

The New York Times/May 11, 1976

Since 1967 Mideast war Israel has set up 68 settlements (shown by dots) in occupied territories. Rabin regime has now given go-ahead for "several dozen" more. See page 834.

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Israeli 'Settlements'—Rabin's New Land Grab

By David Frankel

Since the 1967 Middle East war, the Israeli regime has established sixty-eight settlements in occupied Arab territory. Israeli officials have now made clear that they intend to continue the colonization of the lands seized in 1967.

The plans for the new settlements were outlined at a May 9 meeting of the Israeli cabinet. *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith reported in a May 10 dispatch from Jerusalem that the settlements would "range from small agricultural villages to industrial towns."

Smith said that officials he talked to "declined to disclose exactly how many new settlements are contemplated or their precise locations. One official said 'more than a dozen' were involved, while others suggested that the program would eventually include several dozen."

The decision to step up the colonization of Arab land was not unexpected. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin told Israeli colonists in the West Bank April 21, "I see the need for special efforts in the coming year to strengthen and extend settlement of the Jordan Valley."

Rabin's statement followed a demonstration of 20,000 Zionists demanding that restrictions on Jewish settlement in the West Bank be lifted and that it be annexed to Israel. Although this position is supported by a section of Rabin's cabinet, the majority is opposed to formal annexation at this time, and insists that the establishment of settlements must be under the direction of the government.

In an April 9 editorial, the *Jerusalem Post* argued that the establishment of settlements outside the framework of a government plan would result in "dissipating our limited human and material resources on empty show . . . while failing to buttress the real foundations of our presence in the territories."

As the *Jerusalem Post* editorial indicated, the differences between the Rabin government and its critics on the right are purely tactical. Both sides are determined to hold the land stolen in the 1967 war. That was the meaning of the May 9 decision.

The determination of the Zionist regime to keep the occupied territories has been an embarrassment for the American imperialists, who have been attempting to improve their diplomatic standing in the Arab world. The *New York Times* complained in a May 11 editorial:

"By underscoring a misguided determination to move ever more Israeli settlers into the occupied Arab territories—a concession to the militant hardliners—the Rabin Cabinet is only piling up problems for future policymakers and for the course of Israel-United States relations."

But the fact is that the occupied territories have already been integrated into the Israeli economy. The 1.1 million Palestinians living in these territories serve as a pool of cheap, superexploited labor for the Israeli capitalists. Palestinian workers play a crucial role in the Israeli construction industry, in Israeli factories, and as agricultural laborers.

Furthermore, in colonizing the territory seized during the 1967 war, the Zionist settlers are only continuing the process through which Israel was established. Moshe Dayan pointed this out when he answered arguments against such colonization in 1973.

Dayan, who was then Israel's minister of defense, told a class of high-school seniors in Haifa, according to the May 10, 1973, issue of *Ha'aretz*:

"The establishment of the State of Israel was fundamentally at the expense of the

Arabs. There is no escaping this fact. In most instances, Jewish settlers replaced Arab settlers. At times we bought lands; we acquired a lot more as a result of the 1948 war."

Created at the expense of the Palestinian people, Israel can maintain itself only through their continued oppression. This fact is becoming clear to the whole world as a result of the ongoing struggle of the Palestinians for their basic human rights.

The Israeli regime has reacted by trying to suppress news of the opposition it faces from the Palestinian population. For example, Terence Smith reported in a May 3 dispatch on the banning of a Palestinian protest march against Israeli settlement in the West Bank:

The authorities set up roadblocks to prevent bus and truckloads of would-be demonstrators from reaching Ramallah and also blocked foreign and Israeli reporters from entering the town. . . .

The detention [of a television cameraman] and roadblocks around Ramallah were the latest in a series of steps taken by the West Bank military government to inhibit news coverage of the disturbances there. Television crewmen have been roughed up by soldiers, film has been confiscated and exposed and reporters have repeatedly been refused entry to the Nablus cashbah and other volatile areas.

On May 8 Israeli occupation authorities made the fantastic claim that reporters were paying Arabs to stage demonstrations.

However, such absurd charges cannot change the simple fact that Israel is a racist, colonial-settler state. The latest decision on settlement of the occupied territories is one more proof of this. □

Portugal—Soares Backs Continued Military Rule

By Gerry Foley

On May 12, Mário Soares officially announced the Portuguese SP's support for Army Chief of Staff Gen. António Ramalho Eanes in the June 27 presidential elections. Soares said, according to a dispatch from Paul Ellman in the *Washington Post*, that the SP had never considered supporting a civilian candidate.

"Portugal needed a candidate who could insure the 'cohesion and unity' of the armed forces, Soares said." The SP head said that soundings among the military showed a consensus supporting the army chief of staff for president.

General Eanes won prominence by masterminding the military operations that crushed the November 25 coup attempt. He is also noted for purging the armed forces of elements favoring a popular-front government in which the CP would play the predominant role, as well

as of those who supported democratic rights for soldiers.

In return for SP support, Eanes is reported to have agreed to back a minority government by Soares's party.

Although up to now the CP has been the strongest booster of rule by the Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement), it has expressed unhappiness in a number of ways about the prospect of having General Eanes as president.

On French television May 11, according to the Lisbon daily *Jornal Novo*, CP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal said: "Although the CP thinks that it is desirable to have a military candidate for president, it has not excluded the possibility of a civilian one."

Cunhal even said that the CP "would look favorably" on a candidacy by Mário Soares. This is a 180-degree shift from

the attitude of the Communist party last summer.

The fact is that the CP fears, and rightly so, that a bonapartist military regime will now turn against it. It is worried in particular by General Eanes's anti-Communist statements.

Having a top military officer in the presidency does present grave dangers for the Communist party, and not for it alone but for the entire left. Since the bourgeois parties did not achieve the mandate for a "return to order" that they expected in the April 25 legislative elections, it was certain that the military would begin to move back to the front of the political stage.

In fact, the MFA never relinquished its power. It made certain formal concessions to the principle of popular sovereignty, which did represent a retreat but were not decisive. During the electoral period, the Council of the Revolution, the leadership of the MFA, showed that it still ruled the country. Now the Council of the Revolution remains the only government until the presidential elections.

After the June 27 vote, the president will wield the decisive political power, according to the constitution written under severe restrictions imposed by the MFA.

The CP and SP leaderships have now reversed positions. Last summer, the CP supported a plan by the military to rule through "grass roots" organizations in which its cadres could play an influential role. This ran up against the SP, which relies on parliamentary forms to maintain and extend its influence.

Now the military offers the SP the trappings of parliamentary rule, as long as the generals continue to hold decisive power through the presidency. The CP, on the other hand, today feels threatened by an MFA that no longer depends on it for political support.

There is also a wing of the SP that can be pressed to oppose MFA rule, the one that represents those layers the SP mobilized last summer for workers democracy against the CP-MFA alliance. "The SP worker militants and some unionists such as Kalidas Barreto refuse to swallow this pill [support for Eanes]," Charles Michaloux wrote from Lisbon in the May 11 issue of *Rouge*, the newspaper of the French section of the Fourth International.

In this situation, the presidential campaign of the Portuguese Trotskyists can play a key role. (See article elsewhere in this issue.) They are running former CP activist Arlete Vieira da Silva, who represents the dedicated worker militants who kept the Communist party alive in the underground. She left it when it started mobilizing mass acclaim for General Spínola. Her campaign centers on supporting the democratic right of the majority of the Portuguese people to rule the country and on demanding that the workers parties use their parliamentary majority to form a workers government. □

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Thousands Turn Out in Madrid to Hear Ernest Mandel

By Harry Farrar

MADRID—Three thousand enthusiastic, cheering students—with a generous sprinkling of radical workers—jammed a lecture hall at the School of Philosophy and Letters campus to overflowing May 5 to hear Ernest Mandel, noted Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International. Mandel spoke on the topic, "The Class Nature of the State."

This was the second of two meetings organized for Mandel's visit to Madrid. The previous evening more than 2,000 persons packed a hall at the university's School of Economics campus to hear Mandel present a Marxist analysis of the current worldwide economic slump.

At both meetings it was impossible to find one square inch of space for those who arrived a few minutes late—many had to be turned away at the door. On both occasions the meeting hall was already full to capacity before the hour set for the lecture.

This in itself testifies to the eagerness to discuss revolutionary political ideas, especially since it is taken for granted here that any university meeting always begins at least a half hour late.

Technical difficulties, which some attributed to attempts to sabotage the meeting, kept the public-address system inoperative for the first thirty minutes of the May 5 meeting. But the crowd was so eager to listen that it maintained an almost perfect silence—except for some thunderous applause—and Mandel was able to make himself heard by all.

In the course of his speech, Mandel explained how the capitalist class, although a tiny minority of the population, controlled the state apparatus in capitalist countries, whether their governments were democratic or dictatorial.

He forcefully defended the logical Marxist conclusion that the government structures themselves, and the entire state apparatus, from the repressive forces of the police and army to the courts and parliaments, were so designed and constructed that they could not be reformed to faithfully serve the interests of the working class and other oppressed layers who form the vast majority.

The working class, he said, if it is to overcome the economic and social disasters of continued bourgeois rule, will have to overthrow the bourgeois state and install its own state based on democratically formed worker, peasant, and neighborhood councils or commissions.

Referring to some historical examples of

the disastrous consequences of attempting to reform the capitalist state and government in an effort to slowly bring about a new socialist society, Mandel made it clear that he meant it would be disastrous for the Spanish proletariat to place faith in reformist illusions about the existing capitalist state and fail to take power into its own hands.

He was interrupted by vigorous and spontaneous applause throughout his speech—but the applause after the latter point was especially prolonged and loud.

Mandel exposed and rejected Stalinist bureaucratic authoritarianism, citing the need to protect the democratic rights of all political currents—even bourgeois ones—in a workers state. His defense of democracy against Stalinist methods and his insistence on the need to keep state power in the hands of the workers themselves through their democratically organized workers councils was also one of the most roundly applauded statements of the evening.

Mandel concluded his remarks with the prediction that a victorious socialist revolution in Western Europe would never permit the kind of Stalinist degeneration that took place in the Soviet Union. He was then given a standing ovation.

The Fourth International leader said he would accept the ovation, not for himself, but for his organization in Spain which could not yet speak for itself, and for the many members of the Fourth International still being held in Spanish prisons. The crowd then responded with: "Am-ni-stia, Am-ni-stia, Am-ni-stia."

Although it appeared that nearly every person in the audience was in full solidarity with the main political points made by the speaker, a few representatives of currents on the left that are antagonistic to the Trotskyist point of view were present at each meeting. Some of them took the floor during the question period.

At the May 5 meeting, for example, one questioner, taken by all to be a Communist party supporter, tried to make it appear that there was something strange and perhaps sinister or at least questionable about the fact that Mandel could speak for the Fourth International and Trotskyism without being prohibited by the dictatorship. He said the Spanish Communist party could not hold such public meetings and that members who tried to speak in the name of the party were immediately imprisoned—with some now in prison for that act.

Mandel answered the veiled charge by pointing out that the Spanish government, for reasons of its own, was at the moment treating visiting members of foreign left organizations differently than members of the Spanish illegal organizations themselves. This was proven, he said, by the fact that even a leader of the French Communist party had just recently held a public meeting in Spain without interference from the police.

"But," shouted the CP supporter, "he didn't talk about politics." Mandel won the audience by countering with, "That's your fault, not mine!"

The incident had angered some members of the audience who were beginning to surround the CP supporter. It looked as if a disagreeable incident might ensue. Mandel called for an end to such bickering and for unity in defense of the democratic rights of all, and in defense of all political prisoners, among whom were not just CP supporters, but many others, including members of the Fourth International.

The crowd responded as one, came to its feet, and with fists raised high, shouted: "U-ni-dad, U-ni-dad, U-ni-dad."

At the end of the question period the floor was turned over to two leaders of the recent telephone workers' strike. One was a delegate to the official government-controlled trade-union apparatus who had been elected last summer when the government permitted the election of some rank-and-file representatives. He had broken with the official apparatus to take part in leading the strike, along with leaders chosen by the workers at their own mass meetings. The other was one of those elected at the mass meetings.

They appealed for support to the telephone workers who had been forced back to work without winning their demands and were now facing severe sanctions and the firing of the most active strike leaders, despite a government promise that there would be no retaliations.

The crowd responded generously to this appeal, filling the collection baskets of the telephone workers stationed at the exits.

A construction worker who proclaimed himself to be a Trotskyist also spoke.

When these last speakers would shout, "Viva comisiones obreras [Long live the workers commissions]," or "Viva trotskismo [Long live Trotskyism]," they were met with a resounding "Viva" from the audience.

A collection was also taken at both meetings to aid the Argentine Partido

Socialista de los Trabajadores, a revolutionary-socialist organization that is suffering from the repression opened by the military coup in March.

Given that there was only one day of advance preparation for the first meeting and no publicity about either in the daily press, the overwhelming welcome given to a representative of the Fourth International is significant.

It is another indication of the political ferment and revolutionary mood that has today permeated all social sectors of Spanish society after more than three decades under the heel of a fascist dictatorship.

It is clear that the seething resistance to any form of continuance of the old regime is going to soon burst through the

crumbling prison walls erected by the Franco regime to contain the Spanish masses.

Although the police surrounded the campus where the May 5 meeting was held, with special "antiriot" detachments stationed at strategic spots, there was no police interference with the meeting, nor with the crowd as it left the area at its conclusion. □

Sixth Fleet Continues to Stand By for Action

Choice of Sarkis as President of Lebanon Pleases Ford

By David Frankel

Elias Sarkis, a man best known as organizer of the secret police under former president Fuad Chehab, was chosen as the new president of Lebanon by sixty-six members of parliament May 8.

This development was generally greeted as a hopeful sign in the capitalist press. The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor*, in a typical commentary, said May 10 that "the election must be counted a good step on the difficult path toward ending the year-long civil war in Lebanon and returning the country to peace and stability."

The Ford administration showed its pleasure over the selection of Sarkis. President Ford's special envoy, L. Dean Brown, ended his mission in Lebanon "with a statement of praise for President-elect Sarkis and reassuring words to the Lebanese about Syrian intentions here," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner reported in a May 11 dispatch from Beirut.

Tanner said that Brown's remarks at his May 11 farewell news conference "were interpreted by Lebanese politicians of both the right and left as evidence that the United States actively helped Syria bring about Mr. Sarkis's election Saturday."

The reason for Washington's satisfaction over the choice of Sarkis is not difficult to ascertain. Sarkis welcomed the occupation of Beirut by American marines in 1958, which prevented a leftist victory in the civil war of that time. With the marines in place, U.S. envoy Robert D. Murphy played a crucial role in the selection of army commander Fuad Chehab as the new president.

Sarkis was Chehab's right-hand man from 1959 to 1964. He remained a key figure during much of the six-year term of Charles Helou, Chehab's handpicked successor. In 1970, Sarkis failed by one vote to win the presidency. Suleiman Franjeh, the successful candidate, held office up to now.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad inter-

vened in mid-March to support Franjeh against the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition that was demanding his ouster. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 19, p. 643.) But Assad had no difficulty in switching from the discredited Franjeh to Sarkis.

Many of Sarkis's underlings in the Deuxième Bureau—the Chehabist secret police—found it healthier to go into exile in Syria than to remain in Lebanon after Franjeh's election in 1970. There have been reports that these Chehabist police agents have been returning to Lebanon and operating under Syrian direction.

Kamal Jumblatt, the main leader of the Druse sect and the head of the Progressive Socialist party, charged that Assad's support for Sarkis included bribes and threats. *Washington Post* correspondent Douglas Watson said in a May 7 dispatch from Beirut that Damascus "has put extreme pressure on Lebanese deputies to back Sarkis. . . ."

Sarkis, for his part, has gone out of his way to praise "fraternal Syria" and to stress his support for Assad's moves in Lebanon.

The Christian rightists of the Phalangist party also lined up behind Sarkis's candidacy. As defenders of the privileged position of the Maronite community, they could hardly ask for a candidate more identified with the preservation of Maronite dominance.

Their joint support of Sarkis further cemented the alliance between the Maronite rightists and the Assad regime. Regular units of the Syrian army moved openly into Lebanon April 9 to back up Assad's demand for a settlement favorable to the rightist forces.

Phalangist leader Pierre Gemayel greeted this move as a "heroic, decisive action to salvage the peace." Franjeh wired Assad to express "gratitude for Syria's action to safeguard Lebanon."

Israeli officials had earlier warned that

the entry of Syrian regulars into Lebanon would provoke action by the Israeli army. But on April 11, following a meeting of the Israeli cabinet, Defense Minister Shimon Peres said, "If the Syrian intrusion comes to neutralize the leftists and terrorists in Lebanon, perhaps it shouldn't bother us."

Thus, Washington, Damascus, and Tel Aviv are united in their desire to restore "stability" in Lebanon through a return to the system of Christian domination that prevailed before the eruption of the civil war. But this reactionary effort to protect the political stranglehold of the Christian minority faces some obvious obstacles.

As a representative of the Maronite establishment, Sarkis has no popular support among the Muslim masses. His election by parliament, which was itself chosen under rules guaranteeing Christians a 6-to-5 majority, did little to win him authority among Muslims.

In a May 9 dispatch from Beirut, *New York Times* correspondent Ihsan A. Hijazi referred to Sarkis's role in creating the Deuxième Bureau under Chehab: "Political sources believe that the bureau, which was disbanded, will be revived under President Sarkis as part of an effort to unify the army. . . ."

It is certainly reasonable to suppose that Sarkis plans to rebuild his secret police apparatus. However, that can have only a limited impact. The Lebanese army has disintegrated as a result of the civil war, and any police apparatus would have to be backed by an army in order to function in the current situation.

This was the conclusion reached by Saiqa leader Zuhair Mohsen, whose guerrilla organization acts as an arm of the Syrian regime in the Palestinian liberation movement. "Lebanon can only be saved by the American 6th Fleet or the Syrian army," Mohsen told *Washington Post* correspondent Joseph Fitchett in an April 12 interview. "There is no other solution."

Mohsen may be correct, at least from the

point of view of those who identify "saving" Lebanon with saving the system of Maronite privilege bequeathed by French imperialism. But the problems that such an intervention would entail are formidable.

The original entry of Syrian units into Lebanon was followed by general strikes in the southern port cities of Saida and Tyre. Demonstrators carried signs reading, "Save the Syrian Army for the confrontation with Israel!" according to a report by James M. Markham in the April 15 *New York Times*. An attempt by the Syrian army to occupy Lebanon would in all likelihood provoke massive opposition.

Such an action would require many times the number of troops Assad has committed to Lebanon so far, and it would run the risk of giving the Israeli regime a pretext for launching its own invasion.

Another question is what effect such an operation would have in Syria. In the April 25 issue of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, David Hirst pointed out that Assad's policies have already caused defections among the Syrian-directed forces in Lebanon.

There have been considerable desertions from Saiqa, and some PLA [Palestine Liberation Army] officers have reportedly sworn that they will never raise their arms against fellow-Palestinians.

That is partly why Assad has had to reinforce them with regular Syrian forces, but there may be a point beyond which even they are not prepared to go—a point at which they turn against him instead.

Douglas Watson pointed to Assad's problems at home in a dispatch from Damascus in the May 8 *Washington Post*. He said that "Damascus observers generally believe that some arrests, perhaps as many as 40, occurred among the Syrian military after criticism of the Lebanese intervention was detected by Assad's very efficient secret police."

In an April 6 article, *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Joe Alex Morris, Jr. reported that fifty-eight persons were arrested in a Damascus demonstration on March 30. Although the action was reportedly called in solidarity with Palestinian protests in Israel, it also reflected the divisions inside the Baath party over Assad's policies in Lebanon and his alliance with King Hussein of Jordan.

Sixth Fleet to the Rescue?

The other possible "savior" pointed out by Saiqa leader Mohsen—the American Sixth Fleet—is indeed poised off the coast of Lebanon. Seven U.S. warships, including the helicopter carrier *Guadalcanal*, have been cruising off the Lebanese coast since March 30. On April 13 a Pentagon official confirmed that the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* and two additional destroyers had joined the U.S. fleet.

Henry Kissinger, speaking before a Senate subcommittee April 14, said, "We

have been walking through a minefield" in Lebanon. He boasted that the Ford administration "has played a major role, if not the major role," in negotiations there.

The possibility of American military



SARKIS: Welcomed occupation of Beirut by American marines in 1958.

intervention exists; however, it can scarcely be an attractive prospect to Ford during an election year.

In 1958, U.S. forces landed without resistance. Even then, troop strength reached a peak of 14,300. Today the Lebanese forces battling each other are bigger and better armed, and the last thirteen months of fighting have claimed roughly thirty times as many casualties as in 1958. Under these circumstances, U.S. troops might meet heavy resistance.

Also, the entry of U.S. troops into Lebanon could be counted on to provoke massive opposition among the American people, whose memory of Vietnam remains fresh. For these reasons, neither Ford nor Assad is eager to attempt a full-scale military occupation of Lebanon.

Instead, their strategy has been to keep up steady military and diplomatic pressure on the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition in order to force a settlement. One source of pressure has been the Syrian blockade. Drew Middleton reported in the April 21 *New York Times*:

Western sources credit the Syrian navy with drastically reducing arms supplies to Kamal Jumblatt, the Druse chief who leads the left-wing forces in Lebanon. These sources point out that the virtual Syrian blockade of Beirut and Tripoli would not have been possible had the Israeli navy, superior in numbers and quality, intervened.

