefed' on the Ceylon situation, a senior western diplomat told the Daily News that Mr. McNamara had expressed his 'deepest admiration' for the quality of leadership shown by Mrs. Bandaranaike during the April insurgency and the skill with which she maintained what Mr. McNamara called 'a middle course in international relations'. . . .

The "April insurgency" refers to the bloody suppression of the young revolutionists of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, whose leader, Rohana Wijeweera, was defended in court by Bala Tampoe.

Check that source in *Intercontinental Press* again. Did "Hansen" write that McNamara "appeared to be very well briefed on the Ceylon situation"? No, not at all. It was reported by the *Ceylon News*.

And the *Ceylon News* made very clear that the source was a "senior western diplomat" in Colombo.

To convert what a "senior western diplomat" said in Colombo into a product from Hansen's typewriter may seem like a tall order. That, however, is to consider the operation only from the viewpoint of proletarian morality.

For the technicians in Healy's kitchen, it's as easy as turning out an omelet. Of course, you have to break a few eggs. So what?

method. Perhaps they had none to present that would stand examination.

Consequently, they base their case not on any positive results in the Workers Revolutionary party or the Workers League but on a presentation of cases elsewhere going back almost forty years.

Moreover, in following this strange procedure, their main criterion is the quantity of material published in the press of the Socialist Workers party over that long period. Even in twenty-six articles, and even if the "investigators" applied their tape measures honestly, the results could only be one-sided and distorted. We shall see in a couple of test instances the results that can be obtained with tape measures made of stretch hose.

However, this elastic approach is required by the main purpose of the two series, which is to heap slander on the leaders of the SWP, particularly Hansen, and to picture them as being soft on spies, if not in "association" with agents of the CIA, the FBI, or the GPU, thereby winning a "sanity clearance" for Healy.

So let us take up some of the charges leveled against the SWP, using a convenient condensation presented by the "International Committee of the Fourth International" in the September 9, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*:

Nothing was revealed by Hansen about the infiltration of GPU agent *Sylvia Franklin* into the New York headquarters of the SWP as James Cannon's secretary; nothing was disclosed about *Floyd Cleveland Miller*, party name Michael Cort, who wrote for SWP publications as a military correspondent, and who betrayed to the GPU the names of Trotskyist seamen travelling to the Soviet ports of Murmansk and Archangel.

How many seamen died on the high seas or disappeared in the Russian ports because Miller had tipped off the GPU in advance of their arrival?

The late *Max Schachtman* [sic] raised questions about *Sylvia Franklin* before ex-Stalinist Louis Budenz made public her GPU role in Cannon's office. But although he pressed the leadership to conduct a security commission, his request was pushed aside. Cannon went on with a GPU bug on his phone and a Stalinist agent as his secretarial aide.

Was this because Hansen was applying his anti-Trotskyist theory that it is better to have a spy in the organization than to take notice of 'personal suspicions'?

It is true that Max Schachtman relayed to the leadership of the SWP what he had heard about the rumors being circulated by Budenz. It is not true that Schachtman was given the brush-off. On questions of defending civil liberties, of mutual defense against physical attack by goons, of uncovering infiltrators, or anything of common interest on that level, the Socialist Workers party has always cooperated with other sectors of the left despite the sharpest political differences.

Although we had heard from other

Twenty-Six Articles to Prove It's Not 'Paranoia'

From the foregoing examples showing how the "investigators" have proceeded in reconstructing reality to conform with Healy Thought—thereby demonstrating their leader's sanity—it can be seen that it is no easy task to examine every point they raise, particularly if you consider the abundance of the material.

Two series of articles have to be checked. The first, which began in the April 19, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*, consists of seven articles signed by the "Political Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party."

The second series, which began in the August 14, 1975, issue of the same paper, consists of nineteen articles signed by the "International Committee of the Fourth International."

Why two sets of authors were put to this task is not explained. Perhaps there were not two sets but one, which uses the name "Political Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party" and "International Committee of the Fourth International" interchangeably. There could be thirteen authors or one. The number, the differentiations, and the pecking order really do not make much difference, since the two committees are equally faceless and equally nameless.

In both the seven-article series and the nineteen-article series the authors (or author) pursue several themes. These can be listed as follows:

1. The Socialist Workers party is completely indifferent to infiltration by agents of the Kremlin, the CIA, the FBI, or other spies and agents provocateurs and considers concern about infiltration to be evidence of "paranoia."

2. The person chiefly responsible for this reprehensible attitude of the SWP is Joseph Hansen, who is a "dubious" person now discovered by investigators of the Workers Revolutionary party to be guilty of "criminal negligence"—if not more—in the assassination of Leon Trotsky.

3. In contrast to the SWP, the "security" system used by the Workers Revolutionary party is in accordance with the principles laid down by Lenin and Trotsky in this question and meets the dangers confronting the Trotskyist movement in the spy-ridden world of today.

Healy's "security" system amounts to a permanent witch-hunt in his own organization. Curiously enough, in the twenty-six articles summing up the results of their "investigation," Healy's disciples do not report a single example of the success of his

sources that members of his group were themselves circulating the rumor, we thanked Shachtman for the information.

To assert that Cannon did nothing is a lie. The grossness of the lie can be judged by reading Cannon's article "An Answer to Budenz's Latest Frame-up," which was published in the August 28, 1950, issue of the *Militant*. Because of its general interest in connection with the problem of defense against infiltration, the article is being reprinted as a document in this issue of *Intercontinental Press*.⁸

Sylvia Caldwell (that was her party name) worked very hard in her rather difficult assignment of managing the national office of the Socialist Workers party, which included helping Cannon in a secretarial capacity. In fact all the comrades who shared these often irksome chores with her regarded her as exemplary. They burned as much as she did over the foul slander spread by Budenz.

Sixteen years later, in a letter dated November 12, 1966, James P. Cannon, discussing the function of the Control Commission in the Socialist Workers party, recalled how the slander had been handled.

"In another case," he said, "a rumor circulated by the Shachtmanites and others outside the party against the integrity of a National Office secretarial worker was thoroughly investigated by the Control Commission which, after taking stenographic testimony from all available sources, declared the rumors unfounded and cleared the accused party member to continue her work."

Why did Healy's "International Committee" decide to say nothing about Cannon's article in the *Militant* exposing Budenz's frame-up? Why did they decide instead to lie, declaring that the leadership of the SWP gave Shachtman the brush-off and refused to investigate the charges? Why did they repeat the fabrications circulated by Budenz, who first served the GPU and then the FBI, as if they were gospel truth?

The reasons are perfectly clear—this course was required by the necessities of their own frame-up, which in turn was required by the imperative need to "prove" that Healy Thought is truly sane and in consonance with reality.

The case of Miller was the opposite of that of Sylvia Caldwell. After dropping out of the Socialist Workers party under guise of having developed political differences, he confessed that he had served as a Stalinist agent.

Miller was a free-lance writer who made his living doing mostly radio and later TV scripts. One of the maritime unions in which we had good relations with the leadership at the time relied on us for technical assistance in getting out the

union newspaper. We assigned Miller to this task, through which he received the title of editor. Because of this assignment he was invited to attend meetings of our maritime fraction in New York.

As a Stalinist agent, he no doubt provided information to be used against us by the Communist party maritime fraction, particularly in the National Maritime Union, which was dominated by the Stalinists in that period.

Miller claimed that he was told by his Stalinist superiors to work himself as high as possible in the "hierarchy" of the party. He did not succeed in worming himself very high, never being included even in the leadership of the SWP's maritime fraction.

As a government witness in the 1960 spy trial of Dr. Robert Soblen, Miller claimed that "the Stalinists" were concerned about Trotskyist seamen sailing into Russian harbors with American supplies, particularly Murmansk.

"My job as a Stalinist," he continued (as reported by Healy's investigators), "was to keep track of the sailing of all Trotskyite seamen so a Stalinist agent would be at the port and have a surveillance on whatever Trotskyites entered the Soviet Union."

The Healyites parlay this assertion of a Stalinist agent into the question: "How many seamen died on the high seas or disappeared in the Russian ports because Miller had tipped off the GPU in advance of their arrival?"

The answer is *none*. If the Healyites had not concentrated so heavily on wielding their tar brush, they might have reached this conclusion themselves:

1. During the war, the destination of American ships was kept secret by the

government. In signing on a ship at the union hiring hall, a seaman was not informed where it was scheduled to go. This information was given out only after the convoys were on their way.

It is true that some of us in the maritime fraction were sometimes able to guess from the type of ship or nature of the cargo where it might go. However, such guesses were always uncertain.

2. We suffered losses on ships carrying supplies to the Soviet Union just as we did in other theaters of the war. Seamen belonging to the Communist party suffered an equally high rate of casualties.

If the Healyites will stop to think, they may recall that German imperialist armies had invaded the Soviet Union, and that German submarines and bombers did their utmost to cut off supplies coming from the United States. Our casualties on the Murmansk run were caused by German torpedoes and dive bombers.

3. Trotskyist seamen whose ships reached Soviet ports were received as warmly as other seamen. Some of them tried to do a little propaganda work for Trotskyism. While they generally met with indignant rebuffs, nothing untoward happened to them.

4. Several Trotskyist seamen, whose ships were sunk by the Germans, managed, along with other members of the crew, to launch lifeboats and eventually make their way to Murmansk. Because of exposure in open boats in those waters, several of them had to spend months in the hospital. They were given first-rate treatment, and the staffs were very friendly.

Was this because Moscow had been tipped off by Miller?

The Case of Robert Sheldon Harte

The job done on Robert Sheldon Harte by Healy's "International Committee" is particularly vile.

Harte was the young member of the Socialist Workers party on guard duty when a gang of Stalinists under the leadership of the painter David Alfaro Siqueiros raided the Trotsky home in Coyoacán on May 24, 1940. Harte was the one who opened the steel door to the street, letting them in.

After machine-gunning Trotsky's bedroom, the gang left, thinking they had succeeded in murdering Trotsky and his companion Natalia Sedova.

The gang kidnapped Harte, shot him in the head, and buried his body in a grave which they filled with lime.

As part of the cover-up for this crime, the Stalinist hacks accused Trotsky of having committed a "self-assault." They also did their utmost to throw suspicion on Harte.

I wrote about this in an article published in the August 1940 issue of *Fourth Interna-*

tional.⁹ Here are a few paragraphs indicating the line followed by the Stalinist propagandists:

At the same time, in direct contradiction to its accusation of "self-assault," the GPU began a campaign against Robert Harte, charging that he was the "leader" of the assault, that he had "betrayed" his chief, that is, sold out to the GPU. . . .

Beginning with May 27 . . . every conceivable type of vilification was launched against Harte in the Stalinist papers. It was said that he had a photograph of Stalin in his room at home warmly autographed by Stalin himself (a GPU slander which not even a telegram to the contrary from his father could dispel); in actuality he was not an American but a Russian who had just got off a boat from Russia a week or two before coming to Mexico; the references with which he landed a job with Trotsky were so fabulously good that

9. The article, "The Attempted Assassination of Leon Trotsky," is included in the compilation *Leon Trotsky: The Man and His Work*. It may be obtained from Pathfinder Press, New York.

8 See p. 1654.

Trotsky had not even checked them; his baggage was still plastered with Moscow labels; he was a typical gangster type; during the assault he ran about the patio in his pyjamas; he had been paid a fabulous sum for the betrayal; it was impossible to steal Trotsky's automobiles without Harte's connivance as he had control of the ignition keys (in reality they were always kept in the cars for emergency use); he did not come as an agent of the assassins but was bought by them in Mexico; he came as an agent but was won over by Trotsky and so only carried out a partial treachery; he acted as a driver of one of the automobiles which carried away the assassins; he was very nervous when he left with the assailants; he was very calm when he left with the assailants and spoke familiarly with one of them known as "Felipe"; he was completely in Trotsky's confidence and led the "self-assault"; he was snug and safe in his father's home in New York.

These slanders were the moral lime with which the GPU hoped to obliterate all the trails leading to the body decomposing in the mountain cabin.

For several days, as a matter of fact, the Stalinists succeeded in disorienting the police hunt. Two of Trotsky's secretaries were held for two days in jail for "questioning." Two friends of the Trotsky household, one a refugee from Germany, were held for four days in Guadalupe prison. The chauffeur of Diego Rivera was arrested. The house of Frida Kahlo, former wife of the painter, was searched. Seemingly the GPU was forging ahead with its campaign of moral assassination.

With that background in mind, read the following material published in the August 18, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*:

The US State Department and the FBI were clearly concerned about Harte's disappearance. Official records show that a "rush" telegram was sent from Washington to the US Consulate on May 25, 1940, stating:

"Please in your discretion make informal inquiry of (Mexican) Foreign Office regarding Harte's rescue. According to application on which father Jesse Samuel Harte was issued a departmental passport March 6, 1926, Sheldon K. Harte who was also included was born at Brooklyn, New York, on April 6, 1917. Strictly confidential. Report to the department any information discreetly obtainable regarding Sheldon Harte's activities."

The cable was sent at 5 p.m. on May 25, a day after the raid. It was sent in 'confidential code' from the State Department to the US consul and FBI men on the staff who were working under diplomatic cover. (The FBI was the predecessor of the Central Intelligence Agency in Latin America.)

The most curious aspect of the cable is the use of the expression 'regarding Harte's rescue'. But Harte hadn't been 'rescued', he had been kidnapped by the Stalinist raiding party.

It is logical to assume that the US Embassy in Mexico would be briefed to discover the whereabouts of Harte, an American national, and to find out who had kidnapped him. Then why say 'rescue'? [Presumably because his father would also want him rescued from the kidnapers.—J.H.]

This wasn't the only puzzling aspect of Harte's kidnapping.

He was the son of *Jesse S. Harte*, president of Intermediate Factors Corporation. Before Mr Harte, Sr, left for Mexico to join the search for his missing son, the State Department sent a message to the US consul advising them to meet him and take care of him since he was a friend of

SECURITY AND THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

WE ACCUSE JOSEPH HANSEN AND THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Reprinted from the September 6, 8, and 9, 1975 issues of the *Workers Press*, daily newspaper of the Central Committee of the Workers Revolutionary Party, British section of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

THE Sixth International Congress of the International Committee of the Fourth International (May 19-24, 1975) voted unanimously to continue the investigation into

company have insistently built up surrounding the circumstances of the murder of Trotsky and subsequent security breaches. It brings to an end the political fraud and the cultivated myth by which they claimed to be the continuators of the struggle for Trotskyism after Trotsky's death. Our investigation has proved that Hansen and senior SWP leaders have been responsible for the systematic covering up of the circumstances surrounding the murder of Trotsky, his son

draw heavily from 'The New Leader' article written by David Daffin, the author-husband of Lora Estine. Apart from that article, a deafening silence. **The charge of 'paranoia'** On March 31, 1975, Hansen charged the International Committee of the Fourth International with being

Woblforth's 'sincerity'. When Hansen pronounced his political benediction on Woblforth's break with Trotskyism, it was with the full knowledge of the security questions involved. From August 18 to 22, 1975, Woblforth and his political accomplice, Nancy Fields, attended the national convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Ohio at Hansen's invited guests. They have now made a principled political statement to explain how their political merger has

a security clearance for her. Throughout that year she, with Woblforth's collusion, acted as a broker-essence in closing down Workers League branches, driving out members and expelling others, some of whom were of long-standing in the movement. These actions caused grave disgust. She had a brutal attitude towards members named up by one comrade who said, "Her tactics are like dogs". On August 18, 1974, at a meeting in London, Woblforth was asked point-blank whether she had anything to do with the

present house guest at their home in Maine was Richard Hanes, ex-director of the CIA and now US ambassador in Iran. So refusing to report Fields' previous family connections to the IC prior to the May 1974 meeting in London, in failing to tell his own comrades in the leadership of the Workers League, Woblforth was placing his own personal relations with Fields above the security considerations of the revolutionary party. This is not months. Field the security

Headline on four-page throwaway distributed by Healyites at entrance to three-day Boston conference of National Student Coalition Against Racism. This was the sole contribution offered by Healyites at gathering that launched campaign in United States for continued busing of schoolchildren and more effective defense against murderous attacks of racists.

Mr Hoover's—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Reports appeared in the New York newspapers that when police visited the missing guard's flat in New York, they found a photograph of Stalin on his wall. He had been a former member of the Communist Party, but then so had many of those freshly joining the Trotskyist movement.

When the chief of the guards at Coyoacan, Harold Robins, searched Harte's room, he found a Spanish-English dictionary. Inside the front cover he was surprised to find the signature of Siqueiros.

Other evidence has emerged to show that while he was in Mexico, Harte became friendly with Ramon Mercader, alias Jacques Mornard, alias Frank Jacson. They went out drinking together.

On August 20, 1940, surrogate James A. Delehanty of New York granted letters of administration on the estate of Harte, aged 25. He left a total of \$25,000 in personal property to close relatives.

The most this material shows is that Harte was born in a wealthy, conservative family, that he had become radicalized, and that he hid his revolutionary views from his

family. The type is not unknown today.

It can also be deduced that Jacson made a special effort to win his friendship, that Jacson showed him about the town, and introduced him to a few others who might prove impressive to a youth fresh from New York and entranced by Mexico.

None of this alters in the least the conclusions we drew in 1940 concerning why Harte violated the rules and opened the door to the gang. Aside from the fact that they wore police uniforms, which would tend to dispel suspicion, he recognized the person at the door as a friend. It was because he could identify that person that he was murdered.

To bolster their effort to present Harte as another "dubious" figure in Trotsky's household, Healy's "International Committee" found a quotation in which Trotsky, as they put it, "deals with the suspicion that was aroused in Harte."

The suspicion referred to was the suspi-

cion in Harte aroused by the GPU to help divert attention from Jacson by turning the police investigation in the direction of the murdered guard. Trotsky concedes in his article dated June 8, 1940, that "despite all precautions, it is, of course, impossible to consider as absolutely excluded the possibility that an isolated agent of the GPU could worm his way into the guard."

Trotsky then proceeds to show how implausible it was to suspect Harte of having been an accomplice in the assault.

Trotsky reaffirms his confidence in Harte: "I have not heard a single convincing argument to indicate that Sheldon Harte was a GPU agent. Therefore I announced from the outset to my friends that I would be the last one to give credence to Sheldon's participation in the assault."¹⁰

Thirty-five years later, Healy's "International Committee" remains unconvinced that it was right of Trotsky to display such confidence in Harte. Trotsky's attitude is seriously out of line with their approach. Thus they say in the August 21, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*:

No verdict can be passed on Sheldon Harte at this stage. The US State Department records do testify to the fact that he had a photograph of Stalin on the wall of his New York flat, but it could have been placed there: or it could have been a hangover from his days in the American Communist Party, though it would be a peculiar thing to keep around the house.

