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NEWS ANALYSIS

Ford Slips on Issue of Puerto Rico

By David Frankel

Speaking from the Vail, Colorado, ski resort where he spends many of his frequent vacations, President Ford proposed December 31 that "the people of Puerto Rico and the Congress of the United States begin now to take those steps which will result in statehood for Puerto Rico."

It quickly became apparent that Ford had put his foot in his mouth once again. The president's statement came as "a complete surprise, to say the least," complained Carlos Romero Barceló, the newly elected governor of Puerto Rico.

Although Romero Barceló's Partido Nuevo Progresista (PNP—New Progressive party) favors statehood and has close ties with Ford's Republican party, Romero Barceló insisted throughout his campaign that "statehood is not an issue" and that a vote for the PNP was not a vote for statehood. Instead, he campaigned on the promise to solve the island's staggering economic problems.

With more than 20 percent of the work force unemployed, and with nearly 60 percent of Puerto Rican families living below the poverty level according to the

government's own statistics, the PNP's attack on the economic front won a widespread response.

"Romero Barceló won because his campaign *did not* focus on the issue of statehood, but on solving the economic problems facing the country," Natascha López emphasized in a statement to the *Militant*, the American Trotskyist weekly.

López, a member of the Puerto Rican Trotskyist group, the Liga Internacionalista de los Trabajadores (LIT—Internationalist Workers League), added: "The election results cannot be interpreted as a desire of our people to make Puerto Rico a state, but as a protest against the economic situation manifested by the high unemployment rate and the rise in the cost of living."

In light of Romero Barceló's attempts to downplay the statehood issue during his campaign, Ford's abrupt statement was highly embarrassing to the new governor. At his inauguration January 2, the new governor did not once mention Ford's proposal or the issue of statehood.

While Romero Barceló attempted to pass over Ford's statement, his political oppo-

nents were quick to respond. Outgoing Gov. Rafael Hernández Colón accused Ford of violating the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination. "The people of Puerto Rico have never ceded that right to President Ford and they do not do so now," Hernández Colón said.

Reaction among those favoring Puerto Rican independence was also strong. "The only solution to the question of the status of Puerto Rico is the exercise of full self-determination and full sovereignty," the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueño (PSP—Puerto Rican Socialist party) declared. "Only in this way can Puerto Rican people face the serious political, economic, and social ills that are the direct result of colonial dependency and plunder. . . ."

So negative was the reaction in Puerto Rico that some advocates of statehood suggested that Ford's ill-timed remarks had actually hurt their prospects. What could have possessed Ford to blurt out his proposal without prior consultation?

One answer was given by columnist Art Buchwald, who suggested that perhaps the idea had come to Ford while he was tumbling head-over-heels down one of his favorite ski slopes. According to Buchwald's theory, Ford actually meant to propose that Poland become the fifty-first state, but then, when he had to face all those TV cameras and reporters with notebooks, the president got confused and said Puerto Rico by mistake. After that, it was too late to correct the error without upsetting the people of Puerto Rico and of Poland even more.

Editorials in the major capitalist dailies, however, did not accept Buchwald's explanation. The *Wall Street Journal* argued January 7 that "the election [of Romero Barceló] meant that Puerto Rico currently is leaning against the leftist winds blowing out of Cuba and already having their effect on such Caribbean islands as Jamaica. . . ."

"It is only natural that Mr. Ford, and Mr. Carter too, should want to nurture sympathies that are essentially pro-U.S. and anti-socialist."

A January 4 editorial in the *Washington Post* also indicated that Ford may have been motivated by fear of radicalization among the Puerto Rican masses. "By this reading of Caribbean political trends, commonwealth status impels Puerto Rico towards an eventual independence in which it could not resist Fidel Castro's wiles."

But, the *Post* editors warned, "The Ford proposal . . . making Washington the initiator of a statehood process, opens the United States to the charge that it is attempting to impose a colonialist solution counter to independence."

Still another reason for Ford's hasty proposal may have been the desire to secure formal title to the oil deposits thought to lie off the coast of Puerto Rico. This has been the subject of negotiations

Presentando 'Perspectiva Mundial'

Durante los tres últimos años, *Intercontinental Press* ha dedicado espacio para publicar una sección en español. Hemos puesto al alcance de los lectores de habla hispana traducciones de artículos y documentos que aparecieron en la sección en inglés, y hemos reimpresso materiales de otras publicaciones de habla hispana.

El 24 de enero, dará comienzo la publicación de una nueva revista en español, *Perspectiva Mundial*. Su surgimiento ha sido posible y necesario por el crecimiento del movimiento socialista revolucionario entre quienes hablan español en Estados Unidos.

Perspectiva Mundial se publicará cada dos semanas y tendrá 24 páginas. Muchos de los artículos que aparecerán en la nueva revista serán traducciones de *Intercontinental Press*. También se incluirá material de otras publicaciones en español y artículos especiales como, por ejemplo, traducciones de escritos de

León Trotsky. Los editores tienen la intención de mantener los mismos altos niveles de calidad y precisión en lo referente a hechos y traducciones que caracterizan a IP.

La publicación de *Perspectiva Mundial* marcará no solamente un avance en la cantidad y calidad de la información y análisis en español, sino que también permitirá que IP utilice el espacio que anteriormente dedicaba a su sección en español, haciendo que de hecho aumente su tamaño.

Invitamos a nuestros lectores de habla hispana a que utilicen el cupón que aparece en la contraportada de este número de IP para suscribirse a la nueva revista. IP también ha decidido dar a sus suscriptores la oportunidad de transferir sus suscripciones de IP a *Perspectiva Mundial*. Como la nueva revista es bisemanal, cualquier suscripción que se transfiera se extenderá por el tiempo correspondiente. □

between Puerto Rico and the U.S. government for some time now.

"It was good to hear him [President Ford] deny that his recommendation [for statehood] derived from the possible federalizing of Puerto Rico's offshore oil, which would have been out of keeping with the spirit of his fine stated motive," the editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* commented January 3.

Not only do the American imperialists want to control the political destiny of Puerto Rico as well as its natural resources, but they also want to be hailed for their lofty and selfless motives in the process. And Ford, no doubt, is prepared to swear on his ski poles that he wants only to bring the benefits of American civilization to the people of Puerto Rico. □

'Perspectiva Mundial'

Launched

Over the past three years *Intercontinental Press* has devoted space to publishing a section in Spanish. We have made available to Spanish-speaking readers translations of articles and documents that appeared in the English-language section and have reprinted materials from other Spanish-language publications.

On January 24, a new Spanish-language magazine, *Perspectiva Mundial*, will begin publication. Its appearance has been made possible and necessary by the growth of the revolutionary socialist movement among the Spanish-speaking peoples in the United States.

Perspectiva Mundial will be published every two weeks and will contain twenty-four pages. Articles in the new magazine will consist of translations from *Intercontinental Press*, as well as material from Spanish-language publications and features such as translations from the writings of Leon Trotsky. The editors intend to maintain the same high standards of accuracy in fact and translation that characterize *IP*.

The publication of *Perspectiva Mundial* will not only mark an advance in the amount and quality of information and analysis available in Spanish, but also will allow *IP* to utilize the space previously allotted to its Spanish section, effectively increasing its size.

We urge our Spanish-speaking readers to use the coupon on the back page of this issue of *IP* to subscribe to the new magazine. *IP* has also decided to extend to its subscribers the option of transferring their *IP* subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial*. Since the new magazine is a fortnightly, transferred subscriptions will be extended accordingly. □

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The Fourth International a Target of the CIA

By David Frankel

Maker and breaker of governments, sponsor of private armies, source of the most sophisticated instruments of torture and of the most sensitive electronic surveillance devices, the Central Intelligence Agency pollutes the political life of six continents.

Now, the CIA has been forced to hand over hundreds of documents on its secret operations around the world to the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The CIA documents were made public as a result of a suit initiated by the SWP and YSA against the U.S. government's illegal surveillance and harassment of dissident individuals and organizations. The SWP and YSA are demanding an injunction against further government abuses and \$40 million in damages.

Only a tiny portion of the CIA's massive file on the world Trotskyist movement has been released so far. Adopting the same method employed by Richard Nixon to hide the truth from the masses of people, the CIA insists that release of many of its files would endanger "national security." Even those that have been turned over to the SWP and YSA have been heavily censored. Nevertheless, what emerges from the documents is a vast campaign to disrupt and destroy the Fourth International.

Further information has been obtained through the sworn statements of CIA officials. Acting under court order, a number of CIA officials, including CIA Director George Bush, have been forced to answer questions about some of the activities of the agency in regard to the SWP and YSA. According to this sworn testimony:

- CIA burglars carried out break-ins directed against SWP and YSA members travelling abroad. These operations, delicately labeled "surreptitious entry" by Bush, are illegal by whatever name they are called. With this in mind, the CIA has refused to name the countries where the burglaries took place or say when they occurred. Perhaps the agency hopes to save embarrassment for friendly governments and police forces that may have cooperated with it in breaking their own laws.

- Electronic surveillance was used against SWP and YSA members travelling abroad. Most countries have laws against this type of activity, and again, the CIA has declined to say when and where it used this technique to gather information.



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

- A mail cover was maintained on some correspondence to and from the American Trotskyists. This included the opening and copying of letters, in clear violation of the law.

- Information on the SWP and YSA was obtained by the CIA through the use of informers.

- Although it refused to supply any information about the countries involved, the type of information sought or obtained, and what was done with this information, the CIA did admit that information on the SWP and YSA was both given to and received from foreign governments.

- Finally, the agency admitted that it "has engaged in the collection of information concerning the Fourth International." It refused to say what type of information on the Fourth International was obtained, how it was obtained, or when it was obtained.

However, the general approach of the CIA was outlined by one official, Paul F. Haefner. Interrogated by lawyers for the SWP and YSA, Haefner at first refused to answer the question: "was the overseas office [of the CIA] limited in any manner in the methods it was to pursue?"

In November—five months after the original interview—the government had second thoughts and decided to submit an answer to the question. A sworn affidavit from Haefner explained that "the senior CIA officer in any country abroad is always obligated to use his best judgment

as to whether specific operational actions or methods can be initiated and carried out securely, without adverse problems for either the host country government or the United States Government and consistent with the authority given to the CIA by law."

In other words, it is up to the official in charge of each CIA office to keep his operations secret and to avoid any embarrassing scandals.

As for the injunction that CIA actions must be "consistent with the authority given to the CIA by law," this would be laughable if the reality was not so grim. The CIA, after all, plotted to assassinate the heads of at least five foreign governments, and when the truth about these operations finally came to light the U.S. attorney general ruled that no American laws had been broken.

The French Connection

For a closer look at the CIA's war against democratic rights, it is necessary to turn to the documents obtained by the SWP and YSA through their suit. In CIA jargon, these documents have been "sanitized"—that is, they have been censored in order to remove all traces of the agency's illegal conspiracies against the exercise of democratic rights around the world.

Paragraph after paragraph in the documents released by the CIA is blanked out and marked "classified information pertaining to intelligence sources and methods," "classified matter," "administrative matter," "CIA internal organizational data," or "material not related to subject." But virtually all of the CIA's activities are directed against the democratic rights of the working people around the world. Thus, not even the heavy hand of the CIA censor was able to totally erase the damaging material in these files.