No Syrian blockade has been directed against the port of Jounieh, which is held by the Phalangists. In an April 19 dispatch from Jounieh, *Washington Post* correspondent Jonathan C. Randal quoted one Christian who said of the Phalangists at Jounieh: "They're determined to fight on and they've got incredible new shipments of arms—including heavy artillery."

Another Christian told Randal in a separate interview, "Never before have the Phalangists received so many arms."

The rightists have begun to use their new weapons in the mountains northeast of Beirut. Early in May they launched an offensive around the town of Ain Tura, using tanks, heavy artillery, and helicopters.

Wafa, the Palestinian press agency, charged that "certain forces" had made it possible for the Christian rightists to shift forces from Beirut to the mountain battle. This was an allusion to the buffer zone between the two sides in Beirut that was established by units of the Palestine Liberation Army loyal to Damascus.

Assad's collusion with the rightists has resulted in a number of clashes between forces of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition and those loyal to Damascus. One such battle broke out immediately after the election of Sarkis.

According to a May 8 dispatch to the *Washington Post* by Douglas Watson, "Eyewitnesses saw ambulances bringing ammunition and taking away casualties during the fire-fight between embittered leftist forces and Saiqa units which were apparently guarding Sarkis."

Later that day, Watson reported in a May 9 dispatch, "another fight occurred between Saiqa commandos and Lebanese leftist soldiers near a Palestinian refugee camp. At least six men were reported killed."

The battles have continued. A May 12 Associated Press dispatch from Beirut said, "Sharp clashes in Tripoli, 60 miles north of here, pitted Syrian-directed As Saiqa guerrillas against the Iraqi-backed Arab Liberation Front, a radical Palestinian guerrilla group that includes young Lebanese Moslems."

Speaking in Tel Aviv the same day, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin pointed out that "forces under Syrian command have killed more guerrillas in the last week than Israel has killed in the last two years."

Both Assad and his imperialist backers hope that those fighting against the discriminatory system in Lebanon can be held in check until they give way to exhaustion and demoralization. This would enable a rebuilt Lebanese army and police apparatus to take over from Assad's forces the task of restoring "law and order."

Those who favor this reactionary scheme have been able to play on the horror and revulsion aroused by the

slaughter in Lebanon. But the fact is that just as the preservation of the undemocratic system of religious quotas by the American invasion in 1958 prepared the ground for the current civil war, another "compromise" that leaves the privileged position of the Maronites intact will lead to even more bloodshed in the future.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition has proved incapable of waging a consistent struggle against the discriminatory governmental system. This has been a political, not a military, problem. No one can blame fighters who are forced to agree to a truce or to retreat because they are outgunned, but a leadership that agrees to collaborate with a political setup it claims to oppose is a different matter.

Kamal Jumblatt was guilty of precisely such collaboration when he came out in support of Raymond Eddé for the presidency. Eddé's National Bloc party has long been a part of the political scene in Lebanon. As a lead article in the May 8 issue of the British weekly *Economist* explained:

Mr Eddé, who describes himself as centre-right, has given no indication that, if elected, he intends to preside over the unwinding of the power-sharing complex that the Lebanese left, led by Mr Kamal Jumblatt, is now demanding. He may change the rules a bit in favour of the Moslems; he is not expected to be the man to abandon them altogether. Mr Eddé speaks of a strong presidency rebuilding a strong state with a strong reunited army as its backbone. He also reminds the Palestinians that he is a strict disciplinarian who believes that agreements are made to be kept.

Maneuvers such as Jumblatt's only serve to obscure the basic issues at stake and help in confusing and demoralizing the Lebanese masses.

The record of Yassir Arafat, the head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, has been no better. One of the issues at stake in Lebanon is precisely the right of the Palestinian liberation movement to function freely in that country. Yet in an agreement announced April 16 Arafat went on record in favor of "the Syrian initiative" aimed at preserving Maronite rule.

Arafat and Assad subscribed to a seven-point program that included a call for "a unified stand against any party that resumes military operations"—a threat that was aimed against the Lebanese left.

While attempting to maintain his links with Damascus, Arafat also tried to limit Assad's influence by reaching an accommodation with Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat. According to a May 5 dispatch by *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner, Sadat agreed to send about 1,000 Palestine Liberation Army troops stationed in Egypt to Lebanon to help offset the power of the PLA forces under Syrian command.

In return, Tanner said, Arafat has

"agreed to tone down" public criticism of Sadat and his Sinai disengagement agreement with Israel. But Arafat's attempt to play power politics may well backfire. Saudi Arabian and Kuwaiti officials arrived in Syria May 9 in an attempt to negotiate a reconciliation between Assad and Sadat. If this mission—or a future one like it—is successful, Arafat and the forces who follow his leadership will be left in a difficult position.

Another force on the left is the Lebanese Communist party. The Lebanese Stalinists, following Moscow's line, have hailed the "Syrian mediation." The Kremlin has attempted to compensate for its recent falling out with Sadat by tightening its alliance with Assad. Also, it fears that the civil war in Lebanon could lead to a new Middle East war.

The Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG) in Lebanon have demanded the election of a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote, in opposition to the governmental maneuvers of the capitalist parties and their supporters on the left.

S. Jaber, a leader of the RCG, explained

in the April 1 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly magazine published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, that the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition includes significant sections of the Lebanese capitalist class.

Jaber pointed out that "while participating in the fighting on the same side as some factions of the bourgeoisie, the RCG did not in any way extend political support to these factions (as the Stalinists did), but instead constantly explained that in a future that will not be long in coming these same bourgeois factions will stand on the side of the reactionaries, opening fire against the toiling masses."

This prediction has already been borne out by events. A number of key Muslim politicians went along with Assad and backed the candidacy of Sarkis. However, it remains to be seen whether the Assad regime, the Maronite rightists, and the Muslim capitalists will be able to suppress the struggle—even in the short run. Having fought so hard and so long for their rights, the Muslim masses and their Palestinian allies are not ready to quietly give up. □

Hanoi Official Gives Account of Victory Over Thieu

Two of Hanoi's official newspapers, *Nhan Dan* and *Quan Doi Nhan Dan*, have been carrying a serialized account of the collapse of the Saigon regime last year, written by Gen. Van Tien Dung, the Vietnamese chief of staff. Dung's articles have been timed to coincide with the April 30 anniversary of Saigon's surrender.

A summary of the nine installments that have appeared so far was published in the April 26 *New York Times*. It confirms that Hanoi's leaders were taken by surprise at the rapid collapse of the Saigon forces.

According to the *Times* account, Dung was almost incredulous at the panic-stricken flight of the Saigon forces following the fall of Ban Me Thuot. "Why such a retreat?" he asked.

The *Times* summary quoted Dung as giving two mutually contradictory statements on Hanoi's intentions prior to the collapse of Thieu's forces. At one point, Dung said:

The Political Bureau was resolved to mobilize the greatest efforts by the entire party and all troops and people in both parts of the country during the 1975-76 period, to step up the military and political struggle in coordination with the diplomatic struggle with a view to quickly and comprehensively changing the balance of power in our favor.

This strategic determination was reflected in the two-year 1975-76 strategic plan. According to this plan, widespread, large surprise attacks would be launched in 1975, creating conditions for the general offensive and uprising in 1976. Thus in 1976 we would launch the general offensive and uprising to completely liberate the South.

Later in the account, however, Dung said, "Our aim was to achieve success to pressure them [Saigon] to implement the Paris agreement on Vietnam." This agreement, which called for a cease-fire, would have left the Thieu regime intact and in control of the bulk of South Vietnam's population.

It is not clear to what extent Dung's statement that Hanoi had decided on a plan to fight for the complete liberation of the South was the result of hindsight. Only a year previously, in February 1974, the Hanoi leadership had listed the "endeavour to fulfill our duty to the heroic South" as a low priority, following seven political and economic tasks yet to be accomplished in the North.

Dung also describes the discussions in Hanoi on whether Ford would be able to send U.S. forces back into Vietnam.

According to Dung, the ruling circles in Hanoi judged that the internal situation in the United States was a decisive factor ruling out such intervention:

The Watergate scandal had seriously affected the entire United States and precipitated the resignation of an extremely reactionary President—Nixon. The United States faced economic recession, mounting inflation, serious unemployment and an oil crisis.

Comrade Le Duan drew an important conclusion that became a resolution: having already withdrawn from the South, the United States could hardly jump back in, and no matter how it might intervene, it would be unable to save the Saigon administration from collapse. □

The Iraqi Regime's Campaign to 'Pacify' Kurdistan

[The following article was written by a Kurdish activist living in France. It appeared in the "Tribune Libre" (Open Forum) section of the April 22-28 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, the weekly newspaper that reflects the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In March 1975, Iran and Iraq signed an accord in Algiers, reaching a settlement of their disputes. As a result, the struggle of the Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan became isolated and collapsed. Since then a veil of total silence has fallen again over the fate of the three million Kurds in Iraq.

What has happened to the thousands of partisans who for fourteen years held in check the armies of the successive dictatorships in Baghdad, who had suddenly to abandon their struggle, to withdraw from the scene, without making a last stand, without having been defeated militarily? What really happened? What is the situation now? What are the perspectives? These are all questions that can rightfully be asked.

In retrospect, and in light of the information that has been published in both the English-language and Arabic press, it is quite clear that the Algiers accord between Iraq and Iran was drawn up under the guidance of Henry Kissinger, with Egypt and Jordan serving as intermediaries.

After all, the police state ruling in Baghdad had given irrefutable proof of its anti-Communism. In 1963 and 1970-72, it massacred several thousand cadres of the Iraqi Communist party—3,000 according to the CP's first secretary—and reduced the influence of the party to a bare minimum. The Iraqi forces stationed in Jordan also played a memorable role in the massacre of Palestinians there in 1970. Moreover, during the oil crisis in the fall of 1973 Iraq was the only Arab country that failed to impose an embargo on the export of crude oil to the capitalist countries.

These are facts, concrete and unambiguous actions. They put in the proper perspective the pseudorevolutionary verbiage and phrasemongering that may be indulged in from time to time for propagandistic purposes. Moreover, while Iraq had signed a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, Kissinger was not unaware that this was designed primarily to cut off the Kurds from their main political support.

All that was necessary then to smother the voice of the Kurdish people was to get

Iran and Iraq to come to an understanding. Order would then be restored. After Egypt, Iraq in its turn would be detached from the Soviet orbit (with the agreement of the Kremlin chiefs), and the American grip on this oil-bearing region would be complete.

The deal was the following: Iran would make every effort to help the Baghdad government liquidate the armed resistance of the Iraqi Kurds. In return, Iraq was to make major territorial concessions, put under wraps its claims to the Arab-inhabited Iranian province of Khuzistan (Arabistan), end all aid to the patriots in Dhofar as well as to the opponents of the shah's regime, abstain from any criticism of the Israeli-Egyptian interim accord on the Sinai, and so on.

This deal was quite advantageous to the shah, who thus was able to get the maximum benefit from the logistical support he had extended to the Kurds. It was disastrous for Iraq. But what wouldn't these petty-bourgeois Arab nationalists do to bring about a collapse of the Kurdish resistance, which they had never been able to defeat militarily? After a few months of hesitations stemming from futile illusions about the possibility of a last-minute military victory, Iraq finally accepted the deal.

The Iraqi-Iranian entente was in fact in the nature of things, since over the last fifty years these states occupying Kurdistan have always combined at the critical moment to crush Kurdish rebellions and revolution. Nonetheless, it was a stab in the back for the Kurdish people.

However, despite the highly unfavorable objective conditions, the collapse of the Kurdish national movement in Iraq was not inevitable. In those tragic moments when Iran was threatening to intervene militarily on the side of Baghdad's troops, there were thousands of partisans, poor or ruined peasants, in liberated Kurdistan who wanted to continue the struggle. They had sacrificed everything for the success of a struggle from which they expected so much; and they did not intend by any means to abandon it without making any gains.

However, a struggle cannot be conducted without a solid political leadership. And the Kurdish leadership was exhausted. The mechanisms of Iranian aid, which was supposed to be "without strings," had generated an internal rot by reinforcing the influence of the traditional conservative elements. All the contradictions inherent in this leadership's feudal-bourgeois nature came out into the open. At the decisive moment, it failed, disappearing

probably forever from the Kurdish political scene, which it dominated for so long because of the lack of other claimants to leadership.

The Kurdish people, moreover, have learned that there is no such thing as aid with no strings attached, even though the conditions may not always be written down or made explicit. Above all, they have learned by experience that in our time you need a revolutionary political leadership to conduct a national liberation struggle. Without a revolutionary leadership, no victorious national or socialist revolution.

While the defeat of the Kurdish armed movement in Iraq was the defeat primarily of a leadership, it nonetheless affected the fate of an entire people, opening the way for implacable repression.

In the tragic days in March 1975, thousands of Kurdish partisans, bereft of political leadership, disoriented, and not knowing what to do, fled with their families into Iran. Others surrendered to the [Iraqi] authorities, not before shooting some of their commanders who gave them the order to stop fighting.

In the course of this long and murderous war, both Russian and British planes dropped tons of American, French, and Czechoslovak bombs on defenseless Kurdish villages in order to "pacify" them. In the last year of the war alone, there were 35,000 casualties. (*Sunday Times*, February 15, 1976.) Civilians were executed, bombed, or napalmed by the Iraqi army. Thousands of refugees perished in the mountain snows or avalanches. The world kept silent. The virtuous bards and the paladins of struggle for liberty saw nothing to rouse their indignation.

Whether they stayed in Iraq or fled in haste and panic to Iran, the survivors of the Kurdish holocaust were far from finding an end to their travail.

By early April 1975, 250,000 Kurdish refugees had been shunted into Iranian camps. Although access to these curious and special camps was forbidden to journalists and representatives of the humanitarian organizations, they nonetheless remained open for frequent visits from Iraqi ministers who came to harangue the crowds of refugees and in particular to threaten them with the loss of their citizenship if they did not return to Iraq.

These camps have been placed under close surveillance by SAVAK (the Iranian political police). Without special authorization, you cannot even go for a walk in a nearby town. And in Iran, you do not argue with the police. The Kurdish refu-

gees, used to the climate of freedom that prevailed for fourteen years in liberated Kurdistan (a 35,000 square-kilometer area), have learned this to their cost, paying dearly for at most minor infractions.

In early October in the Anzal camp, 150 kilometers from Kermanshah, some Kurdish children went off to go swimming without asking permission first from SAVAK. As if they were dangerous criminals, the police immediately set out to track them down. They arrested the children and beat them brutally in the process. Stunned, the parents protested peacefully against these outrages. The police opened fire, killing nine Kurds and wounding twenty-seven. This is only one example among many.

The calvary of these refugees has not stopped with repression and internment. Fearing that the fate of their compatriots from Iraq would arouse the sympathy of the Iranian Kurds, who number around six million, the shah is trying to disperse a part of these refugees in the non-Kurdish provinces of his empire—in Baluchistan, on the Afghanistan frontier, in Arab Khuzistan (Arabistan), in Mazanderan on the Caspian shore.

The rest of the refugees, the larger part, are intended to serve as pawns in the shah's bargaining with Iraq over the Gulf Security Treaty (a kind of pact between Iran, Iraq, and Saudi Arabia designed to confirm the political status quo in the Arab-Persian Gulf region). It must be assumed that the negotiations are well along, since in the period between October 1975 and January 1976, the shah forcibly returned more than 50,000 Kurds to Iraq. Recently, when the Iranian premier visited Baghdad, seven Kurds under death sentence in Iraq were turned over to the Iraqi authorities in exchange for ten Iranian political refugees long resident in Baghdad.

Kept under surveillance, brutally treated, threatened with being turned over to the Iraqi authorities at any moment, without any recognized status (hostages, in fact, of the shah), many Kurds have preferred to return to Iraq. With no other alternative, they would rather die bravely in Iraq than rot, than be roasted over a slow fire in the Iranian internment camps.

The result is that no more than 40,000 "refugees" remain in Iran at this time. It seems that in a few months barely 3,000 or 4,000 will be left, those who most fear for their lives. Among these are the former leadership of the Kurdish movement, who are being held hostage by the shah. He refuses even to let them appeal for asylum in European countries.

The fate of those Kurds unable or unwilling to leave Iraq, and of those who have returned, is still less enviable.

In the two months that followed the fall of free Kurdistan, Baghdad's policy was to execute as many Kurdish patriots as possible. It needed to terrorize the popula-



By Harold Hoover—The Washington Post

tion, to break any will to resist. There were sixty executions in the Mosul central prison, fifty in Abu Graib (a penitentiary twenty kilometers east of Baghdad), twelve in Zertho, eleven in Erbil, about thirty in Sulaimaniya, and so on; that is, about 250 persons in all went before firing squads. And these are just the cases that are known to the public.

Even after the first fury passed, these killings—murders, since there has been no trial of any sort—have continued. In late September, forty-nine Kurds, including twenty-three women and six children, fled to the Turkish border with the Iraqi police on their track. They hoped in this way to avoid their tragic destiny. They appealed for asylum. The Turkish authorities, who are on excellent terms with Baghdad, turned them over to the Iraqis at the Khabur border posts, although not before keeping them in prison for two weeks as punishment for slipping across the border! The day after they were handed over, all these refugees, including the children, were shot for high treason. This crime is well known; it has been widely reported in the Turkish press. But how many others have been committed in the shadows?

Shooting people down can terrorize the population for a while, instill fear, contain their anger. But this offers no security, not even in the relatively short run for the regime in power. There is a merciless struggle between two nationalisms. One arises from the Kurdish people who have been oppressed and persecuted for all too long. It has a democratic and therefore progressive content. The other is Arab nationalism. It is progressive when directed against reactionary imperialist domination. But it becomes aggressive and chauvinistic when directed against non-Arab peoples. It gives the Arab bourgeoisie an excuse for maintaining itself in power to pillage the agricultural, mining, and petroleum resources of Kurdistan. In this struggle, the Arab bourgeois states know that sooner or later other revolts will break out in Kurdistan. It is to forestall such a development, which is inevitable since it is impelled by outrageous injustices and exactions, that Baghdad has decided to systematically evacuate the population of Kurdistan, to Arabize it, and to disperse the Kurds in the deserts of southern Iraq.

In accordance with this policy, all the Kurdish refugees returning from Iran, the Kurdish partisans who have laid down their arms, and political activists are now being kept in internment or concentration camps scattered in the deserts of An Nasiriya and Diwaniyah. There are up to 200,000 of them; they are kept under close surveillance by military personnel and "live" in precarious conditions. They are being called on to make the Arab desert "bloom," as if the Iraqis were trying to make them expiate the sin of having been born Kurds in an Arab state. This cannot fail to remind us of another "nationalism," the Nazis'.

The Kurdish areas that are rich in oil (Kirkuk and Khanaqin) or border on Syria, Iran, and Turkey are now the focus of the Arabization policy. The inhabitants of these regions have been evacuated en masse to the south and replaced by Arabs from Iraq or even from Egypt (see the Egyptian paper *Al Ahram*, December 23, 1975).

If you recall that almost two million persons participated in this "rebellion," that shows us the scope of the Iraqi program for deporting the Kurdish population. But an Arab paper reassures us: The oil-field province of Kirkuk, which formerly was 70 percent Kurdish, has not been entirely emptied of its old inhabitants. In the markets of the provincial capital, you still come across some Kurds, easily recognizable because of their national costume. However, this same paper points out that no Kurd can acquire a house or land. Those who own property find their titles disregarded.

There can be no doubt that Iraq is in the process of pacifying Kurdistan in its own way, building "strategic hamlets," establishing concentration and forced labor camps. Even if we do not know the exact number of persons involved, we can read between the lines of the official statements and see that already several tens of thousands of persons have been affected by these racist and fascistic measures.

Some of those affected are in concentration camps. Others are dispersed in the Arab villages of the south. Still others are being humiliated in their own country (where they have lived for 5,000 years) by Iraqi forces that act as if they were in a conquered territory. There is no doubt that these three million Iraqi Kurds are experiencing the darkest hours in their history since that day in 1920 when a certain Arnold Wilson came up with the idea of annexing southern Kurdistan to the two provinces of Arab Iraq in order to form a state under British protection. His purpose, he said, was to assure that "London can hold the petroleum of Kurdistan and Mesopotamia."

The Kurds are not, unfortunately, the only ones in this last quarter of the twentieth century who are rotting in concentration camps. Such camps exist

everywhere where there is minority rule, police states, fascist or despotic regimes, from Chile to Indonesia, running the gamut of Brazil, Uruguay, South Africa, Iran, and so on. The Kurds in Turkey, Iran, and Syria have scarcely been spared from national oppression.

However, at the present time, the Kurdish people, who number at least eighteen million and inhabit a territory as large as France where they have lived for 5,000 years, that is, since long before the arrival of the Arabs and the Turks in this part of the world, are the only human community

of this size who are refused the right to a national life of their own. Can summary executions, mass deportations, concentration camps, and other forms of barbarism extinguish the flame of dignity and love of freedom that burns in the heart of every Kurd? □

Imperialists Seek to Head Off Mass Upsurge in Zimbabwe

Growing Pressure on Smith Regime to Accept Majority Rule

By Ernest Harsch

The recent shift in Washington's stance toward the white supremacist regime of Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith has been hailed by its imperialist partners in Britain, the European power most directly involved in Zimbabwe.