The report, according to the State Department records, emanated from Harte Snr's son-in-law, a lawyer named Morton Wild.

The odor of the old GPU slanders against Harte, we see, still persists in the headquarters of the Workers Revolutionary party. There is no thought there that Harte might have been victimized by Jacson the way Sylvia Ageloff was victimized. There is no admission there of the possibility that Harte could have been deluded into taking

10. The quotation is from Trotsky's own account of the May 24, 1940, assault. See "Stalin Seeks My Death," *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), pp. 247-48.

Drilling for Oil in Coyoacán

The Healyite "investigators" devote considerable space to Mark Zborowski, the GPU agent who penetrated the Trotskyist movement in 1934 and gained the confidence of Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son.

Under the name "Etienne," he helped publish the *Bulletin of the Left Opposition* and participated in the day-to-day work of the small center of the Fourth International in Paris. Zborowski was implicated in the mysterious death of Leon Sedov in a Paris hospital on February 16, 1938.¹²

Insofar as smearing the SWP is concerned, this operation must be written off as

Jacson as a trusted friend just as Ageloff, who fell in love with Jacson, was deluded into believing that her love was reciprocated.

Through Ageloff, a trusted member of the Trotskyist movement, who did not have the faintest idea of his real identity, Jacson was introduced into the household in Coyoacán.

Through Harte, he was introduced into the patio with a squad of killers.

After kidnapping and murdering Harte to avoid detection, Jacson was able on the basis of his relationship with Ageloff to enter Trotsky's study on August 20, 1940, and carry out the assignment given him by Stalin.

The specialists functioning under the banner of the "International Committee" do not report Trotsky's final verdict on the martyrdom of Robert Sheldon Harte. What Trotsky said does not conform to their suspicions and the imperatives of their "security" system.

One month after the May 24 assault, Harte's body was discovered. On the following morning, after having confirmed that it was really Bob, Trotsky voiced his grief.

"The body of Bob Sheldon Harte," he said, "proves in a tragic manner the falsity of all the calumnies and denunciations leveled against him. . . ."

"... the version that Sheldon was an agent of the GPU is completely crushed. His body is a convincing argument. Bob perished because he placed himself in the road of the assassins. He died for the ideas in which he believed. His memory is spotless."¹¹

11. Trotsky's statement appeared in the July 6, 1940, *Socialist Appeal* (the name used for a time by the *Militant*). It can also be found in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)*. See "GPU Tried to Cover Murder With Slander." This was the title used by the editors of the *Socialist Appeal*. We are republishing the article in this issue of *Intercontinental Press* under the title "Trotsky's Tribute to Robert Sheldon Harte." See p. 1655.

a dry well. In Coyoacán, however, Healy's drillers act as if they had struck a gusher.

One of their main targets is the article I wrote at the time describing the assassination of Trotsky, "With Trotsky to the End." Here are some of the items they find extremely suspicious:

1. The title is immodest.

12. In his biography of Leon Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher includes an account of the agent provocateur. See vol. 3, *The Prophet Outcast*. Also see *Our Own People*, by Elisabeth K. Poretzky. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969).

I plead not guilty. The title was placed on the article by the editors of *Fourth International* in New York.

2. Hansen displays "precision-like accuracy on the state of the cloud formations to the south-west of Coyoacán, but deliberate omissions and evasions on the visit to the US Embassy and the immediate events following Trotsky's assassination."

I will come to the "deliberate omissions and evasions," pausing here only to indicate why I included the detail about the weather.

"... Harold Robins received the visitor in the patio," I wrote in 1940. "Jacson wore a raincoat across his arm. It was the rainy season, and although the sun was shining, heavy clouds massed over the mountains to the southwest threatened a downpour."

If Robins had asked Jacson to leave his raincoat, the assassin would not have been able to accomplish his mission—at least on that day, for Robins might well have noticed that inside the raincoat Jacson had hidden a gun, a dagger, and an alpine pickax.

But Robins did not suspect Jacson any more than anyone else did in the household; and in view of the weather there was no reason to wonder about the raincoat.

3. The Healyite sleuths question my statement that Trotsky had dozens upon dozens of friends in Mexico whom the guards would not handle any differently than they did Jacson.

To imply that my account was inaccurate, they quote Gen. Leandro A. Sanchez Salazar of the Mexican secret police and author of *Murder in Mexico*; Isaac Don Levine, author of *The Mind of an Assassin*; and Isaac Deutscher, the author of Trotsky's biography.

General Sanchez offered his impressions of the appearance of Trotsky's home and what this, in his opinion, revealed about Trotsky. The description is reasonably accurate, and I would not quarrel with the small errors and overstatements it contains.

Nor would I quarrel with the paragraphs cited from Levine's book. In preparing his manuscript, Levine consulted me concerning the details of the assassination of Trotsky, and I think the information contained in the paragraphs approved by Healy's "investigators" reflect what I told Levine.

Similarly in the case of the quotations from the biography of Trotsky. Deutscher asked me to go over the chapter dealing with the assassination to check its accuracy. Unfortunately this was delayed until the book had reached the stage of page proofs, which limited the changes he could make. Nonetheless, in the light of my criticism, Deutscher made such corrections as appeared imperative to him, and I think this is reflected in the paragraphs approved by

Healy's specialists in plots and conspiracies.

4. The Healyites quote from my introduction to Trotsky's autobiographical work *My Life* in which I mentioned how I and Rae Spiegel, who served as Trotsky's Russian secretary, removed the small automatic on Trotsky's desk out of our concern over the emotional crisis he and Natalia were going through.¹³

According to our Healyite "security" experts this "... left Trotsky without a weapon to defend himself in the event of one of the 'dozens upon dozens' of visitors being a GPU assassin!"

What swine!

L.D. and Natalia were mourning the murder of their son Leon Sedov. They stayed in their room *without seeing anyone*—not even the guards and secretaries, outside of Rae, who made sure that food was brought to them and attended them in whatever way she could.

Moreover, it was not Trotsky's habit to carry a gun. He left his automatic on his desk in his study, which he did not enter in those weeks. Even when the most painful phase of mourning began to subside, he started to write in his bedroom, not using his study or a secretary.

The real security problem in this instance was not counteracting the danger accompanying visitors but helping L.D. and Natalia in a personal way through this very difficult period in their lives.

5. Attempting to prove that security in Coyoacán was exceedingly lax, the Healyites quote a letter from Harold Robins:

"When I arrived in Mexico in October 1939, as a member of the guard I found that none of the members of the guard had even fired their weapons in more than a year's time. For my part, I had never fired a gun in my life."

Marksmanship was not the sole criterion by which guards were selected. Expert drivers were just as badly needed. Robins had had experience as a New York taxi driver. Also Robins had proved his capacity as a union battler, even having served a term in prison for union activities.

As for stepping up the armed defense, that began after my arrival in 1937. Our first decision was to standardize the equipment as much as possible. For that we brought in .38-caliber Colts, which were easier to obtain in the United States in those days than they are now.

The guard included members with years of experience in handling guns, which naturally included keeping up their skill with a minimum expenditure of live ammunition.

6. Elsewhere in his letter, Robins, recalling details of the assassination, says:

13. For the details, see the introduction to *My Life* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), pp. xxii-xxiii.

WORKERS LEAGUE MEETING

We accuse Joseph Hansen

SAT. OCT. 11 7:30 PM

HUNTINGTON AVE. YMCA

316 HUNTINGTON AVE.

ARENA ROOM

\$-1.00

BOSTON

Advertisement in four-page Healyite throwaway distributed at October 10-12 antiracist conference in Boston.

"According to Joe's account he and I both arrived at the doorway of Trotsky's office at the same time. Hansen wrote that while he went to help L.D., Robins went into the office to take care of the assassin.

"Since the assassin held a 45-calibre 'Star' pistol in his hand at that time, I posed the question when recounting the events of August 20, 1940, that Hansen did not reach the door with me because he would then have gone into the office to subdue and disarm the assassin. That action fell to me since I was first on the scene."

Robins wrote his letter, apparently, because of some "mixup of quotes," which he is trying to straighten out.

The Healyites are delighted. "Robins' letter alone," they say, "calls for a fresh inquiry into the circumstances surrounding Trotsky's death."

That's what they say!

Here is what I wrote in the article "With Trotsky to the End":

As I entered the door connecting the library with the dining room the Old Man stumbled out of his study a few feet away, blood streaming down his face.

"See what they have done to me!" he said.

At the same moment Harold Robins came through the north door of the dining room with

Natalia following. Throwing her arms frantically about him, Natalia took Trotsky on to the balcony. Harold and I had made for Jacson, who stood in the study gasping, face knotted, arms limp, automatic pistol dangling in his hand. Harold was closer to him. "You take care of him," I said, "I'll see what's happened to the Old Man." Even as I turned, Robins brought the assassin down to the floor.

Does that call for a "fresh inquiry"? Let the inquiry consist of reading the two quotations again.

Trotsky's study opened onto the dining room. Robins and I reached the *dining room* about the same time. The entrance to the study was closer to the door through which Robins had rushed in from the patio than it was to the library door through which I entered from the opposite end of the dining room. Therefore Robins was closer to Jacson than I was.

I could have fired at Jacson from where I stood, and I would not have missed. It was imperative to take him alive, however. That was why I told Robins, "You take care of him." Which Robins did, while I turned my attention to L.D.

Everyone clear on the position of the various rooms, the three doors, and the sequence?

So much for that oil-drilling operation.

And Where Was Healy?

In their "investigation," the Healyites concentrate on the single question of measures that might have led to the unmasking of Jacson or at least of discovering concealed weapons on anyone coming near Trotsky.

This, of course, follows from their concept of "security," which is to create the highest possible level of mutual suspicion among comrades working together.

Because of this they remain glued to the actual course that our defensive measures—

feeble though they were because of limited resources—compelled the GPU murder machine to take.

Because of this, the Healyites leave out of account other security problems that were of great concern to us in Coyoacán.

1. Sappers could tunnel from an area in the neighborhood and dynamite the house. This method had been used by the GPU against revolutionists in Europe. If I recall correctly, Trotsky mentioned that this had occurred in Poland.

2. The place could be bombed by a small plane. We weighed the feasibility of setting up steel nets. But this was not within our means and it might not have proved workable.

3. We could be machine-gunned on the highway or on a street in Coyoacán. This seemed to me to be an especially vulnerable point. We tried to meet it with careful procedures and split-second timing on all trips that included L.D.

4. Package bombs could be tried.

5. Poisons could be introduced through food brought into the house. We tried repeatedly to lower this possibility, but it always remained a danger.

6. The place could be attacked by demonstrators mobilized by the Mexican Stalinists. This was a very real threat. Several times, the Stalinists seemed to be organizing for this; but our countermeasures proved effective.

Our chief problem, however, was our fixed position. We had no way of changing our base the way guerrillas do, thereby constantly disrupting the plans of attackers. Of course, we had a few places that could serve as temporary hideouts for Trotsky and that we actually used when the situation appeared particularly dangerous. Under GPU surveillance, however, these could prove to be deadly traps.

It is well understood today how difficult it is for even a powerful government to safeguard its top political figures from individual assassins. It can be imagined how much more difficult it is for an individual to block one of the most powerful governments in the world that has determined to kill him, particularly if that individual is pinned down, as we were, to a spot known to everyone.

As one of the world's great military figures, Trotsky was perfectly aware of this. Yet all of us shared his determination to make the struggle as difficult and as costly to Stalin as we could.

It is possible, of course, that Healy had some proposals in those days that might have improved our defense. Unfortunately they were never called to our attention in Coyoacán.

If they were published anywhere, Healy would seem duty bound to state what publication they appeared in, or even to reprint them with some comments on the lessons to be drawn thirty-five years later.

The fact is that Healy belonged to a clique that stood in opposition to Trotsky as long as Trotsky was alive.

This did not prevent Trotsky from being concerned about them. In 1938 he asked James P. Cannon to stop in London, talk with them, and try to persuade them to send a delegation to the founding congress of the Fourth International.

They said no to Cannon and Trotsky. I

have never heard what the reasons were, and I suppose that in the final analysis the reasons are not of much interest. Perhaps the clique thought of the width of the Channel and the likelihood of a choppy crossing, and put "security" first.

A few years after Trotsky's death, Healy made a self-criticism and tried to follow the example set by Cannon in party building. There was considerable hope in the Fourth

FBI 'Associations'—A Geyser of Mud

In the September 6, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*, under the title "The Role of Joseph Hansen and Pabloite Revisionism," the "International Committee" presents its chief finding, a report by Robert G. McGregor, an aide to the American consul in Mexico City, of a conversation with me, which was sent to the State Department. The State Department later included it in materials open to public inspection.

McGregor's report, as quoted by *Workers Press* (which may account for the British punctuation), is as follows:

Mr Joseph Hansen, secretary to the late Mr Trotsky came in on Saturday morning in order to discuss matters connected with the assassination of Mr Trotsky. I told him of my desire to be in possession of as much information as possible regarding the relationship of the assassin and Miss Sylvia Ageloff with the United States.

Hansen repeated his assertions that this crime was engineered from the United States. He pointed to the fact that Mornard (the assassin) had made a journey to the United States between the dates of the first attempt upon Trotsky's life and the second successful one. He declared that undoubtedly the desk clerk at the Hotel Pierpont in Brooklyn could give some information and seemed to attach considerable importance to the packages that Sylvia states Mornard kept in the safe at the hotel. Hansen likewise believes that the Ageloff family could furnish some valuable information as to who Mornard saw while on his last trip to New York.

It is Hansen's opinion that Mornard himself will be unable to give much more authentic information concerning names of persons acting as his principles in this matter. For, while Hansen is convinced that the murder is a GPU job, that very fact makes it hard to unravel. Hansen stated that when in New York in 1938 he was himself approached by an agent of the GPU and asked to desert the Fourth International and join the Third. He referred the matter to Trotsky who asked him to go as far with the matter as possible. For three months Hansen had relations with a man who merely identified himself as 'John', and did not otherwise reveal his real identity.

I had hoped that Hansen might cast some suspicion on persons in the United States but most of his suspicions seemed to attach themselves to persons now in Mexico. In this connection he mentioned a Mr Frank Jelleneck who came to Mexico in November 1937 from France and was at that time writing a book on the French Commune. He represented himself as the correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* and had close connections with Mr Frank Kluckholm, former correspondent for the *New York Times* in

International that this would help Trotskyism to become rooted in Britain. However, Healy veered in a sectarian direction around 1956, became more and more preoccupied with "security," and is still traveling down that road.

As for Slaughter, was he in the Communist party when Trotsky was murdered, doing for Stalin what he now does for Healy? Or did this come later?

Mexico. Hansen said that Jelleneck's actions led him to believe that he is a GPU agent in Mexico.

Hansen declared that he shared the opinion expressed to me personally by the late Mr Trotsky that Mr Harry Block, an American citizen residing in the Federal District, is the direct agent here for Mr Oumansky, Soviet Ambassador in Washington. Oumansky, Hansen said, is a police officer whom Trotsky knew personally when in authority in Russia and that Trotsky always felt apprehensive of Oumansky's presence in Washington.

I asked Hansen what his impression was of President Cardenas' recent statements condemning the communists. He said that he was afraid this was the 'swan song' of the investigation of the assassination of Trotsky. He seemed to have little faith in the sincerity of the endeavours of the police to unravel the crime.

Missing from McGregor's report is any explanation of the objectives of my visit to the American consulate. Yet I must have had some reason other than the pleasure of "associating" with an FBI agent, as the Healyites suggest.

The report itself, however, indicates that it concerned the identity of the assassin. McGregor, in reporting to his superior, implies that he took the initiative in this: "I told him of my desire to be in possession of as much information as possible regarding the relationship of the assassin and Miss Sylvia Ageloff with the United States."

Again: "I had hoped that Hansen might cast some suspicion on persons in the United States. . . ."

It is also completely clear from the report (for which, of course, I do not take any responsibility whatever) that everything I said was directed against the GPU and was intended to further the investigation of the identity of the assassin.

Now let us turn to the way in which the nameless and faceless members of Healy's "International Committee" seek to utilize this material to cast the foulest suspicion on me and the Socialist Workers party.

"One document in particular," they say, "raises questions about Hansen himself. It is a statement that he made to an FBI agent who was operating under diplomatic cover at the American Embassy in Mexico City. Hansen made a statement to him on August 31, 1940, 11 days after Trotsky had

been killed by the GPU agent Ramon Mercader."

They say again (in the September 9, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*):

"Until the International Committee discovered the existence of a statement he gave to the FBI agent at the US Embassy on August 31, the movement knew nothing of it. Why?"

In the whole series of twenty-six articles, the Healyites in no place indicate the basis of their charge that McGregor was "an FBI agent who was operating under diplomatic cover at the American Embassy." I will indicate a possible source of the charge further on. For the moment it is sufficient to note how the Healyites use this label to suggest that at Coyoacán I was in "association" with an agent of the FBI.

To bolster the impression they seek to create, they make further insinuations in their article, "The Role of Joseph Hansen and Pabloite Revisionism":

"The tone of the opening sentence of the US Consul McGregor's report hints at a familiar relationship with Hansen. Perhaps this is why they made a Saturday morning rendezvous. It raises the question whether Hansen had met McGregor before. How many times? What had they discussed?"

Why doesn't Healy make the same insinuation in relation to a more important figure than Hansen? McGregor states: "Hansen declared that he shared the opinion expressed to me personally by the late Mr Trotsky. . . ."

Doesn't that raise the question whether Trotsky had actually met McGregor? How many times? What had they discussed? How is Trotsky's "association" with an alleged FBI agent to be explained?

Everything else in McGregor's report pales in comparison with that question, for whatever Hansen did quite obviously was in accordance with a relationship established by Trotsky himself.

That this is the case can easily be shown from other reports from the consulate reprinted by the "International Committee" in *Workers Press*.

1. In a report to the State Department,¹⁴ Geo. P. Shaw, the American consul in Mexico City, said: "This matter was first brought to my attention by Mr Charles Cornell, who came to the Consulate General to report the disappearance of Mr Harte. . . . I immediately delegated Consul Robert G. McGregor, Jr. to accompany Mr Cornell to Trotsky's residence to verify the statements made and to ascertain any other interesting facts available."

Healy's net has caught another "dubious" figure, Trotsky's secretary Charles Cornell, in "association" with an alleged FBI agent.

2. In a confidential memorandum,

McGregor reported how Cornell drove him to the residence of "Mr Leon Trotsky, in Coyoacan," where Cornell showed him the grounds and described the May 24 assault. Cornell's affability hints at a familiar relationship!

3. Continuing his report, the alleged FBI agent said: "I entered the house proper and



Workers Press

SLAUGHTER: Brings American workers Healyite message on importance of maintaining "security" against Hansen.

was confronted by Mr Trotsky. He was most polite and talked with me in his office for about ten minutes. . . .