One thing that comes through clearly in the CIA documents is the complicity of other governments in CIA activities. The CIA demands its actions be kept secret from the masses of working people both inside and outside the United States, but its burglaries, wiretaps, and agents are well known to the governments allied with American imperialism around the world—including, of course, the imperialist democracies in Europe.

The cordial relations between the CIA and the French secret police, for example, are indicated in a number of documents. A

March 1969 document on the Parti Communiste Internationaliste, at that time the French section of the Fourth International, is almost completely censored. In three of the memorandum's seven parts, material is deleted on the basis that it is "Classified information . . . and information provided by a foreign government with the understanding it would be held in confidence."

Material in a March 1975 document dealing with the Trotskyist movement in France is also deleted, since, according to the CIA censor, it was "information provided by a foreign government." A document dated January 1972 advises CIA offices that "Available in the CIA Document and Pictorial Services Division is a seven-page review, in French, of the activities of a Trotskyite organization, the Communist League, in factories and other business enterprises."

In addition to receiving reports from French police agents on the trade-union and political activities of the French Trotskyists, there are indications that the CIA had its own agents at work collecting information. An April 1973 report on the "role of the Trotskyist Communist League in organizing student demonstrations; tactics of French labor with regard to students," is censored under the heading of

"source revealing information" instead of the heading "information provided by a foreign government."

It is also clear that the CIA returned the favors of friendly political police organizations elsewhere in the world. One CIA file on the Ad Hoc Committee to Support French Workers and Students said:

"Subject organization is a coalition of several U.S. organizations which demonstrated in June 1968 in support of striking French workers and students in protest of the French government's ban on public demonstrations, radical organizations, and the arrest of political activists."

The demonstrations, the memorandum notes, "were peaceful and orderly" with only one exception. (Police in Berkeley, California, attacked and tried to break up a peaceful demonstration.)

Peaceful protests, however, were apparently considered subversive by the CIA. The memorandum included a breakdown of the U.S. demonstrations by city, along with identified sponsors and demonstrators. Additional censored material appeared with each name and organization. Can there be any doubt that a report was dispatched to the appropriate French police agency?

Another example of the collaboration between the French and the American

governments for the purpose of suppressing political dissent is provided by a telegram in the CIA files. Dated November 1972, the telegram is from the American consul in Martinique.

"French authorities," it says, "are expelling two Amcit [American citizen] members of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party for engaging in political activities in Martinique."

Did American authorities protest this infringement of democratic rights? Did they ask for an explanation of why American socialists were being forbidden to meet with advocates of independence for the French colony?

No, the U.S. consul was too busy helping the French police. The telegram explains: "For purposes hearing, local French authorities request info about possible subversive activities in which Thomas and Washington [the two SWP members] may have previously engaged including any involving illegal black power groups. Information may either be unclassified or, if appropriate, handed over to French authorities by consulate in confidence."

Unfortunately for the image of French democracy, Thomas and Washington had not been engaging in any illegal activities, either in the United States or in Martinique. The colonial regime had to expel

An Appeal for International Solidarity

[The following appeal for international support was issued January 12 by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Initial signers of the statement include Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling, linguist Noam Chomsky, feminist Gloria Steinem, and antiwar activist Philip Berrigan.

[Those wishing to add their names to this list should send a signed statement to that effect to: Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Donations for legal expenses can be sent to the same address.]

* * *

For decades the U.S. government has systematically violated the democratic rights of people around the world.

- Through its agents, the U.S. government has subjected its political opponents to spying, harassment, burglaries, and assassination plots.

- U.S. agents have infiltrated labor unions, including the teachers and electrical workers unions in the United States, set up phony, CIA-backed union federations and labor publications, and disrupted genuine attempts to organize

workers for their own benefit. U.S. agents have also attempted to entrap unionists and other progressives through the use of agents provocateurs.

- U.S. agents have attempted to subvert the principle of freedom of the press by bribing newspaper editors and reporters and by planting doctored articles in the world press.

- The U.S. government has aided some of the world's most vicious dictatorial regimes in the task of holding down and victimizing those struggling for democratic rights and progressive social change.

- U.S. agents have violated the laws of countries throughout the world, often with the complicity of local officials. When the CIA has been unable to buy governments, it has often attempted to bring about their overthrow.

A number of the disclosures about Washington's operations abroad have resulted from the lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers party of the United States and the Young Socialist Alliance against the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the National Security Agency, Military Intelligence, and other U.S. secret police and spy agencies. The suit, despite the efforts

of these agencies, promises to produce many further disclosures that can help to curtail their activities. The suit demands that the U.S. courts forbid the government from spying on and attempting to disrupt the SWP, the YSA, and the Fourth International anywhere in the world.

The information produced by this suit is of immense value to advocates of social justice around the world. It will help to expose the crimes of the U.S. government and its fellow conspirators in other countries. Victories in the lawsuit can open up opportunities for further actions against CIA crimes.

Therefore, we the undersigned endorse the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund, a nonpartisan civil liberties organization set up to raise funds for the suit brought by the SWP and YSA and to publicize the issues the suit raises. This endorsement does not necessarily imply political agreement with the political views of the SWP, the YSA, or the Fourth International. But it is a recognition of the importance of the fight being conducted by these organizations against activities of the U.S. government that pose a grave danger to the rights of us all.

them simply for attending a political meeting. And in fact, by refusing to grant the two socialists a hearing, the French authorities violated their own laws.

Of course, the CIA did not confine its so-called counterintelligence activities against the Trotskyist movement to France. The documents turned over to the SWP and YSA so far deal with about twenty countries.

It was apparently standard procedure for the CIA and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to cooperate in monitoring the travel of all SWP leaders. A number of forms labeled "FBI Liaison" in the CIA files contain travel plans of SWP leaders—including vacation plans. Sometimes the FBI requested the CIA to spy on socialists travelling abroad. In other cases, the CIA acted on its own.

Antiwar Movement a CIA Target

What was the CIA so interested in? To begin with, the movement against the war in Vietnam was a prime target of the CIA spies. The CIA maintained files on all leaders of the American antiwar movement. For example, a number of SWP leaders are listed in documents headed "National Mobilization Committee Personalities." (This was the name of one of the American antiwar coalitions.)

One such document, dated March 6, 1969, reports that "Barry SHEPPARD, Editor of 'The Militant', visited Saigon, Tokyo, and several Western European countries for the announced purpose of reaching GI's in Vietnam and at bases around the world with the anti-war program of the SWP."

Another document shows that a CIA informer attended the World Assembly for Peace, held in France in 1972, and made a detailed report on the events there and the persons involved.

A 1973 CIA report on the Fourth International said:

Although tactics and activities vary from country to country, depending on local conditions, the international organization is capable of coordinating activities of its member sections to provide greater impact on world opinion. Prior to the planned [antiwar] marches on Washington and San Francisco in April 1971 by the Socialist Workers Party (the American section of the United Secretariat), the International Executive Committee sent letters urging groups throughout the world to demonstrate their solidarity with the anti-war movement in the United States.*

Subversive action indeed!

'Operation Chaos'

There are indications that the CIA did not simply stand by and observe the development of the antiwar movement. Under the direction of Lyndon B. Johnson, it began a "counterintelligence" program

in 1967 directed against domestic dissenters—a program that later took on the suggestive name of "Operation Chaos."

In this regard, it is worth quoting an April 13, 1971, cable to an overseas CIA station:

1. [censored] 24 April demonstrations are being sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), which is dominated by Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the SWP's youth organization Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and the YSA influenced Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. . . .

2. Only SWP member recently in your area, best HQs knowledge, is Peter Camejo [censored]

3. [three censored lines] action [censored].

What was the local CIA office supposed to do about the "only SWP member recently in your area"? What type of "action"—a word that was apparently left in the document inadvertently—was suggested? These are the type of questions that the SWP and YSA will be bringing up as their suit proceeds.

As part of Operation Chaos, the CIA spied on the activities of American Trotskyists in Mexico, Argentina, and Chile. For instance, Linda Jenness, the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, came under surveillance when she travelled to Chile during that election campaign.

"Believe it very possible that American Trotskyists may travel to Mexico (classified matter)," a February 1972 document says. It continues: "Would appreciate receiving any info (classified matter) concerning such travels/contacts. Suggest that likely candidates are: Joe HANSEN, Barry SHEPPARD, Jack BARNES, and possibly (information does not pertain to subjects) (classified matter)."

The CIA was also interested in events in Spain, as a September 1975 report titled "Tension Over Basque Death Sentences Mounts in Spain" indicates. An October 1972 document on Spain, labeled "Eyes only (CIA employee) (Sensitivity indicator Operation Chaos)," reports:

"On 13 Oct 72, per Ref A suggestion, (CIA source) was alerted to the arrival of Peter Camejo (classified matter) in Barcelona 'possibly to contact Spanish Trotskyist leaders' there. (CIA source) was asked to keep us informed on subject's activities there."

After recording information obtained from this CIA informer, the memorandum says, "In line with Ref B instructions

International; reactionary legislation passed in 1940 forced the American Trotskyists to sever formal ties with their international cothinkers. Second, the April 24, 1971, antiwar demonstrations—which drew 500,000 persons in Washington, D.C., alone—were not SWP operations, although the SWP participated in them and helped to build them. They were sponsored by a broad coalition that included members of Congress.

which received 25 Oct, will not raise subject or press (CIA source) for any follow up action this case. However, will pass on any info which (CIA source) may volunteer on subject to headquarters and (foreign city). (Administrative matter) (Administrative matter)."

What type of "follow up action" was rejected in this case—and not rejected in others? How much "info" was passed on to Franco's fascist police? Were communications with the Franco regime's repressive apparatus considered "administrative matters"?

A Helping Hand in Bolivia

Latin America is another area that the CIA pays particular attention to. SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack, for example, are both singled out because of their role in aiding the defense of Latin American political prisoners.

A September 1968 CIA memorandum credits Novack and Hansen with initiating the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA, or USLAJJC in CIA parlance). "It was organized in late 1966 in order to seek amnesty for Hugo BLANCO, a Peruvian revolutionary fighter, and to combat the arrests of revolutionaries of Latin America," the CIA memorandum states.

Among the subversive activities carried out by USLA, the CIA report says, was a November 1966 picket line where "demonstrators tried to present petitions requesting clemency for Hugo BLANCO to the Peruvian Mission but were unable to do so." Also listed is an April 1967 news release "calling for amnesty for all political prisoners in Bolivia. It requested that letters and telegrams be sent to the President of Bolivia asking for better treatment of political prisoners."

Especially upsetting to the CIA was the first issue of the *USLA Reporter*. "The intended purpose of the bulletin was to disseminate information, as complete as possible, relating to all political prisoners in Latin America and to activities of the USLAJJC."

The CIA documents turned over to the SWP and YSA deal with at least eleven Latin American countries, but by far the most extensive coverage was devoted to Bolivia during the period of 1965-68. During this period the dictatorship of Gen. René Barrientos, which was closely tied to Washington, had to contend with intense social unrest among the Bolivian masses.

Just how close the Barrientos regime was to American imperialism was indicated when Antonio Arguedas Mendieta held a news conference in La Paz in August 1968. "Until one month ago," the *New York Times* reported August 25, 1968, "Arguedas was Bolivia's Minister of Government, one of the highest Cabinet offices, which combines the functions of Interior Minister, Chief of Police and Chief of Intelligence."