Robert B. Semple, Jr. reported in the April 30 *New York Times* that the British government was "delighted" with Kissinger's April 27 speech in Zambia. In that speech Kissinger said that Washington would not come to Smith's aid and that it would employ stepped-up diplomatic and economic pressure for a negotiated settlement leading to majority rule in Zimbabwe.

Semple summarized the reasoning behind the policy shift. He said both Kissinger and British Prime Minister James Callaghan agreed that the Zimbabwean "nationalist impulses may become violent and revolutionary, rather than peaceful and evolutionary, unless the West takes two major steps: recognizing and endorsing the aspirations of the blacks and eliminating the white-dominated Smith Government, whose very presence in Rhodesia is inflammatory to black African leaders."

The American and British imperialists were also concerned that continued overt support for the white regime could damage their political influence in Black-ruled Africa. After Kissinger's April 27 speech, British Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland told the House of Commons, "I would suggest that if the United Kingdom Government and Dr. Kissinger had not taken the line we have taken, we would have undermined every moderate black leader in the entire continent of Africa."

Although London and Washington now talk of a "rapid" transition to Black majority rule in Zimbabwe, both imperialist powers continue to make clear their preference for a "peaceful" settlement that will replace the colonial-settler regime with a Black neocolonial government willing to protect foreign economic interests. To achieve this aim, they have launched a coordinated effort to force Smith into

making enough compromises to make such a negotiated settlement possible.

Part of this effort includes the tightening of the United Nations sanctions against the white supremacist regime. A resolution has been introduced in the American Senate to repeal the so-called Byrd Amendment, which permits the importation of Rhodesian chrome in violation of the sanctions. In April, London charged nine governments* with breaking the sanctions by allowing a Rhodesian airline to operate in their countries.

In response to urging from Kissinger, the white minority regime in South Africa, which has the most direct stake in seeking to prevent the conflict in Zimbabwe from exploding into a mass upsurge, has also stepped up pressure for Smith to give way.

On May 13, Secretary for Information Eschel M. Rhoadie declared, "Military intervention by South Africa to uphold the Rhodesian Government is absolutely out of the question."

New York Times correspondent John F. Burns reported in the May 14 issue: "Privately, officials here [Pretoria] have gone even further than Mr. Rhoadie in recent days, saying that South Africa has informed the Government of Prime Minister Ian D. Smith that the most it can expect, in an extreme crisis, is a 'rescue operation' by South African forces to evacuate white Rhodesians."

At the same time, however, South Africa has continued to serve as Salisbury's only remaining trade outlet and has refused to comply with the UN economic sanctions.

And while Rhoadie said Pretoria would not intervene to save the Smith regime, he did not announce an end to Pretoria's supply of arms and ammunition to Salisbury. Moreover, Pretoria's armed aggression against Angola, which ended only a

few months ago, proved that the Vorster regime was prepared to intervene militarily in other countries if it saw its interests threatened.

The imperialists have coupled the increased pressure on Smith with overtures to the Zimbabwean liberation groups.

Before leaving on his tour of Africa, Kissinger said that he intended to meet with the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders. However, the only one who was willing to meet with him was Joshua Nkomo, the head of the "internal" faction of the African National Council (ANC).

Although Kissinger publicly denied that Washington was considering giving military assistance to any of the Zimbabwean liberation groups, he did offer American technical and economic "aid" to the future Zimbabwean regime. As in the rest of Africa, Washington would attempt to use its financial assistance to buy political influence and to open the way for a greater penetration of the country by American capital.

So far, the imperialist efforts to find a "peaceful solution" to the Zimbabwean conflict have shown no signs of success. In fact, within days of Kissinger's speech, the Smith regime announced an escalation of its war against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

On May 1, a government communiqué declared that a large-scale offensive would be launched against the guerrillas. The call-up of several thousand territorial reservists was announced, a move that could triple the number of Rhodesian troops in the field.

Although the number of troops involved in the call-up is secret, it is estimated that there are 5,000 troops in the regular army and 10,000 in the reserves. Including the police, police reserves, and air force, the Smith regime has more than 50,000 persons under arms.

Four days later, the length of military service was extended from twelve months to eighteen months. A military spokesman declared that the measure was necessary

*In a note to the United Nations Security Council sanctions committee, London named the governments of France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Spain, Paraguay, Zaïre, the Ivory Coast, and Gabon.

"to provide sufficient trained manpower to deal effectively with the recent upsurge in terrorist incursions and to insure that these will be not only contained but decisively defeated."

In late March, Salisbury announced that a new guard force would be set up for the dozens of "protected villages," in which between 175,000 and 200,000 Blacks have been forcibly resettled to cut the guerrillas off from their supporters. This new guard force of about 1,000 men will enable the regime to make available for active combat those troops now on sentry duty.

To further supplement its forces, Salisbury has begun the recruitment of foreign mercenaries. According to a report in the May 2 *London Observer*, former British troops were being offered £250 (US\$450) a week to join the Rhodesian army, five times the salary of a regular British or Rhodesian soldier. The May 10 *Newsweek* reported that foreign "volunteers," from Britain, the United States, and West Germany, were arriving in Salisbury daily.

Lt. Gen. Peter Walls, the army commander, said that the Rhodesian forces would conduct "search and destroy" actions against the guerrillas, who are operating along the eastern border with Mozambique. *Washington Post* reporter Reg Shay said in a May 1 dispatch from Salisbury, "The security forces are expected to fan out along the length of the Mozambique border and then move inward, burning dry grass that could shelter guerrillas."

Claiming a "right of hot pursuit," Walls also warned that Rhodesian forces would strike into Mozambique and any other countries providing sanctuary for the freedom fighters: "Where our terrorists take refuge across the border when we are closing in on them to destroy them we will, if necessary, follow them across the border."

Smith declared April 27 that his regime would set up special courts to try "crimes of terrorism." These courts are to be set up in combat areas to administer immediate "justice" to suspected guerrillas. Under the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act, conviction of certain "terrorist" actions brings a mandatory death sentence.

Despite the Smith regime's stepped-up counterinsurgency measures, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters have continued to expand guerrilla actions in the countryside.

Salisbury admitted May 6 that guerrillas had struck at the Rhodesian rail line that runs from Bulawayo through Botswana into South Africa. The attack on the railway was the deepest penetration by the Mozambique-based guerrillas into Zimbabwe so far. In April, guerrillas blew up a stretch of track and derailed a train on Salisbury's only other operating railway, from Rutenga to Beitbridge on the South African border.

A statement issued in Lusaka, Zambia, said that the attack on the Rutenga

railway had been carried out by "cadres under the joint command of the former ZANU and ZAPU." The Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) were the two main nationalist groups in the country.

The "joint command" was an apparent reference to the Central Command of the Zimbabwe Liberation Army (ZLA), which is composed of guerrillas from both ZANU and ZAPU. According to an interview with Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere in the March 7 *London Observer*, the ZLA command was formed in late 1975 in Mozambique. It is composed of nine former ZANU leaders and nine former ZAPU leaders. The chairman is Rex Nhongo, ZANU's field commander in northeastern Zimbabwe at the height of the guerrilla campaign there in 1974.

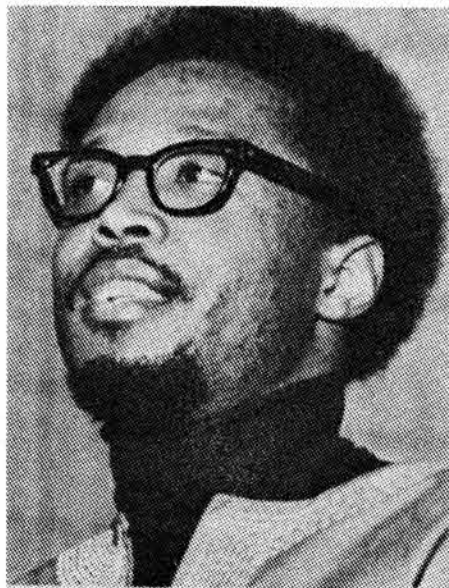
According to Nyerere, the ZLA com-

mand does not owe allegiance to any of the four main nationalist leaders, Joshua Nkomo, Ndabaningi Sithole, Abel Muzorewa, or James Chikerema.

Although most of the active opposition to the Smith regime has so far been confined to guerrilla actions in rural areas, the tensions in the crowded Black townships in Salisbury and other cities have also heightened during the past few months. *Washington Post* correspondent David B. Ottaway reported from Salisbury March 21, "The mood in the African townships surrounding this white-run capital was one of growing militancy. . . ."

This sentiment was evident to the white authorities as well. Ottaway reported in the March 29 issue that a "special force of tough urban police is taking shape to handle anticipated riots and terrorism in the cities." □

Rosie Douglas Deported From Canada



Labor Challenge

ROSIE DOUGLAS

[The following editorial appeared in the May 10 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Toronto.]

* * *

On April 30 the federal government finally triumphed in its four-year-old attempt to deport Rosie Douglas, a prominent Black leader and fighter against racism in Canada.

Under arrest and faced with the threat

of being returned to his native Dominica, where his life would be in danger because of political repression, Douglas chose exile in Jamaica.

Douglas was denied the right to appeal to the Immigration Appeal Board against a deportation order issued in 1972 by Solicitor-General Warren Allmand and Immigration Minister Robert Andras. "It would be contrary to the national interest" for the board to consider Douglas's appeal against deportation, the ministers stated in a special certificate. The certificate—a rarely used document—asserted that Douglas was a risk to national security.

Douglas was never offered an opportunity to challenge the "risk to national security" designation that Ottawa pinned on him.

Last month the federal Court of Appeal upheld the right of federal Cabinet ministers to use such special certificates against persons they wanted deported. Douglas and his lawyers are appealing the decision to the Supreme Court.

But Ottawa had no intention of letting Douglas remain in Canada until his appeal was heard. The order came down to get him out of the country.

Contrast, a Black community weekly in Toronto, banner headlined the news of Douglas's arrest in its April 30 issue. The announcement "that Rosie Douglas has been arrested," the front-page article reported, "has created a feeling of fear, defeat and concern throughout the Black community."

The deportation of Douglas is not only an attack on the rights of Blacks and Third World immigrants. It is an assault on the civil liberties of all people in Canada. □

The Crisis of the Japanese Trade-Union Movement

By Hideo Yamamoto

TOKYO—Workers throughout Japan looked forward to the 1976 *shunto*¹ as a chance to regain the purchasing power they have lost through inflation. This was especially so because the average wage settlements in the 1975 *shunto* had failed to keep up with the cost of living.

Surveys conducted by major trade-union federations² gave an indication of the degree of deterioration of the standard of living. Polls of workers' wives (who do the shopping in most Japanese households) showed that pay raises of about 30% were needed just to restore real wages to their 1974 levels.

Significantly, the response of workers themselves to the same polls gave average figures barely over 20%. This points out the other side of the ruling-class attack on Japanese workers—on-the-job employer propaganda, harassment, and the threat of layoffs. Transfers, layoffs, and plant closures have been carried out during the past year on an unprecedented scale.

As the 1976 *shunto* approached, the employers federation Nikkeiren³ announced its opposition to granting any wage increases greater than 10%. The LDP⁴ government, which has always acted as a close partner of the giant corporations, released a report on March 31 that estimated the inflation rate in the preceding twelve-month period at 9.9%. This report was only a small part of the massive antilabor propaganda campaign orchestrated by the government and the employers.

Workers in government agencies and in Japan's public sector⁵ were the central target of this propaganda campaign.

Many Japanese cities and smaller municipalities have threatened to balance their budgets by means of massive social-service cutbacks unless municipal workers accepted austerity measures. To defend against these attacks, the relatively weak unions of local government employees hoped for joint actions with the more powerful nationwide federations during the *shunto*.

The most powerful federation in the public sector is Korokyo,⁶ which includes the workers of Japan National Railways (JNR), the backbone of this country's modern transportation network. As such, they became the main target of the government's attacks. The ruling-class propaganda campaign has focused on the nearly five trillion yen (\$1.6 billion) indebtedness of JNR, blaming Korokyo's demands for wage raises and the federation's consistent opposition to passenger-fare hikes.⁷

Korokyo was forced out on an eight-day strike in November 1975. That strike failed to win its central demand: legal recognition of the right of public-sector employees to strike. Subsequently the "illegal" strike has been used as a pretext for further government attacks on the union. In the first months of 1976 JNR workers carried out work-to-rule slowdowns and limited strikes to protest government moves to victimize strike activists.

Both the JNR workers and the government looked to the *shunto* as the showdown battle in this struggle. Either united labor action would force the government to back down, or else the strength of Korokyo would be broken, opening the way for increased attacks on the weaker public-sector unions. The struggle over the JNR contract became the central point of the entire *shunto*. Even the steelworkers federation (the traditional pacesetter in contract negotiations) waited for the outcome of the JNR struggle.

Under the pressure of repeated slowdowns, and half-day and one-day strikes

on various JNR lines, government negotiators refused to budge from their original wage raise offer, which averaged only 6.13%.

The Spring Labor Offensive Joint Struggle Committee responded by calling a "Transportation General Strike," to begin April 20. Most JNR and private rail lines were to be shut down for three days, or longer if necessary to break through the 10% limit. The railway workers would be joined during all or part of this period by bus drivers, telephone and telegraph workers, teachers, municipal workers, seamen, metalworkers, chemical, and textile workers. In all, over sixty unions would participate.

The pent-up economic aspirations of millions of Japanese workers were reflected in the preparations for this strike. Daily "Spring Struggle Bulletins" were published in hundreds of local enterprises. In the mornings, rail and subway passengers were handed union leaflets explaining the demands and schedule of the strike, apologizing for the inconvenience and appealing for support. In spite of the capitalist propaganda campaign, opinion polls published in the bourgeois press indicated majority support for wage raises to keep up with inflation.

The first day of the strike was an impressive demonstration of the power of the working class of this highly urbanized imperialist country. The bourgeois daily *Asahi Shimbun* ran the headline, "More Than a Third of Population Hit by Nationwide Rail Walkouts." The article underneath reported:

An estimated 38 million persons were adversely affected by the first-day action of the transport general strike, deprived of their normal means of transport, according to checks by the Transport Ministry and the Japan National Railways (JNR).

Not a single train, not even a freight train, was running in the capital sphere. . . .

The strike spread on the second day, April 21, as workers of several small private railways joined in.

But on the third day, Japanese workers read in that same bourgeois daily, under the headline, "National, Private Unions Call Off Railway Strike":

The rail unions, which spearheaded labor's planned three-day all-out offensive, called off their strike Thursday morning [April 22], accepting single-digit wage increase awards although they had aimed at double-digit boosts. . . .

Labor, which had to settle for an average of

1. The annual Spring Labor Offensive.

2. The basic collective-bargaining unit in Japan is the enterprise union. All the employees of a single company belong to one union. Enterprise unions are affiliated to industry-wide federations, which are in turn affiliated to nationwide federations, which are connected to the working-class parties.

3. Nippon Keizai Dankei Rengokai, the Japan Federation of Employers Associations.

4. Liberal Democratic party, the only major bourgeois party in Japan.

5. This includes postal, broadcasting, telephone, railway, and other enterprises under government management.

6. Kokyo Kigyotai Rodo Kumiai Kyogikai, the National Council of Public Corporation and National Enterprise Workers Unions.

7. This is especially hypocritical since it has long been government policy to run JNR freight trains at a loss. This is in effect a taxpayers' subsidy to heavy industry in the form of low freight rates. In addition, in fiscal 1976, the government will hand over 244 billion yen (\$810 million) of tax revenue to Japanese banks as interest payments on the JNR debt.

about 13 percent below a big-business guideline of 15 percent last year, acknowledged complete defeat. This year's level would warrant the same description.

With the settlement of [the] dispute in the major private railways and the three public corporations and five national enterprises, the 1976 spring labor offensive has passed the peak.

Wage awards to be won by unions which are continuing to fight are not expected to exceed those granted by a large margin.

How did the Japanese capitalists manage to impose their contract terms in spite of a massive, highly effective strike? To answer this question, it is necessary first to review the development of the present crisis of leadership of the Japanese working class.

The Rise of Trade Unions

The years of extreme poverty following the end of World War II saw a huge upsurge in combative—sometimes desperate—struggles of the Japanese working class. Despite repression by the American occupation forces, the leadership of important sectors of the emerging trade-union movement went into the hands of the Japan Communist party (JCP), which enjoyed enormous prestige as the only political force that had not capitulated to Japanese imperialism during the war.

During the Korean War, however, the JCP was banned and the Americans intervened to hand over the trade-union posts formerly held by Stalinists to a more compliant Social Democratic opposition caucus, the Democratization League (Mindō). The end of the Korean War also marked the beginning of a long period of rapid growth for the Japanese capitalist economy, which aided the Mindō leadership in entrenching itself as the most important component of the trade-union bureaucracy. Okochi, Karsh, and Levine⁸ point to 1955 as the turning point between the period of "revolutionary trade-unionism" and the "Japanese trade-unionism" that has characterized the labor movement ever since.

The major organizations of the present-day trade-union movement have evolved directly out of the groupings that emerged by 1955.

The largest nationwide federation is Sohyo.⁹ It has some four million members, mainly workers in public-sector enterprises, local government employees, and teachers. Under the leadership of Mindō, it supports the Japan Socialist party (JSP). In recent years, because of its base among public employees, it has tended to act as the left wing of the labor movement as a whole.

8. K. Okochi, B. Karsh, and S.B. Levine, eds., *Workers and Employers in Japan* (Tokyo: Toyko University Press, 1973).

9. Nippon Rodo Kumiai Sohyo Gikai, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan.

The 2.3 million-member Domei,¹⁰ under the leadership of right-wing Social Democrats, is based primarily in the private sector. Many federations of Domei are notorious for their role as company unions that act to enforce labor discipline in the plants. In the elections, Domei supports the Democratic Socialist party (DSP).

The Churitsuroren¹¹ federation has 1.4 million members, mainly electrical workers. Politically in between Sohyo and Domei, it has sometimes given support to JSP candidates. The Spring Labor Offensive Joint Struggle Committee is a coordinating body of the leaderships of Sohyo and Churitsuroren.

Partially overlapping these three federations is the International Metalworkers Federation-Japan Committee (IMFJC), to which are affiliated the steelworkers federation of Sohyo, the electrical-appliance federation of Churitsuroren, and the shipbuilding and auto federations of Domei. The IMFJC bureaucracy is a powerful force, based on unions in the key sectors of Japan's heavy industry.

Origin of Spring Labor Offensive

The postwar Japanese economy has been characterized by a division of labor between huge industrial monopolies and a large number of small, often marginal firms that act as subcontractors, carrying out the more labor-intensive operations in manufacturing, construction, marketing, and so forth. The trade unions in heavy industry are much more powerful than those in the small enterprises, and the workers in the largest industrial firms have become the relatively privileged sector of the Japanese proletariat.

In the 1950s the unions established the pattern of negotiating all collective-bargaining agreements in April, primarily as a means for allowing the unions in small-scale enterprises to compensate for their inherent weakness by linking up their contract struggles with those of the more powerful industrial federations. In practice the percentage wage raise in the IMFJC steelworkers' settlement came to be the "pacesetter" for all other unions. The smaller unions were assured of getting at least that percentage, even without carrying on a serious struggle. In this way, even the most impotent unions could develop thriving, prosperous bureaucracies.

In conditions of a continually expanding economy, such a procedure was even acceptable to the capitalists. The system of equal percentage raises did not tend to close the wage gap between the large- and small-scale sectors. With 90% of all strikes concentrated in one month of the year, and

10. Zen Nippon Rodo Sodomei, the Japan-wide General Federation of Labor.

11. Churitsu Rodo Kumiai Renraku Kaigi, the Joint Conference of Independent Labor Unions.

often lasting one day or less, employers suffered less in lost production. With a chronic labor shortage and competition among firms for high-school and college graduates, an employer was not so tempted to set wage scales below the industry-wide average, anyway.

From 1955 to 1974 the shunto tactic thus became a regular feature of Japanese society. In the absence of strong employer resistance, it even got to be somewhat ritualized, a sort of caricature of a massive class confrontation. The unions would stage huge demonstrations in which members marched through the streets carrying red flags and singing the "Internationale," listened to and applauded fiery speeches by reformist bureaucrats, and showed up for work the next morning. The bourgeoisie looked upon the whole thing as rather vulgar, but tolerable.

All of this changed, however, with the onset of the international capitalist recession, which hit Japan abruptly in the form of the 1974 "Oil Shock." Unemployment went over the one million mark for the first time in the memory of most Japanese workers. This eliminated the need for companies to compete for graduates, and in the spring of 1975 the capitalists for the first time closed ranks in a common front against the Labor Offensive.

Nikkeiren declared that in view of the recession, all wage raises would have to remain below a 15% "guideline." The steelworkers were held to a 13.4% raise. Through threats of cancellation of contracts, the monopolies forced their subcontractors not to grant anything more than that to their own employees. Thus instead of being a *base*, the steelworkers' settlement was converted into a *ceiling* for all other contracts.

The labor bureaucracy reacted to this like a fat samurai who had succeeded in bluffing his way out of every fight for the past twenty years, and had forgotten how to use his sword. The leaders of Sohyo lamely admitted that the 1975 shunto had been a total failure, while promising to do better next year. The rank-and-file workers were themselves stunned by the unprecedented outcome, but there was a widespread tendency to hope that—like the Oil Shock—it would only happen once, and the decline of real wages could be made up for next year.