"I explained that my interest in the matter was to seek means whereby Harte could be rescued and in this connection to co-operate fully with the Mexican police."

Healy has now enmeshed the most "dubious" figure of all—Leon Trotsky. Why doesn't he try to land him, the way he did Hansen?

4. McGregor reported still another conversation with a member of Trotsky's guards, this time Walter O'Rourke, on May 27, 1940. The conversation was about the May 24 assault, Stalin's possible motives, the identity of the attackers, and whether Harte could have been an accomplice.

"He [O'Rourke] said that he was sure that Harte was not a party to the crime because he said that all the guards employed by Trotsky were sent here after very careful observance of their activities by members of the Party in the United States, and that Harte would have had to be a superb actor to have consistently concealed the intention for which he was sent, and that he did not believe the boy to be capable of masquerading as a Trotskyist, with all of the careful observation to which Trotsky's aides are subjected."

O'Rourke, too! Score another "association" with the FBI for Healy's probers.

5. In still another memorandum to the State Department, McGregor reported a confidential conversation he had with Trotsky on June 25, 1940. McGregor wanted to know Trotsky's reaction to interpretations of a statement he had made to the press.

Healy's bloodhounds have really exposed the "dubious" Trotsky. He was in "association" with the FBI agent at least twice, according to the agent's report and not just once as in the case of Hansen.

In this confidential rendezvous with Consul McGregor, Trotsky said that his statement had been misinterpreted. He also gave McGregor the names of certain Stalinist figures who might provide information concerning the May 24 attack. McGregor included in his report the following item:

"In a strictly confidential and private manner Mr Trotsky told me that he suspected the orders for this attempt on his life came through the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Oumanski, who according to Trotsky is a GPU agent."

When I followed this same line in my conversation with McGregor following the assassination of Trotsky, Healy's "International Committee" took this as proof of my "dubious" character:

"Hansen makes another puzzling statement to the man from the embassy. He says that he believed that the Stalinist murder plot originated in the United States. But all the evidence demonstrates that the center was in Paris. This was easily deductible by even the most amateur observer."

And why doesn't the same reasoning apply to Trotsky? It is because at this point Healy is not interested in smearing Trotsky. His immediate target is Hansen.

An item worth noting in connection with this point is the testimony years later of Budenz, in whom the Healyites place great confidence as we have seen. Budenz publicly implicated members of the Stalinist machine in the United States in the murder of Leon Trotsky.

Demands were raised in the United States to bring Budenz and his accomplices to trial. A grand jury actually questioned Budenz, but nothing came in response to public insistence that he be indicted.

Let me now bring into focus the material brought forward by the members of Healy's "International Committee."

Among the chores assigned to Trotsky's secretaries in Coyoacán was diplomatic relations with the Mexican government and with the embassies of other governments when necessity arose. Most of this work, naturally, involved the Mexican government, which had granted political asylum to L.D. and Natalia. The American secretaries were assigned to cover the American consulate. That was why, aside from Trotsky, the names dug up of those who

14. As published in the August 21, 1975, issue of *Workers Press*.

“associated” with the consulate were all Americans—Cornell, O’Rourke, Hansen.

On my first visit to the American consulate, Trotsky explained the procedure to follow. For me it was a valuable lesson in the protocols of diplomacy. Trotsky’s parting words as I set off, were: “Go play poker with them.”¹⁵

The purpose of the visit was to make an informal inquiry as to what would be the probable reaction of the State Department if Trotsky were to apply for a visa to visit the United States. The purpose of the visit would be to make a tour of the battlefields of the Civil War to help in writing a book comparing that conflict with the civil war in Russia.

The aide in the consulate assigned to talk with me about this was McGregor.

When I reported back, Trotsky speculated that McGregor might be an attaché assigned to topics of interest to the FBI, and he explained how all the embassies of all countries include attachés who follow special fields of interest. However, he was never firm about this possible identification, and of course it would have made no difference to Trotsky. First of all, we were not responsible for the personnel in the embassy. Secondly, we had no choice in the matter.

The response that came back from the State Department on Trotsky’s inquiry, and that was relayed to me by McGregor on a subsequent visit, was that if Trotsky applied no visa would be granted.

Now let’s turn to the inquiries I made at the American consulate following the assassination of Trotsky. The inquiry was made, of course, in consultation with Natalia Trotsky, with Albert Goldman, and with other members of the household, of whom I might mention especially Evelyn Reed.

One purpose of the inquiry was to do everything possible to suggest that the State Department utilize its resources to help ascertain the real identity of the assassin. McGregor was generous with his time and I mustered all the arguments I could think of.

Another—and important—purpose of the inquiry was to probe the probable reaction of the State Department to an application by Natalia Trotsky and her grandson for visas to come to the United States where we could safeguard and take care of them

15. On some occasions when he was relaxing, such as on a visit to Taxco, Trotsky played a simple game of cards with other members of the household. I tried to inveigle him into learning poker. He played for a time with interest. However, after being bluffed a few times, he argued that it was unfair. The rules permitted someone with almost nothing to win against a much superior hand! Whether because of this or because he really did not care for cards he did not take up the game.

much better than we could in Mexico.

The response to the inquiry soon came and McGregor called Coyoacán, asking me to come to his office.

There he gave me the information concerning the origin of the false passport that Jacson said he had burned on the way to Coyoacán. He also gave me a copy of the photograph on this passport, and mentioned that the consulate was turning the same information over to the Mexican police, who would release it publicly.

This was the source of the photograph of Jacson and the information about his false passport used by the press of the Trotskyist movement.¹⁶

As for Natalia and the grandson of Trotsky, McGregor said that Natalia would be turned down but the grandson would be permitted to enter the United States.

After agonizing over this response, Natalia felt that she could not bear the separation, and that it would not be good for the orphaned Seva.

As I have already pointed out, the direction taken by the frame-up artists of the “International Committee” is to smear Trotsky with the tar brush of “association” with an FBI agent, although they have not yet gone that far.

If they are contemplating further steps along this road, I can offer them testimony which they may consider to be first-rate for their purposes. This is the “confession” written by Jacson to help cover up the GPU

16. A good reproduction can be found on p. 25 of *Leon Trotsky: The Man and His Work*.

Their Way Versus Lenin’s Way

Is there a discernible political issue in this reeking package?

A single point stands out. This is Healy’s difference with the Socialist Workers party on how to uphold the security of a revolutionary organization against infiltration.

In his article “An Answer to Budenz’s Latest Frame-up,”¹⁷ James P. Cannon has outlined the principles observed by the SWP.

In opposition to these principles, Healy maintains a *permanent witch-hunt* in the Workers Revolutionary party and the Workers League. This witch-hunt is highly disruptive.

Which method is in the Leninist tradition of party building?

I indicated Trotsky’s views on the question in my article “With Trotsky to the End.” The outline is accurate, and I will repeat it:

Each day in this period of world war, of factional struggles, was of immeasurable value to

17. See footnote No. 8.

in case he should happen to be killed by Trotsky’s guards. Here is the pertinent paragraph:¹⁷

One day, speaking of the fortress, which his house had become, he [Trotsky] said: It is not only to defend myself against the Stalinists, but also against the Minorityites which meant that he desired the expulsion of various members of the party. Precisely in connection with this house, which he said very well had been converted into a fortress, I asked myself very often, from where had come the money for such work, since in reality the party is very poor and in many countries does not have the possibility of bringing out a daily paper, an indispensable means for the struggle. From where came this money? Perhaps the consul of a great foreign nation who often visited him could answer this question for us.

Should that not be quite explicit enough for Healy’s purposes, it could be reinforced by the direct charge made by Oscar Greydt Abelenda in the March 1940 issue of Lombardo Toledano’s crypto-Stalinist magazine *Futuro* that Trotsky “as is logical” placed himself in the “service of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) of the United States.”¹⁸

In echoing such charges, the nameless and faceless “International Committee” follows a path, we can see, that converges with that of the assassins of Leon Trotsky.

17. For the full text of Jacson’s “confession,” see *The Assassination of Leon Trotsky*, by Albert Goldman, pp. 5-8.

18. Quoted on p. 8 of my article “The Attempted Assassination of Leon Trotsky” in *Leon Trotsky: The Man and His Work*.

the new generation of revolutionary cadres. Trotsky knew it better than anyone. He wanted to hand us intact the entire heritage of Bolshevism which was in his charge, even down to the smallest item. He knew what that heritage had cost, what it was worth to us in the epoch now opening before us. The time was so short!

Since September 1937 Trotsky’s secretaries tried to institute a system in the household whereby everyone who entered would be searched for concealed weapons. They also attempted to make it an iron rule that Trotsky was never to talk with anyone alone in his study. Trotsky could not endure either of these rules. Either we trust the people and admit them without search, or we do not admit them at all. He could not bear having his friends submit to search. No doubt he felt that in any case it would be useless and could even give us a false sense of security. If a GPU agent succeeded in entering, he would find some way of setting at naught what search we could make. Trotsky had dozens upon dozens of friends in Mexico, whom the guards—so far as their vigilance was concerned—placed in the same general category as Jacson before the assault. As to our second proposal that someone should always remain with him in his study, this too was never effective. So many of his guests had personal problems—would not talk freely in the presence of

a guard! Sometimes I was able to remain in the room merely by sitting down contrary to Trotsky's instructions to leave, but both he and I felt uncomfortable about it, and he would never permit this discourtesy from anyone else. Trotsky was the builder of the political party and a worker in the field of ideas. He preferred to trust his friends rather than to suspect them.

All of Trotsky's guards tried to make themselves suspicious of everyone. Trotsky, however, was interested not only in being guarded, but in teaching his guards by example some of the fundamentals of organizing a political movement. Mutual suspicion in his eyes was a disintegrating force much worse than the inclusion of a spy in the organization, since such suspicions are useless anyway in uncovering a highly skilled provocateur. Trotsky hated personal suspicion towards the members and sympathizers of the Fourth International. He considered it worse than the evil it was supposed to cure.

Whenever this subject came up, he was fond of telling the story of Malinovsky, who became a member of the Political Bureau of the Bolshevik Party, its representative in the Duma and a trusted confidant of Lenin. Malinovsky was at the same time an agent of the Czar's secret police, the dread Okhrana. He sent hundreds of Bolsheviks into exile and death. Nevertheless, in order to maintain his position of confidence, it was necessary for him to spread the ideas of Bolshevism. These ideas eventually caused his downfall. The proletarian revolution is more powerful than the most cunning police spy.

From their viewpoint, the Healyites correctly single out these paragraphs for some of their most venomous attacks. The picture of Trotsky that emerges does not fit what the ranks of the Workers Revolutionary party have been led to believe; that is, that Healy was shaped in the image of Trotsky, and if you've seen Healy in operation then you've seen Trotsky.

For instance, they say in "The Role of Joseph Hansen and Pabloite Revisionism":

There is no doubt that the social revolution is definitely more powerful than the secret police. But Hansen is saying something quite different.

He is using Trotsky's anecdote about Malinovsky to suggest that such agents provocateurs inevitably find their way into revolutionary parties: They are obliged to play a progressive as well as a revolutionary role; and no matter, in due course they will be flushed out when the revolution occurs.

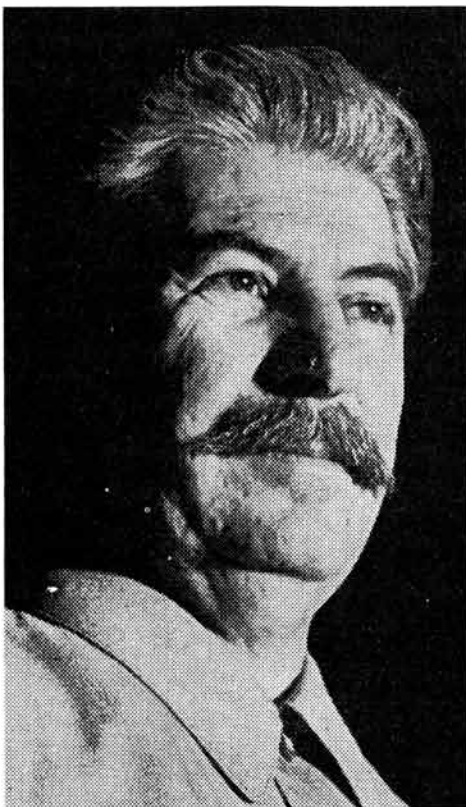
With this kind of conception, why bother about security at all? Hansen suggests that having a spy in the organization is better than an atmosphere of 'mutual suspicion.' He opposes one to the other. We are for neither.

Instead of trying to learn from Trotsky, the Healyites try to shift Trotsky's view onto Hansen and in that way dispose of it as coming from a "dubious" source.

Nonetheless, Healy's argument is really against Trotsky and ultimately Lenin, for Trotsky was only passing on to us the attitude taken by Lenin.

In his biography of Stalin, Trotsky reports Lenin's defense of Malinovsky:

"Lenin's opponents subjected him to a prolonged and cruel barrage for 'sheltering' Malinovsky. The participation of a police



STALIN: His "security" methods are aped by leaders of the WRP in Britain.

agent in the Duma fraction, and especially in the Central Committee, was, of course, a great calamity to the Party. As a matter of fact, Stalin had gone to his last exile because of Malinovsky's betrayal. But in those days suspicions, complicated at times by factional hostility, poisoned the atmosphere of the underground. No one presented any direct evidence against Malinovsky. After all, it was impossible to condemn a member of the Party to political—and perhaps even physical—death on the basis of vague suspicion. And since Malinovsky occupied a responsible position and the reputation of the Party depended to a certain extent on his reputation, Lenin deemed it his duty to defend Malinovsky with the energy which always distinguished him."²⁰

Krupskaya recalls that in the summer of 1914 doubts about Malinovsky crossed Lenin's mind:

"Rumours about Malinovsky being an *agent provocateur* had been circulating for a long time. These rumours came from Menshevik circles. Elena Fedorovna Rozmirovich had strong suspicions in connection with her arrest—she had worked with the Duma fraction. The gendarmes who questioned her possessed information about

details which they could have obtained only from spies inside the organisation. Bukharin also had certain information about Malinovsky's conduct. Vladimir Ilyich thought it utterly impossible for Malinovsky to have been an *agent provocateur*. Only once did a doubt flash across his mind. I remember one day in Poronin, we were returning from the Zinovievs and talked about these rumours. Suddenly Ilyich stopped on the little bridge that we were crossing and said: 'It may be true!' and his face expressed anxiety. 'What are you talking about, it's nonsense,' I answered deprecatingly. Ilyich calmed down and began to abuse the Mensheviks, saying that they were unscrupulous as to the means they employed in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. He had no other doubts on this question."²¹

After the February 1917 revolution, evidence in the tsarist archives proved that Malinovsky had indeed served the police as an agent provocateur. Lenin appeared before the investigating commission. The following summary of his testimony indicates his views:²²

I did not believe—testified Citizen Ulyanov before the Extraordinary Investigating Commission of the Provisional Government—in provocation here, and for the following reason: If Malinovsky were a provocateur, the Okhrana would not gain from that as much as our Party did from *Pravda* and the whole legal apparatus. [In which Malinovsky played a key role.—J.H.] It is clear that by bringing a provocateur into the Duma and eliminating for that purpose all the competitors of bolshevism, etc., the Okhrana was guided by a gross conception of bolshevism, I should say rather a crude, homemade (*lubochnii*) caricature. They imagined that the Bolsheviks would arrange an armed insurrection. In order to keep all the threads of this coming insurrection in their hands, they thought it worth while to have recourse to all sorts of things to bring Malinovsky into the Duma and the Central Committee. But when the Okhrana succeeded in both these matters, what happened? It happened that Malinovsky was transformed into one of the links of the long and solid chain connecting our illegal base with the two chief legal organs by which our Party influenced the masses: *Pravda* and the Duma Fraction. The *agent provocateur* had to serve both these organs in order to justify his vocation.

Both these organs were under our immediate guidance. Zinoviev and I wrote daily to *Pravda* and its policy was entirely determined by the resolutions of the Party. Our influence over forty to sixty thousand workers was thus secured. . . [Vestnik Vremmenago Pravitelstva—News Bulletin of the Provisional Government, June 16, 1917. p. 3.]

21. N.K. Krupskaya, *Memories of Lenin*, vol. 2 (New York: International Publishers, undated), pp. 131-32.

22. Cited in *Three Who Made a Revolution*, by Bertram D. Wolfe (New York: Dial Press, 1948), pp. 553-54. Wolfe devotes a chapter to the career of Malinovsky, including facts drawn from rather extensive research.

20. Leon Trotsky, *Stalin* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941), p. 151.

In November 1918 Malinovsky returned to Russia. He was put on trial, convicted, and shot for his crimes.

The few facts I have cited are sufficient to prove, I believe, that Trotsky's views on the problem of infiltration and how to counteract it were not different in general from those of Lenin. It will also be agreed, I think, that Cannon's views were in the tradition of Lenin and Trotsky.

Healy's concept is the polar opposite. It falls within the tradition of Stalin, including Stalin's frame-up methods.

Let us note another very important fact. The Bolsheviks and other revolutionary currents in Russia had to operate in the underground against one of the most oppressive governments of the time. The lives of hundreds of comrades were at stake. If they were not executed, they were imprisoned or exiled for years.

The Workers Revolutionary party operates in a country where democratic traditions are still very strong. One of the sights in London is cops who do not even carry guns. The WRP can conduct public meetings, march in the streets, post pickets, sell its paper and other literature, without the least interference from the authorities.

Nonetheless, Healy's obsession with "security" causes the WRP to act as if it were deep underground, fighting against terror squads and a police that might seize and torture to death any WRP members they can lay hands on. In other words, the WRP seems to see little difference between Harold Wilson and Chile's Pinochet.

Thus "security" is an *absolute* under Healy's regime. There is nothing at all relative about it. No adjustments for varying degrees of oppression are admitted.

It is, of course, possible that Britain, too, may go the way of Chile. Healy might argue that this is the real prospect and that the organization must be prepared well in advance for it.

If this prognosis proves to be correct, it can safely be predicted that the WRP will be permeated with such a false sense of security that it will be helpless before the infiltrators, some of whom may turn out to be as skilled as the fabled Malinovsky and as high up in the Healyite hierarchy.

As my final bit of evidence to show the superiority of the tradition upheld by the Socialist Workers party, I should like to point out that at no time in the forty years or more for which we have definite proof did the FBI succeed in disrupting the SWP or in creating a poisonous atmosphere among its ranks. This includes the years of McCarthyism in which a general witch-hunt atmosphere affected the entire country.

It was only by strictly adhering to the principles and the methods taught us by Trotsky that we were able to inculcate an attitude of mutual confidence among party

members that enabled us to survive McCarthyism and the pressure emanating from the FBI.