*Two lies should be noted in this CIA statement. First, the SWP is not a section of the Fourth

Disillusioned by the role of the CIA in his country, Arguedas chose to spill the beans. "The declarations he made, if true, would indicate that the Bolivian Government for the past three years has been little more than a mouthpiece for the United States, notably the C.I.A.," the *Times* article noted. (For a full account of Arguedas' charges, see *Intercontinental Press*, September 23, 1968, p. 770.)

The CIA's solicitude for the Barrientos regime was indicated in an April 1966 document on the "plans of the Bolivian Trotskyist party for May Day." It reported:

The political bureau of the Bolivian Trotskyist party (POR) met with the La Paz regional committee of the POR in La Paz on 18 April 1966 to formulate a program for the 1 May 1966 celebrations.

Those in attendance were [names listed]. At the meeting it was revealed that the Bolivian Workers Central (COB) and the Democratic Council of the People (CDP) planned to arrange a parade and other demonstrations for 1 May. In support of the COB and CDP effort, it was decided that the POR would do the following:

A. Publish a special issue of *Masas* [the POR newspaper].

B. Publish a manifesto addressed to the Bolivian workers and people.

C. Mobilize the entire POR for the May Day parade.

D. Publish and distribute 100,000 hand bills commemorating May Day.

E. In collaboration with other political groups belonging to the CDP, undertake demonstrations against the military junta and organize defensive shock forces to counter any governmental offensive against them.

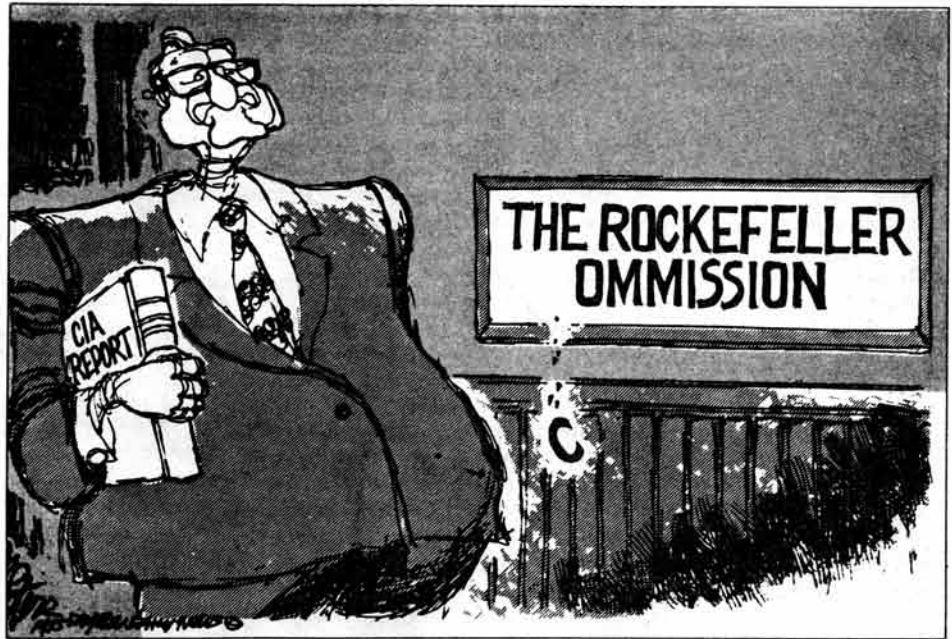
Following this report, an entire page is devoted to unspecified "organizational data," according to the CIA censor. In light of the context, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the CIA was helping the dictatorship to organize the repression of the Bolivian people.

Covering Up the Crimes

According to its charter, the CIA is supposed to operate only outside of the United States. But, as Watergate showed, it is impossible to resort to terrorism and repression abroad without importing the same methods into the internal life of the country responsible for their use.

CIA operations inside the United States came to light as a result of the Watergate investigation. The news was too hot to sit on, and on December 22, 1974, the *New York Times* reported that "according to well-placed Government sources," the CIA "conducted a massive, illegal domestic intelligence operation during the Nixon Administration against the antiwar movement and other dissident groups in the United States. . . ."

In an attempt to prevent the American people from learning the full extent of the CIA's crimes, the Ford administration appointed a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate and report on the agency's activities. Nelson Rockefeller, the head of



Peters/Dayton Daily News

the most prominent ruling-class family in the United States, who as governor of New York ordered the Attica Prison massacre, was chosen to preside over the whitewash.

"There are things which have been done which are in contradiction to the statutes," Rockefeller concluded after five months of study, "but in comparison to the total effort they are not major."

Even Senator Frank Church called the Rockefeller Commission report "the tip of the iceberg." In a June 11, 1975, editorial, the *New York Times* called the CIA operation in the United States that of "an embryonic police state."

The ruling class, however, decided to try to choke off further revelations. President Ford, one White House aide explained, considered investigation of CIA assassination plots "basically an historic exercise." Material on such plots was deleted from the Rockefeller report.

An overwhelming majority of the House of Representatives endorsed Ford's cover-up in January 1976, when they voted to keep key sections of a House investigation secret. When CBS News correspondent Daniel Schorr obtained a copy of the report and made it available for publication, he was threatened with a citation for contempt of Congress.

A more subtle approach was taken by the Senate, which issued its own heavily censored report in April. Although the Senate report produced little new material on the CIA, it promised an end to the agency's abuses through the establishment of a congressional oversight committee.

But the CIA documents that have come out as a result of the SWP and YSA suit prove that the Senate investigation headed

by Frank Church was as much a cover-up as its predecessors. Government committees, for example, insisted that CIA spying in the United States began in 1967. In fact, the CIA files include material on the SWP going back to 1949.

"According to a report dated 7 February 1951," one CIA memorandum says, "Frank LOVELL, member of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), charged that American intervention in Korea was a 'most brazen act of imperialism.'"

CIA surveillance inside the United States picked up during the late 1950s and early 1960s. The CIA files contain reports on the YSA from New York, Berkeley, and Boston in this period. The CIA's Boston field office filed a report in 1961 on a rally held to protest the murder of Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba.

Later CIA reports on the YSA came from Utah, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

Another facet of the cover-up is that not one of the official investigations of the CIA ever mentioned the fact that the agency was systematically spying on American citizens travelling abroad. This abuse was also uncovered by the SWP and YSA suit.

Finally, the Rockefeller Commission reported that the CIA stopped keeping files on legal political activities of American citizens in March 1974, when Operation Chaos was ended. But the CIA itself listed one cable to an unnamed overseas station dated November 20, 1974—eight months after the supposed March cutoff date—in its dossier on Peter Camejo. The CIA refused to release the cable on the grounds

that it is "based on a request of a foreign intelligence service."

CIA spying inside the United States also continued after March 1974. A document dated May 3, 1974, said: "[Censored] Scheduled attend private filming of documentary on life Trotsky on 28 April in New York. SWP old timers George Novak (sic) [censored] also scheduled be present. Provided [censored] some general topics for discussion with SWPers if opportunity presented."

The CIA admits that it is continuing to collect information on the American Trotskyist movement, claiming that this is "incidental" to, or a "by-product" of, its operations against the Fourth International abroad. As former CIA Director William Colby explained in January 1976, the end of Operation Chaos "doesn't mean the end of all counter-intelligence."

Trotskyists 'Targets of Opportunity'

Summing up the activities of the SWP, a 1964 CIA document commented:

The SWP, in order to escape from its restrictive isolation, promotes or penetrates organizations which are likely to arouse some part of the population. Causes taken up by the SWP in this way are the Cuban question (through the Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC) and the Committee for Travel to Cuba), the integration problem, civil liberties in general, and labor problems. . . .

As the anonymous CIA commentator saw it, "The SWP is calculated to inflame primarily the unbalanced, the dissatisfied, the desperate, and those who do not care. In special circumstances the SWP might well create, or stimulate, serious problems."

The CIA, like the FBI, has gone to extraordinary lengths in searching for actions by the SWP and the YSA that could be interpreted as justifiable reasons for filing criminal charges against the two organizations. The agency's concern was reflected in a 1956 CIA document reporting that the SWP "actually ran candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in the 1956 elections."

But supporting civil liberties, inflaming the dissatisfied, and running candidates in elections are not crimes in the eyes of the American people. The CIA has tried to get around this fact by smearing the Fourth International as a whole as a terrorist organization. The SWP's contacts with the Fourth International, it argues, justifies the continuing surveillance.

Following the reunification of the Fourth International in June 1963, the CIA stated in a memorandum, "We are presently endeavoring to increase our coverage of FI activities throughout the world."

Referring to a person who was in attendance at the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, a September 1969 dispatch said, "information indicating that (foreign city) has had an opera-

tional relationship with this individual in the not too distant past. Perhaps this relationship is worth reviewing with an eye to possible re-establishment. . . ."

CIA officials refused to answer when asked by lawyers for the SWP and



LYNDON JOHNSON: He was responsible for 'Operation Chaos.'

YSA: "Are you aware of any cases in connection with Operation Chaos in which the overseas offices of the CIA attempted to disrupt activities of the Fourth International?"

However, a November 1973 report on "the status of the international Trotskyist movement" noted: "While operations against Trotskyist organizations are not of high priority, we encourage field station attention to targets of opportunity in this field."

'A Threat to the National Interest'

During the course of the court proceedings, the CIA submitted a statement in defense of its attempts to disrupt the Fourth International. According to this statement:

The Fourth International is a revolutionary Trotskyist organization which has supported international terrorist movements and whose constituent sections, such as that in Argentina, have engaged in notorious acts of murder and kidnaping to achieve their ends. Furthermore, the Fourth International has taken part in revolutionary violence to overthrow democratic governments such as its admitted role in the Paris riots of May and June 1968 and has supported guerrilla warfare in Latin America against governments friendly to the United States. Finally, the Fourth International has assisted Communist regimes hostile to the United States in worldwide propaganda campaigns against the United States and its allies. Thus, the Fourth International is a threat to the

national interest of the United States in curbing national terrorism and in protecting its allies from revolutionary violence and internal subversion.

Let's examine this tissue of lies more closely. First, the CIA claims that the Fourth International "has supported international terrorist movements" and that its sections "have engaged in notorious acts of murder and kidnaping. . . ."

First to be noted in this charge is the hypocrisy of the agency making it. The CIA's assassination plots against heads of state have made headlines around the world. And the CIA was also responsible for the "Phoenix" program in Vietnam, under which some 20,000 persons were murdered because of their political views. Doesn't this qualify as "notorious acts of murder and kidnaping"?

It is noteworthy that Argentina is the only place named by the cloak-and-dagger agency in its claim that the Fourth International supports terrorism. Apparently, they are referring to the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP—Revolutionary People's Army). But the ERP never claimed to be a Trotskyist organization, despite the fact that the capitalist press chose to identify it that way at various times. Nor was the ERP associated with the Fourth International.

In fact, the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT—Revolutionary Workers party), which sponsored the ERP, broke with the Fourth International and asked the world press to stop calling it "Trotskyist," since it was not Trotskyist. The CIA, of course, was well aware of this fact. One of the documents turned over to the SWP and YSA was a report on the news conference at which PRT leader Roberto Santucho announced his break with the Fourth International.