The Ruling-Class Strategy in 1976

But by March 1976 the recession was by no means over. The ruling class, emboldened by its 1975 victory, was gearing up for a major battle, aiming to speed their economic recovery at the expense of the workers—especially those in the public sector. This time the guideline was 10%.

A very important new factor in 1976 was the political crisis of the ruling Liberal Democratic party. The LDP's popularity had been declining for several years,

especially as unemployment and inflation worsened. Coming on top of that, the Lockheed bribery scandal raised serious doubts about the ability of the LDP to win an absolute majority in the next Diet¹² elections. The question of a coalition government began to be discussed concretely for the first time in years.

The ruling-class strategy in the 1976 shunto was predicated upon the need to split the parliamentary reformist opposition. This process had begun in the Diet even before the beginning of the Labor Offensive. The Democratic Socialist party, which while formally part of the opposition is irrevocably opposed to any coalition with the JCP, blocked with the LDP in Diet votes concerning investigation of the Lockheed scandal.

While conducting an intense propaganda campaign against workers in the public sector—primarily the constituency of Sohyo—the government was much less harsh with those industries organized by Domei and IMFJC. The IMFJC electrical-appliance industry federation got a two-digit wage increase (this was not announced until after the JNR strike had been called off). Clearly the strategy was to line up the conservative bureaucrats of those federations to support an LDP-DSP coalition, if it comes to that.

In the course of the shunto, the Domei and IMFJC bureaucrats behaved more or less as the DSP leaders hoped they would. As usual, the first major contract to expire was the IMFJC steelworkers'. The leadership of Sohyo proposed a one-day strike by public-sector unions on the day the steel industry made its offer, to be followed by joint strikes by public and private sectors if the offer was within the 10% guideline. The Domei-affiliated auto and shipyard federation bureaucrats opposed this, threatening to "reexamine" the joint IMFJC setup if the steelworkers federation conducted joint strikes with other federations of Sohyo. Faced with this, the steelworkers federation announced that it was postponing its response to management's offer. This left the JNR contract as the de facto pacesetter, and furthermore left the JNR workers facing the government's attack with no hope of support from the Domei affiliates in the private sector, nor from the powerful steelworkers.

But even so, the joint strike by Sohyo and Churitsuroren affiliates was massive, and solid from the first day. Why did the Sohyo bureaucrats give up in the negotiations?

The DSP is not the only class-collaborationist party in the Japanese workers movement. The Japanese Stalinists are also looking forward toward a future governmental coalition. What they have in mind is a bloc of the JSP, JCP,

Komeito,¹³ and "progressive" independent Diet members ("progressive" being a generic term for anyone who will form a bloc with the JCP). In the past year the JCP has been evolving more and more openly along the lines of its French counterpart, and in connection with the shunto the JCP's main objective has been to avoid doing or saying things that would offend those potential "progressives."

Since the Korean War the Stalinists have not controlled any trade-union federations, although they have a significant influence in certain ones, notably Nikkyo-so,¹⁴ the teachers federation. The Stalinist propaganda dealing with the struggles of these unions has more and more often parroted the line of the LDP—sometimes expressing it in pseudo-Marxist rhetoric, sometimes just repeating it word for word. For example: In Japanese culture, the position of a teacher is one of great honor—a *sacred calling*. No number of yen per month could possibly compensate for the damage done to that honor when your pupils see you on a picket line. Or: Local government employees are *public servants*. You aren't working for a capitalist—you're serving the people. You mustn't strike against *the people*, etc., etc.

The JSP, which is the largest reformist party, is divided into two main factions. The "left" faction favors participation in the JCP's popular-front scheme, while the "right" faction prefers to go along with the DSP's more openly class-collaborationist scheme. The JSP Diet members, and the Mindo leadership in Sohyo, tend to vacillate between the two factions.

So on April 20-21, as trains came to a halt all over Japan, the Mindo bureaucrats of the JNR workers federation sat there in the negotiating sessions. On one side of them was the DSP, on the other side was the JCP, and facing them from across the table was the LDP government. As class collaborationists, they were much more impressed by *that* relationship of forces than by 38 million stranded commuters. They were not thinking about the effectiveness of "their" strike, they were counting seats in the Diet. They called off the strike.

The 1976 shunto failed because the workers' struggles were subordinated to the popular-front coalition schemes of the reformist leaders.

Crisis of Japanese Trade Unionism

The outcome of the 1976 shunto has led to a crisis in the leadership of Sohyo whose full extent is not yet clear. It appears that the chairman and general secretary of Sohyo will be forced to resign. But the

disorientation within the bureaucracy surely goes much deeper than that.

The mood of rank-and-file unionists is very different from the mood that prevailed after the 1975 defeat. There is no longer any question of it being a temporary setback from which they can recover next spring. The general feeling is that the two consecutive defeats mark the end of an era in Japanese trade unionism. There is widespread talk—including by various bureaucrats—of needing to fundamentally reevaluate the shunto as a tactic of struggle. Such proposals *evade* the real lessons to be drawn from the experience of the 1976 shunto.

As this article has pointed out, although important opportunities for joint strike action were passed up, the *fundamental* cause of the defeat was not any combination of tactical or organizational mistakes. It was the political orientation of the trade-union leaderships: class collaboration. The task that must be accomplished to prevent such defeats in the future is the establishment of a class-struggle leadership that will mobilize the enormous potential power of the Japanese proletariat in defense of its own interests, and not in pursuit of any coalition with the capitalists.

One consequence of the wait-till-next-year attitude that most unionists took after the 1975 defeat was that no significant opposition current arose within the unions. Within the JSP there are various factions and groupings that have opposed the party leadership's stand on certain questions, but none of these groups opposed Mindo's conduct of the strike and negotiations.

The political groups to the left of the JSP and JCP were the only organized opposition to the bureaucrats' policies within the unions. In the Tokyo area, the most visible of these groups were the Trotskyists of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League and the Japan Communist Youth League. They participated in organizing the work of the strike, and during the strike they distributed daily supplements to their weekly newspaper, *Sekai Kakumei*. These supplements explained the political maneuvers underlying Mindo's negotiating strategy, and warned that these could undermine all the work of the strikers and their supporters.

One consequence of the end-of-an-era attitude many unionists now share is that the opportunities for building a class-struggle current within the unions are better now than at any time since 1955. By their participation in the shunto, the Japanese Trotskyists made an important contribution toward the building of such a current. In major cities throughout Japan, tens of thousands of union activists heard the Trotskyists' ideas. The effect of those ideas, together with the continuing intervention of the Trotskyists, will be felt in the impending shake-up within the trade-union movement.

April 27, 1976

12. The Japanese national parliament.

13. Clean Government party, a petty-bourgeois party linked to the Soka Gakkai Buddhist sect.

14. Nippon Kyoshokuin Kumiai, the Japan Teachers Union.

Portuguese LCI and PRT Announce Candidate for Presidency

[The following article was published in the May 11 issue of *Jornal Novo*, one of the largest Lisbon dailies. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Yesterday the LCI and the PRT¹ presented Arlete Vieira da Silva as a candidate for president. Her campaign would "differ politically from that of the bourgeois and military candidates," it was said. It will be focused on "struggling for the political independence of the working class and for a government based on the various expressions of the workers' will, including the recent election results." This objective was summed up as "a government without capitalists or generals."

Before presenting Vieira da Silva, a woman, a worker, and a revolutionist, the presiding committee, which included Ferreira Fernandes and Cabral Fernandes from the LCI and Sá Leal from the PRT, explained the reasons for her candidacy.

Among other things, they attacked the pact between the military and the parties. They said that it "had been pregnant for months from promiscuous class collaborationism and now it had gone into labor and was about to bring forth a general wearing dark glasses." They rejected the claim that there is a majority consensus "supporting General Eanes," saying that it was based on such unreliable criteria as a "feeling" on the part of General Pires Veloso or "a consensus of civilians who aspire to ministerial posts."

The speakers proposed instead a road they said was "right and possible, a road that can guarantee the workers' independence and the future of their struggles."

The organizers of the press conference provided the following biographical information to explain who Arlete Vieira da Silva is: "She was born in Lisbon in 1940. At the age of twenty-two, she graduated from the School of Philosophical and Historical Sciences. She was an outstanding activist in the student strikes at Coimbra in 1961. She joined the Communist party at the age of eighteen, beginning her political work in Humberto Delgado's campaign for the presidency. She also participated in the legislative

election campaigns in 1965, 1969, and 1973, and in the Support Committees for the Aveiro Democratic Congresses in 1969 and 1973. She was a contributor to *República* and *Seara Nova*.

"As a member of the Portuguese Communist party, she worked in the underground for almost three years and spent almost four years in prison. She was jailed five times, in one case for more than three years. She was subjected to torture by sound and by clubbing, during which her wrist was broken. Comrade Arlete Vieira da Silva always conducted herself like a revolutionist and when she got out of prison she always returned to the struggle. In the underground, the Portuguese Communist party sent her to the Soviet Union three times. She spent eight months there, and three months in Prague.

"She worked and carried out assignments in areas usually considered strongholds of the Portuguese Communist party, such as Marinha Grande, Barreiro, and in general in the Lisbon industrial belt and along the Sintra line. Before April 25, she played a prominent role in supporting the struggles at Sorefame, Cometna, and others.

"After April 25, 1974, she returned to the teaching profession, from which she was ousted when she was jailed in 1965.

"For the candidates for the role of bonaparte or 'savior of the fatherland,' the presidential campaign is going to be just another episode in their long war against the working class. For Comrade Arlete Vieira da Silva also this campaign is a continuation of a struggle she has been waging for a long time, for two decades. Previously, she conducted her fight within the limitations of the Stalinist class-collaborationist perspective. But she always sought socialism, freedom, and workers power."

The following points were presented as preconditions for working-class independence and carrying on the fight for class unity.

a. Arlete Vieira da Silva calls for the formation of a government representing the will of the workers as expressed in the recent elections for the Assembly of the Republic.

In accordance with this objective, she promises that if she is elected she will call on the general secretary of the SP, Mário Soares, or an SP leader chosen by the party to form a government representing the will of a majority of the workers; that is, a government without capitalists or generals, based on the left majority in parliament and on unity between the SP

and CP, a government to advance the struggle and mobilization of the workers.

b. Respecting the will of the workers means breaking all commitments to the bourgeoisie.

The candidate promises to fight to assure that the government, as well as the left majority in the Assembly of the Republic, can govern and legislate freely, without the restrictions imposed by the pact and the special powers of the Council of the Revolution and the presidency.

c. The candidate will stress the need for unity of the workers movement and its organizations against the common enemy of the workers, the bourgeoisie in or out of uniform. During her campaign, she will focus on the need for such a workers united front, including the SP and CP as the representatives of a majority of the working class, in struggles in the assembly and the government.

The candidate supports the following concrete measures: a minimum monthly wage of 6,000 escudos [approximately US\$200]; a sliding scale of wages to counter inflation; calling a democratic congress of all trade unions to discuss and democratically draw up a plan of struggle; and encouragement, support, and improvement of workers control.

During the question period, the speakers rejected the candidacy of Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, saying: "The workers cannot rely on a general. This is all the more true because Otelo did not uphold the interests of the workers. He tied himself to the military hierarchy, to the provisional governments, and to the Group of the Nine.² Throughout the period since April 1974, he has vacillated."

The representatives of the LCI and the PRT also said that they could not support a candidacy backed by the right-wing parties, the PPD and the CDS,³ but that if the SP and CP ran a working-class candidate not linked to the bourgeois parties, to the state apparatus, or to the military hierarchy, they would withdraw their candidate. □

2. The military group led by Melo Antunes that ousted Vasco Gonçalves from the premiership in the August 1975 crisis and ended the special alliance of the Armed Forces Movement with the Communist party.—IP

3. Partido Popular Democrático (Democratic People's party), the liberal bourgeois party; Centro Democrático Social (Social Democratic Center), the right-wing bourgeois party.—IP

1. Liga Comunista Internacionalista (Internationalist Communist League), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International; Partido Revolucionário dos Trabalhadores (Revolutionary Workers party), an organization that has declared its adherence to the Fourth International.—IP

Firsthand Account of Torture and Imprisonment in Chile

[The following is the testimony of the British doctor, Sheila Cassidy, who was arrested and tortured in Chile after giving medical aid to MIR (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left) leader Nelson Gutiérrez. The testimony, given January 19, was published as an appendix to a report issued February 4 by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights.]

* * *

On 21 October 1975 I was asked to treat a wounded leftist revolutionary who was in hiding. I saw him on two occasions and operated upon his leg under local anaesthesia while he was being hidden in the house of a group of North American nuns; this was my only connexion with him. I took no part in the preparations made to get him into asylum in the house of the Papal Nuncio.

On 1 November, while attending a sick nun, I was detained by the Chilean Secret Police, the DINA [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional]. I was taken by car to a house of interrogation where I was submitted to electrical torture on three separate occasions. After four days in this house of detention I was transferred to another detention centre, where I was in solitary confinement for a total of three weeks. I was then transferred to a detention camp of women political prisoners, which is known officially as Tres Alamos, which means Three Poplars. I was detained for a further five weeks. I received no further physical torture during this period.

I was released by the Chilean Government on Monday, 29 December, and expelled from the country.

This is a fully factual account of my experiences. . . .

On 21 October I was telephoned by a Chilean priest who said he had a request to make of me. He then came to my house and told me that there was a wounded leftist revolutionary who had two bullet wounds in the leg and who needed medical treatment. He asked if I was prepared to assist this man and I agreed. I was fully cognizant of the risk of being detected, detained, interrogated and expelled from the country. I had no doubts that it was correct to attend this man, as the torture methods of the Chilean Secret Police are such that an important revolutionary person would be very severely tortured and probably killed.

This information is well documented in Chile by the Committee for Peace, which is an entirely non-political organization composed of a union of the Roman Catholic

and other Christian Churches.

I was taken to the house of the American Sisters of Notre Dame, where I treated Nelson Gutiérrez and where I met his girl friend María Bachman and Mary-Ann Beausire, who is the girl friend of Andrés Pascal Allende, who is the head of the Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR), the revolutionary leftist movement in Chile.

I found Gutiérrez to have three bullet wounds in the leg. One was an exit and entrance wound of one bullet and the other was only an entrance wound, which meant that the bullet was still in his leg. I explored the wound but was unable to find the bullet. I operated on his leg and drained a large abscess. It was at this time my impression that his condition would improve with rest and antibiotics and I agreed to return 48 hours later. This I did and found his condition greatly worse. He had a high fever and was unable to walk. I once more explored the wound to try to find the bullet but this was impossible as his leg was greatly swollen and the bullet was very small. It was my considered medical opinion that it would be impossible to treat him in this house without proper medical equipment and I thought that his life was in great danger as he could very possibly die from a generalized septicaemia and was already showing signs of this condition. I explained to him that it was impossible for him to go into hiding, that he was putting in risk the lives of the people who were helping him and that furthermore he was likely to reach a state of delirium in which he would be a danger to his own friends. He therefore agreed to accept the offers of asylum which had been made to him by the priests who had been helping him. I left the house and went to speak with the priests who were assisting him and they then proceeded with the necessary negotiations to get him political asylum.

The following day I was telephoned and asked to go to another convent for an urgent discussion. This I did and was presented to one of the Bishops of Santiago. I explained to him my medical reasons for the urgency and necessity for asylum for Nelson Gutiérrez and I agreed to come to the house of the Nuncio the following day to make a further attempt to extract the bullet. They told me that it was absolutely out of the question to send Gutiérrez to a hospital even under the protection of the Papal Nuncio, as this was far too dangerous and they considered his life would be gravely in jeopardy.

On Saturday, 25 October, I went there-

fore to the house of the Papal Nuncio. This house is very heavily guarded by police with machine-guns. I felt it inadvisable to reveal my own identity and therefore called myself Sister Isobel. This was the only occasion on which I had ever called myself by a false name or said that I was a religious and it was done with a very specific purpose.

When I entered the Nunciatura, the house of the Nuncio, I was told that another doctor had been called. I did not see Gutiérrez on this occasion and I have not seen him since. I returned to my home and during the week that followed I carried on with my ordinary life and work.

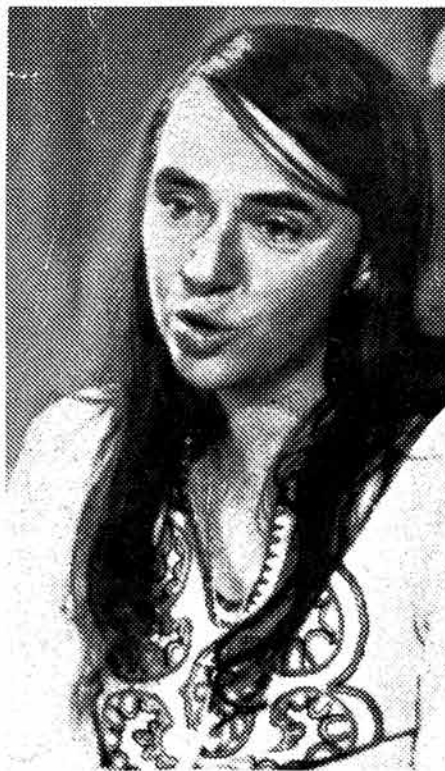
On the evening of Saturday, 1 November, I was in the house of the Columban Fathers, which is very close to my home. These missionary priests, many of whom are Irish, American or Australian, are my friends and I was a frequent visitor in their house. I was at that time caring for an American nun who had had a nervous breakdown due to overwork and I was visiting her on this particular occasion. While I was with her in her room at the back of the house on the first floor I heard a loud scream and ran downstairs thinking that the maid had had an accident. I found her lying on the floor, prone, with her back towards the french windows leading on to the street. There was a large pool of blood at her side and a large bullet wound in her back. I then pulled her by the hands through towards the back part of the house because bullets began to enter from the direction of the street. After a very brief period I got the impression the bullets were coming through the dining-room and the kitchen windows, that is, from the other side of the house, and I realized that I could do no more for the maid and that my own life was in grave danger. I therefore hid under a table in the kitchen and waited for the gunfire to cease. I would estimate that firing continued over some 10 to 15 minutes. The only people in the house at this time were Father William Hallidan, who is the chief of the Columban priests in Chile, and Sister Connie Kelly, who is a young American religious. All stories put forward by the Chilean Government that I was accompanied by a friend with a gun are totally without foundation.

When the firing ceased there was a loud knocking on the back door and Father Hallidan opened it. A man in ordinary clothes but armed with a machine-gun entered brusquely, followed by some five or six similarly armed men. They pushed past us both and ran to search the house. Their first comment was "Who fired upon

my men?" and they then asked me my name and when I told them that it was Sheila they said, "She is the one we are looking for." There was then an interval while they searched the house, rang the hospital for an ambulance to take away the maid and brought the sick nun down so that she was confronted with the dying maid. Again they asked me what my name was and again they commented among themselves "She is the one we are looking for." They refused all of my requests for identification. I went upstairs and hid in the bathroom because it seemed a nice safe place. After a while, however, they began to call my name and began to search the house and when they came to the bathroom door they began to break it down, so fearing that they would begin to fire I came out.

I was led at gunpoint from the house and managed to call to Father Hallidan to inform the British Consul. I was not given any kind of warning or told why I was being detained and at this point I had no idea what they had detained me for or who they were. I was led to a private car and a man with a machine-gun got in beside me. As soon as we drove away he struck me sharply across the face and then put a blindfold upon my eyes. As we drove through Santiago (it now being dark), he told me that he knew that I had treated Nelson Gutiérrez, so I saw no point in lying. I was driven for about 15 minutes through the streets of Santiago. I managed to lift the blindfold over my left eye without my guard realizing and I recognized that we were driving parallel to the canal which is in one of the smart residential areas of Santiago. This is in a street which is called Tobalaba. We crossed the canal and went a short distance along a street, a dirt road, in an area which I believe to be Peñaloen. We stopped outside a house and I clearly saw that this was a dark red colonial building on the left-hand side of the road as we were going away from the canal.

We entered the house and I was taken immediately to a room of interrogation. I was interrogated for what I think was only a few minutes and then told to remove my clothes. I declined to do so and my interrogator then began to tear my shirt off. Not wishing to be further manhandled, I removed all my clothes. I was then told to lie on the bed. In the room there was a double metal bunk. They removed the mattress from the bottom floor of the bunk and I was tied to the frame of the bunk. My wrists and ankles were secured to the side of the bunk so that I was spread-eagled with my legs apart. I was further secured by a wide band across my abdomen and two straps which were passed around my upper arms. I was very tightly blindfolded but before they tightened the bandage I was able to see that this was a small room in which there was the metal bunk, a chair and a large street map of



Newsweek

SHEILA CASSIDY

Santiago hung from the wall. There was also a woman present amongst the group of some five men.

They then began to interrogate me. They immediately gave me a violent electric shock which seemed to be a generalized shock. At that time I think the electrodes had been placed on my wrists but I couldn't be sure. They asked me where I had treated Gutiérrez. When I realized that they didn't know where I had treated him, I realized that they must be ignorant of the involvement of the priests and nuns in the treatment and subsequent asylum of Nelson Gutiérrez. Not wishing to implicate the Church and more especially not wishing to endanger the lives of the Chilean priests who had helped him, I invented a long and detailed story of how I had treated Gutiérrez in a private house at the request of a Chilean doctor and in a distant part of Santiago. It was not particularly difficult to invent this story as all their questions were direct and I just fabricated answers to each of the questions. When I realized that they were believing me and that I was diverting them completely from my friends it became easier still to lie in this way. Every time I faltered in my story they gave me another electric shock. These were extremely painful but providing I kept talking it was possible to bear it. Eventually I persuaded them that perhaps I might be able to identify the house so they allowed me up. They lifted me from the bed as I was unable to move alone and they

dressed me as I was likewise too weak to dress myself. My eyes were then secured with sellotape and I was taken by car accompanied by armed guards to look for the house.