Now finally, in the wake of the defeat suffered by American imperialism in Indochina and the wave of exposures of government corruption and government lawbreaking, the Socialist Workers party has been able to turn the tables on the FBI.

Through its \$27 million lawsuit against Nixon, et al., the SWP took the lead in exposing the FBI's infamous Counterintelligence Programs. Its success in compelling the FBI to release some 4,000 pages of documents detailing the illegal actions of

its agents in connection with the SWP has inspired others to press similar actions.

The achievements of the SWP against the FBI can already be accounted one of the most inspiring victories yet won in this field in the United States.

And Healy's method? It has succeeded only in disrupting his own organization, in making it more vulnerable to infiltration by the Special Branch or other agencies—if they have any interest in his sect—and in bringing shame and condemnation on his head from partisans of the truth.

November 14, 1975

'Cruel and Unusual Punishment'

Prisoners Like Sardines in a Can

As of the end of 1973 there were 425,000 persons in U.S. prisons. The number is growing. In Florida, for example, the state prison population expanded from 11,420 in January 1975 to more than 15,000 by October. Ninety-three new prisoners are added each week.

To absorb this increase without worsening already abysmal conditions, the state of Florida would have to construct a new \$3.5 million prison each month. Instead, some Florida prisons house eight to ten prisoners in twelve- by fifteen-foot cells. Many inmates are locked up for sixteen hours a day in these conditions.

Reporter Wayne King described the situation in Florida's prisons in an article in the October 24 *New York Times*. He noted that although Florida's prisons are among the most overcrowded in the country, similar problems exist throughout the United States.

"In the 'A' dormitory at Lake Butler," King said, "170 men live in a space designed for 90, rows of double deck bunks in the open dorm, no mattress farther than an arm's reach from any other. Next to the dorm, in a windowless room designed for classes, 15 bunks have been jammed in, less than a foot apart.

"At one point three additional mattresses were put on the floor of one-man cells that already had been converted to two by addition of double bunks. This put five in the six-and-one-half-foot-by-nine-foot cells. While the three were on the floor, no one could walk, including getting to the open toilet in the middle of the cell."

One reason for the overcrowding is the savage sentences handed down by the courts, especially against Blacks. Florida, for example, requires a minimum of twenty-five years imprisonment for all capital

crimes, regardless of age or prison behavior.

In North Carolina, where 12,700 prisoners are housed in facilities designed for 10,000, 85 death row prisoners are doubled up in cells designed for 1 prisoner.

One prison superintendent described the sentences being given out by the courts. Speaking of Sumpter prison in Florida, he said, "We surveyed the 814 boys there in January of 1973. The average age was 22. One hundred and seventeen had life sentences. The average sentence for the rest was 12 years.

"Eighteen months later, in June of '74, 156 had life sentences, and the rest averaged a 16.6-year sentence. . . .

"And by January of '75, there were 177 serving life and the average sentence of the rest was 17.4."

To jam human beings into cells the way sardines are jammed into cans is clearly in violation of the constitution, which prohibits "cruel and unusual punishment." But that's part of the famed American Way of Life. □

Straphangers Take Note

The National Bureau of Standards warned November 10 that the synthetic seat cushions and plastic interior walls of the new subway cars scheduled for use in Washington, D.C., are fire hazards. The subway system is to begin operation in three months.

The subway system's fire-protection coordinator said he would urge the board of directors to have the seat cushions replaced with a safer material at a cost of \$2 million. The question of the plastic walls will require further study, he said.

AROUND THE WORLD



Narayan Released in India

The Gandhi regime has released Jaya Prakash Narayan, a central leader of the mass anticorruption movement, it was announced November 12. He was released on parole because of his declining health.

Narayan, who is seventy-three, suffers from a kidney ailment and heart disease. His brother circulated a letter pointing out that the regime would have political responsibility if he died in prison.

Narayan is the only major opposition leader released since the roundup of political opponents following Gandhi's June 26 coup.

FBI Bugged Abernathy's Bedroom

More details on Washington's illegal surveillance of Black leaders were reported by columnist Jack Anderson November 4. Describing the Federal Bureau of Investigation's interest in Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded Martin Luther King as head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Anderson said:

"They know everything about him from his finances to his health, including the medications he takes every morning and evening. His FBI file contains a psychological profile, copies of his hotel bills, transcripts of his speeches and even an account

of his traffic violations."

The FBI denied using electronic surveillance against Abernathy, but one secret memo detailed a conversation between Abernathy and his wife that took place in the privacy of their bedroom.

Other prominent Black leaders like Roy Wilkins and Bayard Rustin were also watched by the FBI. As Anderson explained to a congressional committee:

"To the FBI, apparently, anyone with a dark skin who dares to open his mouth is viewed as subversive. I have seen dozens of dossiers on black leaders whose only crime is voicing the tribulations of their people; who have done nothing more than organize their ranks; who are guilty only of peacefully petitioning their government in redress of grievances."

Gandhi Finds Herself 'Not Guilty'

The Indian Supreme Court overturned Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's conviction on charges of electoral malpractices November 7. The decision was not based on Gandhi's "innocence," but on the fact that the law under which she was found guilty had been altered to absolve her of the crime.

The retroactive amendments to the electoral law were pushed through Parliament in August, after Gandhi declared a state of emergency and arrested tens of thousands of political opponents. Among those arrested was Socialist party leader Raj Narain, who brought the charges against her.

In his message of congratulations to Gandhi, Y.S. Parmar, the chief minister of the state of Himachal Pradesh, declared, "The cause of democracy has been fully vindicated. The judgment represents the triumph of democratic forces."

Brazilian Students Protest Violations of Human Rights

"In the last three weeks, hundreds of prisoners were taken in São Paulo, Paraná," according to a joint statement issued October 28 by four student organizations in Brazil.

"They are being held totally incommunicado after being kidnapped under threat of physical harm. In some cases the authorities do not acknowledge having the individuals in jail. Moreover, last week the rector

of the UFF [Universidade Federal Fluminense] threatened to close down the student government and to arrest the students if the human rights week was held at UFF. . . ."

The human rights week referred to was a series of political and cultural events scheduled to begin November 3. The aim, according to the sponsors, was "to broaden discussion around the constant violations of basic human rights and the right of freedom of organization and expression in Brazil."

The scheduled week of activities was organized by the student governments of the UFF, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, and Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro.

Vietnam-Japan Trade Increases

Trade between Hanoi and Tokyo has increased over the past few months. In October, Hanoi received a 8.5 billion yen (US\$27.6 million) aid grant from Tokyo. In early November a North Vietnamese trade mission arrived in Japan. Talks are reported to have begun over Vietnamese purchases of steel, bulldozers, and trucks.

In late October, Japanese businessmen visited South Vietnam for the first time since the overthrow of the Thieu regime in April. One fisheries deal was concluded and negotiations held on others.

Wilson and Sadat Discuss Arms Deal

Stopping over in London after his tour of the United States, Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat reportedly won a pledge from the Labour party government that it would ease its restrictions on arms sales to Cairo. "We discussed specific items and I am completely satisfied," said Sadat. According to a November 7 Reuters dispatch, London indicated that Jaguar jets in particular would be available for future arms deals.

Sadat's negotiations in London followed his request for U.S. arms, which the Ford administration pigeonholed for "further study." Last January an Egyptian-French arms agreement was concluded in which Cairo bought forty-four Mirage fighters and fighter-bombers. Sadat has made frequent complaints that the Soviet government has refused to replace his arms losses from the October 1973 war.



Herblock/New York Post

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Washington's Cover-up on 'Nuclear Safety'

By Ernest Harsch



The power companies and government agencies that favor rapid expansion of nuclear energy in the United States have for years carried out a publicity campaign to convince the American population that nuclear power is "really safe."

The latest installment in this campaign is the Atomic Energy Commission's¹ Reactor Safety Study (WASH-1400), conducted by Norman C. Rasmussen. A preliminary draft was released in August 1974.

The draft claimed that the chance of a "catastrophic" nuclear accident for each reactor during each year of operation was one in a billion. In terms of individual casualties, the possibility of a nuclear accident at any of the first 100 reactors to begin commercial service broke down to an average of 0.3 deaths per year.

Basing themselves on such figures, advocates of nuclear power have claimed that the risk of death or injury from an atomic reactor accident is many times less than the risk from an automobile collision, a brain hemorrhage, or a fall in the bathtub. Their aim is to counter growing public opposition to Washington's nuclear energy program.

Much of the protest over the construction of nuclear plants was fueled by two previous AEC studies, which the Rasmussen study was designed to discredit. These two studies, conducted by the Brookhaven National Laboratory in 1957 and 1964-65, examined the possibility of a reactor "melt-down" accident (see box).

The 1957 AEC study, entitled WASH-740, estimated the damage that would result from a major accident at a hypothetical reactor thirty miles from a major city in an area of low population density. The hypothetical WASH-740 reactor was less than one-sixth the size of the modern power reactors now in commercial operation.

In testimony before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in Congress March 28, 1974, Bruce L. Welch reported on the findings of the study:

WASH-740 projected that an accident occurring

1. The AEC was divided into the Energy Research and Development Administration and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in October 1974.

during a period of common nighttime thermal inversion could result in lethal radiation to 3400 people at distances up to 15 miles; severe radiation sickness in an additional 43,000 people at distances up to 44 miles; radiation at levels now believed to be sufficient to double the risk of cancer to an additional 182,000 people at distances up to 205 miles; property damage to \$11.1 billion in 1974 dollars; rapid evacuation of up to 66,000 people from 92 square miles at distances up to 100 miles; and slower evacuation of 460,000 people for an area of 760 miles at distances up to 320 miles.

The WASH-740 study said that "there were no deliberate attempts to maximize the hazard." Its death and injury tolls also appear to be based on the assumption that a massive evacuation could be organized in a relatively short time.

The AEC, however, dismissed the results as being "unrealistically high."

A 1964-65 update of the WASH-740 study was undertaken, projecting the effects from an accident at a reactor five times the size of the one used in the 1957 study.

The new study predicted 45,000 deaths, 100,000 injuries, long-term contamination of an area the size of Pennsylvania, and damages estimated at between \$17 billion and \$280 billion.

The AEC halted the study before it was completed and suppressed it for eight years. It made the draft report public only after being threatened by a lawsuit under the Freedom of Information Act.

In sponsoring the Rasmussen study, WASH-1400, the AEC was determined that the new results would not be "unrealistically high." It succeeded.

The Rasmussen study claimed that the possibility of a meltdown accident was one in 10,000 per reactor year. With 100 reactors in operation by 1980, this would be a 1 percent risk each year. Contrary to the previous reports, Rasmussen maintained that most meltdown accidents would not cause much damage *outside* the nuclear installation itself. He placed the possibility of a "major release of radioactivity" in the range of one in 100,000 per reactor year. As already mentioned, a "catastrophic" accident was considered an even more remote possibility.

In testimony before a California State Assembly subcommittee February 1, 1974, William Bryan, a safety expert for the Apollo space program, told how these new figures were obtained.

To assess the safety of a project, he explained, researchers draw up what is called a "fault tree," a kind of organizational chart that shows how a failure or accident in one "branch" will affect the next, and so on.

"You're making judgments at every point in that fault tree," Bryan said. The results are therefore "very subject to qualitative manipulation," particularly through a judicious choice of the odds to be assigned to the possibility of a given "failure." He continued:

Obviously, if you go through it the first time and come up with a number that is too high, you can go back and use a different failure rate and come up with a different number. And this happened very often. . . . You're just manipulating the numbers to make the analysis come out right. I think in this case, Rasmussen's study, for instance, it would be very interesting to see what they came up with the first time through. I happen to know.

Chairman WARREN. Could you tell us?

Mr. BRYAN. It was nowhere near the number that it is now.

Chairman WARREN. Can you tell us exactly?

Mr. BRYAN. They didn't finish the analysis so all you can tell from the bits and pieces that they started on is that they changed the failure rate data basis several times because they were not getting high enough numbers [i.e., like one in a billion]. This is not the first time I've seen this happen. We did it before.

Insurance companies and government accountants do not place much confidence in Rasmussen's predictions either. In 1957, the same year as the first AEC study on nuclear accidents, the Price-Anderson Act was passed by Congress. It limited the liability for one nuclear accident to \$560 million, far below most estimates of what the real cost of damages would be. Of this figure, private insurers are to guarantee only \$125 million, with the federal government covering the balance.

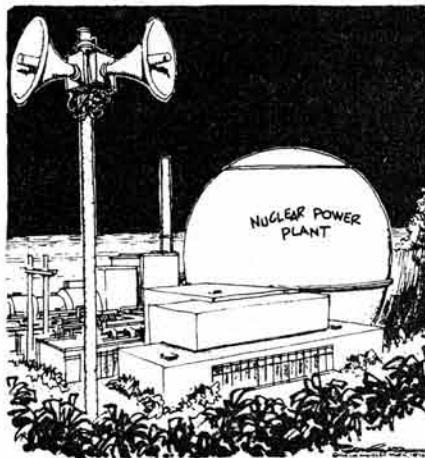
Despite the "optimism" of the Rasmussen study, the Ford administration is pushing for an extension of the bill.

What Is a 'Meltdown' Accident?

The radioactive accumulation in a large power reactor is equivalent to the fallout from thousands of atomic bombs the size of the one dropped on Hiroshima. About 20 percent of it is in gaseous form.

During normal reactor operation, the fission process, as well as the decay of the radioactive material, generates tremendous amounts of heat. Even if the fission is halted and the reactor switched off, the radioactive decay continues. Cold water has to be constantly circulated through pipes in the reactor core to keep the heat at a safe level.

If a pipe ruptures, and not enough emergency coolant is applied to the reactor in time, the core heats up rapidly. Within a few minutes, the reaction could go beyond control as the core melts down through the thick steel of the reactor's pressure vessel, through the concrete floor, and down in the earth. This would release large amounts of radioactive



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

"In case of emergency, repeat after me: Our Father . . ."

gases into the atmosphere, where they would then be carried hundreds of miles by the wind.

"The Price-Anderson Act is continuous proof that our present nuclear technology is not safe enough to permit those who control it to be financially responsible for its consequences," Herbert S. Denenberg said in the November 1974 issue of *Progressive* magazine. He continued:

This was dramatically illustrated at hearings of the Pennsylvania Insurance Department in August 1973. The engineer of one nuclear manufacturer claimed that the technology was perfectly safe. The lawyer of the same firm insisted on a limitation of liability as contained in the Price-Anderson Act. Thus, the nuclear establishment seems to be talking out of both sides of its mouth at the same time: The public relations side said nuclear power is safe, while the economic side said that nuclear power is unsafe.

Apparently the AEC itself did not believe the Rasmussen figures. In a report known as WASH-1270² it suggested that an "acceptable" risk level for accidents killing between 100 and 1,000 persons was "less than" one in 1,000 per reactor year—that is, no more than a 10 percent chance in 1980, when 100 reactors are expected to be in operation, and no more than one a year beginning in 2000, when ten times that number are scheduled to be in service.

Although there have not yet been any major accidents of the scope of those projected in the studies, such a disaster appears to be only a matter of time.

Most reactors have an average of twenty

"abnormal" operating incidents each year. According to consumer advocate Ralph Nader, 800 "serious accidents" have occurred since nuclear power plants began operating, some of which could have developed into disasters.

On October 5, 1966, for instance, the Enrico Fermi breeder reactor plant on the outskirts of Detroit suffered a meltdown accident that very nearly led to a catastrophe.

In addition to minimizing the risk that nuclear accidents would occur, the Rasmussen study also downplayed the effects of such accidents. It claimed that in the event of a nuclear accident under "normal" conditions of population density and weather, about 300 persons would die from radiation exposure, both immediate and delayed.

The American Physical Society challenged this figure. In a study released earlier this year reviewing the material in the Rasmussen report, the society found that between 1,100 and 5,600 persons exposed to high-level radiation close to the reactor accident would die from lung or thyroid cancer. Cancer deaths were estimated at 10,000 for persons exposed to low-level radiation at distances of between 20 and 500 miles.

One reason the Rasmussen study arrives at such low casualty tolls is that its "hypothetical" accident was assumed to be in a low population density area of 165 persons per square mile. But in reality, reactors are increasingly being built near

large cities, for which a population of 8,000 per square mile is typical.

Describing one such site, an October 1973 study by the Union of Concerned Scientists noted that "the Indian Point site has three reactors and is situated in heavily populated Westchester County, within 24 miles of New York City. . . . An accident under temperature inversion conditions at Indian Point could result in a strip up to 2 miles wide extending from the reactor site to the Atlantic Ocean in which more than 100,000 persons might receive lethal or near-lethal radiation exposures." □

A Change From Carbon Monoxide

Motorists driving along Highway 128 in Massachusetts on October 28 noticed that the exhaust fumes smelled a little different than usual. There was a "whiffy odor in the air that socks you a little bit," said one witness. Others described it as a "smelling salt-type thing," and "a stink that burns your nostrils."

Investigation revealed that the source of the new odor was puddles of a liquid chemical leaking from a tank truck traveling along the road. The chemical was identified as ethyl acrylate, used in making plastics.

Police and fire fighters blocked off an eight-mile stretch of the highway and donned gas masks before moving into the area. Blockades were erected in an unsuccessful attempt to intercept the truck, whose driver was apparently unaware of the trail he was leaving behind him.

No injuries were reported from the incident, although several truck drivers who passed through the fumes given off by the spilled chemical grew woozy. The leakage occurred just 150 yards from the reservoir that supplies water to the city of Cambridge. United Press International reported that "apparently" none of the chemical went into the water.

Québec Plant Sets Grim Record

A Canadian plastics plant, with nine deaths so far, has gained the grim distinction of having more known fatal cases of a rare liver cancer caused by occupational exposure to vinyl chloride gas than any other single plant in the world.

A spokesman for B.F. Goodrich confirmed that nine deaths due to angiosarcoma of the liver had occurred among former workers at the company's plant in Shawinigan, Québec. The plant currently employs about 200 workers.

Angiosarcoma was first linked in 1974 to long-term exposure to vinyl chloride gas, which is used to make polyvinyl chloride plastic, or PVC. A total of forty-five workers in PVC plants around the world have developed liver angiosarcoma. Almost all have died.

2. Cited in the *Congressional Record*, July 25, 1974, p. E5020.

James P. Cannon's Reply to the Perjurer Budenz

[In 1950, Louis F. Budenz claimed that a secretary of James P. Cannon, the national secretary of the Socialist Workers party, had served for some ten years as an agent of the GPU, Stalin's secret political police. Budenz was a former leader of the American Communist party who returned to the Catholic church and sought to cash in on his reconversion by writing sensational "revelations" about his sinful life as a follower of Stalin.

[In the following article, which was published in the August 28, 1950, issue of the *Militant* under the title "An Answer to Budenz's Latest Frame-up," Cannon examines the fabrications leveled against his secretary.