Mandel's Answer to 'Terrorist' Smear

The CIA's attempt to equate revolutionary socialism with terrorism is hardly an original device. Similar smears—often planted by the CIA—have been appearing in the world press for years. In 1972, for example, *Newsweek* magazine ran an article labeling the Fourth International as a "terrorist international."

Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Trotskyist leader, answered the smear at the time, although *Newsweek* declined to print his letter. The Fourth International, Mandel said, "is not a terrorist organization but has always rejected the philosophy and methods of terrorism, opposed to the Marxist principles it stands for.

" . . . we do not fight by means of dynamite, bombs, or the like."

Taking up the intent behind the smear, Mandel said: "Nobody should be surprised that terrorists who happen to wield state power and, in that position, pursue their political goals by murdering thousands of innocent people . . . call their opponents

'criminal terrorists.' The political function of this linguistic trick is obviously to facilitate and justify in advance mass repression, mass persecution, mass torture and, if necessary, mass killing of political opponents

"Police informers and other professionals in the noble art of curtailing freedom of thought, speech, organization, and travel the world over are experts in this type of frame-up. They cannot understand this simple truth: that society can only be changed through the efforts of millions, of broad social forces, and that it is ridiculous to attribute to Marxists the wish to 'conspire' and to build socialism without the conscious resolution of the majority of the toilers."

The CIA, however, cares nothing for the truth. Its job is to give the most sinister and twisted interpretation to every event in hopes of being able to arrange the victimization of any who struggle for progressive social change. Thus, the CIA's statement in court defending its attacks on the Fourth International argues that "the Fourth International has taken part in revolutionary violence to overthrow democratic governments such as its admitted role in the Paris riots of May and June 1968 and has supported guerrilla warfare in Latin America against governments friendly to the United States."

They think, perhaps, that the world has forgotten the CIA-engineered coups responsible for the dictatorial regimes in Iran and Chile. The CIA, which tried to fix elections from Italy to Japan, and which trains secret police in the arts of repression and torture from Korea to Brazil—what a supporter of democratic governments!

As for the French Trotskyists, they certainly did take part in the demonstrations of May-June 1968. So did 10 million to 12 million other French workers, students, and peasants. The only violence that took place was the result of police attacks on the demonstrators, and the attempts of the government to suppress and evade the clearly expressed will of the people.

What about the CIA's charge, expressed in the same statement quoted above, that the Fourth International "has supported guerrilla warfare in Latin America against governments friendly to the United States"?

Once again, the charge is ironic, coming as it does from an agency that has supported private armies all over the world. As the House Committee on Intelligence reported, "A huge arsenal of weapons and access to ammunition have been developed by CIA, giving it a capability that exceeds most armies of the world."

But what is really at issue is a basic democratic right. When the oppressed and exploited are denied the right to effect peaceful social change, they have the right to take up arms against their oppression.

This is a principle that was affirmed in

the American Declaration of Independence, which declared that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed," that they are instituted to secure certain inalienable rights, and that "whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

This well-known subversive document on the democratic right of a people to overthrow their government adds that "when a long train of abuses and usurpations . . . evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security."

Unfortunately, the United States government today stands on the wrong side of those struggles in which the people of the world are attempting to throw off the yoke of oppression. It is, in fact, the prime supporter of inequality and exploitation around the world.

South Korean Poet Jailed for His Writings

Park Dictatorship Sentences Kim Chi Ha

Kim Chi Ha, an internationally-known South Korean poet and opponent of the Park dictatorship, was sentenced to seven years in prison December 31. Presiding Judge Shim Hoon Jung found him guilty under the country's notorious anti-Communist laws, claiming that his writings proved that he was aiding and encouraging the North Korean regime.

Since 1970, Kim has been arrested four times for his defiant writings, in which he criticized corruption, social inequality, and Park's undemocratic rule. In July 1974, he was sentenced to death by a military tribunal, but international protests forced Park to commute the sentence to life imprisonment. In February 1975, he was released on conditional amnesty.

Despite threats to reimprison him, Kim published a series of articles describing the methods of torture used by the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA). He also denounced the trial of twenty-two alleged members of the outlawed People's Revolutionary party (PRP) as a frame-up. (Eight of the defendants in that case were later executed.) In March 1975, the KCIA rearrested him, charging him with aiding the PRP and being "a Communist who infiltrated the Catholic church." The earlier life sentence was reinstated.

In order to "prove" its charges against Kim, the regime produced a written "con-

It is in this context that the CIA's final charge in its statement against the Fourth International should be viewed. The Fourth International, the CIA says, "has assisted Communist regimes hostile to the United States in worldwide propaganda campaigns against the United States and its allies."

According to the McCarthyite logic of the CIA witch-hunters, the movement against the war in Vietnam and for the right of the Vietnamese people to self-determination was one of these "worldwide propaganda campaigns against the United States and its allies."

No doubt the CIA considers the worldwide campaigns in defense of political prisoners in Chile, Iran, and South Korea in the same category. After all, these dictatorial regimes are certainly "governments friendly to the United States."

The American Trotskyists, however, have a different view. The SWP and YSA refuse to support butchers like Pinochet or the shah of Iran, even if they are "friendly to the United States" government. And, as Patrick Henry declared during the American Revolution, "If this be treason, make the most of it." □



Sekai Kakumei

KIM CHI HA

fession" from him claiming that he was a "Communist." But in August 1975 Kim smuggled a 12,000 word "Declaration of Conscience" out of prison denying that he was a Communist and repudiating the "confession." Several students and at least one priest are serving prison terms for distributing the declaration. □

Behind the Fall of Mao's Faction

[The following interview with Peng Shu-tse, a founding leader of the Chinese Communist party and of the Chinese Trotskyist movement, was obtained by Rose Connolly on December 7, 1976.]

* * *

Question. On October 7, according to reports in the Chinese and world press shortly afterward, the four main leaders of the Chinese Communist party who were closest to Mao Tsetung were arrested. These included Chiang Ch'ing, Mao's widow; Chang Ch'un-ch'iao, a vice-premier of the government and chief political commissar of the People's Liberation Army; Wang Hung-wen, vice-chairman of the CCP; and Yao Wen-yuan, the main propagandist of Mao's thought. All four were members of the party's Politburo. The four were denounced by Peking's mayor, Wu Te, at a rally in Tien An Men Square on October 24 as an antiparty clique who attempted to "usurp party and state power." If Hua Kuo-feng was hostile to Mao's protégés, why did Mao himself appoint Hua premier of the government and first party vice-chairman in April 1976?

Answer. First, one should understand what gave rise to the conflict between the four main leaders of Mao's faction and Premier Hua Kuo-feng. Recent newspaper reports reveal that there were differences over who should fill the posts of premier and of party chairman after Mao's death. The four are said to have proposed Chiang Ch'ing as party chairman and Chang Ch'un-ch'iao as premier.

Hua, of course, disagreed with these nominations because they would remove him from his newly acquired posts. Hua therefore turned to the old leaders of the so-called moderate faction with purported evidence that Chiang Ch'ing and her supporters were preparing a coup d'état. The old leaders, in particular Defense Minister Yeh Chien-ying, sought to use Hua to destroy the extremist Maoist faction. On the basis of his information, they immediately arrested the "gang of four."

As to why Mao appointed Hua to high posts, one must realize that Mao was like Stalin. In his own self-interest, he elevated people who would be loyal and obedient to him. Mao has never been concerned with the interests of the revolution.

For example, Mao appointed Lin Piao as his successor in the party because of Lin's personal loyalty and obedience. When Lin

was defense minister he propagated Mao's thought and established Mao's cult in the army, calling on everyone to "read Chairman Mao's books, listen to Chairman Mao's teachings, and act according to Chairman Mao's directives."

During the Cultural Revolution, Lin used the army to help the Red Guards destroy Liu Shao-ch'i's faction. At the same time, however, Lin was building his own faction, which Mao viewed as another threat to his personal dictatorship. Mao then eliminated Lin Piao and his followers, after Lin allegedly failed in an attempted coup.

As far as Hua Kuo-feng is concerned, he never played any role either before or during the third Chinese revolution. Mao promoted him from a local cadre to vice-premier of the government and minister of security only because of his subservience. In 1955, when Hua was party secretary in Hsiang-t'an County, Mao's birthplace, he carried out Mao's adventurist policy of creating agricultural producers cooperatives. He had Mao's old home rebuilt as a shrine for visitors, and even planned to bring in a railroad line from the city to transport the pilgrims. Mao was impressed by this and promoted Hua from county secretary in Hsiang-t'an to vice-secretary of the Hunan Provincial Committee.

During the Cultural Revolution, Hua also helped the Red Guards destroy Liu Shao-ch'i's faction. When it was over, he was promoted to the posts of first secretary of the Hunan party committee and chairman of the province's Revolutionary Committee. He was elected to the CCP Central Committee at the Ninth Congress in 1969.

When Mao launched the campaign against Lin Piao and Confucius in 1974, Hua helped smash the remnants of Lin's faction in Hunan, which won him the posts of vice-chairman of the government and minister of public security, the political police. After Chou En-lai's death in January 1976, Mao appointed Hua premier of the government and first vice-chairman of the party, thus naming Hua as his successor.

Q. According to press reports, Mao's lieutenants had a powerful base in Shanghai and Peking. They controlled the leadership of the party and government in Shanghai as well as a militia of over a million. In Peking, the Chiang Ch'ing group also controlled the militia and the 50,000 troops who served as Mao's guards, the much-feared 8341 regiment, commanded by Mao's loyal supporter Wang Tung-hsing. The "gang of four" also

controlled the central news media in Peking (People's Daily, Liberation Army Daily, Red Flag, and the Hsinhua news agency), as well as the cultural and educational ministries, and Peking and Tsinghua universities. This seems like an immense amount of power. Why have there been no protests from these Maoist strongholds after the arrest of the "gang of four"? How was Hua able to stage massive demonstrations against the four in Shanghai and Peking?

A. Many people inside and outside China were surprised at these events, but it is not that difficult to understand. First, during the Cultural Revolution, the Maoists occupied and controlled Shanghai, relying on Mao's prestige and helped by the army under Lin Piao. The Maoists never won real support; on the contrary, the masses hated them because they never improved the standard of living and they suppressed all freedom of expression.

Whenever the working masses demanded a wage increase, the Maoists always rejected it, calling it a demand for "material incentives." They told the masses to "take hard work as joyful" (Mao). This naturally dissatisfied the workers, and as a result, when the "gang of four" were arrested in Peking, the masses in Shanghai immediately organized demonstrations to welcome the purge.

Second, the militias were formally controlled by the Maoists, but only at the top. The rank and file of the militias shared the working masses' dissatisfaction with the Maoists. That is why there was no response when Wang Hung-wen asked the militias for help.

Third, the army and almost all of its officers stationed in Shanghai are subordinates of the old commander Hsu Shih-yu, who was attacked by the Maoists during the Cultural Revolution and later transferred from the Nanking-Shanghai Military Region to Canton. The army officers have never been satisfied with the Maoist leadership in Shanghai. When news of the arrests of the "gang of four" reached Shanghai, the officers and soldiers did not attempt to stop the demonstrations but even helped to organize them behind the scenes.