When we got to the centre of Santiago, to the region of the Central Station, they removed the sellotape from my eyes and told me to look out for the house. After some distance they pressurized me considerably to identify the turning and I said I thought that we had arrived at it. We cruised around looking at houses for some 15 minutes while they became progressively angrier; then they stopped the car, had a conference with another of their group and told me, with great excitement, that they thought they had found the street. I had told them that I thought the street was called, "Bishop something-or-other," "Obispo no se cuanto." They had by some curious coincidence found a street called "Obispo Subercaseaux." With the finding of this street they became convinced that I was telling the truth; we cruised along and again by curious coincidence we found a house which fitted very closely the description that I had given. I had told them that the house was a large white colonial house with black gates; this in actual fact fits the description of many houses in Santiago, but it was curious to find one in this street, because this was an area that I had never before visited.

They then took me to a police station and handcuffed me and blindfolded me with my sweater. When they realized that I could see through the sweater they wrapped a thick velvet curtain around my head. There was then a lot of shouting and telephoning and movement of men and I realized that they were organizing a raid. After a while they took me again by car and we went and waited in the shadows of the street alongside the house. By then I had considerable moral qualms as to whether I was doing the right thing but I thought that this would be a house with rich people and that they would be able to explain to the police very rapidly that they had no connexions with the MIR.

This manoeuvre of mine was a mixture of desperation and a play for time because I kept hoping that the Consul would be able to contact the Secret Police and that I would be freed.

We entered the house and I found to my great distress that it was not a house of rich sophisticated people but that there was an elderly couple who were obviously guarding the house while it was being remodelled; I immediately said that this was not the house. They didn't believe me, but eventually I persuaded them and they then became very angry and said that I was obviously lying and that I should go back to what they call "the parilla," which is Spanish for "barbecue."

I was taken by car, once more blindfolded, back to the original place of detention. I was led immediately to the original room, ordered to remove my

clothes and once more secured to the bed frame. This time they inserted an electrode in my vagina and began to stimulate me with a wandering electrode, by which I mean they had an electrode which had some kind of a pincer and they stimulated me in various parts of my body, largely over my lower abdomen and thighs and pubic regions. Whether because of the siting of the electrodes or because of the increase of current, this pain was greatly more severe, and I was very distressed. Their attitude was very much more aggressive and although they told me that when I was prepared to talk, I should raise my fingers, when I did so they gave me several more shocks, each time before they removed the gag from my mouth to allow me to talk. After what I would imagine was about 20 minutes of this repeated shock treatment, I disclosed that I had treated Gutiérrez in a Roman Catholic convent. Because they found this idea so fantastic and because I had previously lied, they did not believe me, so they continued with the interrogation and the shocks.

After a total of about one hour they believed me and I was once more freed and taken from the bed, dressed and taken by car to show them the location of the convent. This I did and I was brought back to the detention site.

I should mention that during these two journeys to Santiago, my guards said to me on more than one occasion, "It would really be much easier if we were to kill you here and now." This was said in a casual way and I had no cause to disbelieve them.

On one occasion I tried to escape, in that three young men passed by and I grabbed hold of the jacket of one of them and said, "I am a prisoner of the DINA, please help me." They were very frightened and tried to run away and eventually I was forced to let go of the jacket.

After my second return to this house of interrogation, I was again returned to the bed, stripped and tied in a similar manner, electrodes were again placed in my vagina and I was again given electrical shocks over various parts of the lower part of my body. This time because of the known association between Nelson Gutiérrez and Pascal Allende and especially because Mary-Ann Beausire had been in the house when I treated Gutiérrez they were convinced that I knew the whereabouts of Andrés Pascal Allende. I told them repeatedly that I had never known him, that I had never met him and that I had no idea as to his whereabouts, but they did not believe me and continued with repeated shocks. They shouted at me many times that I was lying. In between the shock sessions I was left stripped, tied to the bed, while my interrogators went away to confer amongst themselves. While left in the hands of men who I presume are more junior members of the torture team, I was frequently stroked and fondled and asked

if I enjoyed it. They repeatedly asked whether or not I was a virgin and I was very fearful that they would try to rape me.

I was then taken from the bed and taken into an office for interrogation. I was interrogated by a group of men, I don't know how many, I would say at least three. I told them that I had attended Gutiérrez because he was a sick man and that it was not in my code of behaviour to refuse attention to somebody who needed my help. They found this, frankly, too incredible to believe and were convinced that I was an active member of the MIR.

They were also becoming progressively more angry at the fact that Gutiérrez had escaped them and were obviously very angry at the association of the nuns and priests, because they felt unable to touch them.

During the third interrogation session under torture, I told them that I had been told that day, in response to a question as to the physical state of Nelson Gutiérrez, that a priest I knew had tried to find asylum for Pascal Allende. This information I gave in considerable desperation, because of their repeated insistence and inability to believe that I had no more information.

During the interrogation in the office, I was offered to be taken to the British Embassy if only I would disclose the whereabouts of Pascal Allende. I repeated that I did not know where he was.

I should mention at this point that at the very beginning of the torture I told them that I was a British citizen and that their behaviour could lead to an international incident, and they replied, "Our image in the exterior is so bad that it doesn't matter."

I was interrogated, in all, over a period of 12 hours, and judging by the voices and the way of behaviour of the interrogators at the office, it was by a group of very senior men. It was certainly not one or two junior torturers not obeying commands, there were a lot of people involved.

During the interrogation sessions, I was also threatened with whipping, and a man who I believe is a senior official told me, "Doctor, you are a sensible woman, you must realize that you have now received three sessions of electrical treatment and that this can go on and on up to ten or twelve or thirteen, and that after each session you will be in progressively worse physical condition."

Eventually, I was returned on two further occasions to the torture room where I was stripped and tied to the bed, but on each of these last two occasions there was a long lapse of time and a discussion with the chief of the interrogators and I was released without further electrical current being passed. At about 7 o'clock in the morning after I had given the address for the priest who had tried to get Pascal Allende into asylum, I was told that I would be taken away to rest. The man who led me away spoke kindly, but I was given

clearly to understand that he proposed to have sexual relations with me; this was obviously just to try and frighten me because I was taken to a dormitory where there were three other young women. He then left us and locked us in.

I was detained with three young professional women in this room for the next four days. On Sunday, 2 November, I was interrogated many times during the day but received no further torture. I was, however, struck many times about the head and face, but not enough to leave any permanent damage apart from a slightly split lip. I was taken on one occasion to the room where I had been tortured and told that I would be making a statement. I was told that if I did not make this statement things would go very badly for me and that I would say just what I was told to say. The statement began, "I, Sheila Cassidy, in Santiago, without any physical or mental duress declare." They then dictated to me questions and answers. The information contained in the statement was true apart from the fact that it was not made under duress. At no time was I left without armed guards. I had some difficulty in writing clearly but they spoke harshly to me and told me that I must make a big effort.

I should mention that I had been told by the other prisoners that it would be very dangerous for me to drink water during the first 24 hours after the electric shock treatment, and during the time I was being interrogated I was offered a cup of coffee. I drank half of this and the man who had given it to me then said, "It's just as well you didn't drink it all, because you could have had a serious convulsion."

At about midnight on Sunday, that is, a little more than 24 hours after the time of my detention, the intensity of the interrogation and activity outside of the room where I was resting lessened. I was able to sleep.

On the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday I received no further torture but was obliged to make another long statement giving the names, descriptions and addresses of all the nuns and priests involved in the case of Nelson Gutiérrez. I was also questioned about the activities of two people who had been detained from my house during the time I was in England last year visiting my father.

They asked me many different things, one of them being that I was able to speak Russian, and for a long time they thought I was an active member of the Revolutionary Left, but after apparently making further investigations they convinced themselves that my involvement was limited to that which I had told them.

On Wednesday, 5 November, I was taken from the room where I had been held prisoner, again had my eyes taped with scotch tape and was led through the grounds of the building. I was taken by car through Santiago and at this stage I

believed that I was being taken to the British Embassy. At no time was I given any information or told where I was being taken. When we arrived at our destination the tape was removed from my eyes and I found that I was in another military establishment; this I later knew to be the grounds of Tres Alamos, which is the political detention centre in Santiago. I was taken, however, to a special part of Tres Alamos, which is known in Chile as Cuatro Alamos, or Four Poplars. This is a place of secret detention, the existence of which, I believe, is denied by the Secret Police. It is a place of very strict segregation; there are some 15 rooms and prisoners are either alone or in groups of four or five and they are never allowed to meet or see each other. By this I mean that when the food was brought to the rooms, my door was opened, I was given my food and the door was locked before the next room was opened. In fact the same procedure was observed when we were allowed to go to wash or to the lavatory. It was later explained to me that this is a place where people are held while their physical condition improves and while further investigations are made into their case.

There was frequent medical attention and on the first night I was greeted by a man who told me that he was a doctor. He tried on two occasions, each lasting about an hour, to hypnotise me and I realized that he was trying to make me forget the torture. He told me that it would be very bad for me to talk about it when I was released from prison and I took this to be a warning.

On Friday, 7 November, I received my first visit from the British Consul. He was allowed to speak to me in the presence of the Commander of the detention camp and of the doctor. We were given strict instructions that our conversation was to be in Spanish. Mr. Fernyhough inquired after my health and I told him that I was very well thank you. It was completely impossible to hold any kind of private conversation and I was extremely frightened. I tried to communicate to Mr. Fernyhough that I had been tortured during the brief moments when the Commander went to answer the telephone but I was only able to say to him "mains" as a code word of trying to communicate that I had received electrical treatment. He was very distressed by my obvious fear but there was nothing we were able to do apart from his relaying messages of love and support from my family and from the British Government.

Up until this time I had not been able to change my clothes because I only had the clothes in which I had been detained. This state of affairs continued until the middle of the following week. This means that I spent ten days in the very heavily blood-stained clothes in which I had attended the maid. I was also without a tooth brush or facilities for doing my hair.

On Monday, 10 November, I was taken

for the first time before the Fiscal: he is the Government lawyer who had been put in charge of the investigation of my case and that of the priests involved. He asked me whether or not I had been mistreated and again I told me [*sic*] "no" because I feared reprisals.

The following day I was brought for further interrogation and I made a statement over a period of some four hours. My treatment in this military court, which consisted of the lawyer and his two assistants, both of whom were younger lawyers, was dignified and without any kind of mental or physical duress. I made a full statement as to my activities and it was then for the first time that I realized that suggestions had been made that I had been involved in killing the maid. I was very frightened by these allegations and strongly denied the presence of a companion, although I admitted that theoretically it was possible that an unknown person could have been present in the house, as the house was extremely large and I had obviously not searched it as I entered.

I was detained in the women's prison until the Friday of that week, that is, 14 November.

On 14 November I was taken again before the Fiscal, confirmed that my statement was true and was told that I had been cleared of the charges against me and that I was at liberty. I was told that the only charge against me was of not informing the police that I had treated a man wounded by a bullet. I was told that I was free to return to my house and to my work but that I should report again before the Court in 15 days' time. I was told, however, that I had to report back to the prison to sign my discharge papers.

When I returned to the prison I was told, however, that I could not be released until they had received confirmation of the order from the SENDET [Secretaria Ejecutiva Nacional de Detenidos—National Executive Secretariat of Prisoners]; this is a department for political detainees. During this evening Mr. Fernyhough and my lawyer spent four and a half hours ringing various government officials trying to secure my release. They were forced to give up at 12:30 a.m. because of the impending curfew.

The following morning, Saturday 15 November, at 9 o'clock I was told that I was to be transferred to Tres Alamos prison. I refused to move until the Consul arrived. When he arrived I told him that I was very frightened and thought that the DINA would try to kill me because it would be dangerous for me to be released after the torture. I was assured that I would be in a prison with access to the Consul and to visitors and eventually I went with Mr. Fernyhough and my lawyer and prison guards to Tres Alamos prison.

After Mr. Fernyhough and the lawyer had gone I was led down a passage and returned to Cuatro Alamos. As I was handed from one guard to another they

said to each other that this was the result of a sudden call from the Minister of the Interior.

I was then detained for a further 10 days in solitary confinement. During this time I received no information but was not interrogated or harmed in any way. I was very frightened and the food was extremely bad, but I was not harmed. After 10 days I was transferred to Tres Alamos detention camp, where I was in a completely different situation. This is a publicly known detention camp for women political prisoners and I was one of 120 other prisoners all held under the ruling of a state of siege and all without charges.

During this five weeks I received no information as to why I was being held. I was not interrogated in any way and I made no further statements. Mr. Fernyhough was given permission to visit me three times a week and he came regularly, and latterly Mr. Seconde also visited me. I was allowed visits from my friends and suffered only the privation of my liberty and extremely bad food.

On Friday, 26 December, Mr. Fernyhough visited me and told me that I would almost certainly be released on the following Monday. On Monday, 29 December I received no notification but at about 11 o'clock in the morning the Commander of the camp came and called us all on parade. He then told all the women to go to another part of the camp, where we normally received visitors. As I prepared to go with them he called me back. He then told me that I had three minutes in which to pack my bags. I went with the woman wardress and changed my clothes and packed my bags and then followed him. I was taken to central block, where the offices are in Tres Alamos, where I was physically searched, although without any undue indignity, and all my luggage and papers were searched. Sketches which I had made of various of my fellow prisoners were confiscated, as were drawings of the inside and of the outside of the camp.

I had been given to understand by Mr. Seconde that he would come to accompany me to the airport but although the Commander told me that I must hurry because the Ambassador would be waiting for me, when I was led out to the car of the International Police, Mr. Seconde was not there. I was met by Mr. Cossak, who was the head in Chile of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, but as I had not met him previously and as I had not realized that he would be accompanying me to the plane I thought that he was another member of the DINA, and I was once again extremely frightened. I was driven by the International Police to the outskirts of the airport and they told me that they had instructions to wait until exactly 3.30 before I was taken to the plane, which was due to leave at 4 o'clock. I was taken across the tarmac at 20 minutes to 4 and allowed some three minutes' conversation with Mr. Seconde

and Mr. Fernyhough. I was then placed on the plane and left Chile.

I would like to make a comment about the after-effects of the torture. The electrical treatment appeared to cause some kind of prolonged muscle damage in that I had quite severe muscle pains in all the muscles of my body over a period of 10 to 14 days. After two weeks, however, I was able to move without difficulty and had no

sequelae. I did however have quite severe urinary infection which I assume to be the result of the trauma and infection caused by the insertion of unclean instruments in my vagina. This was most unpleasant but passed after a course of antibiotics. I had no physical sequelae and apart from living in a fairly constant state of fear during these two months I believe that I have no particular mental trauma. □

traveling from Warburton Mission into Laverton on their way to religious ceremonies at Wiluna. None of them were drunk. They were never allowed to reach Laverton and the nearest hotel in the other direction was 1,600 kms away in Alice Springs. None of them were charged with drunkenness at the time their false arrests were made.

It is clear that both Court and O'Connor are introducing "alcoholism" as a red herring.

It is true that for some time before the Skull Creek incident relations between Blacks and the police at Laverton were quite bad. However, the commission found that this was a direct result of the lack of employment opportunities, substandard housing, the remoteness of the education system, social alienation, and lack of recreation facilities and opportunities for Blacks.

Furthermore, the police who took part in the Skull Creek ambush were not those normally stationed in Laverton but were members of a special squad brought up from Kalgoorlie to deal with the reported "invasion" of Laverton by a large group of "armed natives."

The actions of the police at Skull Creek cannot be justified on the circumstances which they faced.

Q. Has any action been taken against the police involved in the Skull Creek incident?

A. The only action taken so far is that Senior Inspector Brown, the officer in charge of Laverton station at the time, has been passed over for promotion.

This is ridiculously inadequate as the commission reports that several officers were implicated in the cover-up.

Minister of Police O'Connor deliberately misrepresented the extent of the disciplinary action taken against police officers after the Skull Creek incident. O'Connor told the press: "Action has been taken against some of the policemen—three constables are no longer with us and others have been passed over for promotion when they would have normally been promoted." Later O'Connor admitted that the three policemen who left the police force resigned for reasons completely unrelated to the Skull Creek incident.

Q. What has been the response by Blacks to the report?

A. In fact, there has been very little response. So far a few Black leaders have made statements but by and large the Laverton report had not really got out to the people.

The trouble with Royal Commissions is that they don't get under way until several months after the incident and then they take almost a year to complete. Even then, the report is not available to the person in the street for several weeks. □

27 Blacks Arrested on False Charges

Australia—The Police Frame-up at Skull Creek

[A graphic example of the racist treatment accorded Australia's aboriginal population by police and governmental authorities was made public April 28 with the release of a royal commission report on what has become known as the "Skull Creek incident."

[The following interview with Helen Corbett, secretary of the Aboriginal Legal Services of Western Australia, outlines the commission's findings. The interview was obtained by Peter Boyle and appeared in the May 6 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney.]

* * *

Question. What were the findings of the Royal Commission on the Skull Creek incident?

Answer. On January 5, 1975, a group of seventy-six Black men, women, and children were traveling from Warburton Mission to Wiluna to attend religious ceremonies.

Just before they reached Laverton they were intercepted by twenty-two policemen. The police forced most of the men into police vans and old men, women, and children were told to go away.

The Aboriginal Legal Service received many allegations of police brutality arising from this incident but the commission failed to make any definite findings on these claims.

However, the Royal Commission report states clearly that twenty-seven Blacks were arrested without cause on false charges and that police illegally falsified official documents to justify their illegal actions.

The commission found that the policemen involved later worked out a false story of the incident so that their charges would be consistent. At this stage, the police claimed that the Blacks were fighting among themselves at Skull Creek.

Later in January, a new set of briefs were prepared in Kalgoorlie to cover the incident. In these briefs the police changed the story. This time they alleged that the Blacks had attacked the police at Skull Creek.

According to the report, both of these briefs show that there was "a determination on the part of the police officers to protect fellow officers." Throughout the commission the police obstructed the gathering of evidence and tried their best to prevent the truth from being revealed.

Q. What has been the state government's response to the report?

A. The premier, Charles Court, is sticking to the line he took when the first demands for a Royal Commission were made more than a year ago. In the face of the overwhelming evidence that the police were at fault and had tried to hide the facts of the case, Court still insists that the commission was a waste of money. Last year Court also argued against a Royal Commission on the grounds that he was "satisfied" with the results of a secret inquiry by Magistrate Syddall. Now he says that "the whole community" and not the police should take the blame for the Skull Creek incident. He maintains that "alcoholism was the root cause of the incident."

The minister for police, Raymond O'Connor, claims that much of the blame must lie with the Blacks. He told the *Daily News*: "But put yourself in their [the police] position—how would any people feel if they had to face up to 30 or 40 drunken Aborigines who beat you up and take over your vehicle."

O'Connor's reference to "drunken Aborigines" is a clear attempt to confuse the public and direct criticism away from his own incompetence in controlling his own police force.

The Blacks falsely arrested at Skull Creek were men, women, and children

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

Nuclear Con Artists at Work in Brazil

By Otto Buchsbaum

[On June 27, 1975, the Brazilian government signed a \$4 billion nuclear pact with Bonn. In exchange for supplying Brazil with nuclear-power-producing equipment, the West German government was promised access to Brazil's uranium ore.

[The following article on the hazards posed by the pact appeared in vol. 2, no. 14 of the Brazilian monthly *Abertura Cultural*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

A seminar on the licensing of nuclear installations has been held in Rio de Janeiro. Twenty-eight West German and eighty-seven Brazilian technicians attended.

The final results reported by the press are disheartening, above all because they are full of misinformation.

The conclusions published totally ignore the environmental risks. They make the customary false comparison between natural radioactivity and radioactive pollution caused by the plants. They minimize the accidents and breakdowns that have already taken place. And they do not mention the problems of disposing of the radioactive wastes.

One of the technicians participating in the meeting, Herbert Jacobs, said in a press interview that it would be possible to build the nuclear plants for one-third the cost if the safety standards were not so exacting or if a higher level of radioactivity were permitted. Furthermore, he said this would be a totally reasonable step. Then he created tremendous confusion with statistics. He said that a nuclear power plant discharges on the average 0.5 millirems of radiation a year and that the monazitic sands of Espirito Santo emit 10,000 times as much annually.

Both statements are totally false. The normal radiation from a small nuclear reactor is very much greater, and monazitic sands have a radioactivity only 100 to 200 times greater, than the 0.5 millirems cited. If it were 10,000 times greater, as he stated, the Espirito Santo region would be flooded with mutants.

In short, all that is salesmen's patter (the nuclear con artists had arrived!) from those who, caring little about the conse-

quences, want to force nuclear plants on us in a transaction the West German dailies called "the deal of the century."

Anyone who tries to reread the interview with Linus Pauling—twice winner of the Nobel Prize—published in no. 10 of *Abertura Cultural* and the various articles he published in nos. 11, 12, and 13, on the dangers of radioactivity and nuclear plants will be sufficiently informed to want to keep Brazil free of this plague, regardless of the fast talk by the West German salesmen. (All twenty-eight of the "technicians" are associated with firms that are participating in this "deal of the century.")