[The article is of special interest in view of Cannon's statement of the principles to be observed by a revolutionary Marxist party in protecting itself against infiltration by counterrevolutionary agents.

[It is also timely in view of the recent decision of leaders of the Workers Revolutionary party in Britain to revive Budenz's lies and circulate them in campaign style on an international scale.]

* * *

The well-known professional perjurer, Louis F. Budenz, who was denounced on the Senate floor by Senator Chavez as a character assassin who manufactures "anti-Communist" sensations and peddles them for money, and whose "identification" of Professor Owen Lattimore as a Soviet agent was rejected by the U.S. Senate Committee as a hoax and a fraud, has now come out with a "Lattimore" case against the Socialist Workers Party.

In his recently published book, *Men Without Faces*, now being serialized in the Hearst press, he states that one of the party members who formerly worked in the secretarial department of the Socialist Workers Party, whom he identifies as "Helen," was a Stalinist agent who "made available to the Soviet secret police all the correspondence with Trotsky in Mexico and with other Trotskyists throughout the world."

This story, published by Budenz for the first time in the middle of the year 1950, has been known to us for more than three years. In the early part of 1947 we received a "tip," purportedly emanating in the first instance from circles close to the FBI, that one of the secretarial workers in the National Office, who was identified by name and specifical-

ly by previous occupation and biographical details, was an agent of the Stalinists.

This report was promptly handed over to the party Control Commission for investigation according to the established principles of the revolutionary workers' movement, which read as follows:

1. Any accusation or even any rumor affecting the loyalty of a party member must be promptly investigated and a decision rendered which either accepts or rejects the accusation or the rumor. Character assassins are more dangerous than spies. Those who make false accusations or circulate slanderous rumors must be thrown out.

2. Any accused party member is entitled to a fair trial and to confront and cross-examine the accuser or any others claiming to have information in the case.

3. Even though our party is a propaganda-political organization, which is engaged in no conspiracies, it has a right and a duty to protect itself against spies and alien agents of any kind and to expose and eject them wherever they may be found. This is one of the functions of the party Control Commission.

4. A "spy scare" caused by planted "disinformation" can do a hundred times more damage than any spies by undermining the confidence of comrades in each other and disrupting the comradely collaboration which is necessary for fruitful work.

The investigation conducted by the Control Commission at that time established that the "information" given to identify the accused comrade as to her biography, her previous occupation, and her personal life, was false. It was evident to us then that the accusation was based either on mistaken identity, or was a deliberately planted story designed to create a spy-scare in the organization.

The Control Commission rejected the accusation and exonerated the accused comrade, who had fully cooperated with the investigation, answered all questions put to her and supplied the Control Commission with all the data relating to her biography and previous occupations, which were subject to verification.

Nevertheless, we began to hear from time to time that the same accusation was being industriously circulated in the New York circles of renegades and ex-radical riffraff, always with the same details as to the biography and previous occupation of the accused comrade. About a year ago I had a

conversation with a former Hearst journalist who also specialized in the publication of "anti-Communist" sensations and scandals, true, half-true, or manufactured, as the occasion and the market may demand.

He solemnly repeated to me the identical original story about the alleged Stalinist agent in our National Office, giving the same biographic details and insisting particularly on her previous occupation as a doctor's assistant in Chicago. He asked if I would cooperate in a thorough investigation and exposure of the role of the GPU in this affair.

I informed him that we had already investigated the story and that his specific information as to the previous occupation of the accused person had been investigated and proved to be false by our Control Commission. He asked me if I would be willing to talk to Budenz about the matter. I answered that I would be willing to talk to anybody, even Budenz, if he could supply us with any facts which would be useful in protecting our movement against Stalinist agents; but that the "facts" adduced in this case had already been proved to be false. He said he would see Budenz and arrange a meeting and give me a call. That is how we learned for the first time that Budenz was the author of the story; and it confirmed the first report that the information originated in some kind of "leak" from FBI circles, for Budenz, as is well known, is a professional stool pigeon and perjurer right out of the stables of the FBI.

The proposed meeting with Budenz never materialized and we heard nothing further from him until he exploded his "sensation" in his recently published book. In his first book, *This Is My Story*, published in 1947, in which he told all he knew about the Stalinists, Budenz made a brief allusion to a young Stalinist "whose wife was working among the Trotskyites." That is obviously all he knew about the matter at the time, and that much may well have been true; and it would be no disgrace to us, for we always took it for granted that the Stalinists would try to plant agents in our organization as they do in all others. This allusion of Budenz, however, gained no publicity; the mere fact that an unidentified Stalinist agent was "working" somewhere in the ranks of our organization had no sales value as a sensation, and even Budenz did not find it worthy of embellishment at that time.

But if this anonymous and obscure

person "working among the Trotskyites" could be transplanted from somewhere in the ranks into the secretarial department of the National Office and even—to quote Budenz—become "a close friend of James Cannon and his wife, Rose Karsner"—as the accused person was and remains—that would be a more saleable revelation. This inspiration obviously came to Budenz, or was suggested to him, after he had written his first book in 1947, which was two years after he had left the service of the Stalinists and, consequently, cut himself off from all sources of direct information about their business.

In his new book Budenz relates with considerable detail and embellishment the story originally reported to us early in 1947 and repeated about a year ago in my conversation with the former Hearst journalist. But the version this time contains significant changes which are in themselves a dead giveaway. The published version of Budenz' story has been fixed up and changed to conform with the facts established by the investigation of our Control Commission as to the previous occupation of the accused person. The original story was anchored to the identification of the accused as formerly a doctor's assistant in Chicago.

This identification did not fit the facts, as the Control Commission established, and as we reported to all our informants. In Budenz' published version this indispensable Chicago "doctor" disappears entirely from the scene and the accused person is identified as having had an entirely different professional occupation; which is precisely what we reported to our informants and what some of them undoubtedly informed Budenz in time for him to fix up the story for publication.

After correcting his original miscalculation about the occupation of the accused in Chicago, Budenz goes on to extend his story with detailed information as to where the accused lived and what she worked at in New York before going to work full-time in the National Office of the Socialist Workers Party. But in padding out his story with these new details Budenz fell into a trap of his own making. For this additional "information" has also been checked, and each and every one of these details as to where and how the accused person lived in New York, where she worked, etc., is false. They do not apply to this particular person or to anyone else who ever worked in the National Office of the Socialist Workers Party.

In concocting his latest perjury, Budenz was undoubtedly actuated by a double motive. First, to produce a saleable sensation; and second, to deal a blow at the movement of honest revolutionists—in this instance, to demoralize it with a "spy scare." His first aim was successful, but the

second one will fail.

Budenz and all the Budenzites—this FBI agent has a large and loquacious following among the renegades—will not succeed, in this case, in smearing our movement and scandalizing an honest comrade who gave years of valued service to the cause. The

Trotsky's Tribute to Robert Sheldon Harte

[The following article was first published in the July 6, 1940, issue of the *Socialist Appeal* (name taken by the *Militant* for a time). It was republished in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)* under the title "GPU Tried to Cover Murder With Slander."

[Trotsky's tribute to Harte is of current interest because of the efforts of the Healyites to present him as an enigmatic figure who has not been cleared of slanders that he might have been an agent of the GPU.]

* * *

The body of Bob Sheldon Harte in a tragic manner proves the falsity of all the calumnies and denunciations levelled against him. The police authorities, who were obligated not to refuse to take this suspicion seriously, have revealed exceptional energy in this matter also. The GPU is not a simple band of gangsters—it is an international selection of trained agents with a long background of crimes, armed with unlimited technical and economic resources. According to the lowest calculations, the technical preparation alone for the assault in Mexico, leaving aside bribes and the costs in other countries, amounted to not less than \$10,000.

The solving of the crimes of the GPU, because of this, presents tremendous difficulties. In no other country of the world, not in France, not in Switzerland, not in Spain, have any of the crimes of the GPU been brought to light with such thoroughness as is being done before us with this one, the assault of May 24 in Mexico. The body of Bob Sheldon in all certainty will shed a supplementary light on all the devices of this complicated conspiracy.

In two of its announcements, the Central Committee of the "Communist" Party has repeated that the participation of Sheldon casts a "suspicious" light on the assault. In reality the penetration of an agent of Stalin into my household could have indicated solely that the GPU had succeeded in deceiving my friends in New York, who recommended Bob Sheldon to me. Every informed person knows that the GPU floods its agents into all the workers' organizations and state institutions throughout the world. For this it spends annually tens of millions of dollars. But the version that

Socialist Workers Party will fight this frame-up. The case of the Stalinist agent in the National Office of the Socialist Workers Party—as related by Budenz and his disciples—is, to quote the verdict of the U.S. Senate Committee in the Lattimore case, "a hoax and a fraud." □

Sheldon was an agent of the GPU is completely crushed. His body is a convincing argument. Bob perished because he placed himself in the road of the assassins. He died for the ideas in which he believed. His memory is spotless.

Qui Prodest? asks the old and wise maxim of Roman law. Who is interested in slandering Bob Harte and leading the investigation astray? The answer is clear: the GPU and its agents. The discovery of the source of the false declarations in reference to Bob will certainly reveal one of the staffs in the plot.

Bob is not the first of those close to me who has fallen at the hands of the mercenary assassins of Stalin. I leave aside the members of my family, two daughters and two sons brought to their death by the GPU. I do not speak of the thousands of my partisans exposed to physical extermination in the USSR and other countries. I limit myself solely to my secretaries in various countries who have been led to suicide by persecution, who have been shot or assassinated by the agents of the GPU—seven persons: M. Glasman, G. Butov, Y. Blumkin, N. Sermuks, I. Poznasky, R. Klement, E. Wolf. In this list Robert (Bob) Sheldon Harte occupies the eighth, but I fear not the last place.

After this, the political agents of the GPU can speak of my "persecution mania."

Coyoacan, D.F.
June 25, 1940

'Quality' Education in America

More than 23 million adult Americans are functionally illiterate, according to a study by the U.S. Office of Education released October 29. An additional 39 million are hardly better off. They were found to be "functional but not proficient in such tests as reading a newspaper grocery ad."

The results of the study also reflected the abysmal education available to the oppressed nationalities. About 16% of the white population was in the lowest-scoring category of the study, compared with 44% of the Black population and 56% of those persons with Spanish surnames.

Líbano—Un Polvorín en el Medio Oriente

Por Peter Green

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Lebanon—a Powder Keg in the Middle East," que apareció en el número del 10 de noviembre de *Intercontinental Press*. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Durante más de seis meses, Líbano ha sido conmovido por amargas y sangrientas batallas. Los choques han sido más feroces en Beirut pero también se han producido en la mayoría de las poblaciones principales y en gran parte del campo.

Cerca de 5,000 personas han muerto desde abril, y se calcula que hay unos 16,000 heridos. Esto sucede en un país cuya población total es de alrededor de 3 millones. El equivalente en un país del tamaño de los Estados Unidos sería más de un cuarto de millón de muertos.

La economía ha sido completamente desbaratada y se ha calculado que el daño a la propiedad es de unos \$5,500 millones.

En un lado del conflicto se encuentran las organizaciones políticas de izquierda, la comunidad musulmana, la mayoría de los obreros y campesinos, y los 300,000 refugiados palestinos en Líbano. Del otro lado se encuentran varios partidos derechistas basados en la comunidad cristiana, y la mayoría de la burguesía, a menudo con sus milicias privadas. Hay quince milicias "oficiales" en el país, con alrededor de 150,000 hombres armados y poseyendo 300,000 armas de todos calibres.

Anteriormente, a la burguesía libanesa le gustaba describir a su país como "la Suiza del Medio Oriente," un asilo pacífico en un área turbulenta que incluía una multiplicidad de grupos religiosos y étnicos. Por supuesto, eso nunca fue cierto, pero actualmente ese mito queda completamente expuesto. Desde que estallaron las luchas en abril, repetidos ceses de hostilidades han sido negociados y decretados. Todos han sido violados.

¿Cómo comenzó este conflicto? ¿Cuáles son sus raíces? Algunos comentaristas lo han representado puramente como una confrontación entre cristianos y musulmanes. Otros lo consideran como el "combate justo" de los "nacionalistas libaneses contra los terroristas palestinos." El *New York Times* piensa que la causa proviene de agitadores de afuera, "turbulencias creadas por las fuerzas más radicales en el mundo

árabe"—Libia siendo uno de los primeros en la lista.

Semejantes interpretaciones son falsas pero ilustran lo complicado de los problemas. Un factor decisivo es el conflicto de clases entre las masas de obreros y campesinos pobres—primordialmente musulmanes—y la burguesía libanesa—primordialmente cristiana.

También está involucrada la prolongada lucha de las masas árabes a través de la región contra el imperialismo y sus planes neocoloniales para el área. En la lucha por la liberación nacional, el esfuerzo por parte de los palestinos de dismantelar el estado sionista de Israel y recuperar su madre patria juega un papel central.

La región actualmente conocida como Líbano ha jugado un papel importante en el crecimiento del movimiento nacional árabe durante los últimos cien años.

Beirut era tal vez la ciudad más avanzada culturalmente en Siria Mayor, el área bajo dominio otomano que posteriormente fue dividida en Siria, Jordania, Palestina y Líbano. Fue ahí que las primeras sociedades secretas nacionalistas árabes se originaron. Estos primeros grupos se distinguieron por la participación de ambos los intelectuales cristianos como los intelectuales árabes musulmanes.

Cuando los años de agitación y propaganda clandestina, promoviendo el sentimiento nacionalista árabe, empezaron a rendir frutos en la revuelta árabe durante la primera guerra mundial, una condición central que los dirigentes árabes les plantearon a los británicos a cambio de luchar contra los turcos, fue la independencia de toda Siria. Esto fue acordado en varias declaraciones y promesas.

Pero Gran Bretaña, Francia y la Rusia zarista tenían otros planes. En 1916 firmaron un tratado secreto, el Acuerdo de Sykes-Picot, asignando la parte sur de Siria—actualmente Jordania y Palestina—al control británico, y la parte norte—actualmente Siria y Líbano—a los franceses.

Aunque los otros poderes imperialistas se sometieron al deseo de París de agregar a Siria y Líbano a su imperio colonial, otorgándole un "mandato" sobre esa región en la conferencia de San Remo en abril de 1920, aún existían problemas.

Además del sentimiento árabe abrumadoramente a favor de la independencia y la unidad nacional para toda Siria, la pobla-

ción se oponía violentamente a cualquier presencia francesa.

La Comisión King-Crane, enviada al área por el Presidente Wilson para determinar los deseos de la población árabe, informó sobre un tremendo deseo de independencia y oposición a cualquier participación por parte de los franceses. Más de un 60 por ciento de las peticiones presentadas a la comisión protestaban fuertemente contra la concesión de territorio a Francia.

En julio de 1919, un Congreso Nacional Sirio se reunió en Damasco. Declaró la independencia política de un estado sirio unido bajo una monarquía constitucional, rechazando cualquier reclamación sobre el área por parte de los franceses o los sionistas. El 8 de marzo de 1920, el congreso proclamó la independencia de Siria, otorgando un cierto grado de autonomía dentro del estado al anterior sanjacato (provincia) otomano de Líbano. El área, poblada en gran medida por cristianos maronitas, había sido convertida en una provincia separada por los otomanos en 1864 bajo presión de Londres y París.

Pero el imperialismo francés estaba determinado a reclamar su parte del botín, y en julio de 1920 las tropas francesas ocuparon a Damasco después de una lucha sangrienta. Para los árabes, 1920 llegó a ser conocido como "el Año de la Catástrofe."

Los nuevos gobernantes rápidamente empezaron a consolidar su posición, otorgando privilegios a intereses minoritarios y a grupos étnicos para contrabalancear la tendencia unificadora del movimiento nacionalista árabe.

Maxime Rodinson, en su libro *Israel y los Arabes*, escribió que "las comunidades religiosas minoritarias tales como los judíos y, sobre todo, las diversas denominaciones de cristianos fueron apoyadas contra el Islam, la religión de la mayoría, históricamente ligado al nacionalismo árabe. Esta fue la clave de la política francesa en el Líbano, en particular."

París dividió su territorio en varias partes, de las cuales Líbano era una. El resto de Siria francesa fue dividida en tres estados separados con cuatro distintas administraciones. No fue suficiente, sin embargo, darles a los cristianos maronitas en las Montañas Líbano un estado propio. París les había reservado un papel más importante, como los que garantizarían el control de los franceses en un área mucho más grande.

En agosto de 1920, el comandante francés, General Gouraud, emitió un decreto creando el "Estado del Líbano Mayor." El viejo sanjacato de Líbano fue expandido con la adición de los pueblos predominantemente musulmanes de Beirut, Trípoli, Tiro y Sidón; la parte sur de Líbano hasta la frontera palestina con una población consistente en su mayoría de musulmanes Chiítas; y el fértil Valle Bika entre las Montañas Líbano y Anti-Líbano. Las fronteras fueron delineadas para incluir la mayor cantidad de territorio posible sin que los musulmanes fueran una mayoría. En mayo de 1926 el país llegó a ser la República de Líbano.

El nuevo estado era dos veces más grande que el anterior sanjacato y tenía dos veces la población, dijo George Antonius en su trabajo pionero sobre el ascenso del nacionalismo árabe, *El Despertar de los Arabes*, publicado en 1937:

Sus nuevas fronteras le dieron un considerable incremento de ciudadanos musulmanes, reduciendo así la preponderancia de su elemento cristiano a apenas una mayoría, y control sobre los puertos de Trípoli y Beirut que entre los dos cubrían prácticamente todo el intercambio marítimo de Siria. En estos dos terrenos el engrandecimiento de Líbano fue un acto imprudente: al privar a Siria de sus salidas normales al mar, creó un movimiento de irredentismo que tarde o temprano tendrá que recibir satisfacción; y por medio de la anexión de regiones pobladas primordialmente por musulmanes, expuso a la mayoría cristiana a la suerte de llegar a ser a través del tiempo una minoría en un estado encaminado a asegurar su predominio. Pero, aún peor, introdujo una nueva manzana de discordia en un país ya lleno de motivos de conflicto; y si la medida también ha de ser juzgada en vista de sus consecuencias humanas, de las pasiones que despertó, de la amargura que engendró y de su efecto en resucitar el odio sectario, entonces los franceses merecen ser condenados por un acto que es tan extraordinario por su indiferencia maliciosa hacia los valores morales como por su miopía inherente.