Fourth, most of the other old leaders and cadres purged during the Cultural Revolution in Shanghai are still living there. They enthusiastically welcomed the arrests and encouraged the attacks against the "gang of four."

In addition, at the end of the Cultural Revolution hundreds of thousands of Shanghai Red Guards were sent by the Maoists to the countryside, forbidden to return. All the parents and relatives of these young radicals hated these harsh measures, hated the Maoists, and even hated Mao. They have welcomed the purge with the hope of seeing their children return in the near future.

For these reasons one can clearly see why no one protested the purge of the "gang of four." On the contrary, the people of Shanghai organized demonstrations for three days that took on the character of a joyful festival.

In Peking, reaction to the arrests has been even more dramatic. First, the troops of the so-called 8341 secret police supported Hua in the purge, mainly because their commander, Wang Tung-hsing, was under strong anti-Maoist pressure from the army, especially the Peking garrison. Wang completely switched his allegiance, from Mao to Hua, to protect his own position in the power struggle. This is the logical evolution of a faction based solely on personal interests rather than revolutionary principles.

While Mao was alive, supporters of his faction were rewarded with posts in the party and the government. But after the death of the dictator, these people must find a new way to maintain their privileged positions. Thus many members of Mao's faction have now deserted its leaders and surrendered or gone over openly to the other side.

The head of the Peking militia, Ni Chih-fu, is one of the more prominent figures who turned his back on Mao's faction under pressure from the army. He supported the purge in order to get a good post and thus was sent to Shanghai replacing Wang Hung-wen as the second secretary of the party and vice-chairman of the Revolutionary Committee.

The media formerly controlled by the Maoists have all changed their allegiance following the dismissal of their editors-in-chief. The cultural and educational ministers were also thrown out. All the cadres who controlled Peking and Tsinghua universities were arrested.

The forces of Mao's faction in Shanghai and Peking have been largely destroyed. We can say, therefore, that the Maoist faction as a hard-line Stalinist formation within the CCP has ceased to exist.

There were signs beforehand that this would happen.¹ The Maoist faction has been completely isolated from the old leaders and cadres in the party and the army since the Cultural Revolution. Mao had very few loyal and reliable cadres, making the downfall of his faction inevitable. His death only hastened the event.

Q. Since Chiang Ch'ing and the other Politburo members were arrested, they have been denounced by the new leadership as capitalist restorationists, saboteurs, betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, and so on. Why aren't these charges leveled against Mao himself? Why are Hua and his supporters still maintaining Mao's



PENG SHU-TSE

prestige and pledging to carry out Mao's "revolutionary proletarian line"?

A. The leadership of the CCP was and still is Stalinist. The ideology and methods of the various factions have been identical. Therefore Mao's prestige can serve Hua's faction as well as it did his own.

Hua Kuo-feng has no base and no prestige of his own in the party, the government, or the army. He was appointed to high leadership positions by Mao, so must continue to use Mao's authority as his political capital.

In the absence of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the other old leaders, the so-called moderates, have neither the ambition nor the ability to build an independent leadership without utilizing Mao's authority. They do want to destroy Mao's faction, and have enthusiastically supported and encouraged the purges.

The accusations that the "gang of four" are revisionists and capitalist restorationists are only deceptions used to disgrace them and destroy their influence. The "gang of four," under Mao's direction, used these same accusations against Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing in the past. It is, of course, ironic that Mao's chosen successor should use Mao's methods to destroy Mao's faction.

The accusation that the "gang of four" betrayed Mao's ideas and violated his instructions is only a fabrication by Hua and the new leaders to escape responsibility for the purge. The historical facts indisputably prove that the four were loyal and obedient to Mao all his life.

Hua Kuo-feng is now maneuvering to

separate Mao from his followers so that Mao's reputation can continue to be used as a tool to deceive and control the masses. The masses are not so easily duped, however, having seen and experienced the many purges of the last decade.

During the Cultural Revolution the Chinese people witnessed attacks against almost all the leaders and cadres who worked in the party, the government, and in cultural and educational institutions. Under attack from the Red Guards, at the direction of Mao, thousands of people were purged and lost their posts. Many were imprisoned or sent to labor camps, such as the May 7 schools.² Then millions of Red Guards and "educated youths" were exiled to the countryside and to mountainous regions.

This is why millions of people throughout the country hated the Maoists and participated in demonstrations to welcome the purge of the "gang of four." The masses were also celebrating the death of Mao and the downfall of his faction.

Q. How do you foresee future developments in China?

A. The death of Mao Tsetung is the end of the rule of a personal dictator. The purge of his hard-line Stalinist faction is a victory for the so-called moderate Stalinists. Thus, to a degree, the political, economic, and cultural situation in China will change.

First, the new leadership in the CCP must reorganize itself. The highest policy-making body of the party was the Political Bureau, composed of twenty-one members elected at the Tenth Congress in August 1973. Since that time, however, five members have died: Chou En-lai, Chu Te, Mao Tsetung, Tung Pi-wu, and K'ang Sheng. The "gang of four" has been purged. (Teng Hsiao-p'ing was also purged, in April 1976, but at the time of the Tenth Party Congress in August 1973 his "rehabilitation" was too recent for him to be put on the Political Bureau and he was elected only to the Central Committee.)

This leaves only twelve members on the Political Bureau, all of whom are weak and have no prestige or base in the party. Only Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Ch'en Hsien-lien, and Hsu Shih-yu have influence in the army and the government. This means that the leadership of the party must be reorganized through a national congress, or at least through a Central Committee meeting.

It seems that Hua does not want to call a national congress or a plenum of the Central Committee because he fears this could undermine the positions he presently holds—chairman of the party, premier of

1. See "The 'Criticize-Lin, Criticize-Confucius' Campaign," interview with Peng Shu-tse, *Intercontinental Press*, January 12, 1976, p. 16.—IP

2. The May 7 Cadre Schools are "reeducation centers" for purged cadres. They are located in the countryside and most of the curriculum consists of physical labor.—IP

the government, chairman of the Military Commission, and minister of the public security police. Even Mao himself held only two of these posts.

Hua will probably try to manage a temporary leadership through combination, maneuver, and compromise with the old leaders. First, he will probably establish a Standing Committee of the Political Bureau, making Yeh Chien-ying chairman of the People's Congress, yielding the premiership to Li Hsien-nien, and elevating Ch'en Hsi-lien to defense minister and Hsu Shih-yu to chief of staff of the People's Liberation Army. Ch'en and Hsu are now the strongest men in the army and both played an important role in the purge of the "gang of four." The old leaders such as T'an Chen-lin, Li Ching-ch'uan, Nieh Jung-chen, and Chen Yun will probably become part of the Political Bureau.

If such a reshuffling of posts can be realized, the leadership in Peking could stabilize itself for a certain period. But a number of problems would still face them. First, they must deal with those old leaders and cadres who were purged during the Cultural Revolution. These people include Peng Chen, former mayor of Peking; Lu Ting-i, former head of the party propaganda department; Chou Yang, former head of the government's cultural ministry; Liu Lan-t'ao, former first secretary of the Northwest Bureau; Chen P'ei-hsien, former first secretary of the party; Ts'ao Ti-ch'iu, former mayor of Shanghai, and Teng T'o, former editor-in-chief of the *People's Daily*.

In addition, thousands of cadres who worked in the party and the government and in educational and cultural institutions were also purged during the Cultural Revolution, under Mao's direction, aided by the "gang of four." Since the four have been purged for committing crimes of revisionism and capitalist restoration, the logical conclusion would be to rehabilitate all those cadres who had been purged by them.

The rehabilitation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, recently purged by Mao himself, poses a particular problem. Teng, next to Chou En-lai, was the most important leader of the moderate faction, possessing much more influence and experience than anyone in the current leadership. His rehabilitation would be a serious threat to Hua's position, yet Teng's role in the new situation is a problem Hua must deal with soon.

The second area of probable change will be the economy, which has steadily worsened since the Cultural Revolution. Although some officials are blaming the economic situation on the intrigues of the "gang of four," the government must seek to improve things. They have already pledged to carry out the "Four Modernizations" laid down by the late Chou En-lai, but their problem will be to find the necessary funds and technology.

The third area of change concerns the

living standard of the masses, which has become intolerable since the Cultural Revolution. Wages have been frozen for the working class as a whole. That is why the workers staged a general strike in Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang Province, in July 1975.

Fourth, China's education system was completely destroyed by the Cultural Revolution. Almost all presidents of universities and principals of middle schools were purged. Many professors and teachers were fired, and most were sent to the countryside for reform. Mao's supporters have carried out his "revolutionary education" instead of a regular course of study. All schools have been controlled by so-called Mao Tsetung Thought Worker-Propaganda Teams, which conduct a continual "criticism, struggle, and transformation" of teachers and students.

The schools have been in great confusion from the Cultural Revolution up to the present, making it absolutely impossible to educate the new generation in the interests of socialism, i.e., to bring China out of backwardness into the modern world.

The situation is the same in all cultural fields. Mao imposed a policy like that of Zhdanov under Stalin in the 1940s. Writers, artists, actors, painters, musicians—all were forced to stop their work or were fired. That is why there have been no worthwhile novels, plays, or poems produced in China since the Cultural Revolution. There are several so-called modern operas produced by Chiang Ch'ing for propaganda purposes, without any artistic significance. In one word, the cultural field in China today is a wasteland. Thus, the restoration and development of education and culture are urgent issues for the new leaders.

The new leadership must also deal with the estimated ten million urban youth and intellectuals who were sent to the countryside and are still living there.³ Naturally, these people are dissatisfied and hate their forced exile, creating an explosive situation. They desperately want to return to the cities and their homes to continue school, get jobs, and see their relatives. Many have already returned illegally to the cities, causing great hardship for their parents and trouble for the authorities. An estimated 30,000 to 40,000 young people have escaped to Hong Kong, at the risk of their lives.

Finally, the relationship between China and the Soviet Union has steadily worsened since the early 1960s. The Soviet bureaucrats have sent millions of troops to the border between the two countries, which stretches for thousands of miles. Mao also sent troops. This counterposition of troops has existed for many years now and has resulted in some incidents of

3. This is a conservative estimate made by Chou En-lai in his speech to the Fourth National People's Congress in January 1975.—IP

armed conflict. If this dangerous situation is not modified by China's new leaders, it is possible that a war could develop.

The problems outlined above, generated under Mao's leadership, cannot be resolved in a reasonable manner by the new leaders because they were created by the logic of Stalinism. To resolve these problems, the methods and ideology used by Mao must be rejected.

In the face of these pressing problems, China's new leaders are centralizing their efforts in the continued campaign against the "gang of four," accusing them of persecution of the old cadres, especially cadres in the cultural field. The personal lives of the four are exposed, with charges ranging from corruption and extravagance to the absurd charge that Chaing Ch'ing in particular is like a prostitute. Through this personal slander campaign, the new leadership is attempting to justify the purges as necessary and correct as well as appease the people's hatred for the four.

The obvious question remains: Who authorized the "gang of four" to persecute the old cadres and who permitted them to lead such corrupt and self-indulgent lives? Wasn't it the chairman of the CCP? Wasn't it Mao himself who launched the Cultural Revolution and ordered the four to purge other party cadres?