In addition, we want to call further attention to the following:

1. From the point of view of health and, above all, the question of genetic inheritance, *there is no safe level of radioactivity*. Even very low levels can cause mutations. John Francis do Conselho Escocês de Igrejas had this to say about it: "Mankind's minimal morality is to preserve the genetic inheritance of humanity intact."

2. To show the effects of "low levels of radioactivity," we want to cite a recent example from Japan. The new Hamaoka nuclear center began experimental functioning for fifty days at a medium-power level. The control apparatus certified that the level of radioactivity was well below the strict safety standards in effect in Japan. Sadao Ichikawa, a professor of genetics at the University of Kyoto, arranged in advance to plant a large amount of spiderwort (from the Commelinaceae family of herbs whose Brazilian members are known under the name *Trapoeiraba*) around the plant.

Along with his assistant, M. Nagata, he examined a total of 640,000 stamens and verified that the fifty days of experimental operations caused a high number of mutations in pigmentation, shape, and so forth. From July 24 to 26, 1975, a seminar of biologists and physicists was held to study the phenomenon. The facts cited above are part of the published summary of its proceedings.

3. Hans Matthöfer, minister of technology and research of the German Federal Republic, was questioned because the Niederaichbach nuclear plant, although

fully constructed, never went into operation. He responded that in this plant there were certain construction errors, but over and above that, this type of nuclear reactor has been superseded because of its inefficiency. At present, given the constantly rising price of uranium and the scarcity of known deposits, it is only worthwhile to build breeder reactors, which produce more plutonium (also used as fuel in nuclear plants), than they use up uranium 235.

It turns out that the reactors West Germany is hoping to build in Brazil are also obsolete.

4. The seminar of West German nuclear salesmen also minimized the growing world reaction against the construction of nuclear plants. Ralph Nader in recent statements in Washington predicted that within five years at most the construction of new nuclear plants will be halted through legislation, and that the fight will continue to close those in operation before there is a catastrophe that automatically closes all of them.

5. Last year alone in the slightly more than fifty nuclear plants functioning in the United States no more or less than 1,400 unusual occurrences were recorded. This was reported in *Time*, after the Atomic Energy Commission was forced by court order to release information considered "confidential." The facts revealed are adequate to show that "safety" in nuclear plants is a myth. □

Japanese Sue U.S. Air Base to Halt Noise Pollution

Forty-one persons who live near the U.S. Yokota Air Base filed suit in Tokyo April 28, demanding a ban on nighttime flights and a reduction in daytime noise. They are also suing for compensation of 1.5 million yen (1 yen=US\$.003) for past damage to each of the plaintiffs and 23,000 yen a month until the daytime noise level is significantly reduced.

According to an April 30 report by New Asia News, "Similar court suits are being planned by another group of local residents around Yokota base, as well as by residents living near Atsugi U.S. Naval Air Station (another major U.S. base) in Kanagawa Prefecture."



Healy's Smear Against Trotsky's Last Collaborators

By Sam Gordon

The Gerry Healy circus, masquerading as the "International Committee of the Fourth International," has for some time been engaging in a completely unbridled smear campaign against the Socialist Workers party. This campaign has included a series of articles (over thirty-five to date!) in the daily newspaper misnamed *Workers Press*,¹ alleging that old-time leaders of the party like Joseph Hansen and George Novack, intimates of the coleader with Lenin of the Russian revolution during his last exile in Mexico from 1937 to 1940, were "accomplices of the GPU" and practically responsible for not forestalling the assassination of Leon Trotsky ordered by the Kremlin!

In support of the allegations against Joseph Hansen and George Novack (and by implication, posthumously against James P. Cannon), Healy's committee offers excerpts from testimony recorded in U.S. government documents, the opinions of long-time political enemies of Trotsky and Trotskyism, and the assistance of one old-timer, Harold Robins, a politically erratic worker comrade who is apparently backing the American Healyite organization in his old age.

What is the purpose of these tirades that have been one of the main features of the Healyite press in both Britain and the United States for an entire year?

Clearly the purpose is first of all to becloud the issues for Healy's own followers in the Workers Revolutionary party (formerly the Socialist Labour League). The issues, extending from philosophy and politics to organizational methods, have been publicly debated for a number of years. The outcome was to expose Healy's bankruptcy more and more thoroughly. Sizeable groups arose in opposition within his organization, only to be promptly expelled. Among these were the Bulletin group and the Thornett group (now the Workers Socialist League). They were smeared with the epithet "revisionist," and banished before any serious two-sided discussion could begin *inside* the organization.

In contrast, the SWP has, as long as I have known it, been open to criticism. It is not monolithic. In fact, it welcomes discussion and debate. Often debate continues with internal minority oppositions for years.

1. *Workers Press* ceased publication February 14, 1976. Its reappearance under a new name has been promised.

Healy's monolithism has reached the point where something qualitatively new is involved. We are now faced with the question of combatting foul witch-hunts and frame-ups like those featured in *Workers Press*. The whole logic of Healy's exercise there, whether he is aware of it or not, is to discredit the very idea of the Fourth International and with it the historic movement of Trotskyism.

It is impossible in a relatively brief article to undertake a thorough analysis and refutation of the International Committee's "exposures." But this effort hopes to make a contribution.

1. Should the SWP have investigated and publicized *any* charge in connection with the matter brought forward in the 1950s? Did it have the resources then, at the height of McCarthyism—a daily paper perhaps? Healy can tell, but he does not.

2. Where was Healy at the time? Did he make a public protest or even a private one to the SWP for its supposed dilatoriness? From personal experience I know that he was fully aware of Floyd Miller's testimony before the HUAC—the House (of Representatives) Un-American Activities Committee of the U.S. Congress—shortly after it was given. He had read it in the columns of the *New York Times*. What action, if any, did Healy take at the time?

3. The Healyites charge that Sam Gordon, "alias" J.B. Stuart, was linked to Mark Zborowski, alleging that the GPU agent was a "close confidante [*sic*]," no less, of mine. As far as I can make out, this is a totally manufactured lie.

In international collaboration during the early 1940s, I knew only the French comrades Jean van Heijenoort and Rigal (fleeting), the Germans Johre (Weber) and Louis (Ludwig), the Czech Jan Frankel, the Spaniard Grandizo Munis, the Brazilian Lebrun, a Chilean whose name escapes me at the moment (he attended the 1940 SWP convention as an observer).

If the Healyite charge had any correspondence whatever with the truth, Zborowski would presumably have spoken for the Russian Left Opposition. I never met any Russian Bolshevik-Leninist outside of Trotsky and Natalia. Nor did I meet any one-time Polish revolutionary socialist until I met Isaac Deutscher and a handful of others long after the war was over.

4. According to Healy, Hansen has "suppressed the fact that in 1941 it was the Socialist Workers Party who helped bring Stalin's No. 1 anti-Trotskyist agent,

MARK ZBOROWSKI, into the United States from France."

As Novack patiently explained,² in what proved to be a vain effort to tap a vestige of a sense of class solidarity, it was he who participated in the broad committee that helped bring socialists of *all* denominations from Vichy France to the United States.

So far as I know, Novack never met or corresponded with Zborowski.

The actual affidavits for Zborowski—and affidavits are required for all immigrants—were signed by Mr. and Mrs. David Dallin.³ David Dallin was a leading Russian Menshevik who had settled in America. His wife was a friend and collaborator of the Trotskyes. So far as I know, however, she never had any affiliation or connection with the SWP. I know I certainly never met her, but only knew of her as the sister of Sara Weber, a party member at the time.

How did "George Novack and Mrs David Dallin" manage "re-integrating him [Zborowski] into the top levels of the Fourth International although he was gravely suspect . . ."? What post exactly was he given? Healy keeps a deafening silence.

Healy says that Zborowski "disrupted Trotsky's campaign to defend himself against the Moscow Trials frame-up."

Zborowski may have tried, but he did not succeed. The SWP was instrumental in setting up what became known as the Dewey Commission which, after exhaustive hearings in Mexico, published its unanimous verdict *Not Guilty*, refuting all of Stalin's frame-up charges. It was published as a book under that title soon after.⁴

Healy says: "Within a year [after arriving in the United States—S.G.] Zborowski was working as a close confidante of Sam Gordon, party name J.B. Stuart, and Jean van Heijenoort [*sic*], leading members in the international work of the Fourth International; SWP meetings were

2. See "Healy's Frame-up Against Joseph Hansen" in the December 8, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1710.

3. See *The Mind of an Assassin* by Isaac Don Levine, p. 30.

4. The book was reprinted in 1972. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL.

held in his [Zborowski's] Manhattan apartment."

Healy lies on all counts once more. Healy knows what the relations between the SWP and the Fourth International were after the passage of the Voorhis Act at that time and since. For what purpose is he dragging in this red herring?

As for identifying Zborowski, I must acknowledge a certain gratitude to Healy for publishing the GPU agent's photograph in *Workers Press* in the issues of January 5 and January 10, 1976. I can state categorically that I never laid eyes on the man, let alone visited his apartment.

5. *The case of Sylvia Caldwell.* Healy presents as "evidence" against Sylvia the assertions of Louis Budenz, who wound up as an FBI informer. Before that, on his own testimony he was a *real* accomplice of the GPU. That was in 1950.

In 1960 a federal grand jury included Sylvia's name, along with the names of Beria, Zubilin, Soblen, Miller, and others, in an indictment for alleged espionage for the Soviet Union.

An indictment by a grand jury (consisting of twenty-four businessmen or other pillars of capitalist society) is not equivalent to conviction. Those named are subject to trial by jury in which twelve "peers" decide on the guilt or innocence of the defendants. But Sylvia was never brought to trial. Evidently the political purposes of the indictment had been served and the government prosecution decided they had no case that would stand up in court.

In any event, the SWP, on Cannon's initiative, carried out a control commission investigation of Sylvia Caldwell's case and found all of Budenz's accusations against her to be groundless.

No new charges were brought in 1960. So you have a choice between the federal grand jury indictment, which was never tested in court, and the findings of the SWP control commission, which showed Sylvia to be innocent. Healy chooses to believe the unproved indictment. Anything goes in Healy's "class struggle."

6. *Desecrating the grave of Robert Sheldon Harte.* Healy accuses Hansen of "covering up" for Harte, the guard at Coyoacán who was killed by the GPU gang in the May 24 attack on Trotsky's home. Of Harte, he claims that "a mountain of new evidence has been gathered casting the gravest suspicion on him."

What does the mountain consist of? Healy presents only a mouse—the opinion of Julian Gorkin, leader of the Spanish Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) and a sworn enemy of Trotskyism from the days of the civil war in Spain, that "if it were admitted that Sheldon was a spy, that would place the question of responsibility in the chief Trotskyists in New York, who had sent him to Mexico."

Gorkin, an adversary of Trotsky and the Fourth International, helped General Sanchez Salazar, "Ex-Chief of Secret Service

of the Mexican Police," to write a book *Murder in Mexico—The Assassination of Leon Trotsky*. It was from that book that Healy selected his quotation.

The book was published in 1950. Where was Healy then? Did he at that time back Gorkin's charge?

Trotsky's own tribute to Harte is well known. It was reprinted in the November 24, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

7. Healy seeks to make much of Hansen's conversation with McGregor at the American consulate after the assassination of Trotsky in 1940. Among Hansen's objectives was to secure evidence as to the real identity of the assassin, an effort in which he succeeded. McGregor later reported that Hansen mentioned having been approached by a GPU agent named "John" in the United States in 1938. Healy has seized on this as one of his main "proofs" that Hansen is an "accomplice of the GPU."

He claims that Hansen never told Trotsky about this. As "proof" of this charge, Healy says that there is nothing about the incident in "Trotsky's writings or in the published correspondence of the period."

And as further "proof," Healy says that if Trotsky had been informed, "it could have led to the earlier unmasking of Sylvia Franklin and prevented the sending of the inexperienced and politically suspect Robert Sheldon Harte as a guard."

Joe has taken care of the "proof" relating to McGregor's report faultlessly in puncturing Healy's previous series of "exposures."⁵ But may I add here a general observation? Why should the "John" case be mentioned in Trotsky's "published correspondence of the period"? How does Healy know there was not unpublished correspondence or communication? Healy knows very well that in security cases informality is often the case and the necessity.

And why would publicizing the "John" meeting necessarily lead Trotsky to the "unmasking" of the innocent Sylvia Caldwell or have prevented "the sending of the inexperienced and politically suspect Robert Sheldon Harte" as one of the guards? The GPU, like the secret agencies of other governments, does not bandy about the names of real coconspirators and often these do not know the names themselves.⁶

5. See "On Healy's 'Investigation'—What the Facts Show" by Joseph Hansen in the November 24, 1975, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 1636.

Intercontinental Press is on the *Index Expurgatorius* of Pope Gerry for all the faithful—except the "experts"—as is indeed every publication supported by the SWP or any left-wing periodical that criticizes, or replies to, his unholliness.

6. In her book *Our Own People*, Elisabeth K. Poretzky reports her last conversation with Zborowski. Note the following question and reply on page 274: "Then I asked him point-blank:

Healy merely lends his support to the desecration of Harte's grave by the enemies of Trotsky and the SWP.

8. The "testimony" of FBI agent Thomas L. Black, which Healy cites, includes absolutely nothing that can even remotely pertain to the alleged crimes of Hansen and Novack. Of course, Black says he was told, when he was working as an agent of the GPU, "to go to Coyoacán, and there would be other Soviet agents in Trotsky's household. . . ."

But was Black given any names? Did he add anything new in his testimony? In any case, what does it all prove? Only that Healy's writers are capable of what is called in Fleet Street journalistic padding.

9. *The Orlov letter.* This was sent directly to Trotsky. Trotsky chose a method of testing its authenticity that was his own. In this instance it did not work because General Orlov would not entrust his information to "Martin," whom Trotsky recommended he see in New York.

Orlov mentioned a "Mark" in his letter as being in Trotsky's entourage. It is just possible that no one in our movement at that time knew that the real name of "Etienne" was Mark and that those most intimately associated with him then thought the letter, because of its anonymity, was a GPU hoax.⁷ In any case, apart from providing from its midst someone whom Trotsky told Orlov he could entrust his information to (probably "Martin" was Cannon), the SWP had nothing to do with this matter. If Healy has a point that is different, let him state it clearly—if he can.

10. *Once more on Gordon.* Healy says:

"[Floyd Cleveland] Miller took over from Sam Gordon, alias J.B. Stuart, as editor of the Seafarers' International Union newspaper. When Sam Gordon became responsible for the work of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International in New York, he worked closely with Mark Zborowski who arrived from occupied France in 1941." (Note Healy's use of the word *alias*.)

Another tissue of prestidigitations. Miller did indeed follow me as editor of that paper, but he did not "take over" from me. I may have *informally* recommended him as a fellow party member, but he had to make his application to the elected officials of the union and be accepted by them as is the case in every trade union. Miller had better professional qualifications for the editorial job than I had then;

"Were there other agents than yourself among the Trotskyites?" By now he had regained his composure and answered angrily: "I don't know, but you ought to know that an agent is never told about another unless they are supposed to work together."

7. Deutscher puts it: "Trotsky wondered whether the denunciation was not a G.P.U. hoax. . . ." See *The Prophet Outcast*, p. 409.

he was earning money by writing, mostly radio scripts.

As for me, I shipped out as a seaman, an occupation I followed to the end of the war in 1945. My "responsibility" for the International Secretariat of the Fourth International had been terminated with the passage of the Voorhis Act. As I mentioned before, I had on occasion informal meetings with international cothinkers thereafter, but Mark Zborowski was not one of them. Not in 1941, before 1941, or after.

I did meet an Etienne; but he was not Zborowski. The Etienne I met was a leader of the French Parti Communiste Internationaliste *after* the war. A Rumanian by origin, he later emigrated to the United States. There is more than one Etienne in the world, just as there is more than one Steven.

11. When Novack said that the "principal actors were Trotsky and Sedov themselves who trusted Etienne and allowed Jacson entry into the household,"⁸ he was simply stating an incontrovertible fact as to their attitude.

Trotsky, let us recall, took Jacson into his study without notifying any of his guards.

As for the "Etienne," that is, Zborowski, not one of the SWP leaders (with the possible exception of Albert Goldman, who was in Europe during 1939) had more than a nodding acquaintance with him. Possibly Cannon and Shachtman met him at the time of the world congress of 1938.

Healy turns Novack's statement of fact into "a lie which Novack has taken directly from the GPU." Healy then charges: "This makes Novack the co-conspirator of Hansen."

But Healy could do a similar hat trick with Isaac Deutscher, who takes several pages in his biography of Trotsky to report the facts referred to by Novack.⁹

The question really is, Whose game is Healy playing?

12. Deutscher, after examining the Zborowski case and particularly the Orlov letter, drew his conclusions about Trotsky's approach:

"All too many accusations had already been bandied about in the small Trotskyist circle in Paris anyhow; and if all of these were to be taken seriously, there would be no end to the chasing of *agents provocateurs*. He knew all too well what a curse stool-pigeons were in any organization; but he also knew that constant suspicion and witch-hunting could be even worse. He decided not to lend ear to any accusation unless it was unequivocally presented and substantiated. He preferred to take the gravest risks and to expose himself to

extreme danger rather than to infect and demoralize his followers with distrust and scares. And so the *agent provocateur* went on acting as his factotum in Paris until the outbreak of the war."¹⁰

You may differ with the great biographer's interpretation of Trotsky's theories, and perhaps incidental facts, but no one has yet challenged him on the key evidence bearing on Trotsky's assassination. Does Healy? Or is he going to include Deutscher among the "accomplices" of the SWP?

13. Healy quotes from a speech made by Cannon on September 28, 1940, at a plenum-conference held by the SWP in Chicago. Cannon was proposing a control commission to "begin a closer checking up of party responsibility, discipline, and loyalty without permitting any panic in the ranks." He made the observation: "If we had checked up on such matters a little more carefully we might have prevented some bad things in the days gone by."¹¹

Healy calls this "an obvious reference to the assassination of Trotsky." He demands to know if there was a control commission investigation of Trotsky's death and what its findings were. He continues: "Since no report was ever published, we can only assume that it was blocked. By whom?"

Cannon did not specify what the "bad things" were. So far as the assassination of Trotsky was concerned, the leadership of the SWP was doing its utmost to nail down the responsibility. This work centered on proving Jacson's connections with the GPU murder machine and seeking to establish his real identity. Full publicity was given to this as can easily be verified by consulting the pages of *The Militant* and the *Fourth International* of that time.

As I recall it, setting up a control commission was visualized by Cannon as only one aspect of proletarianizing the party following the defection of the petty-bourgeois opposition headed by Burnham, Shachtman, and Abern. Some of the weaknesses requiring rectification that Cannon had in mind concerned countering agents provocateurs, particularly in the trade unions and other mass organizations. But he also viewed the control commission as a body the ranks could count on to come down hard on false charges.

Is Healy insinuating that Cannon blocked the control commission from functioning? Again, an example of the baseless innuendos spread by the sleuths of Clapham High Street.¹²

10. Ibid., pp. 409-410.

11. See *The Socialist Workers Party in World War II—James P. Cannon Writings and Speeches, 1940-43*, pp. 80-82.

12. The location of the WRP headquarters in London.

14. Pierre Frank, too, is dragged in. Why? He explained his views on the American Trotskyists and Zborowski to Georges Vereeken, perennial opponent of Trotsky's politics both inside and outside the Fourth International in Belgium since the 1930s or even earlier. Vereeken said in his book *La guépéou dans le mouvement trotskiste* that he sent a letter dated March 5, 1956, to the International Secretariat concerning Zborowski. On the same page, he reported that Frank replied in a letter dated March 2, 1956, (*sic*) that the "American groups (Cannon, Shachtman . . .) ought to get together on it and try to make this Etienne speak. Unfortunately we get the impression that they are not very keen on the whole business. Perhaps it's only an impression. In any case, they are much more pre-occupied with defending themselves against the witch-hunt, and perhaps that explains it."

Healy raps Frank over the knuckles: "It explains nothing of the kind. The SWP was not facing any witch-hunt; the McCarthyite period had been over for the best part of two years. What was happening to Vereeken's campaign for an investigation was more straight-forward—it was being suppressed."

Suppressed by whom? Healy is not too straightforward. But there is more than a hint that Pierre Frank and his associates might be . . . "accomplices of accomplices of the GPU." For Pierre Frank is billed here by Healy as "a co-editor today of 'Intercontinental Press' with Joseph Hansen." Can others take a hint?

An interesting point is made here in "demolishing" Frank's view on the witch-hunt. ". . . the McCarthyite period had been over for the best part of two years," says Healy. That is, since some time in the "best" part of 1954. This is not some youngster newly come to the WRP talking. This is Healy. He should remember McCarthyism firsthand.

In 1957 he personally knew the case of an American comrade whose passport was still "withdrawn" after having been first taken away by the State Department in 1953, and whose English wife could not get a reentry permit to the United States, not even on compassionate grounds. There must have been others, surely, he knew about. Withdrawal of passports and reentry permits of real or alleged members of radical organizations was one of the hallmarks of McCarthyism.

The whole world was made aware of this aspect of American reaction when it hit even the internationally famous, particularly in the banishment of Charlie Chaplin.

Even fiddling with the span of historic periods is not to be despised, the author of the smear seems to tell us.