El 'Pacto Nacional'

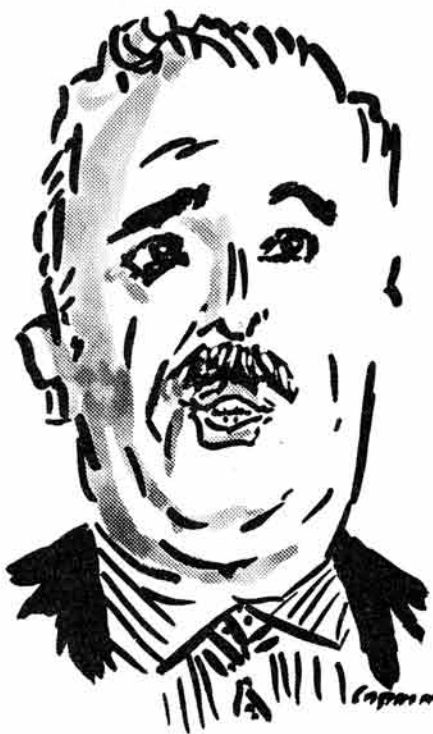
Siria contenía previamente una gran diversidad de grupos religiosos dentro de sus fronteras. La restructuración del país por parte de los franceses concentró una buena porción de estos dentro del estado expandido de Líbano, acentuando y explotando los antagonismos que existían antes.

El agrupamiento más grande dentro del nuevo estado fue el de los cristianos maronitas, quienes son católicos que están en comunión con Roma pero que tienen su propio patriarca y siguen ritos orientales. Los otros grupos cristianos, en orden de tamaño, incluyen los ortodoxos griegos, los católicos griegos y romanos, los ortodoxos armenios y los católicos armenios.

El agrupamiento musulmán más grande era la rama mayoritaria sunnita. Pero era seguido muy de cerca por una gran concentración de musulmanes adherentes a la rama chiíta del Islam. Los que seguían eran

los drusos, una secta con raíces en Islam pero que incorpora también algunos elementos del cristianismo y de otras religiones.

Con los maronitas habiendo dejado de



Primer Ministro libanés Karami

ocupar una posición absolutamente mayoritaria en el nuevo país, sin embargo, y con los cristianos de todas las sectas con una escasa mayoría, el imperialismo francés y sus aliados locales tuvieron que encontrar alguna manera de perpetuar y garantizar el control cristiano—y por consiguiente, imperialista—del país.

Francia trató de mantener el control directo durante el período más largo que fuese posible. En la primavera de 1943, sin embargo, fue obligada a llevar a cabo elecciones, asignando puestos en el parlamento en base a treinta miembros cristianos y veinticinco miembros musulmanes y drusos. Los lacayos más serviles del imperialismo francés fueron derrotados.

En respuesta, los principales políticos burgueses cristianos y musulmanes llegaron a un acuerdo informal en septiembre sobre un "pacto nacional," dividiendo puestos a todos los niveles de la vida política libanesa en base a la religión.

En noviembre de 1943 el nuevo gobierno también votó por una revisión de la constitución, quitando todos los límites franceses a su soberanía. Tres días después, sin embargo, los franceses suspendieron la constitución, arrestaron al Presidente y a la mayoría del gabinete, e instalaron a Emile Edde como un Jefe de Estado títere.

La respuesta fue una huelga general. Un

vestigio del gobierno se estableció en las montañas para acumular una fuerza armada para resistir a los franceses y los colaboradores de los franceses. Después de la segunda guerra mundial, los franceses al fin fueron obligados a conceder la independencia formal.

El "pacto nacional" nunca escrito, sobre el cual los principales grupos religiosos y políticos estuvieron de acuerdo en 1943 ha sido observado desde aquel entonces, hasta el presente. Según este acuerdo, todas las posiciones políticas—desde los puestos en el gabinete y en el parlamento, pasando por el servicio civil, hasta el nivel del gobierno local—fueron repartidos en la proporción de 6 cristianos a 5 musulmanes.

La Presidencia, una posición poderosa bajo la constitución libanesa, ha sido tradicionalmente reservada para un maronita, así como el puesto de Jefe del Estado Mayor del ejército. El acuerdo estipula que el Primer Ministro debe ser un musulmán sunnita, el representante del Congreso un Chiíta, y que el Ministro del Exterior sea por lo regular un ortodoxo griego. En total, se reconocen oficialmente a diecisiete diferentes grupos étnicos y religiosos.

Además, los diferentes grupos religiosos tienen control sobre sus propias leyes con respecto al matrimonio, el divorcio, la adopción y la herencia. El Estado no hace ninguna provisión para el matrimonio civil ni el divorcio. Todos los gastos del Estado son también divididos de acuerdo con la proporción 6-a-5.

Pero aún cuando fue iniciado, este sistema fue basado en un censo realizado por los franceses, cuya precisión es dudosa. Estaba destinado a mantener la hegemonía cristiana y la influencia imperialista cuando Francia ya no pudiera gobernar directamente.

El acuerdo era además un arreglo estático. Aún si los cristianos tenían una mayoría en 1932, hay acuerdo general en que debido a un índice de natalidad más alto, los musulmanes son actualmente la mayoría. Un informe en el *Newsweek* del 6 de octubre calculó que los musulmanes superan a los cristianos en la proporción de 60 a 40. Según Jonathan Randall, en un artículo en el *Washington Post* del 28 de septiembre, "Los sociólogos libaneses ahora creen que los chiítas han llegado a ser el grupo más grande hasta ahora, seguidos por los sunnitas y finalmente los maronitas."

El que se lleve a cabo otro censo se ha convertido en una cuestión explosiva en Líbano, con una oposición muy fuerte por parte de los maronitas a cualquier sugerencia al respecto. "Tal es la neurosis de los maronitas," dijo Randall, "que no tan sólo es tabú cualquier mención de un nuevo censo, sino que no se ha publicado ningún guía de teléfonos nuevo por temor a que pudiera contener más nombres musulmanes

que nombres cristianos."

En el pasado cuando los comentaristas occidentales y los hombres de negocios libaneses describían con presunción a Líbano como "la república de los banqueros," o se referían a Beirut como "esta ciudad encantada," no estaban del todo equivocados. Para algunas personas sí proveía una vida cómoda.

En una serie en cinco partes sobre Líbano publicada en el diario parisense, *Le Monde*, del 20 al 25 de septiembre, Eric Rouleau describió a la clase capitalista libanesa como "una burguesía nada cohibida acerca de exhibir las señales de su riqueza."

Rouleau continúa:

Los privilegiados llevan vidas ostentosas: varios autos grandes, de preferencia norteamericanos y a veces provistos de teléfonos, por cada familia; casas de campo en las colinas con piscinas, canchas de tenis, aún una cancha de golf, todas rodeadas por una gran propiedad, a las cuales se escapan durante los meses más calurosos del año. Departamentos en París, Ginebra, Londres o Nueva York son usados durante visitas cortas de negocio o en busca de placer. Yates anclados en Taslik, en la costa de Beirut, hacen posible placenteros fines de semana con amigos.

La clase capitalista de Beirut no se codea con mortales ordinarios. Sus departamentos de lujo están ubicados en el elegante barrio de la ciudad, a menudo cristiano, una especie de ghetto donde la gente de alta sociedad se reúne para conversar únicamente en inglés, francés o, si es necesario, 'franbanais,' una mezcla artificial de francés y árabe libanés. A la hora del almuerzo se reúnen en una de las playas reservada estrictamente "para miembros únicamente." En la noche, Beirut ofrece una gran variedad de restaurantes, cabarets y casas de juego donde uno puede gozar de la vida a un precio muy elevado.

Para la mayoría de la población, sin embargo, Beirut es una ciudad de barrios pobres y miseria. Después de Tokio, es la ciudad más densamente poblada en el mundo, con una población de 1.5 millones actualmente y creciendo a gran velocidad. Aquí, en la capital financiera del Medio Oriente donde los bancos están completamente repletos de dinero y los pocos que son ricos lucen arrogantemente sus riquezas, más de un tercio de la población vive a punto de morir de hambre.

Alrededor del centro de Beirut—rodeando las casas de los ricos y el centro comercial—hay una cadena continua de barrios pobres y campos de refugiados. Es conocida como "el cinturón de miseria."

Los refugiados palestinos fueron los primeros en llegar ahí en grandes cantidades, hace aproximadamente veinticinco años. Fueron seguidos por los musulmanes sunnitas (árabes o kurdos), y después por los musulmanes chiítas, que huían del sur de Líbano y del Bika con la esperanza de ganarse la vida en la ciudad. Los chiítas constituyen actualmente la mayoría de los habitantes de estas áreas.

Aquí la mortalidad es dos o tres veces más alta que el promedio nacional. El

servicio médico o las facilidades educacionales casi no existen. Los habitantes se ven obligados a trabajar por salarios muy reducidos, si acaso tienen la suficiente suerte como para encontrar trabajo, para empezar.

En una ciudad donde el costo de la vida es igual de alto que en Nueva York, el 72 por ciento de los trabajadores recibe un salario promedio de L£425 (\$193 EEUU) al mes, la mitad del mínimo necesario para una alimentación y vivienda decentes para una familia de seis, sin tomar en cuenta la vestimenta, el transporte, la educación, y el cuidado médico.

Aunque el ingreso per cápita de Líbano—\$700 en 1972—es uno de los más altos en el Medio Oriente, su distribución es muy desigual. De acuerdo con un cálculo hecho, la mitad, o más, del ingreso nacional queda en manos del 5 por ciento de la población, mientras que los trabajadores agrícolas, industriales y de la construcción reciben únicamente del 12 al 15 por ciento. El año pasado, además, el producto nacional bruto registró un cero por ciento de crecimiento, mientras que la inflación llegó al 15 por ciento.

El país es un "paraíso fiscal" para los banqueros y comerciantes, no tan sólo debido a los impuestos ridículamente bajos exigidos a los ricos, sino también debido a los fraudes con respecto al pago de los impuestos, cometidos a gran escala, con el pleno conocimiento del gobierno y a menudo con su complicidad. Un economista ha calculado que si los reglamentos fiscales fueran aplicados estrictamente, los ingresos del impuesto sobre la renta serían tres o cuatro veces más altos de lo que se reúne actualmente.

La agricultura ha sido abandonada y se ha permitido su deterioro, empobreciendo al campesinado y obligándolos a emigrar a las ciudades.

"Bika era antes el granero del Imperio Romano," le dijo un ingeniero agrícola a Rouleau. "Pero ahora está pereciendo. Desde que el país logró su independencia hace treinta y dos años, el gobierno no ha iniciado ni un solo proyecto hidráulico ni de riego, y no ha proporcionado ninguna asistencia técnica o financiera a los granjeros, quienes están a punto de caer en la bancarrota."

Ante la tremenda brecha entre los ricos y los pobres, no es sorprendente que las masas se vieran eventualmente obligadas a actuar. Tampoco es sorprendente que la minoría pudiente tratara de defender sus riquezas por la fuerza. Esto es parte, al menos, de lo que ha estado en juego en la lucha reciente.

En el curso de esta lucha, los pobladores de los barrios pobres y de los campos de refugiados alrededor de Beirut han tomado el control de sus propias comunidades. Las autoridades gubernamentales no han podi-

do penetrar el "cinturón de miseria" durante meses. Los residentes se niegan a pagar la renta o las cuentas de electricidad y gas. En cambio, les entregan el dinero a los comités que administran estas regiones.

Si las masas empobrecidas de Beirut hubieran vencido en las luchas recientes, hubieran podido aislar a la capital. "Estamos literalmente sitiados," le dijo Raymond Edde, dirigente del Bloque Nacional Cristiano derechista, a Rouleau. "Los pobres, los chiítas, los sunnitas, los palestinos y los comunistas nos pueden sofocar en cualquier momento."

'Un Baluarte Contra las Hordas Musulmanas'

El temor a la población árabe sentido por la privilegiada minoría cristiana no es nuevo. Fue fomentado deliberadamente por los franceses. Esta política ha sido continuada por los principales partidos políticos cristianos—los Liberales Nacionales del Presidente Suleiman Franjeh y el anterior Presidente Camille Chamoun, el Bloque Nacional de Raymond Edde, y los Falangistas dirigidos por Pierre Gemayel.

Los falangistas han tomado la iniciativa en fomentar el odio sectario. No son el más grande de estos tres partidos, pero son los más derechistas y los más activos en las luchas actuales. También tienen la milicia más grande, con cerca de 10,000 hombres armados.

El Partido Falangista (o Kataeb, como se le conoce en árabe) fue creado por Pierre Gemayel en 1936, después de su regreso de las Olimpiadas en Berlín. Le copió el nombre al partido de Franco, y la ideología y los métodos de Hitler y Mussolini, con todo y escuadrones de choque de camisa verde. La prensa occidental se ha referido con delicadeza a la Falange como "derechista" o "conservadora." En su ideología y métodos, sin embargo, una mejor descripción sería fascista. Su lema es Dios, la familia y la patria.

Se presenta como el baluarte del "occidente cristiano ante la amenaza de las hordas musulmanas." Es también de esta manera como ve a Líbano mismo, un punto de vista compartido por los otros principales partidos cristianos, especialmente los Liberales Nacionales. Al defender la perpetuación del dominio minoritario cristiano de Líbano, argumenta que debería de haber al menos un estado en el Medio Oriente dirigido por los cristianos. Los dirigentes falangistas han tomado satisfacción así del éxito de los sionistas en forjar su "patria judía" en la misma región.

Tal vez también siguiendo el ejemplo de los sionistas, algunos de los dirigentes cristianos derechistas han tratado de descubrir una raíz histórica de su "nacionalismo," afirmando que son descendientes de los antiguos fenicios. Han tratado a toda

costa de manufacturar un nacionalismo libanés diferente, distinto del sentimiento nacionalista árabe, aún si las masas cristianas hablan árabe, son de la misma raza que los demás árabes, y tienen pocas diferencias culturales aparte de la religión.

Charbel el-Kassis, Presidente de la Orden de Monjes Maronitas, es bastante explícito. Para él, Líbano es una especie de confederación especial de naciones. No importa que sea ampliamente conocido que los musulmanes ya no constituyen la minoría, se pueden encontrar siempre argumentos para justificar el statu quo: "El pacto nacional no se basa en números, sino en consideraciones étnicas, culturales y territoriales. Los cristianos no son privilegiados, simplemente tienen intereses creados."

Varios partidos cristianos más pequeños son aún más fanáticamente sectarios que los falangistas. Entre ellos, se encuentran la Liga Maronita, a veces llamada el "Frente Cristiano de Rechazo" debido a su posición intransigente, y el Frente de Defensa de Cedar, bautizado el "Ku Klux Klan libanés" por sus oponentes. Ambos grupos son supuestamente apoyados y financiados por la Orden de Monjes Maronitas. Ambos operan sus propias milicias clandestinas.

No toda la comunidad cristiana, sin embargo, probablemente ni tan siquiera una mayoría, ha participado en esta campaña sectaria contra los musulmanes y los árabes. Un intelectual maronita de izquierda citado por Rouleau acusó a algunos de los maronitas de estar "poseídos por un complejo Massada."¹

Monseñor Gregoire Haddad, el ex arzobispo católico griego de Beirut y fundador del interdenominacional Movimiento Social, dice que es "absurdo" hablar de la amenaza de genocidio y señala que el Islam es básicamente tolerante:

El miedo irracional de muchos cristianos se debe a una serie de factores, incluyendo la educación y la vida de ghetto. Pero es explotado por aquellos que defienden los intereses del gran capital, las capas altas del clero y los partidos derechistas. Los defensores del capitalismo duro aprovechan las ambigüedades como la amenaza inminente que presentan los grupos de izquierda (principalmente musulmanes) y machacan entre las masas de cristianos pobres la idea de que cualquier cambio pondría en peligro su existencia física.

En enero de 1974 un nuevo movimiento fue formado por cristianos libaneses, incluyendo a miembros del clero, llamado la Asamblea de Cristianos Comprometidos. Adoptó una posición contra el imperialismo

y reafirmó los lazos históricos entre Líbano y la nación árabe, recordando el papel de los árabes cristianos en el movimiento de liberación nacional. La organización sostuvo un mitin en la Universidad Libanesa bajo consignas tales como "¡No al Aislacionismo!" (con respecto al mundo árabe) y "¡Capucci² es tan sólo el comienzo!" Un representante explicó el punto de vista del grupo:

Estamos comprometidos incondicionalmente a la causa de los oprimidos. El Monseñor Capucci ha provisto la evidencia de que el cristianismo no necesariamente tiene que ser sinónimo con la falta de interés en el conflicto nacional y social. Por el contrario, puede significar un compromiso total en este conflicto para acabar con todas las formas de opresión. . . .

Nosotros los cristianos estamos definitivamente comprometidos con la causa de la resistencia palestina. Denunciamos todas las formas de conflicto confesional y declaramos que los cristianos y musulmanes de Líbano no estamos en dos campos opuestos. En realidad, son las fuerzas del estancamiento que se oponen a las fuerzas del cambio. En cuanto a nosotros, estamos del lado de todas las fuerzas que luchan por el cambio y el progreso.

No sólo la comunidad cristiana no es monolítica, sino que también los grupos musulmanes abarcan todo el espectro político, desde la extrema derecha hasta la extrema izquierda. Aunque la burguesía libanesa es predominantemente cristiana, y la comunidad musulmana en su mayoría consiste de obreros y campesinos pobres, también hay terratenientes y hombres de negocios musulmanes. Los maronitas no tienen un monopolio de los partidos semifascistas tampoco. El Partido Nacional Sirio y la Hermandad Musulmana son otros dos.

Además de las milicias organizadas por los partidos políticos, hay literalmente docenas de milicias privadas. Los grandes terratenientes y los dirigentes "feudales" de los clanes tienen todos sus ejércitos privados. En Zghorta, la aldea norteña en las afueras de Trípoli donde nació el Presidente Franjeh, las cinco grandes familias de ahí (incluyendo la de Franjeh mismo) tienen sus propias milicias. El Primer Ministro Rashid Karami tiene una milicia en su fortaleza de Trípoli. El ex Presidente Camille Chamoun mantiene una guardia personal de cerca de 100 hombres.

El ejército privado formado más recientemente es el del empresario Henri Sfeir, informó Rouleau. Dijo lo siguiente acerca de Sfeir:

Un maronita "independiente" ligado a los Chamounistas, ha creado un cuerpo de tropas de choque de 200 hombres en su propiedad, a unos cuantos cientos de metros de su casa de verano de Reyfound en la región de Kesrouane. La persona

2. Monseñor Hilarion Capucci es el Arzobispo griego católico de Jerusalén Oriental. Fue arrestado por los sionistas en diciembre de 1974, acusado de entregar armas a los guerrilleros palestinos.

principal ahí, después de Sfeir, es el Comandante René Gaudet, un mercenario francés y ex paracaidista de la Legión Extranjera que se distinguió en las campañas de Korea, Indochina y Argelia, antes de prestar sus servicios a Moïse Tshombe en el Congo.