The people know that Chaing Ch'ing lived with Mao as his wife for almost forty years. If her personal life was truly so ugly and corrupt, then what does this say about Mao?

These are precisely the questions Hua hopes the masses will ask. By attacking the "gang of four" explicitly, he is attacking their leader, Mao, by implication. Hua is opening the door for de-Maoization in the future.

It seems the new leaders are preparing to make some concessions to the intellectuals by permitting a little more freedom of speech and press and allowing some of the prohibited literary works and films to again be produced. Some of the old leaders and cadres will probably be released from prisons and labor camps.

On the other hand, the new leaders are preparing to take measures to increase the productivity of the workers through the use of "material incentives," i.e., longer hours for higher wages. The leadership wants to introduce more machines and technology from abroad into China's industry, but the problem is lack of funds.

Peking seems to be willing to take some measures to reduce tensions in its relations with the Soviet Union, but it will not be possible for them to resolve the basic dispute because both countries are ruled by bureaucratic cliques that are based on "socialism in one country." The Peking regime is continuing its propaganda that the Soviet Union has restored capitalism and is "social imperialist."

That the new leadership has no intention of allowing the exiled young people to

return from the countryside was made clear in a *People's Daily* article where Hua stated that he was very happy to have his own daughter sent to the countryside.

In short, the new leadership cannot resolve the problems discussed above. They can only appease the masses on a short-term basis by giving small concessions, but this will only cause the dissatisfied workers, peasants, and revolutionary intellectuals to press even harder their demands for an end to the present intolerable situation.

Even after the purge of the "gang of four," conflict still exists within the new leadership and undoubtedly new factional disputes will arise. Hua has organized his own faction and the beginnings of his own personality cult to strengthen his hold on his new posts and legitimize himself as Mao's successor. But the old leaders, remnants of the Chou-Teng faction and others, are dissatisfied with Hua. In particular, local cadres in the provinces do not consider Hua any more qualified than themselves to hold such high posts in the party, the army, and the government.

Under these conditions, it is possible that a campaign against Hua is developing behind the scenes. If this is true it

could mean a very serious struggle within the CCP in the near future.

On the other hand, the masses are expecting an improvement in their standard of living and an increase in their personal and political freedoms under the post-Mao leadership. They will be more willing than ever before to employ mass action to pressure the new leadership, because they have seen the weakness of the new group in resolving its own factional disputes.

The demonstrators at Tien An Men Square last April gave an example to the people of China of how to prepare the necessary political revolution which is long overdue. The words to the poem made famous at Tien An Men point the way forward:

*We believe in Marxism-Leninism.
To hell with those scholars who castrate
Marxism-Leninism.
For the sake of genuine Marxism-
Leninism
We fear not shedding our blood and
laying down our lives.*

These words clearly call for the downfall of the bureaucratic dictatorship in China.

the assistance of the leaderships of trade unions that are not on strike and are in collaboration with the government is the real cause of the present crisis. . . ."

One of the signers of the letter was Bala Tampoe, the general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and a central leader of the Revolutionary Marxist party, Sri Lanka section of the Fourth International.

The Bandaranaike regime viewed the strike as a serious threat. After an emergency meeting December 28, the government launched a major public relations campaign designed to slander the strikers as "saboteurs" and to isolate them from the rest of the working class.

In a country-wide broadcast December 29, Bandaranaike charged that "a small group of workers" was holding "the rest of the country to ransom." She blamed the strikers for shortages of food and fuel in several parts of the country.

She threatened dire consequences: "If they continue in their strike, the Government, as it cannot allow the public to be inconvenienced any more, will have no alternative but to take such measures as are necessary to preserve law and order and maintain the services that are essential for the life of the community."

Taking his cue from the prime minister, Transport Minister K.B. Ratnayake charged that the unrest was the result of political manipulation. "Many trade union leaders," he said, "are pawns in the hands of politicians and dance according to the whims and fancies of their parties."

The most shrill allegations came from Shipping, Aviation, and Tourism Minister P.B.G. Kalugalla, who termed the strike "a conspiracy to starve the nation and bring about the downfall of the government."

Bandaranaike's strident response to the strikes reflects a deep concern over the possibility of even greater mass struggles in 1977. The coming year, during which general elections are scheduled, could be a major test of her regime's stability.

Despite the government's slander campaign and efforts to break the strikes, more workers in other sectors continued to join the work stoppages. The Samastha Lanka Viduli Sandashaya Engineeru Kamkaru Sangamaya (Telephone Engineering Workers Union) began a strike December 30. The lighthouse workers at Colombo Port struck the following day; and workers at the fishery harbors of Galle and Mirissa walked off their jobs. By the first week of January, the strike threatened to spread to postal, bus, and other government employees.

In an effort to crush the strikes before they escaped control, Bandaranaike invoked new emergency powers January 5, ordering railway workers, doctors, and other employees to return to work by the next day or face possible imprisonment of up to five years and confiscation of property. □

Bandaranaike Imposes New Emergency Laws

Strikes in Sri Lanka Challenge Regime

By Ernest Harsch

The regime of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has been confronted with a new outbreak of unrest since late December, when railway, harbor, and other workers walked off their jobs, crippling Sri Lanka's transport system.

It was the second major challenge to Bandaranaike's "socialist" regime in less than two months. The country was swept by student protests and labor actions in November, following the police-killing of a student demonstrator in Kandy. Nearly 500,000 workers participated in one of those protest strikes.

The new round of ferment began on December 15, when workers at the Ratmalana railway workshop walked off their jobs to press their demand for an increase in their year-end salary advance from Rs 100 to Rs 500 (one rupee equals US\$0.13). Laborers in other parts of the country joined in, and by December 21 the entire railway system, which employs 26,000 workers, was paralyzed.

The biggest railway union involved in the strike was the Lanka Dumriya Sevaka Sangamaya (LDSS), which is controlled by the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society Par-

ty). The LSSP was expelled from the Fourth International in 1964 for accepting posts in Bandaranaike's capitalist government. Since the LSSP leaders were dropped from her cabinet in 1976, the party has been more critical of the regime and has participated in strikes.

According to a representative of the LDSS, at least sixteen railway unions had joined the strike by December 26. The Ceylon Railway Guards Union voted December 27 to strike in support of the other railway workers. A United Front of Railway Trade Unions was formed.

Workers at Colombo Port, who also demanded a salary advance of Rs 500, walked off their jobs December 29. The following day, strikers were forcibly removed from the harbor area as the Sri Lanka Navy was brought in to help break the strike.

Seven trade unions sent a letter to Bandaranaike in support of the railway workers, according to the December 31 *Ceylon Daily News*. The Colombo daily paraphrased the letter as stating, "The government's policy of refusing to negotiate with representatives of striking workers and of trying to break strikes with

Indian CP Uneasy Over Tightening Noose

By Pankaj Roy

NEW DELHI—Since the imposition of a state of emergency on June 25, 1975, the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) has supported the Gandhi regime's suppression of democratic rights and other anti-working-class measures. The CPI claimed that since Gandhi was fighting "right reaction," which according to the CPI was subverting democracy in India, she had to be supported. The fact that Gandhi herself had thrown bourgeois democracy overboard was ignored.

The CPI did not protest the banning of several political parties, the imprisonment of thousands of political activists, and the numerous attacks on the standards of living and trade-union rights of the working class. Not only did it remain silent on these burning issues of the Indian working-class movement, but its leaders, like S.A. Dange, actively rebuked party and trade-union activists who raised their voices against such measures.

Since Gandhi has now more or less routed the rightist bourgeois opposition parties, the regime has begun to turn its attention toward the CPI itself.

The Central Executive Committee of the CPI, which met in New Delhi October 24-27, has expressed some concern over this shift. The October 31 issue of the CPI organ *New Age* published a resolution of the meeting entitled "Misuse of Emergency."

The resolution states, "The Central Executive Committee is disturbed to find that in some states while the number of communists detained under MISA or prosecuted under DIR¹ is steadily increasing, reactionaries are being released on a big scale." It notes with grave concern the regime's refusal to permit even closed-door meetings inside halls.

The All-India Youth Federation and the All-India Students Federation were refused permission to organise a rally in defence of socialism and democracy, and for implementation of the twenty-point programme.²

Most significant, the resolution noted, was the fact that the Thirtieth Session of the All-India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), the trade union federation dominant

ed by the CPI, was not allowed to hold its open session at Jamshedpur. And it was only after a great deal of reluctance that the regime agreed to withdraw its condition that no delegate could criticise any policy of the government in the AITUC's closed-door delegates' session.

The CPI has at last conceded that press censorship is now more or less directed against the press of the left while the rightist press is allowed more freedom. The CPI seems to have finally realised that there is truth in the increasing number of reports of high-handedness by officials, of harassment of innocent people, of collusion of officials with landlords, moneylenders, and hoarders, and of repression against landless peasants and sharecroppers. A separate resolution on "coercive methods in family planning programme" was also adopted at the meeting.

This resolution on the emergency marks a subtle shift by the CPI from total and unconditional support of the emergency to a critical approach—however limited—toward it. But it is not total opposition. Nor can it be. The CPI's support to the Gandhi regime satisfies the current needs of the Soviet bureaucracy toward this area. Gandhi is fully aware of the CPI's subser-

vience to Moscow and adroitly uses the CPI to provide her with a left cover.

Although the CPI has become disturbed over the "misuse of emergency" against itself, the resolution still refuses to take cognisance of the repression against the Naxalites, the CPI(M),³ and other leftist parties. It does not have a word to say about the political prisoners rotting in Gandhi's jails.

It has not, moreover, proposed mass struggles or a united front with other left parties in defence of democratic and trade-union rights. Instead, it makes a special appeal to the ruling Congress party "to realise the grave danger that may befall us unless immediate steps are taken to halt the misuse of emergency powers." It does not demand repeal of the state of emergency.

The resolution adopted at the New Delhi meeting still clings to the concept of the broadest possible unity of the "patriotic" and "democratic" parties and forces, "especially the Congress and the CPI"—that is, a long-term perspective of class collaboration. It calls for mass struggles basically to forge such a unity.

It remains to be seen how long the Gandhi regime will permit the CPI to raise even such mild criticisms.

November 17, 1976

3. The term Naxalite refers to members or supporters of the Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist). The Communist party of India (Marxist) is a mass Stalinist party that opposes the Gandhi regime. It is not aligned with the foreign policy of either Moscow or Peking.—IP

Members of Communist Party Arrested in India

The Communist party of India (CPI), a long-time supporter of the repressive regime of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, has come under mounting public attack from leading government officials and even from Gandhi herself.

In reply to the CPI's allegations that there was a "reactionary caucus" within the ruling Congress party, Gandhi declared November 23, "Their stand that they will support Indira Gandhi but not others is not acceptable to Indira." Gandhi's son, Sanjay, said a few days earlier that the "CPI is also confusing us. They are always interfering in our work."

Mainstream, a New Delhi weekly edited by CPI member Nikhil Chakravarty, was ordered December 10 to submit to precensorship. Although *Mainstream* supported Gandhi's "progressive Socialist policies," it also made some criticisms of the regime's curbs on freedom of the press and other democratic rights. The journal closed down December 28 rather than submit to censorship.