It is possible to go on and disprove Healy's lies one by one as they come up. And we can be sure that we have not seen the last lot in his obsessive drive to

8. "Healy's Frame-up Against Joseph Hansen," *Intercontinental Press*, December 8, 1975, p. 1711.

9. See *The Prophet Outcast*, pp. 495-504.

besmirch the SWP and the Trotskyist movement as a whole. It is certainly our duty to block his foul aim.

It is necessary, however, to pause and take stock. For, involved is not only Healy but many hundreds, perhaps even a thousand, in the WRP who genuinely regard themselves as Trotskyists. To them I would like to address a few words.

*"It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a simple gesture of the hand."*¹³—Lenin.

How many of you have studied the views of both sides and the course of the struggle? The course of the struggle involves method. In the latest exchange, even Healy says, "A clear method emerges." If you have not just taken his word about it, you are bound to have your doubts at least about what he says of the methods of others. To settle your doubts, you ought to check the replies to his charges.

Ask yourselves: Who was it that accused all others who remained alive of Lenin's 1917 Central Committee of being anti-Soviet wreckers and fascist dogs in 1936-38? And even implicated some of them in plots to assassinate Lenin? And who now makes accusations against all the living leaders of the SWP who collaborated with Trotsky of being "accomplices of the GPU" in the assassination of Trotsky? The linking method that emerges here is clear, all right, but it emerges not from the Trotskyist movement but from pristine Stalinism.

Perhaps we can attribute phrases like "covered up for," "took over from," even "alias," etc., etc., to the influence of too many Hollywood gangster movies. But the dragging in of names of other persons, associating them with the alleged crimes of the primary targets, cannot be dismissed as accidental. A political method is involved. The intention is to compel the cooperation of those named, or at least their silence. This use, or attempted use, of political blackmail comes straight from Vishinsky, not from Trotsky.

Compare Stalin's use of frame-up methods to try to incriminate Trotsky with Healy's efforts to incriminate the close American associates of Trotsky. Against the verdict of the control commission of the SWP, Healy accepts the word of the

perjurer Budenz and a stacked grand jury. Hasn't Healy presented us with a caricature of the method used by Stalin in the Moscow Frame-up Trials?

The Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance are now engaged in a \$27 million suit against the U.S. government because of illegal actions taken by the FBI over a period of decades. By coincidence Healy publishes fabricated charges that the party's leaders were "accomplices" of the GPU. Whom can such charges help?

Every conscientious member of the WRP ought to ponder this and try to think where Healy's course against the SWP logically leads—and so, too, ought Gerry Healy, if he is capable of it.

Trotsky once said that if Stalin could have foreseen in 1923 that his course against the Left Opposition would lead him one day to defame all living members of Lenin's Central Committee as Hitler's agents, etc., he would never have embarked on it. Stalin did not set out to be a Thermidorian, a counterrevolutionist. The means Stalin chose brought him to ends he had not anticipated. Means and ends are intertwined. A thought worth mulling over.

The voice in the series of articles against Hansen, Novack, and the SWP, published under the signature "International Committee of the Fourth International," is that of Healy even if the hand that penned the words was trained in the Fleet Street school of yellow journalism. All the gloss and polish does not lessen the big lie or

save the WRP from the shame of having peddled it.

"If a lie can serve for a moment it is inevitably injurious in the long run; the truth, on the other hand, inevitably serves in the end even if it may hurt for the moment."—Diderot.¹⁴ □

14. As quoted by Max Shachtman on the title page of *Behind the Moscow Trial*.

Soviet Trade Deficit Is \$3.6 Billion

The Soviet Union ran up an overall trade deficit of nearly \$3.6 billion, according to preliminary figures released in Moscow May 5. Although the USSR had a trade surplus of about \$400 million with the colonial and semicolonial countries, and a surplus of about \$660 million in its trade with other workers states, this was absorbed by a huge \$4.8 billion trade deficit with the imperialist powers.

Heavy imports of grain and machinery, combined with slackened demand for Soviet raw materials as a result of the economic downturn, created the deficit.

Grain accounted for more than half of the \$1.8 billion in American goods imported by the USSR in 1975. The Soviet figures showed that the United States rose from seventh to fourth among Moscow's trading partners, behind West Germany, Japan, and Finland.

Dutch Journalist Held Without Trial

Peter Custers Imprisoned in Dacca

[The following article appeared in the May 6 issue of *Red Weekly*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Dutch free lance journalist Peter Custers, who is well-known for his reports on Bangladesh, has been detained in Dacca Central Jail since 8 December. His health and safety are in jeopardy.

First news of his arrest was published in the 11 February edition of *De Groene Amsterdammer*, a Dutch weekly of which he is a correspondent. Custers also works for the daily *De Volkskrant* and, outside the Netherlands, he writes occasionally for *Le Monde* and periodicals in India, Hong Kong and the USA. His colleagues in Dacca and abroad know him as a trust-

worthy and conscientious journalist, well-informed in Bangladesh matters. His sharp analyses of the situation in Bangladesh are highly valued.

In the arrest warrant Peter Custers was accused of unspecified "anti-state activities." The fact that the Dacca authorities have never publicly admitted his detention nor put him on trial before one of the martial law tribunals—now in operation—suggests that they have not yet decided whether to expel Custers or proceed to a formal charge.

The fact that he is imprisoned in Dacca Central Jail is highly alarming. The inmates are in constant peril of their lives, especially because of the existence of gangs of criminal convicts protected by the prison authorities; they not only have power over fellow-prisoners, but are also enlisted for the not very subtle interrogation methods of the police. □

13. As quoted in *The Militant*, Vol. 1, No. 1, November 15, 1928. The quotation is from "The Party Crisis," *Collected Works*, Vol. 32, p. 43. It should be noted that the English translation issued by Moscow is defective. The Russian original can be found in the fifth edition of *Lenin's Complete Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 234-35.

AROUND THE WORLD



The Death of Ulrike Meinhof

On May 9 Ulrike Meinhof, one of the central leaders of the West German Red Army Faction, was found hanged in her prison cell. Government officials claimed that she had committed suicide, but Meinhof's lawyers expressed doubts about that verdict.

The show-trial of Meinhof and others in the urban guerrilla group that she helped form has been used from the beginning by the West German regime as a vehicle for whipping up a witch-hunt atmosphere against the left. The savagery and vindictiveness of the government campaign was demonstrated earlier in the case of Holger Meins.

Meins, who was also a member of the Red Army Faction, died in November 1974 during a hunger strike protesting the cruel conditions under which the group was being held. Before his death, he documented the force-feeding torture used against him.

Conditions of confinement for the members of the Red Army Faction included:

- Systematic segregation from other prisoners.
- Special screens fixed outside cell windows to distort any perceptions of the outside.
- Handcuffing during yard exercises.
- A ban on all visits and mail except from relatives, with visits being supervised by political police.
- Censorship and confiscation of books and papers.

At the time of her death, Meinhof had been imprisoned for nearly four years.

Shah to Buy 1,200 British Tanks

The British government plans to sell 1,200 Chieftain tanks to the Iranian regime, according to a report by John Lawless in the April 25 London *Sunday Times*. London earlier sold 664 Chieftains to the shah. The conclusion of the new deal would bring the total British arms sales to Iran to nearly \$2 billion.

Church Group Protests Torture in Philippines

Torture of political prisoners in the Philippines is a common practice, according to a 100-page pamphlet released in Manila by the Association of Major Religious Superiors. The pamphlet is being distributed through the Roman Catholic

Church in the Philippines.

"Although the military would like to make it appear that cases of torture are isolated incidents," the document said, "reports coming from all over the country show that torture is widespread."

The report detailed thirty-one cases of torture involving the use of electric shocks on the genitals, injections of truth serum, beatings, and sexual assaults. The torture is often carried out in "safe houses" or private apartments where the prisoners are kept for days, weeks, and even months without the knowledge of their relatives. A number of prisoners have died under torture, according to the report.

Although the official number of detainees in military camps in the country stands at 4,000, it is unofficially estimated that the Marcos regime has jailed more than 20,000 persons since martial law was proclaimed in 1972.

CIA Inquiry Irks Rockefeller

Vice-president Nelson Rockefeller complained May 3 that the U.S. Senate's sanitized report on CIA and FBI activities has "exposed American foreign intelligence operations to the world, to the great profit of potential enemies and the grave distress of foreign friends."

Rockefeller pointed to an earlier commission on the Central Intelligence Agency's domestic operations that he headed as a model. The Rockefeller commission, while noting "certain domestic violations," found the CIA to be "on the whole a vitally important and reasonably conducted intelligence operation."

Seoul Court Upholds Frame-up

A Seoul appeals court upheld on May 3 the conviction of three men for supposedly plotting against the Park Chung Hee dictatorship, but reduced their sentences.

Lee Pu Young and Sung Yoo Bo, two journalists, both participated in a strike protesting press censorship last year. Lee was a leader of the strike, and the two charge that their role in it was the reason they were put on trial.

Chung Chung Bong, a college lecturer, was also accused of participating in the supposed plot against the government.

The three were convicted on the evidence of a fourth man, who admitted in court that he could remember nothing about the

alleged plot, and had been treated for mental illness. When the defense tried to call the man's wife, it was announced that she could not appear in court because she was under house arrest.

Lee's sentence was reduced by the court from eight years to two and a half, and Chung and Sung had their sentences reduced from four years to one and a half.

Albanian Officials Purged

Enver Hoxha, the sixty-six-year-old chief of the Albanian Communist party, announced April 29 that he was dismissing Agriculture Minister Piro Dodbida and Education Minister Thoma Deljana from their posts. Earlier, Hoxha had fired chief economic planner Abdyl Kellezi.

U.S. officials have suggested that the purge may be associated with internal dissatisfaction over decreasing aid from China and a stagnating economy.

In his April 29 speech, Hoxha stressed "Peking's great international aid," and Albania's "indestructible friendship" for China.

Herzog's Widow Sues Brazilian Junta

The widow of Brazilian journalist Vladimir Herzog, who was killed in October 1975 in a military prison in São Paulo, has filed suit against the Geisel regime. Clarice Herzog and her two sons explained that they were filing the legal action "because of the arbitrary imprisonment of the journalist, because of the tortures to which he was submitted, because of his death and the consequent obligation for indemnity."

Herzog died only a few hours after voluntarily presenting himself for questioning. The military claims that he committed suicide. Church leaders, lawyers associations, journalists, and editors say he was murdered.

Strike at Ife University in Nigeria

Workers at Ife University in Nigeria walked off their jobs in April, seriously curtailing basic services. The strike was called to protest the nonimplementation of the so-called Udoji pay increases, which were to have been granted in January 1975.

Let the Chinese People Speak Out!

[The following statement was issued in Hong Kong April 25 by five political organizations. The signers are also sponsoring a rally, to be held in Hong Kong May 16, demanding that Chinese authorities release all demonstrators arrested following the April 5 protest in Peking's Tien An Men Square.*]

* * *

Early April, in front of the Monument to the People's Heroes in Tien An Men Square, the masses took the opportunity of the commemoration of the Ching Ming Festival [Day for Remembering the Dead] to express their views on the current factional struggle in China. Some of them, by sending wreaths in honor of ex-Premier Chou En-lai, showed their support for Chou's policies. Others presented inscriptions such as, "Down with Gandhi!" and "Commemorating Yeung Kai-wai [Mao's ex-wife]" to express their hatred for Chiang Ching [Mao's present wife]. Others made speeches with verses: "China is no longer the China of yore, and the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance, gone for good in Chin Shih Huang's feudal society," to indicate their discontent towards the harsh conditions of Chinese society.

In simple words, whether the masses used wreaths, poems, silent mourning, or heated speeches, and whether they had common feelings and wishes or correct demands, the one hundred thousand people gathered on April 5 at Tien An Men Square clearly pointed out with their mass action that the masses want to express their own opinions on the current events in China.

The democratic rights of the Chinese people have long been harshly suppressed by the Peking regime. But the masses at Tien An Men Square still heroically exercised their basic democratic rights of expression, organization, demonstration, and march. This action reflected a new rise of consciousness of the Chinese people. This is their unavoidable action after they began to understand that it is necessary to defend their right as master of the country. They had learned their own lessons through the past twenty-six years of continual factional struggles among the state leaders.

But the Peking regime attacked this spontaneous mass action as "an organized, premeditated and planned coun-

terrevolutionary political incident." It sent tens of thousands civilian, army, police, and security guards to suppress the action. Under the pretext of practicing their own brand of "proletarian dictatorship," the regime arrested several hundred people.

The Peking government, by attacking the action of workers, peasants, and student youth as "counterrevolutionary" and putting demonstrators under arrest, has completely disregarded the basic democratic rights of the masses of organization, expression, march, demonstration, and strike. These rights were accepted by the Fourth People's Congress of China, and were stated clearly in the constitution as rights of Chinese citizens.

The masses at Tien An Men Square should have the right to speak out!

Therefore, despite our possible different positions and understanding of the current situation and factional struggle in China, the undersigned socialist organizations vehemently protest against the Peking regime's suppression and attack of the masses at Tien An Men Square on April 5, 1976. We support the action of the masses at Tien An Men Square and other similar mass actions at other cities (e.g., Nanking, Chen Chou, and Kunming). Because we think that the masses deserve to have those rights.

Meanwhile, we demand that the Peking government:

1. Unconditionally and immediately release all those arrested on April 5 at Tien An Men Square.

2. Stop slandering and attacking the masses and their action at Tien An Men Square.

3. Publicize all the facts about the April 5 incident; let the masses speak out their own opinions publicly.

4. Guarantee the basic democratic rights of the Chinese people, as outlined in rule No. 28 of the constitution.

The Seventies Front, Combating Bulletin-Revolutionary Marxist League, Young Militant, Young Socialist Group, The Reawakening (an overseas Chinese group in Britain).

That'll Teach Them a Lesson

Misled by "deceptive" advertising, an unknown number of Americans may have purchased Chrysler compact automobiles under the mistaken belief that they delivered superior gasoline mileage. Appropriate action has been taken by the federal government.

According to a May 6 Associated Press dispatch, "The Federal Trade Commission ruled today that Chrysler Corporation misled the public about the fuel economy of its small cars two years ago and ordered the auto giant not to do it again."

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*For an account of the demonstration, see *Intercontinental Press*, April 19, p. 628.

Militarism vs. Mass Action—Which Road for Irish Struggle?

[The following article appeared in the March issue of *Unfree Citizen*, the newspaper of the People's Democracy group in Northern Ireland. The footnotes have been supplied by *Intercontinental Press*, which has also corrected a few obvious typographical errors.]

* * *

After eight years of agitation and struggle the situation is grim for the Anti-Imperialist movement in Ireland. The initiative lies with the British and their Loyalist and Free State allies. They are confident and aggressive and the Anti-Imperialist movement seems powerless to halt the steady and inexorable drift towards the restoration of Loyalist rule in the North.

Once we (the Anti-Imperialist movement as a whole) had the initiative. We could make or break Prime Ministers and Governments and the hammerblows of the mass resistance in 1971-72 brought down the Stormont¹ regime which had lasted for fifty years. For a time even the bourgeois press regarded a united Ireland as inevitable and talked only of its timing and structure. Now the only argument is over whether a few token Catholics should be used as window dressing for a restored Stormont regime.

Only the wilfully blind can fail to see that we are in retreat. What has happened, what has gone wrong? The most important factor is that the mass movement has disintegrated and popular support for the struggle here is on the wane.

What do we mean when we say the mass movement has disintegrated? In 1968-69 and 1971-72 there were real mass movements in the North; the Civil Rights movement and the Resistance² movement. There was little need to advertise and organise marches and demonstrations in those days, thousands came of their own accord often travelling long distances. The whole minority³ population was in ferment. Civil Rights committees and later Resistance Committees sprang up in every area. The people were self-confident and

determined, they mounted their own protests without prompting, they stood up and often drove out the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] and the British Army. In Derry they controlled their own No Go area for almost a year. The best example is the Rent and Rates strike; the people in the ghettos started it spontaneously before there were any calls from the politicians. The enthusiasm and determination of the people was so great that they forced even the Parliamentary politicians into the streets and forced hostile political groups to co-operate around common demands. It was this spectacle of a whole people in revolt, not just the Provos' military campaign, which brought down Stormont⁴ and wrung a whole series of concessions from the British.

Compare that with the situation today. The Anti-Imperialist movement is deeply divided, the bulk of the minority population are apathetic if not hostile. Let any organisation, including Sinn Féin,⁵ call a demonstration now around some political demands, and how many will turn up? Hardly any except their own members and a handful of dedicated activists. The recent protests over Frank Stagg⁶ don't alter that at all.

Hardly anyone turned out for demonstrations about Frank Stagg until the very end—if there had been even the support there was for the Price sisters⁷ the British would probably have given in.

Unfortunately the massive crowd at the funeral doesn't mean much. The death of a hunger striker is a very emotive issue and the ghoulish behaviour of the Dublin Government made it more emotive still. The emotion doesn't necessarily carry over into active political support.

4. The suspension of the Northern Irish parliament came after the mass movement reached its height, following the shooting of thirteen civil-rights demonstrators in Derry at the end of January 1972. Since the Unionist authorities were the most outspokenly opposed to civil rights for Catholics, the suspension of their parliament was regarded as a concession by most of the nationalist minority.

5. The political wings of both the "Official" and Provisional republican organizations are called Sinn Féin. The article is evidently referring to Provisional Sinn Féin, since the "Official" groups in Northern Ireland are called "Republican Clubs," in view of the formal ban on Sinn Féin.

6. A Provisional republican who died on a hunger strike in a British prison in February. He was demanding to be transferred to a prison in Ireland.

7. Two young women from a well-known republican family who were convicted of involvement in a bombing in London. They also demanded transfer to a prison in Ireland.

Where once the majority of the Anti-Unionist population distrusted and even despised the opportunist politicians of the SDLP⁸ now they reluctantly support them and the SDLP's boasts that they would defeat Sinn Féin in an election are beginning to ring true.

Now only a minority of the minority supports the Anti-Imperialist struggle and even their support is a passive rather than an active one. And all the time the enemy are strengthening their position. British troops move freely round the ghettos, the RUC and UDR [Ulster Defence Regiment, the Northern Irish militia] are being expanded and given more arms and a more active role; the Free State Government collaborates more and more openly with the British.

What can we do about this serious situation? Where do we go from here? When revolutionaries find the people don't support them anymore they can either blame the people and attempt to carry on without them, substituting themselves for the masses, or they can go back to where the people are and try to bring them forward with the revolutionary movement. That is the difference between military elitism and Marxism.

Republicans have always tended towards elitism. A good example was the statement ending the 1956-62 campaign⁹ which blamed the people for not supporting them. It said "foremost among the factors motivating this course of action [ending the campaign] has been the attitude of the general public whose minds have been deliberately distracted from the supreme issue facing the Irish people—the unity and freedom of Ireland." And there have always been those who argued that previous IRA campaigns failed either because they hadn't enough arms and ammunition or because they didn't use them ruthlessly enough.

Faced with dwindling mass support in this campaign, elements on the fringes of the Republican movement have turned to isolated and sometimes very callous military actions totally divorced from any political work. Let's take three examples; the Birmingham bombing, the Herrema kidnapping [of the manager of a Dutch

8. Social Democratic and Labour party. This is essentially a revived and refurbished version of the traditional Nationalist party, whose credibility was shaken by the rise of the mass civil-rights movement outside its control. The SDLP also brought in some of the "modernist" procapitalist elements in the civil-rights movement and some demagogic Catholic politicians who based themselves on the labor movement in the nationalist areas.

9. The IRA launched an unsuccessful guerrilla warfare campaign in 1956, which was called off in 1962.

1. The Northern Irish parliament, historically the instrument of the proimperialist Protestant majority in the British-ruled enclave. It was suspended in March 1972, to make way for formal direct rule from London.

2. After the introduction of internment in August 1971, PD believed that the mass movement of the oppressed Catholic population had moved into a new and higher stage, which it designated by this name.

3. The Protestants originally settled in Northern Ireland as a loyal colony and maintain about a 60 percent majority. The higher Catholic birth-rate is compensated for by higher emigration.

company in Limerick] and the South Armagh killings.

In November 1974 faced with the lack of any serious opposition to British policy in Ireland by the British working class and frustrated and bitter at the anti-Irish attitudes of British workers, some Republican element—though not the men who were convicted for it; they were framed—blew up two pubs in Birmingham killing twenty-one civilians. That was sheer military terror. Rather than work hard to convince the British working class to support the Irish struggle, a few men with guns and bombs would terrorise them into submission. It didn't work of course, it only created in Britain sympathy for the Ulster Loyalists.

The Herrema kidnapping was a classic case of a handful of revolutionaries substituting for the masses. In the South there is a great deal of Republican feeling and sympathy with the Northern minority just below the surface and there is massive discontent with the Government on social and economic issues—120,000 unemployed, etc. The discontent remains below the surface because hardly anyone has done the hard political work to mobilise it and organise opposition to the growing police state there. The kidnappers were too frustrated and impatient to work politically through the ICRA [Irish Civil Rights Association] or some other body to build up mass resistance. The result was that workers in Limerick actually marched in support of Herrema, and the Government, secure in the knowledge that the kidnappers had no support, were able to win easily.