Sfeir se siente satisfecho de haber logrado que el Comandante Gaudet entrenara a sus hombres. "De todos los mercenarios extranjeros que trabajan para las milicias falangistas y otras milicias cristianas," me dijo, "Gaudet es el mejor. Es por eso que le pago L\$2,000 . . . al mes, que es el doble de la tarifa actual."

Con una pistola fajada en la cintura junto con una granada, el Comandante Gaudet incitaba a sus hombres al ataque, gritando—de costumbre, sin duda—"Vamos muchachos, hay bougnoule³ adelante. . . ."

El "Frente Progresista"

En oposición a los partidos cristianos de derecha y sus milicias, los principales grupos de izquierda y musulmanes han formado un "Frente de Partidos y Fuerzas Nacionales Progresistas." El grupo dominante en el frente es el Partido Socialista Progresista, dirigido por Kamal Jumblatt. Jumblatt emitió recientemente una declaración que resumía los puntos principales en el programa del frente:

- Fin al sistema político en el cual los puestos y partidos son determinados por la afiliación religiosa.
- Introducción de reformas electorales comprensivas para reemplazar el sistema existente con un sistema de representación proporcional (cada 1,200 electores deben tener el derecho a contar con un diputado en el Parlamento) y extender el derecho del voto a los mayores de 18 años.
- Creación de un consejo social y económico para implementar una serie de reformas económicas de acuerdo a las necesidades del país.

Jumblatt, el dirigente del Frente Progresista, es un aristócrata feudal, el dirigente de la comunidad de los drusos, y Señor de Shouf, la fortaleza montañosa de los drusos al sureste de Beirut. Es también un creyente en la astrología, admirador de Mohandas Gandhi, poeta y ganador del Premio Lenin de la Paz de 1972. Ocupó el puesto parlamentario de su familia en 1943.

Como Ministro del Interior en 1970, fue responsable del arresto y convicción de un filósofo por haber criticado la religión. Pero ese mismo año, emitió unilateralmente un decreto legalizando al proscrito Partido Comunista y otros grupos de izquierda prohibidos, y concediendo la amnistía a los presos políticos de izquierda.

También participan en el Frente Progresista el Partido Comunista, la Organización de Acción Comunista de Líbano, nasseristas, y baathistas iraquíes y sirios. En

1. Massada era una fortaleza en el Mar Muerto donde el grupo judío, los Zelotas, se enfrentaron por última vez a los Romanos en el año 70 A.C. Los últimos sobrevivientes mataron a sus esposas e hijos y después se mataron el uno al otro para que ninguno quedara vivo y cayera en manos de los Romanos.

respuesta a las milicias formadas por los partidos de derecha, los partidos de izquierda también se han armado.

Georges Hawi, Secretario del Partido Comunista, dijo:

En principio estamos contra la violencia y preferiríamos una evolución democrática garantizada por medios pacíficos. Pero nos vemos forzados a responder de una manera revolucionaria. Confrontados con la negligencia del ejército, fundamos nuestra milicia en enero de 1970 para defender nuestras fronteras de una agresión israelita, así como para defender a los palestinos de los ataques de la reacción libanesa. En la situación apropiada nuestra milicia será usada también para proteger las luchas populares.

A través del sur de Líbano, la milicia del Partido Comunista tiene el control, informó Rouleau. Patrulla las fronteras, mientras que el ejército libanés se mantiene acuartelado. En cualquier momento puede aislar a la región del resto del país, como lo hizo al cerrar el camino de Beirut a Nabatiyah para obligar al gobierno a liberar a tres de sus miembros. En Sidón, un comité que representa a todas las fuerzas "patrióticas y progresistas" controla la población. Trípoli se encuentra así mismo bajo el control de un comité similar.

La mayoría de los elementos de la situación libanesa descrita hasta aquí han existido por décadas—los antagonismos entre las comunidades, legados por los imperialistas franceses, las contradicciones sociales y el impacto del nacionalismo árabe. Indudablemente que las contradicciones se han agudizado más y más cada año. Nada de lo que la burguesía libanesa ofrece se aproxima a una solución, ni podrá ser una solución cualquier medida dentro del actual sistema capitalista. Pero estos problemas fueron los mismos que en 1958, por ejemplo, abrieron virtualmente una guerra civil que condujo al envío de "marines" por parte de Washington.

En aquel entonces, la lucha fue descrita también por algunos en términos puramente confesionales, es decir, un conflicto religioso entre musulmanes y cristianos. La presión de los musulmanes por una mayor ingerencia en el Parlamento había estado creciendo, y explotó en una lucha a gran escala después de que el Presidente Camille Chamoun trató de reelegirse por un segundo período, en desafío a las normas.

Pero el incidente que detonó la explosión fue el asesinato por parte de la derecha de un periodista de oposición prominente, quien era cristiano maronita. La oposición estableció su control sobre tres cuartas partes del territorio del país. El 14 de julio el derrocamiento revolucionario de la monarquía hachemita en Irak creó una oleada triunfante de sentimiento nacionalista que se esparció por el mundo árabe.

Las potencias imperialistas y sus titeres locales estaban aterrorizados ante las ramificaciones de los acontecimientos ira-

quíes. En Líbano en particular, al sumarse a la rebelión popular que se encontraba en su punto más álgido, la crisis fue bastante aguda. El 15 de julio, el Presidente Eisenhower envió a los "marines" a "restaurar el orden," llegando a concentrar hasta 14,300 soldados en un momento dado en el país.

Aunque las causas subyacentes de la contienda civil que estalló en Líbano desde abril de este año son similares a las de 1958, hay también diferencias importantes. En primer lugar, como señaló James M. Markham en el *New York Times* del 24 de octubre, la lucha se da en una escala aún mayor que la de 1958, con muchos más muertos y heridos.

Pero el cambio principal es la presencia de los palestinos.

Aunque los refugiados palestinos han vivido en Líbano desde que los sionistas establecieron su estado en 1948, no eran un factor político primordial hasta el nuevo crecimiento del movimiento de resistencia palestino después de la guerra de 1967. El asalto brutal contra los palestinos en Jordania por parte del régimen hachemita en septiembre de 1970 le dio aún más importancia a Líbano como refugio de los luchadores por la liberación.

No se conocen las cifras exactas, pero se calcula que hay más de 300,000 refugiados en Líbano actualmente, incluyendo cerca de 20,000 fedayines. Un tercio de ellos están concentrados en las afueras de Beirut y en el sur, los cuales están por lo general bajo el control de los mismos palestinos.

El ejército israelita ha conducido ataques repetidos en el lado libanés de la frontera. El objetivo es aterrorizar a los refugiados palestinos y presionar al gobierno libanés a restringir a los comandos palestinos.

En 1969 el régimen del Presidente Charles Helou lanzó una ofensiva a gran escala contra los fedayines. En las manifestaciones realizadas en abril se exigió al gobierno que levantara las restricciones que había impuesto sobre las actividades de los fedayines, conduciendo a la renuncia del Primer Ministro Rashid Karami (quien fue reinstalado en el puesto durante la crisis actual).

En octubre de 1969 el régimen ordenó al ejército incrementar sus ataques contra los fedayines, lo que resultó en encuentros a gran escala. Se negoció una tregua en El Cairo a instancias del Presidente de Egipto Nasser, dándosele a los palestinos el derecho de controlar sus propios campamentos.

En mayo de 1973 estallaron de nuevo intensas luchas entre el ejército y los palestinos. El ejército lanzó una fuerte ofensiva después de manifestaciones masivas de 250,000 personas que protestaban por la pasividad del gobierno ante un ataque israelita a Beirut que tuvo como

resultado la muerte de tres dirigentes de la resistencia palestina.

Los sionistas observaban con satisfacción. "Me temo que la situación en Líbano sea demasiado confusa para que resulte en la confrontación final, total, que tomó lugar en Jordania," dijo un funcionario israelita recordando la masacre de septiembre de 1970 en la cual murieron alrededor de 10,000 civiles palestinos. "Pero al mismo tiempo los libaneses parecen más determinados que nunca a controlar más firmemente a las guerrillas. Desde nuestro punto de vista, eso es bastante positivo."

Mientras que no vacila en atacar a la resistencia palestina, el ejército libanés ha hecho poco por patrullar las fronteras y defender a la población de los ataques israelitas. En muchos casos han sido sólo los comandos palestinos y las milicias locales quienes han presentado alguna resistencia.

Aunque el ejército es relativamente débil—su fuerza se estima en 18,000 hombres—la principal razón de su negligencia ante los ataques israelitas es la política conciente de los diversos gobiernos libaneses y de los mismos oficiales del ejército quienes son predominantemente cristianos.

Los falangistas han incluso codificado esto en una teoría, que mantiene que Líbano debe seguir siendo un estado débil para evitar provocar ataques israelitas. En cuanto a los sionistas, no se conforman sólo con tratar de eliminar a la resistencia. Tienen interés también en una porción de sur de Líbano, y consideran al río Litanié una "frontera natural" ventajosa. Esto involucraría el anexarse quince millas de sur de Líbano, incluyendo la ciudad de Tiro.

Durante la crisis actual, los sionistas han hecho todo lo posible por acrecentar las tensiones, continuando sus ataques en la frontera y enviando aviones de guerra sobre las ciudades libanesas, especialmente cuando había posibilidades de algún cese a las hostilidades.

Los ataques israelitas y la pasividad del ejército libanés ante estos no sólo han conducido a que muchos de los habitantes del sur de Líbano abandonen el área, sino que también han incrementado la radicalización de la población y fortalecido sus lazos con los palestinos.

Un joven miembro de la milicia Progresista dijo lo siguiente acerca de los refugiados del sur de Líbano, según el número del 26 de septiembre de *Le Monde*:

No es difícil ganar a esta gente a nuestra causa. Después de los israelitas, las acciones del Katael bastan para convencerlos. Los falangistas organizaron un ejército primero con el fin de subyugarlos por medio de la fuerza. Enseguida, debido a la negligencia del gobierno con respecto a esto tuvimos que armarnos para defendernos. Como no teníamos ni armas ni dinero, la resistencia palestina vino obviamente a ayudarnos.

Las acciones del ejército libanés empujan

también a la población hacia la resistencia palestina, como lo indica la siguiente experiencia narrada por Rouleau:

A medianoche del 23 de julio de este año, comandos israelitas se infiltraron en la aldea fronteriza libanesa de Kafr Kila, donde volaron varias casas y se retiraron, llevándose a siete aldeanos. Fue una operación de rutina en esta guerra diaria de desgaste entre los israelitas y los fedayines. El encuentro duró varias horas, y el ejército libanés, como de costumbre, no intervino. Los aldeanos secuestrados, todos ciudadanos libaneses, fueron sujetos (según ellos) a "duros" interrogatorios antes de ser liberados dos semanas más tarde en la estación fronteriza de Naqour.

Sin embargo, su odisea no terminó ahí. Fueron arrestados por el ejército libanés e interrogados noche y día, tal como lo hicieron los israelitas, para que dieran información acerca de los fedayines que se encontraban acampados no lejos de ahí con—y esto era lo más irónico—el permiso del gobierno libanés. Los siete hombres detenidos fueron considerados sospechosos de colaborar con la resistencia palestina. "¿Por qué otra razón los hubieran secuestrado los judíos?" les gritó uno de sus interrogadores.

"Fuimos tratados mucho más duramente por los soldados libaneses," me dijo Mohamed Hamoud, uno de los hombres arrestados, "de lo que lo fuimos del otro lado de la frontera." Y Abou Omar, un masón y dirigente local de la Vigilancia Popular (milicia comunista) quien encabezó la resistencia contra los comandos israelitas, concluyó, con la aprobación unánime de los aldeanos que nos rodeaban: "Tenemos dos enemigos: Israel y el estado libanés, quienes tienen ambos los mismos intereses."

Tanto los palestinos como las masas libanesas, dijo Rouleau, "sienten que pertenecen a la misma 'hermandad de miseria,' para usar las palabras de Ghassan Tuani, Ministro de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales. 'Es una comunión de odio hacia el estado libanés, el ejército y la burguesía maronita, los cuales son considerados enemigos.'"

Los palestinos han servido como catalizador en la crisis actual, pero ha sido la burguesía cristiana, con los falangistas a la cabeza, los que han provocado los enfrentamientos armados. La meta de los falangistas era o aplastar a la resistencia palestina u obligar al ejército libanés a intervenir y llevar a cabo tal tarea. Quieren que las guerrillas sean desarmadas, para facilitar el desmantelamiento de su "estado dentro de un estado" en los campamentos de refugiados y en el campo (o incluso su expulsión total del país, puesto que inclinan la balanza de la relación entre las religiones aún más a favor de los musulmanes).

Después de la guerra de octubre de 1973, los dirigentes libaneses tenían la esperanza de que los palestinos dejarían el suelo libanés para crear su propio "miniestado." Pero sufrieron una desilusión. El 12 de enero de 1975, la aldea fronteriza libanesa de Kfar Shouba fue bombardeada y destruída por los israelitas. Muchos aldeanos murieron, y 166 de las 202 casas fueron destruídas.

La izquierda respondió organizando ma-

nifestaciones de protesta. El dirigente religioso de los musulmanes chiítas, el Imam Moussa Sadr, declaró que "Líbano tiene que movilizar fuerzas para proteger el sur de Líbano de una ocupación israelita, y yo sería el primero en enlistarme en el servicio militar si hubiera un plan de defensa nacional."

La respuesta de los falangistas, sin embargo, fue intensificar sus ataques contra los palestinos, acusándolos de "abusar de nuestra hospitalidad y democracia" con la ayuda de la "izquierda subversiva internacional." Al principio, el 20 de enero, Gemayel exigió que el estado restableciera su autoridad sobre todas las partes del país. En seguida, el 20 de febrero exigió que se realizara un referéndum sobre la presencia de los palestinos en Líbano.

En febrero, obreros palestinos en Sidón se lanzaron a las calles con pescadores libaneses que realizaban una manifestación en contra de la cesión del monopolio de la pesca por parte del gobierno a la Compañía de la Proteína, una empresa formada por dos cristianos prominentes—Tony Franjeh, el hijo del Presidente, y Camille Chamoun, ex Presidente y actual Ministro del Interior.

El ejército mató a once de los manifestantes, incluyendo a un ex diputado nasserista que representaba el área. Los libaneses y palestinos erigieron barricadas, tomaron el poblado, cerraron el camino a Beirut y llamaron a una huelga general. En Beirut, los falangistas, encabezados por Gemayel, desfilaron por las calles aclamando el heroísmo de los soldados, cinco de los cuales murieron en los encuentros de Sidón.

El 13 de abril, con las tensiones acrecentándose a través del país, los falangistas llevaron a cabo una masacre despiadada que iniciaría las hostilidades generales, primero en la capital y después a lo largo del país. Un autobús que llevaba a palestinos a sus hogares después de un mitin fue emboscado por la milicia falangista, y veintisiete palestinos fueron masacrados.

El Primer Ministro Rashid Solh renunció el 15 de mayo, acusando a los falangistas de ser "completamente responsables" de la masacre. El 23 de mayo, el Presidente Franjeh formó un gabinete militar, el primero en Líbano desde la independencia. Esto fue interpretado como un avance claro de los falangistas, quienes habían acrecentado sus demandas de que el ejército interviniera contra los palestinos. Pero la formación del gabinete militar detonó un ascenso explosivo de las masas, y el 24 de mayo el país fue paralizado por una huelga general. El régimen fue obligado a renunciar después de tres días.

Un Impasse para la Burguesía

El régimen sirio, los dirigentes de la Organización de Liberación de Palestina, y la mayoría de los políticos burgueses están

buscando desesperadamente una solución a la crisis que no altere fundamentalmente el statu quo. Pero se encuentran en un impasse. A pesar de los numerosos intentos de restaurar la estabilidad, todas las "tréguas" negociadas hasta ahora han sido rotas rápidamente.

El régimen libanés opera con una seria desventaja, ya que es extremadamente difícil usar el ejército para intervenir. En primer lugar, sus tropas son superadas numéricamente por las diferentes milicias. Más importante aún, debido a su cuerpo de oficiales predominantemente cristianos y la sospecha bien fundada de las masas musulmanas de que ordenarían a las tropas luchar del lado de los falangistas, el usar al ejército podría ser bastante peligroso. Podría iniciar un ascenso popular mucho más poderoso de los que se han visto hasta ahora.

Además, aunque los oficiales son principalmente cristianos, gran parte de las tropas son musulmanas. El ejército mismo podría resultar no confiable, particularmente en vista de la polarización de la sociedad libanesa.

Hasta ahora el régimen sólo ha tomado medidas tentativas para probar al ejército. Primero lo envió a separar las fuerzas populares en Trípoli de las milicias cristianas en el poblado cercano de Zghorta. En seguida, el 24 de octubre desplegó cerca de 100 soldados en algunas áreas de Beirut.

Si los acontecimientos muestran la incapacidad del régimen, varias fuerzas han indicado su disposición a intervenir. En vista del tremendo precio a nivel internacional y doméstico que Washington tuvo que pagar por su debacle en Vietnam, la Casa Blanca tiene que ser más cautelosa que en 1958 acerca de una intervención militar directa, dependiendo más de sus lacayos regionales para mantener las cosas en orden.

Pero los sionistas han advertido repetidamente que no vacilarían en invadir el país si los acontecimientos se desarrollaran de una manera favorable a los palestinos. El Jefe del Estado Mayor israelita, General Mordechai Gur, sospechando que los falangistas están perdiendo terreno, declaró el 27 de junio: "Si una modificación de la estructura interna de Líbano toma lugar, las consecuencias serían muy serias para Israel, ya que afectaría las actividades de los fedayines que son lanzadas contra las poblaciones israelitas desde ese territorio."

En una entrevista el 14 de octubre, el Primer Ministro israelita Yitzhak Rabin acusó a Siria de tratar "de explotar la situación inestable en Líbano para lograr sus objetivos. . . . Cualquier intento de conquistar a Líbano crearía una situación que afectaría adversamente a la seguridad de Israel."

París también está preocupado. El gobier-

no francés emitió una declaración el 2 de julio afirmando que "es esencial preservar la independencia, unidad e integridad de Líbano." Los imperialistas franceses dijeron que estaban listos a dar a Líbano "la ayuda que desee recibir en las difíciles circunstancias por las que está pasando."

Aunque dieciocho miembros de la Liga Árabe que participaron en una reunión el 16 de octubre en El Cairo adoptaron una resolución advirtiendo que usarían "todos sus recursos" en acciones unificadas si Israel usaba la contienda civil en Líbano como pretexto para apoderarse del sur de Líbano, la posición de Egipto ha sido ambigua.

En una entrevista con *Le Monde* en enero, el Presidente Sadat se esforzó en decir que el compromiso de Egipto de lanzarse a la guerra en el caso de una agresión contra Siria no se aplicaba a Líbano, aún si Israel trataba de ocupar la parte sur. En un

discurso el 16 de octubre advirtió a todos los países que "no tocaran a Líbano," pero los observadores interpretaron esto como dirigido más bien a Siria y Libia que a Israel.