The CPI defied Gandhi's ban on all public demonstrations by calling for pro-

tests around the country January 1 against rising prices. CPI General Secretary C. Rajeshwar Rao made it clear, however, that the day of protests "was not for confrontation with the government, but to bring people's pressure on the government to implement its own policies and to redeem the pledges the Congress leadership had given to the people."

On the eve of the scheduled protests, about seventy CPI organizers in the state of Uttar Pradesh were arrested. The following day, a CPI representative said that several dozen more CPI members were arrested for participating in the protest marches.

Despite the serious danger that Gandhi may move to suppress the CPI as she has most of the opposition parties, the CPI refused to draw the obvious lessons from the arrests and the public attacks. A "senior party official" cited in a December 31 Associated Press dispatch from New Delhi said, "We are not interpreting the arrests as a planned, coordinated crack-down on our party, but just as a preventive measure by local government officials." □

1. The Maintenance of Internal Security Act and the Defence of India Rules.—IP

2. Gandhi demagogically announced a twenty-point economic program shortly after the declaration of the state of emergency. The program promised to distribute surplus land to landless peasants, abolish bonded labor, make income tax reforms, and bring down prices.—IP

Australia—Devaluation Paves Way for Attack on Wages

By David Nizoz

[The following article appeared in the December 2 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

In devaluing the Australian dollar [November 28] Treasurer Lynch admitted the failure of the Government's publicly announced economic policy. But even more significantly, the devaluation and other measures announced by Lynch indicate a stepped-up attack on the standard of living of Australian workers.

The record 17.5 per cent devaluation was welcomed by the stock exchange with hectic trading reminiscent of the late 'sixties' boom and November 11 last year.* Obviously the big mining interests—whose contracts are written in US dollars—are going to make vastly increased profits. Others to gain are the big-business interests which dominate farming and manufacturing.

Contrary to the myths being spread by [Prime Minister] Fraser and Lynch, small farmers will have very little to gain from the devaluation. Regardless of the higher prices they may gain for their exports they have to pay higher prices for farm machinery, fertilisers, etc. These price increases will whittle away any advantages gained by the higher prices.

Devaluation also means that some industries can expand their markets abroad. But in terms of the beef industry, commonly regarded as the most depressed, the devaluation will not be able to expand the key markets. The US, Western Europe and Japan all have restrictive quotas which limit the size of Australian exports and therefore there will be no improvement. Only in the smaller markets of the Soviet Union and the Arab East will expansion be possible.

The effect of devaluation on other sectors can be summed up in one word: *inflation*. There is no way in the world in which inflation can be kept to the one-digit figure envisaged in the Budget. The immediate impact has been estimated as a 2 to 5 per cent price increase. Total price increases for this financial year have been estimated at 18 per cent by former Treasurer

er Bill Hayden. Other estimates also put the figure in the 14-20 per cent range.

For over a year now, the Liberals have conducted a public campaign against inflation. Treasurer Lynch and Prime Minister Fraser have time and time again explained that, as far as they were concerned, "inflation is the number 1 enemy." They have repeatedly stated that combatting inflation was their priority over and above reducing unemployment. Why then did they choose to accept a devaluation which could boost inflation to 18 per cent? Why was the stock exchange so joyful?

To understand the reasoning behind the Government's decision one must look at the fundamental forces that determine the Government's behavior. In acting in the best interests of Australian capitalists the Fraser Government could see the weak position of these capitalists compared to their competitors. The world-wide economic recovery failed to materialise except in a hesitant, uneven and inflationary way. The outlook for next year is even worse. The competitive position of Australian business had to improve, the Liberals thought.

A devaluation is one way in which Australian goods can instantly become cheaper abroad while overseas goods become more expensive.

There is one more basic reason why the position of Australian capitalists has weakened. In 1973-74 the trade-union movement in this country fought and gained substantial wage increases to protect unionists from the effects of inflation. Ever since that time it has been the bosses' intention to roll back these gains and restore a higher share of Gross National Product for themselves. They want more money to go in profits rather than wages.

In order to achieve this, real wages (ie wages adjusted for the effects of inflation) had to be pushed down. The first step, undertaken by the Whitlam Labor Government, was to limit wage increases to indexation only and eliminate direct collective bargaining with the bosses.

Indexation which only increases the award segment of wages, leaving the overaward segment unchanged—has cut real wages. But the changes were not sufficient for the bosses. Fraser and his gang decided to escalate the process: they cut living standards by slashing public expenditure, abolishing Medibank [the national health program], increasing un-

employment and introducing "plateau indexation." Now they want to accelerate the process even further. The devaluation will be able to have this effect: while improving the competitive position of Australian capitalists against their overseas counterparts it will also improve the employers' profit position at home.

No doubt Fraser and Company have taken great heart from the way similar devaluations in the US in 1971 and 1973—also accompanied by massive unemployment—paved the way for a tremendous improvement in the position of US capitalists.

The other measures announced together with the devaluation show that the real number 1 priority of the Government remains the cutting of wages. Lynch announced a credit squeeze (that will result in increased unemployment), a cut in government expenditure and, most importantly, a move to prevent any increase in the Consumer Price Index flowing on to wage indexation pay rises.

Even if the Government is only partially successful in its efforts to convince the Arbitration Commission to introduce anything less than full indexation, wages are going to be cut, and the faster the rate of inflation the faster the reduction in wages.

Already there have been reports that the Government plans to introduce legislation to force the Arbitration Commission to accept government submissions on wage increases. Even if the Government is only blustering the result will mean a severe reduction in real wages.

The president of the ACTU [Australian Council of Trade Unions], Bob Hawke, has already stated that the ACTU will strongly resist any attempt by the Government to tamper with the CPI and prevent the resultant devaluation price increases from being included in indexation. The trade-union movement must make sure that he maintains a firm stand.

Fraser and Lynch have declared war on working people and presented them with a clear choice: give in or fight back. For the sake of all workers' standards of living, the answer must be a strong fight back. □

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 75¢ per copy. Write for information about previous years.

*On November 11, 1975, the Labor government of Gough Whitlam was ousted by the Queen of England's representative, the country's governor general. Conservative Malcolm Fraser was subsequently elected prime minister.—IP

'Do Not Close Your Eyes,' Soviet Historian Urges

[The following appeal "to historians in the USSR and abroad" to defend imprisoned Crimean Tatar leader Mustafa Dzhemilev was made by Soviet historian Alexander Nekrich. Nekrich became internationally known in the mid-1960s when his book *June 22, 1941* was published in the Soviet Union.¹

[This book, published in August 1965, when criticism of Stalin's policies was still allowed, documented Stalin's failure to prepare Soviet defenses for the possibility of Hitler's invasion and Stalin's refusal throughout the first days of the invasion to permit the Soviet forces to fight back.

[Interest in the book prompted a discussion on it between Nekrich and other historians and members of the General Staff of the army at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in February 1966, the record of which became available in samizdat and was later published abroad. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 11, 1966, p. 26.) The discussion included even sharper criticisms of Stalin's course of action than did Nekrich's book. In July 1966, Nekrich was elected a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences.

[However, by late 1966 criticism of Stalin was no longer in favor, and by early 1967 it was being officially discouraged. In July 1967, Nekrich was expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), of which he had been a member since 1943. In September 1967, he was attacked by name in the journal *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* (Historical Journal of the CPSU). Dissident communist Pyotr Grigorenko answered this attack on Nekrich and his book with a study called "The Soviet Collapse in 1941," in which he further exposed Stalin's treacherous role. His article, which he submitted to *Voprosy Istorii KPSS*, was refused publication. (Excerpts appeared in *Intercontinental Press*, November 10, 1969, p. 1004.)

[The appeal for Dzhemilev that appears below is dated April 17, 1976, just days after Dzhemilev was tried in Omsk, Siberia, and sentenced to a term of two and one-half years in a hard labor camp. Nekrich himself left the USSR in June 1976.

[The English translation of Nekrich's appeal for Dzhemilev appeared in *A*

Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR, No. 20-21, dated April-June 1976.²]

* * *

Can We Remain Silent?

Mustafa Dzhemilev's trial in Omsk has just concluded.

A Crimean Tatar, Dzhemilev has devoted many years of his life to the struggle to restore the civil rights of the Crimean Tatars and to assist their return to their historical homeland in the Crimea from which they were deported by force in May 1944. Although the illegal nature of that act was later acknowledged by the Soviet government and the rights of the Crimean Tatars have been formally restored, they have not been allowed to live on the land of their forefathers.

Dzhemilev has repeatedly been sentenced to imprisonment for his actions in the service of his people. Now, just when his sentence was almost up, he has again been tried on a charge of anti-Soviet propaganda.

It is clear that they are afraid to release Dzhemilev.

At Dzhemilev's trial in Omsk on April 12-15, the indictment collapsed. The chief witness for the prosecution, a fellow convict named Vladimir Dvoryansky, retracted the testimony he had given during the preliminary investigation, and stated that he had signed those depositions under pressure from the investigator—pressure that had been applied for a whole year. Dvoryansky gave the court frightening details on the way the investigation was handled; and despite continuing pressure, that young man of twenty-six found the courage to tell the truth in court. That is something we shall remember.

Naturally, the atmosphere of the trial in Omsk was permeated with a spirit of tyranny and contempt for human values. Of the sixteen friends and relatives of Dzhemilev who traveled to Omsk, only four were allowed into the courtroom. Two of them—Dzhemilev's brother and sister—were removed from the courtroom during his final plea. Academician Andrei Sakharov and his wife, Elena Bonner, who had come from Moscow to attend the trial, were not only barred from the courtroom but subjected to humiliations and physical violence.

Ignoring the facts and trampling on

2. Available from Khronika Press, 505 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018.

elementary norms of the law, the court convicted Dzhemilev and sentenced him to two years and six months in strict-regimen labor camps.

That sentence may prove fatal for Dzhemilev. His physical condition is critical: He is afflicted with partial atrophy of the liver and a serious heart disease. He began a hunger strike in June 1975, and discontinued it only on April 15, 1976, at the insistence of his family. He now weighs seventy-seven pounds.

Dzhemilev can be saved only if he is released immediately and receives prompt medical care.

The world has already witnessed the death of Yury Galanskov and the suicide of Ilya Gabai. Vladimir Bukovsky is critically ill in Vladimir Prison. And the fate of those cooped up in "loony bins" is frightful.

I appeal to everyone who considers himself a decent human being:

Do not close your eyes to this arbitrary and unlawful act.

And I ask you: Can we remain silent?

I appeal above all to my colleagues, to historians in the USSR and abroad who have a professional duty to tend the flame of truth ignited by Prometheus:

Let us stand up in defense of Dzhemilev, Bukovsky, Superfin, Kovalev, and others languishing in prison for their convictions. Let us fight for a general amnesty of political prisoners throughout the world, but first of all in our own country. Today we must save Dzhemilev.

This is our duty—both our human one and our professional one.

And let us end our shameful silence.

Alexander Nekrich

April 17, 1976

Press Restrictions in Peru Get a New Year's Whitewash

In a New Year decree, the Peruvian military regime headed by Gen. Francisco Morales Bermúdez announced that it would lift a ban on seven private magazines that had been closed down by the previous military government. The move, however, was not without certain conditions.