The Kingsmills killing was sheer military terror again. The killers simply adopted the logic of the Loyalists' murder groups—if you kill enough Catholic civilians then the Catholic community will force the IRA to stop. They killed Protestant civilians. It may or may not have stopped assassinations in South Armagh but it didn't stop them elsewhere—and tit for tat killing of Protestants hasn't stopped them in Belfast. What it did do was disillusion and alienate hundreds of Republican supporters in the North who believed that our morals were superior to those of the Loyalists, and thousands of sympathisers in the South.

(The problem of assassinations is an extremely difficult one but probably the only effective solution is to rebuild enough active mass support to enable vigilante groups to patrol all Catholic areas and workplaces and to demand and take the right for all Catholics to carry arms.)

These were some of the clearest examples of elitist and militarist actions in the last eighteen months. We must make clear at this point that we do not equate the violence of the oppressed with the violence of their oppressors; the violence of a people in revolt, fighting with the only weapons they know, with the violence of the state

The People's Democracy Group

In the March issue of its newspaper, the People's Democracy group in Northern Ireland announced:

"A serious division has arisen in the People's Democracy over the past few months. The division was resolved by rediscussion and redefinition of our policies at a conference of the organisation. As a result a number of members resigned from the organisation."

The People's Democracy emerged from the Belfast student movement at the end of the 1960s. A few of its leaders served an apprenticeship in small groups that claimed to be Trotskyist but were outside the Fourth International. There was also an anarchist tendency. Internationally, the group tended to form alliances with centrist tendencies inclined in one aspect or another of their politics to be ultraleft, such as Lotta Continua in Italy or the International Socialists in Britain.

At the start of the mass civil-rights movement in 1969, the PD was organized more or less on the lines of a broad radical student activist movement, similar in a general way to the American or West German SDS. It played a leading role in the civil-rights movement, expanding its influence very rapidly during the rise of the mass movement.

In the Northern Ireland and British parliamentary elections in 1969, it ran a large number of candidates and cut deeply into the traditional nationalist vote. Bernadette Devlin, the symbol and best-known representative of the radical youth in the civil-rights movement, ran first as a candidate of People's Democracy.

Very quickly, however, PD's lack of a transitional program, its student radical organizational forms, and its lack of political homogeneity led to splits, disorientation, and the loss of most of

the group's influence.

During the mass civil-rights movement, PD held a sectarian position toward nationalism; it followed a policy designed to drive the "Catholic capitalists" out of the movement. After the introduction of internment in August 1971, the remaining nucleus of PD shifted toward all-out support for revolutionary nationalism.

However, this turn was not carried out in a balanced way; the organization lacked a consistent critique of Provisional republicanism or any alternative policy. In its attempt to become a radical spearhead of the republican movement, it often carried the weaknesses of the republicans themselves to an extreme.

For example, in early 1975 it became clear that it was experimenting with forming its own armed wing. Moreover, the attempts of PD to differentiate itself from the Provisionals tended to be erratic, and did not produce much political clarification.

Now, with the decline of the Provisional military campaign, PD has evidently decided to make a new reorientation. This development is worth noting inasmuch as it may reflect an example of the thinking going on in the Irish left. Although only a small nucleus of PD remains, the group is well known and has some serious experience in mass work.

Although the accompanying article setting forth PD's new position still suffers from some exaggerations and one-sided statements, it is a serious effort to appraise what has gone wrong in the Irish struggle and to work out a consistent Marxist approach. It seems likely to have a certain impact, and can perhaps make a contribution to the process of rethinking in the militant Irish left.

machine and its hired killers. Our criticism of elitism and militarism is made from the anti-imperialist side of the barricades.

However as the situation gets worse there is a serious danger that the whole Republican movement will turn more and more in that direction. Marie Drumm provided another example of elitism at the Dunville Park rally after Frank Stagg's death when she told the crowd not to "take anything into their own hands" as Frank Stagg's death would be avenged by the IRA. In other words the people are only to be passive spectators at their own liberation. In fact hardly any of the rioting after Stagg's death was spontaneous popular action; it was organised and its isolation

from the people was shown by the senseless nature of much of the hijacking and burning, which only inconvenienced and endangered the people of the ghettos.

That was elitism but there is also an element who out of sheer frustration at their inability to stop the drift to Loyalist rule are arguing for provoking a civil war in the desperate hope that it would force the Northern minority and the Southern population to support them. That is really the politics of despair—gambling everything on a desperate adventure and trying to blackmail the people into supporting you. It is also doomed to failure.

There is another road, the road of mass action. Marxists have always believed that only the masses can liberate themselves,

no small group of armed men can do it for them. The imperialists will always have more men, more guns, etc., than the revolutionaries; in a purely military context they will always win. But what the imperialists really fear is a whole people in revolt like in 1972. They decided to abolish Stormont when, after they'd murdered 13 people in Derry on Bloody Sunday, there were ten or twenty times as many marching in Newry the next Sunday. They couldn't kill them all. As a British Lieutenant Colonel said in a recently leaked report arguing the case for more emphasis on political work: "The military means of winning this campaign is only one-fifth of the whole spectrum."

The mass movement is all important; physical force, though certainly necessary, is only one of its weapons in the battle and we believe that armed struggle which is not backed by the masses cannot make a revolution. So when mass support is dwindling as it is to-day and when the mass movement has disintegrated, the first priority is to win back that mass support and rebuild the mass movement. Without it any renewed military campaign will fail and any further turn to militarism or talk of provoking civil war will only lead to disaster.

To rebuild the movement the people

must be approached where they are, on the level they are on. To build the Civil Rights movement took years of slow, patient work making the people conscious of their oppression and that they could do something about it. If the people now need to be reminded of the facts of discrimination and what it was like to live under the old Stormont regime—and the people in the South need to be told about it for the first time—we must go back and explain it all to them. And this time it shouldn't take so long because their level of consciousness has already been raised by the eight years of struggle.

Lenin, the leader of the Russian Revolution, spelt it out very clearly in 1917:

"Crises cannot be overcome by the violence of individuals against other individuals, by partial risings of small groups of armed people, by Blanquist attempts to seize power, to arrest the Provisional Government etc.

The slogan of the day is: Explain more carefully, more clearly, more broadly the proletarian policy. . . ."

We the People's Democracy believe that absolute priority must be given to rebuilding the Anti-Imperialist movement. And as Marxist socialists we also believe that it must be based on a class-conscious working-class base. When this struggle

began in 1968-69 and in 1970-72 it was many-sided. People who fought for Civil Rights or against internment also fought on class issues, against economic and social exploitation and against the bosses. Class consciousness was strong and Catholic capitalists were just as frightened as the Stormont Unionists. That has all disappeared and to-day there is an almost total divorce between the national question and social and economic struggles. The link must be forged again.

The People's Democracy will strive to rebuild the anti-imperialist mass movement with clear working-class policies and we also believe in the absolute necessity for a disciplined revolutionary party as the vanguard and leadership of the revolutionary struggle.

Footnote

Lenin often said that Terrorism (elitist military action) put the masses to sleep. Because it gave them no role in the struggle, it led them to sit back and wait for a few revolutionary heroes to free them. Inactivity quickly leads to apathy and can easily turn into active hostility if the ruling classes make the people suffer for the actions of the guerrillas. □

IRSP Denounces Brutal 'Interrogation' by Irish Police

[The following statement was issued by the Ard Chomhairle (National Executive) of the Irish Republican Socialist party/ Páirtí Poblachtach Sóisialach na h-Eireann (IRSP) following the arrest and beating of a number of members and supporters of this organization by Irish Free State police in early April.]

During the period from Monday April 5 to Friday April 9 a total of 26 people were arrested under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act. Of the 26 people arrested, 20 were either members or supporters of the IRSP. One is a member of Sinn Féin Kevin Street [the Provisionals] and a brother of an IRSP member. One is a member of the RMG [Revolutionary Marxist Group, now Movement for a Socialist Republic, the Irish section of the Fourth International] and a sister of an IRSP member. The other 4 people have no connections with any party. Twenty arrests took place in the Dublin and Wicklow area, one in Co. Monaghan and 4 in Co. Limerick.

In most cases the homes of those arrested were raided and searched by armed groups of Special Branch men [the political police]. Nothing of an illegal or incriminating nature was found in any of the raids, however a large quantity of IRSP documents and personal effects were seized. The property seized included two

motor cars, a large quantity of clothing, personal documents and photographs, etc. In some cases, the homes concerned were left in a state of total disorder, with furniture and property thrown about the floor. No receipts were given for any of the property seized and some of it has not yet been returned to its rightful owners.

Our office at 34 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1, was also raided on Monday, April 5, by a group of Special Branch men who had seized the keys of the office from one of our members. The raid was carried out in the absence of any party member and during the course of it a quantity of clothing was seized. Documents and party files were also interfered with and we are still attempting to compile a list of any documents which were seized. No search warrant was ever produced for this raid and no receipts were issued for the property taken. The Special Branch remained in the office all day and arrested the editor of the *Starry Plough* at the office when he arrived for work.

All of the people arrested were subjected to very severe psychological pressure in an attempt to obtain admissions of guilt in connection with the recent train robbery in Co. Kildare. Three of the people who were subjected to this pressure are in fact defence witnesses in the forthcoming trial.

The following pressures were applied to the arrested:

1. The police refused to notify people of which specific offence they were allegedly involved in.
2. They refused to notify families, friends or solicitors that the arrests had taken place.
3. People were refused visits from their families and legal advisors when they eventually discovered the various places of detention.
4. People were constantly moved from one detention centre to another in a deliberate attempt to isolate the detainees from their legal advisors.
5. They were threatened with repeated arrests under Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act if they refused to "confess" or if they took legal action as a result of the torture inflicted.
6. In some cases they were told that their wives would be also arrested and their children put into an institution.
7. In one case a girl was told that she would be detained until her boy friend was arrested, and was, in fact, detained in her flat for about two hours.
8. Prisoners were told that they would be committed to Dundrum mental hospital and certified as insane.
9. They were also told that members of their families had heart attacks as a result of the arrest of family members.
10. One man was told that his grandmother had a heart attack as a result of a

raid by the British Army on his home in South Derry and that if he did not confess before 5 p.m. his home would be raided again and his grandmother would die as a result of it.

11. Some prisoners were also told that they would lose their jobs as a result of their arrest.

12. Some were also threatened with death and one man was taken to a lonely area near Bray, where a Special Branch man named Michael Egan offered him a pistol. This was a particularly sinister incident, as other armed Special Branch men were concealed in the vicinity waiting to shoot him if he had taken the pistol in his hand.

13. Some prisoners were told that rumours would be spread to the effect that they were informers and that their own "crowd" would shoot them as a result.

14. Large sums of money were offered on condition that people would become informers and one man was told that if he could locate the money from the train he could keep a large amount of it for himself and that nobody would ever know as banks and post offices "often make mistakes."

15. Some of those who signed statements were told afterwards that they would be freed and that no further action would be taken if they agreed to act as informers.

The psychological torture described here was in some cases maintained for periods as long as 13 hours without a break. The detectives operated in teams of 2 or 4 men at each session and the threats were usually accompanied by foul language and threats of physical torture. The purpose of this particular form of interrogation was to convince the prisoners that they were totally isolated, that nobody cared what was happening to them and that the police had the power to do what they liked and were not subject to any form of restraint in their actions. They constantly made it clear that they were under extreme pressure from their superiors and that they had "to get someone for this job." They also tried to convey to the prisoners that they and their families were the "lowest form of animal life" and that nobody cared what happened to them. It should be emphasised that all of the people arrested were subjected to the treatment outlined and in some cases are currently receiving medical attention for nervous disorders arising from their experiences.

Apart from the psychological torture inflicted on all 26 prisoners, 15 were also subjected to physical torture of a most barbaric nature. The physical torture consisted of:

1. *Loss of sleep.* One prisoner got approximately 5 hours of sleep during his 43 hours of detention. When he was not being interrogated he was left without bedclothes in his cell and was constantly threatened by detectives shouting through the cell door. This deliberate denial of sleep was designed to confuse and disorient the

prisoners and make them physically and mentally exhausted.

2. *Denial of food.* Some prisoners were denied food or water for periods as long as 24 hours. One prisoner had to eventually beg for a cup of water.

3. All 15 prisoners were subjected to physical brutality. They were repeatedly beaten with batons or rubber truncheons on the head, arms, legs, stomach and back. Their feet were constantly stamped upon. They were also punched and kicked repeatedly. Some of them were handcuffed and put on the ground with their feet forced between their arms and beaten and kicked in this position. Some people were spreadeagled against walls and constantly beaten in this position. Their feet were kicked from under them and when they fell to the ground they were again beaten and kicked and hit with chairs. Others were slammed against items of office furniture such as filing cabinets and tables. Some people were stripped naked during the beating process and others were partially stripped. One man was told that he would be strapped to a special chair and that his genitals would be beaten with a rubber hammer until he "confessed." At least one prisoner was told that he would receive electric shock torture and that the police now had a new law under which they could detain people for 7 days instead of 48 hours. One prisoner was spreadeagled on a table with his arms forced up behind his back and his head pulled back. He was severely beaten while in this position. Two prisoners were beaten with leather belts and another one was repeatedly slashed across the throat and chest with a sharp object, probably a wire brush or sandpaper. Another man was beaten in his cell by two men who were identified to him by the Special Branch as the train driver and guard. Some people had lumps of hair pulled from their heads during the course of their beatings. Some prisoners were also lifted bodily off the ground by their ears. Attempts were made to choke some prisoners and one man was rendered unconscious on two occasions. He was then revived and the beating continued. Prisoners were repeatedly beaten on the ears. In some cases the beating was so severe that they suffered internal bleeding from the ears. They also suffered a partial loss of hearing and a host of internal bruising.

The following injuries were inflicted as a result of the torture.

1. Severe bruising to the backs, legs, arms, stomach and head.

2. Severe damage to the ears.

3. Partial loss of hearing.

4. Eyesight damaged in one case. This man is still in custody and has been denied access to an eye specialist which has been recommended by his doctor.

5. At least 6 people are still receiving medical treatment as a result of physical and nervous disorders caused by the torture.

At this stage I would like to give an

outline of the background which led to the current wave of torture and barbarism. Ever since the formation of the IRSP some 16 months ago, our members in all parts of the country have been subjected to harassment from the authorities. The most common forms of harassment to date have been the raiding and searching of members' homes and the unlawful seizure of party documents and copies of the party newspaper, the *Starry Plough*. The most significant escalation in harassment took place last June, when approximately 12 of our members were arrested in the Dublin area, allegedly in connection with the Sallins murder.¹

When they were found to be totally innocent people they were all released. However, the government, with the active assistance of the media, managed to convey the impression that the IRSP had some connection with the incident. When it was subsequently discovered that the Miami Showband killers² were also responsible for the Sallins murder, the media chose to ignore the opportunity for rectifying the damage which they had caused. Since last June, all of the normal or abnormal forms of harassment have continued despite repeated protests by our members. The object of the harassment is undoubtedly to prevent the IRSP from pursuing its lawful and legitimate function as a legally registered political party. Having failed in their attempts to smash the party, Cosgrave and Cooney have now resorted to the lowest form of inhuman barbarism in keeping with the traditions laid down by their political ancestors of the Oriel House murder gang in 1922/23.³

We call upon all radical and progressive organisations to raise the voice in protest at this outrage. The IRSP has established a fund for the defence of the innocent victims of this torture campaign, and we are appealing for financial support for the dependents of those imprisoned as a result of the Cosgrave/Cooney criminal conspiracy.

Seamus Costello

On behalf of the Ard Chomhairle
Irish Republican Socialist Party

1. A railroad employee was killed during an attempt to blow up a train carrying "Official" republicans to the annual ceremony at Wolfe Tone's grave. At that time, there were incidents of physical violence between the IRSP and the "Officials," from whom they split in December 1974.—IP

2. Ultraright Protestant supporters of union with England murdered members of a Catholic folk-singing group.—IP

3. The main party in the ruling coalition descends from the right wing of the independence movement, which waged a counterrevolutionary war against the radical wing in 1922. During this civil war, the counterrevolutionary forces, which were supported by the British, committed many atrocities. Some were done by uniformed forces of the Free State, others were carried out by parastate gangs.—IP

FROM OUR READERS

A reader in Tel Aviv, Israel, wrote us: "For me and my friends the *IP* and *Militant* are a very important source of information on the progress of the world crisis of imperialism. I find particularly interesting the fundamental nature of the debate between the editors of the *IP* and your European comrades.

"In the 1940s there was a section of the Fourth International in Palestine, which fought for the unity of the working class against Zionism and against the imperialist division of the Middle East. Today, events have shown—in Lebanon, Syria, the West Bank and most recently inside Israel's 1967 borders—that the construction of revolutionary Trotskyist parties is an urgent necessity. I believe that the information in *IP* and *The Militant*, if received regularly, can contribute to this effort."

Intercontinental Press is also filling a need in Ecuador. A reader in Guayaquil explains:

"I came to know of your publication thanks to the compañeros of the CEDOC (Ecuadorian Confederation of Class Struggle Trade Unions). . . .

"Your magazine has greatly enthused us; your analyses are very clear. It is conspicuously true that in Ecuador the methods of Trotskyism have never had a great development. In recent years, revolutionary socialist propaganda has met with a good response, but it has always been carried on without a very profound analysis.

"We are interested . . . in knowing the subscription rates for Intercontinental Press. We think that we can sell several subscriptions in Quito and Guayaquil. We are also interested in maintaining a correspondence with you on some of the more specific Ecuadorian problems (we have noticed in the magazine that we have not seen any articles on the political situation in our country)."

The following inquiry came from Puerto Ordaz, Venezuela:

"The object of this letter is to find out how I can obtain a subscription to such an important magazine as yours. I have already read several issues of Intercontinental Press and it has served as a great help for me in my daily work in the class struggle. . . ."

Subscription rates vary from country to country. It is necessary, therefore, to write us for this information. Your inquiry will get a quick response.

C.P. of Montréal, Canada, sent this note with a change of address:

"The stepped-up coverage of Soviet dissidents is great—why don't you print ads for the Russian editions that Pathfinder is rumored to have printed, alongside such articles? I bet that would be an excellent way of getting those books known to people especially interested in current Soviet affairs."

A very good idea; we'll pass it along to Pathfinder Press.

In the same note C.P. comments about the photographs and drawings in Intercontinental Press:

"Why have the usually fantastic graphics lately been getting a bit gruesome? Despite their vivid portrayal of the conditions facing political prisoners, and their sharp way of illustrating the ogre-ish side of some political figures (referring to the drawings of Copain), I think sometimes an overdone graphic can detract from the attractiveness of *IP*.

"Nevertheless, *IP* has been through a couple of years, and will continue to be, my constant companion, following me from city to city as I move.

"Continuons le combat!"

The graphics referred to are gruesome! The two secret photos of torture sessions in Uruguay appeared in the April 5 issue of Intercontinental Press.

Another subscriber also finds the Soviet dissident articles of special interest. S.M., Bloomington, Indiana, writes:

". . . I may as well say a few things about the *Intercontinental Press*. It seems to be getting better and better. I especially enjoyed the articles on the Plyushch case, the interviews with him, and the articles on the French and Portuguese Communist Parties and the nature of Stalinism. I hope the *Inprecor* reprint on the Panama canal will be republished in the *Militant*—it's an issue revolutionaries should familiarize themselves with further since it is turning into a campaign issue of sorts. About the 'Capitalism Fouls Things Up' column . . . It's a superb idea.

". . . Fred Halstead better start getting on the stick with *Out Now!* Is he going to be finished with the serial by the time the revolution comes about?"

We believe so. Two more installments were published in April and we hope that we'll publish another chapter or two during May.

"I'm one of your subscribers writing to inform you of my imminent change of address. I'm not giving you a lot of time either. I'm moving this weekend. So I hope you can change this right away."

S.M.'s Williamsburg address was changed to Northampton, Massachusetts,

before the next issue of Intercontinental Press was mailed.

Our problem is the post office. The five weeks' notice suggested in the masthead is to allow time for the new address to make its way through the postal system. Sometimes it works; sometimes it doesn't. When it doesn't, our subscribers lose an issue or two.

Copies of Intercontinental Press aren't the only things lost by the Postal Service.

In response to an inquiry about some books ordered through our distributing agency Pathfinder Press, London, Alan Harris suggested that "maybe we should wait another week or two to see if the parcel turns up. . . . Yesterday we received one mailbag addressed to Pathfinder, London, containing material issued by the Canadian government addressed to people in Arizona!!! Our local post office refused to take it back because it was in a U.S. mailbag!!!"

How about currency finding its way through the Postal Service?

A subscriber sent in an order for some back issues. When his patience became exhausted by what he considered a long-enough wait, he wrote. We checked. No order received. We asked him to stop payment on his check. He responded: "As this order was paid in cash (four one dollar bills), it is impossible to stop payment on a check. I hope someone enjoyed their lunch."

Luckily, this story had a happy ending. Because we wanted the subscriber to have those back issues, we sent the order anyway. But next time the ending could be different. So keep in mind the Postal Service motto that "Currency is sent at your own risk."

How about ashes? Recently the wire services carried a story about the ashes of a retired navy captain being lost by the post office in transit from St. Petersburg, Florida, to Arlington National Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

The general manager of the National Cremation Society said that his company no longer provides shipping service unless the client signs a waiver "because we've had too many problems" with the post office.

One of our subscribers in Portland, Oregon, complained about his loss: "Last week I received an empty envelope. Whether a new form of Postal harassment, or caused by an insufficiently sealed envelope, I thought you would want to know."

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

Check rates inside cover.