Un "Comité de Diálogo Nacional" de veinte miembros, representando a la mayoría de las tendencias políticas principales de Líbano se ha estado reuniendo desde el 25 de septiembre para intentar encontrar una solución, pero sin éxito. Los falangistas han insistido en que el Estado restablezca su control en todas las regiones del país—es decir, que desarme a los palestinos y a las milicias populares—como requisito previo a aceptar cualquier reforma a la estructura política de Líbano.

Pero muchos de los políticos cristianos más astutos están empezando a darse cuenta de que se requieren métodos más sutiles que el "pacto nacional" o el uso descarado de la fuerza. Algunos están

ahora a favor de "desconfesionalizar" el conflicto.

Sin embargo, mientras que la "desconfesionalización" y una serie de medidas para reformar la estructura política de Líbano podrían haber reducido la explosividad del conflicto hace algunos años, es improbable que tales reformas por sí solas sofoquen la militancia de las masas musulmanas.

Además, está el problema de los palestinos. Mientras que los palestinos insistan en defender sus derechos, los sionistas y la burguesía libanesa encaran un problema explosivo y radical.

En vista de estas circunstancias, hay pocas perspectivas de que la burguesía libanesa y los imperialistas que la respaldan puedan neutralizar permanentemente el polvorín que Líbano constituye actualmente. □

DOCUMENTOS

Por la Independencia Total e Inmediata del Sahara

Por J. Rocha

[El siguiente artículo apareció en el número del 12 de junio de *Combate*, la publicación mensual de la Liga Comunista española, una organización simpatizante de la Cuarta Internacional. Las notas son de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Reclamando su independencia, miles de saharahúes se manifestaron con ocasión de la reciente visita de una delegación de la O.N.U.¹ al Sahara Occidental. Este hecho supone un salto hacia adelante decisivo del combate del pueblo saharahuí contra el colonialismo español.

El impacto del avance de la lucha del pueblo saharahuí sobre el débil colonialismo español ha sido fulminante. Se han deteriorado aceleradamente las maniobras que la Dictadura Franquista pretendía llevar a cabo para asegurar el yugo de su dominación. El proyecto de establecer un Gobierno fantoche respetuoso de los intereses imperialistas españoles, a través de la Asamblea General del Sahara—organismo nombrado a dedo por la Dictadura—y del

PUNS (Partido de Unión Nacional Saharahuí)² creado y financiado por Madrid, se ha venido abajo súbitamente. Las masas con su movilización han arrinconado y denunciado el fraude de los proyectos del franquismo; el PUNS se ha derretido al calor de los dólares de Rabat.³ Ante los ojos de toda la opinión mundial ha aparecido con claridad cual es la voluntad de las masas saharahúes: su independencia inmediata e incondicional.

El auge de la lucha de los saharahúes, al que se suma la presión de los regímenes neocoloniales del Magreb⁴, del imperialismo y la burocracia, agrava la crisis de una Dictadura que está atezada por las repercusiones de la crisis económica mundial y el avance del proletariado y demás oprimidos hacia la Huelga General en la

2. Partido de la Unión Nacional Saharahuí, formado en febrero de 1975 como el único partido político legal en el Sahara.

3. El Secretario General Jalihena Rachid del PUNS salió secretamente de El Aaiún el 15 de mayo con la caja fuerte del partido, en el cual se encontraban 6 millones de pesetas (1 peseta=\$0.02 EEUU). Huyó a Marruecos donde ofreció sus servicios al Rey Hassan.

4. El nombre árabe para la región que incluye al noroeste de Africa.

metrópoli. Cada día de dominación sobre el Sahara Occidental, de enfrentamientos con las masas saharahúes y choques armados—por pequeños que sean—agrava las tensiones dentro del ejército y echa leña al fuego de la lucha de los trabajadores y la juventud en la metrópoli, profundizando la crisis de una Dictadura cada día más débil.

Las recientes declaraciones del Consejo de Ministros⁵ manifiestan esta impotencia para seguir soportando los costos de la dominación colonial. Para poder hacer frente a una aceleración de la lucha de masas en el Sahara Occidental, al incremento de las acciones de la guerrilla anticolonialista y a una eventual confrontación armada con Marruecos. Pues ello podría acelerar inevitablemente el derrocamiento de la Dictadura.

Con el temor a una aceleración de la lucha de masas en la metrópoli, el Gobierno ha expresado el terror del conjunto del gran

5. Después de una reunión de Franco y el gabinete español el 23 de mayo, se declaró en un anuncio oficial: "España no tratará de ninguna manera de prolongar su presencia en el Sahara, y nunca pretendió sacar ningún provecho, ya sea político o material." El régimen de Franco, declaró el anuncio, estaba listo "a transferir la soberanía del territorio del Sahara en el periodo más corto posible."

1. A mediados de mayo una comisión investigadora de las Naciones Unidas visitó el Sahara para hacer una encuesta entre la población sobre que status deseaba al renunciar España a la colonia.

capital ante el crecimiento del malestar en el seno del ejército. Las deserciones masivas de saharahuí, que están descomponiendo a determinados cuerpos coloniales—policía territorial⁶—los golpes de mano de la guerrilla, con el secuestro de oficiales, el malestar general existente en la tropa, todo ello está cristalizando en el descontento y pérdida de cohesión de la casta de oficiales y jefes. Este fenómeno es todavía embrionario y presenta reacciones diversas, especialmente de signo derechista—exigiendo más mano dura y menos vacilación al Gobierno—pero crea fisuras entre los mandos, no sólo de los cuerpos africanos, sino del conjunto del ejército, favoreciendo el desarrollo de posiciones como las encarnadas por Busquets y Julve.⁷ Motor central de las cuales es el ascenso del combate de masas en el Estado. En sus horas difíciles la Dictadura necesita más que nunca un Ejército compacto y sin fisuras, por eso sus últimas maniobras van en el sentido de evitar la continuidad de este proceso.

La Dictadura ha debido retirar sus proyectos más fraudulentos y ha manifestado su impotencia y debilidad, con lo que el pueblo saharahuí se ha anotado una importante victoria. Pero a su vez ha incrementado las maniobras de presión sobre los gobiernos de la zona, el imperialismo y la burocracia, e incluso sobre el Frente Polisario (Frente Popular para la Liberación del Sahara y Río de Oro)⁸ cara a garantizar lo fundamental de los intereses imperialistas españoles en el Sahara Occidental: FOSBUCRAA⁹ y sus enormes fuentes de ingreso cada día en aumento. Y todavía siguen allí las tropas españolas, sigue el franquismo, con lo que de agresión y amenaza supone.

Por ello la lucha del pueblo saharahuí entra en una fase decisiva por echar



La Opinión

definitivamente a las tropas españolas y con ellas a la rapiña imperialista. A la vez que la amenazante espada de una guerra abierta con Marruecos sigue pendiendo sobre las cabezas de las masas españolas, marroquí y saharahuí, como resultado de la persistente presencia española en el Norte de Africa.

Marruecos, Mauritania, Argelia . . . También Quieren el Pastel Saharahuí

Cuando en 1969 el capital español creó la compañía FOSBUCRAA, Hassan II cambió en la postura sobre el Sahara. De defender la independencia pasó a reclamar su anexión. El cambio se debió ante todo a la importancia decisiva que para la burguesía marroquí tienen los yacimientos de fosfato, pues con ellos pasaría a ser la primera productora mundial de los mismos. Y junto a esto está el papel que la monarquía alahuita [seguidores de Alá] hace jugar al enfrentamiento con la Dictadura, cara a desviar a través de él la atención del proletariado y oprimidos marroquíes de sus reales problemas que les enfrentan con el régimen feudal capitalista que padecen. Con la oleada de chovinismo que acompaña a su reivindicación de anexión, la monarquía marroquí busca resolver sus gravísimos problemas internos reforzando su autoridad ante las masas. En ese empeño ha encontrado el apoyo de la mayoría de la oposición, incluido el Partido Comunista.

El anexionismo marroquí no supera por ahora los límites de la presión por temor a una derrota militar que podría significar el fin de la monarquía alahuita. Esta presión combina las maniobras en la ONU—intentando apoyarse en los demás gobiernos árabes, el imperialismo y la burocracia—y el recrudecimiento de las acciones guerrilleras a través del FLU (Frente de Liberación y Unidad),¹⁰ organi-

zación ligada al ejército marroquí. El mantenimiento de esa actividad y la inercia de la campaña anexionista, junto con el mantenimiento de la presencia del imperialismo español en el Sahara, entraña el riesgo de una confrontación armada. La decisión manifestada por las masas saharahuí de avanzar hacia su independencia no sólo es un golpe para el gobierno de Madrid sino también para los planes del marroquí. Sin embargo a medida que se aproxima el desenlace, cuanto más insostenible se hace la situación actual, esos riesgos de guerra se hacen más presentes.

Por motivos del mismo tipo que Marruecos, las clases dominantes de Mauritania mantienen también pretensiones anexionistas, queriendo así apagar el fuego del descontento de las masas de su propio país con una fuerte dosis de chovinismo.

Cara a impedir el reforzamiento de su principal oponente en el Magreb—Marruecos—y a asegurar para la burguesía argelina los privilegios del control sobre el Sahara, el Gobierno argelino quiere imponer en ese país un gobierno sometido a su influencia, que le de al Sahara la independencia formal pero lo mantenga bajo el dominio de los jeques, la burguesía y el imperialismo. Para asegurar eso apadrina hoy al Frente Polisario. En ese camino, Argelia tiene que dar pasos objetivamente positivos—como apoyar materialmente al F. Polisario y propugnar la independencia formal del Sahara—pese a que su pretensión sea la de cambiar de cadenas al pueblo saharahuí.

Sahara Occidental: Por un Frente Unico Antiimperialista

Siglos de dominación colonial española dan como resultado la expropiación de las riquezas nacionales por el imperialismo y el mantenimiento de unas relaciones feudales, personificadas en los jeques, que mantienen al país en el atraso y la explotación más profunda. Privado de la independencia y de toda libertad, el pueblo saharahuí padece el analfabetismo, el hambre y la miseria hasta grados extremos. Las enfermedades endémicas del subdesarrollo, la mortalidad infantil, el chabolismo, la esclavitud y la venta de la mujer son el legado de la cristiana y “civilizada” España.

Frente a la rapiña imperialista, a las pretensiones de las burguesías nacionales del Magreb, frente a la burocracia que maquina en la oscuridad la mejor forma de garantizar sus intereses en la zona, las masas saharahuí deben hallar el camino de la soberanía y real independencia. Ahora bien, los jeques y notables están dispuestos a venderse a quien sea—Madrid, Rabat,

6. Un ejemplo de esto fue reportado en mayo por la agencia de noticias Logos. Una unidad territorial policial consistente de catorce miembros en un puesto en la frontera de Mauritania desertó, según el informe, para unirse a las fuerzas a favor de la independencia.

7. El Comandante Julio Busquets y el Capitán José Julve fueron arrestados el 18 de febrero y acusados de “indisciplina militar” después de haber circulado un manifiesto pidiendo reformas en las fuerzas armadas y en la política.

8. Frente Popular para la Liberación del Sahara y Río de Oro, fundado en 1970. El Frente Polisario parece ser el grupo político con el mayor número de seguidores en el Sahara. En mayo de 1973 comenzó a llevar a cabo acciones armadas contra las tropas españolas estacionadas ahí. Ha declarado que se opondrá con la fuerza a la marcha marroquí sobre El Aaiún.

9. FOSBUCRAA es la mina con las reservas más grandes de fosfatos en todo el mundo, calculados en 1.7 mil millones de toneladas. Las 750,000 toneladas de fosfato extraídas en Bu Craa en 1973 se vendieron entre \$30 y \$35 la tonelada; en 1974 el precio había subido a \$68.

10. Frente de Liberación y Unidad, una creación

del Rey Hassan en 1973 para promover la anexión del Sahara a Marruecos.

Argel . . . —con tal de mantener su dominación. El único camino de liberación está, pues, en la alianza de los obreros, los campesinos, la juventud y la mujer saharahuí, aliados con los obreros y campesinos de Marruecos, Argelia y Mauritania, con el proletariado de la metrópoli en la lucha contra el imperialismo.

Por este camino se podrá imponer la marcha de las tropas españolas, la nacionalización de FOSBUCRAA y de todas las riquezas minerales y energéticas que contiene el territorio, todas las libertades democráticas y la Asamblea Constituyente, que elegida democráticamente decida la forma de Gobierno que el pueblo saharahuí quiere darse, barriendo definitivamente el feudalismo, la trata de esclavos y la venta de la mujer. Garantizar esta absoluta independencia nacional exigirá el armamento general del pueblo y la instauración del control obrero sobre las empresas y negocios imperialistas. Y todo esto sólo podrá asegurar un *gobierno obrero y campesino*, sin un solo representante de los jeques, la burguesía nacional y el imperialismo, salido de la alianza de los oprimidos saharahúes encabezados por el proletariado.

Los trotskistas apoyamos incondicionalmente el movimiento de liberación del pueblo saharahuí por su independencia. En esa línea nos comprometemos a impulsar, en la medida de nuestras fuerzas, el apoyo solidario en todos los planos con su lucha. Hoy el Frente Polisario está a la cabeza del movimiento saharahuí por la liberación. El Frente Polisario es una organización nacionalista pequeño burguesa que mantiene estrechos lazos con la burguesía y el Gobierno argelinos, a los que se dispone a garantizar fuertes privilegios en el Sahara Occidental si le apoyan en su lucha. Además el Frente Polisario tiene un programa de lucha por la independencia que no combate a fondo los privilegios de los jeques y en el que hay una puerta abierta al entendimiento liquidador con Madrid. Por todas estas cuestiones, el Frente Polisario es incapaz de combatir consecuentemente por la liberación de su pueblo. El conjunto de su orientación es un obstáculo para la independencia del mismo. Los trotskistas denunciaremos y combatiremos este hecho. Pero por ello no dejaremos de apoyar los pasos, por pequeños que sean, que el Frente Polisario dé en la lucha contra el imperialismo español. Y de promover su defensa frente a todos los ataques del franquismo.

Solidaridad con el Pueblo Saharahuí

La independencia del pueblo saharahuí debe ser una reivindicación del proletariado y las masas oprimidas del Estado español. Sobre sus espaldas descansan los costos de la dominación colonial.

Las grandes inversiones de la empresa estatal FOSBUCRAA, surgen del dinero

que el gran capital, a través de la Dictadura y la Seguridad Social, estafa a los trabajadores.

El costoso ejército, defensor de la explotación de los fosfatos se mantiene a costa de los trabajadores y oprimidos.

Gran parte de la juventud ha de perder un año y medio cumpliendo el servicio militar en aquellos territorios, arriesgando su vida por unos intereses que no sólo no son los suyos, sino que además le oprimen, tanto en el ejército como en su trabajo o estudio.

El mantenimiento del ejército colonial, construido sobre la explotación de los trabajadores, es un arma en manos de la burguesía y su Dictadura, que está preparada para volcarse contra las luchas de los trabajadores y de todos los oprimidos.

Además la persistente amenaza del desencadenamiento de una guerra imperialista, que descargaría sobre las masas obreras y populares nuevas agresiones, sufrimientos y miserias, pues sobre sus espaldas se apoyaría tal guerra.

Una vez más se hace viva en la historia la afirmación de Marx y Lenin: "*La nación que oprime a otras naciones, no puede ser libre.*" Pues no pueden darse la mano opresión y libertad.

El internacionalismo proletario, la solidaridad con la justa lucha del pueblo saharahuí, es una necesidad para el desarrollo de la lucha contra la Dictadura. El ejemplo de como la lucha de las colonias portuguesas en Africa jugó un decisivo papel para la caída de la Dictadura salazarista, manifiesta cómo el avance de la lucha anticolonialis-

ta en el Sahara y el progreso hacia la Huelga General de los trabajadores y oprimidos en el Estado están estrechamente ligados en su suerte. Las recientes declaraciones del Consejo de Ministros expresan esa ligazón, han sido hechas con el fantasma de la Huelga General a las espaldas.

Por eso, el proletariado, la juventud, todos los oprimidos del Estado español deben unir a la lucha contra todos los ataques del Gobierno el combate por:

La retirada inmediata e incondicional de todas las tropas en el Norte de Africa. ¡Ni un hombre, ni un arma, ni un céntimo para la guerra imperialista!

¡Solidaridad con la lucha del pueblo saharahuí!

¡Independencia total e inmediata del Sahara!

*¡Devolución de Ceuta y Melilla a Marruecos!*¹¹

¡Disolución de los cuerpos especiales del ejército, de los cuerpos de reserva coloniales!

Las CCOO [Comisiones Obreras], los organismos unitarios de la vanguardia juvenil y de otras capas deben preparar e impulsar esta lucha. Los partidos y organizaciones que se reclaman de la clase obrera deben unir sus esfuerzos, llegar a todos los acuerdos posibles cara a impulsar la movilización solidaria con el pueblo saharahuí. No hay excusas para no dar pasos en este camino.

3 de junio de 1973

11. Ceuta y Melilla son dos enclaves españoles en la costa mediterránea de Marruecos.

And Cockroaches for New Yorkers

Have the food experts seeking ways to combat famine in the colonial and semicolonial world been missing something? Dr. V. Meyer-Rochow, an Australian zoologist, says yes.

"Insects are extremely nutritious," the doctor said in a recent issue of the journal of the Antipodean Association for the Advancement of Science.

"They consist of easily-digestible proteins and fats, and small but significant amounts of carbohydrates, minerals and vitamins. There can be no question that insects are a neglected resource to combat protein deficiency in certain underdeveloped countries."

Indeed, 100 grams of fried termites, Dr. Meyer-Rochow reported, have a calorie count that puts them among the richest foods. Moreover, he suggests that selective breeding might produce bigger, tastier, and more nutritious insects.

Especially recommended is the witchetty grub favored by Australian aborigines. According to Meyer-Rochow, it tastes of

soft-boiled egg and butter, with a woody flavor. Ten large grubs are said to provide enough protein for one adult.

Dr. Meyer-Rochow does not explain why he suggests this solution only for underdeveloped countries. In New York City, for example, the cockroach might replace hot dogs as the favored steak substitute.

When Thieves Fall Out

The Securities and Exchange Commission is investigating whether New York City officials and investment bankers acted fraudulently in the sale of city notes and bonds over the years by either withholding or falsifying facts about the city's financial condition.

"We've had complaints in this area and naturally we have an obligation to investigate," an employee of the commission said. "The city has sold a substantial amount of bonds and notes in the last several years and you don't have to be a genius to realize that there may have been some omissions or misstatements of material facts."