All seven publications have agreed to "respect . . . the honor of individuals and . . . the guiding institutions of the country as well as . . . public morality and the achievement of national objectives." There was no public explanation of what this would mean in practice.

AROUND THE WORLD



Peruvian Trotskyist Murdered

Fernando Lozano Menéndez, a twenty-two-year-old student at the Catholic University in Lima, was murdered by Peruvian police November 27. Lozano, a member of the Frente Izquierda Revolucionaria (FIR—Front of the Revolutionary Left), a sympathizing section of the Fourth International, had been arrested by the police on November 26. He was taken to a hospital the following day after suffering what the minister of the interior called “a sudden illness.” According to the government, Lozano died of a “pulmonary seizure.”

Lozano’s death following his “interrogation” by the police provoked a protest signed by nineteen trade unions and trade-union federations. The protest said, in part, “We demand the investigation and clarification of the facts of the case, whatever their consequences, and exemplary punishment for those responsible for this crime.” Protests were also organized by students at the Catholic University.

Five Dissidents Arrested in Prague

Czechoslovak authorities have detained at least five dissident intellectuals following the publication in several West European newspapers of a manifesto in support of democratic rights. The manifesto was

signed by 241 prominent Czechoslovak citizens.

Rude Pravo, the Czechoslovak Communist party newspaper, warned January 7 that “those who lie on the rails to stop the train of history” must expect to get their legs cut off. Dissident sources reported that police picked up Vaclav Havel, one of Czechoslovakia’s best-known playwrights; Frantisek Pavlicek, director of Prague’s Vinohrady Theater; and the writers Ludvik Vaculik, Pavel Landovsky, and Zdenek Urbanik.

All five were released after questioning, but Havel was rearrested January 7. The playwright was characterized in *Rude Pravo* as the “son of a millionaire who has never forgiven the working class.”

The Prague regime has been conducting a campaign to associate demands for democratic rights with imperialist forces. *Rude Pravo* charged that dissident petitions “are in fact commissioned by anti-Communist and Zionist centers and published by the most reactionary information media.”

The latest arrests follow the detention of Josef Grohman on charges of espionage. Grohman was a Deputy Minister of Education and Culture under the Dubcek regime.

Glories of Free Enterprise

“Every month 250,000 gallons of milk produced in the state’s prison industries program are thrown out, according to Gerald Agee, director of the Colorado Division of Corrections.

“Partly because of pressure from private dairies, dairy farms at the penitentiary at Canon City and the State Reformatory at Buena Vista can’t find a large enough market for the milk, Agee told the Legislature’s Joint Budget Committee Friday.

“‘Some of it may be fed to the pigs,’ he said in an interview. ‘For all I know the rest is thrown in the river.’”—*Rocky Mountain News*, December 11.

Fascist Murderer Gets Three Years

António Domingues, a former member of the Portuguese political police under the Salazar regime, was sentenced January 5 for the murder of a Communist artist. The military court trying Domingues found that he had indeed shot and killed José Dias Coelho, a sculptor, in December 1961. But, the court ruled, there was no proof of “intent to kill.” Domingues got off with a three-and-one-half-year sentence.

The Dias Coelho case was only the latest example of the leniency of the military courts to the former secret police. Thirteen of the officers and agents of the political police tried since December have been set free, even though they were found guilty, because they had served their sentences in pretrial detention. One was acquitted.

Social Democratic Prime Minister Mário Soares insisted January 6 that the courts were independent, and that there was nothing he could do about their attitude. “As a private citizen, however,” he declared in the face of mounting indignation, “I think the mild sentence in the Dias Coelho case is shameful and shocking to anti-Fascist public opinion.”

Black Consciousness Leaders Sentenced in South Africa

Nine leaders of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa were sentenced to prison terms December 21. They were defendants in the longest trial ever held under the draconian Terrorism Act and had been charged with conspiring to “transform the State by unconstitutional, revolutionary and/or violent means.”

The nine Black activists, who were members of the South African Students Organisation (SASO) and of the Black People’s Convention (BPC), were found guilty on only two of the thirteen counts they were charged with. In his 260-page judgment, Justice Wessel Boshoff found them guilty of a “conspiratorial agreement” to bring about a “total change in South Africa by total involvement of the black communities.” The only “evidence” brought against the defendants in the course of the seventeen-month trial was their speeches and writings.

Sentenced to six years in prison were Sathasivan “Saths” Cooper, former BPC public relations officer; Muntu Myeza, former national president and general secretary of the SASO; Mosiuoa Lekota, former SASO permanent organizer; Aubrey Mokoape, former BPC chairman in Durban; Nkwenkwe Nkomo, former BPC permanent organizer; and Pandelani Nefolohodwe, former SASO president.

The three defendants receiving five-year terms were Zitulele Cindi, former BPC general secretary; Strinivasa Moodley, former SASO publications director; and Kaunda Sedibe, former president of the Students Representative Council at the University of the North in Turfloop.



VACLAV HAVEL

Selections From the Left



A quarterly journal published in Tokyo by the Pacific-Asia Resources Center.

Most of the October-December issue is devoted to the October 6 coup in Thailand and the massacre of students at Thammasat University. Among the items in the issue are two statements dated October 14 that were read over the radio station of the Communist party of Thailand.

The first statement was signed by seven former student leaders, including Seksan Prasertkul and Thirayut Boonmee, two central figures in the October 1973 mass upsurge that toppled the military dictatorship of Thanom Kittikachorn.

Referring to the three-year period between the October 1973 upsurge and the October 1976 military coup, the seven activists said that they "used only peaceful means to carry out our struggle. . . . We struggled with reason and within the law, but the reactionary ruling class violated the laws they had written with their own hands and trampled them with their own feet."

The lesson they drew from this experience was that "national independence and democracy cannot be gained by reform in a decadent and unjust society. . . ."

"The reactionary ruling class will step down from the stage of history only when it is attacked and forced to do so by our people through revolutionary violence. The people's state power can only grow out of the barrel of a gun."

Noting that the "reactionary state power has cities as its fortresses," the seven proposed that "in order to launch the armed struggle against the enemy, the people must use the rural areas to build up and expand our forces, based on millions of farmers, to build a worker-farmer alliance, extensively consolidate forces, follow the path of using the rural areas to encircle and finally seize the cities and resort to armed struggle as the main struggle in co-ordination with other forms of struggle. The struggle in the cities must co-ordinate with that in the rural areas. Only by following this path, can we uproot the fascist dictatorial state power of the Sangad Chaloryoo warlord clique or the others and build up a new Thailand with genuine independence, democracy and prosperity. . . ."

The second statement, signed by Khaisaeng Suksai and three other leaders of the Socialist party of Thailand, made similar points. Stating that "the blood sacrifice by the valiant heroes of 6th October marked the end of the struggle by parliamentary

means," the four SP leaders declared: "To achieve our noble task better, we have decided to join with the people in waging the armed struggle with determination, until true victory belongs to the people."

rouge

"Red." Revolutionary Communist daily, published in Paris.

Under the banner headline "Why Do You Want to Make Me French?" the December 23 issue takes up the question of the suppressed Celtic culture of Brittany. It devotes its entire two-page cultural section to this.

The section includes a brief history of modern writing in Breton (which belongs to the Brythonic group of Celtic languages along with Welsh and Cornish). It also features an interview with the author of a book on a Breton peasant rebellion, as well as a review of a historical novel about "the first period of the resistance of the Breton people to the patient work of the French state in imposing linguistic and religious oppression."

The introduction to the section says: "Breton literature exists. It exists far from the Kultural Kapital, the great cannibal of the cultures of minority nationalities, far from the merchants who publish only what is sure to sell.

"It is Paris that awards the prizes, that makes the fashions, and 'establishes' reputations. It is Paris, finally, that organizes the distribution of books. And Paris naturally produces in its own image—a French literature, stylized writing, an urban literature, without any distinctive savor or memory.

"The Breton language is in danger of death, constantly strangled by the Gulag of the French state and the 'enlightened' bourgeoisie who want to root it out. . . . Banned from the schools, from textbooks, Breton literature is an exile in its own country.

"As for all subject peoples, poetry is the shortest road to freedom. Along with songs, it is one of the favorite forms of popular expression. Thus, many Breton writers are poets and singers. . . . How many people know that Poe and Joyce, for example, have been translated into Breton? Today Breton literature—whether in Breton or French—is supported by a people that is rising up against oppression, and that is what offers grounds for hope. It is present everywhere that the Breton people speak out, in their songs of struggle. . . . as well as in the poems of Youen Gwernig or the novels of Coic."

In a sketch of modern Breton literature, J.M. Masson wrote that there was a renaissance of Breton culture after the establishment of the Gaullist regime and the onset of the crisis of traditional agriculture:

"This was the time when the victories of the peasants inspired songs, often anonymous, such as 'Emgann Montroulez,' which tells the story of the seizure of the Morlaix prefecture, or 'Breman n'eus ket met Pompidou' ('Now, Pompidou Is the Only One Left').

"People danced to these songs at the Fest-Noziou [traditional gatherings], and they soon became the banner rallying an entire generation, which discovered politics and the existence of a Breton culture at the same time."

ПРАВДА

"Truth," organ of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. Published daily in Moscow.

Every Sunday, *Pravda* publishes a summary of world news entitled "The International Week." The writer of the column in the December 26 issue found that the preceding seven days had been dominated by the seventieth birthday of the Soviet CP general secretary Leonid Brezhnev:

"The past week has put our country—its policy based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, its achievements in building communism, its determined struggle for peace—at the center of attention of the world press and of world public opinion. This occurred in connection with the seventieth birthday of General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. The name of L.I. Brezhnev is inseparably bound up with all the work of our party and state, both within the country and in the international arena. This is why this anniversary was a great event for our sister socialist countries, for the international Communist and workers movement, and for all the progressive forces on the planet."

ИЗВЕСТИЯ

"News," organ of the Soviets of Workers Deputies of the USSR. Published daily in Moscow.

The front page of the December 19 issue is devoted to the seventieth birthday of Leonid Brezhnev. Printed in full are two separate resolutions from the Supreme Soviet of the USSR awarding various

medals to the Stalinist boss. Approximately three-fifths of the page is taken up by an open letter to Brezhnev signed jointly by the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

The letter begins as follows:

"Dear Leonid Il'ich!

"The Central Committee of the CPSU, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Council of Ministers of the USSR send heartfelt greetings to you—true son of the Soviet people, outstanding leader of the Communist party, the Soviet state, and the international Communist movement, ardent fighter for peace and social progress, consistent Marxist-Leninist—on your seventieth birthday.

"Your tireless and fruitful work, Leonid Il'ich, represents an inspiring example of self-sacrificing service to the fatherland, to the Leninist party, to the cause of Communism. In all the posts to which the party has elevated you, you have always justified the confidence placed in you.

"Your inexhaustible energy, your sense of party principle, your unbreakable bond with the life of the people have deep roots. Having joined the great army of labor in the years of your youth, you, Leonid Il'ich, together with millions of your contemporaries, set out resolutely on the path opened up by Soviet power. . . ."

The letter continues in the same vein for almost three more columns.

HAYTH:

"*Aughe*" (Dawn), the morning paper of the left. Published daily in Athens. Reflects the views of the Greek Communist party ("interior").

Under the headline, "Churchill and Stalin Decide the Fate of Greece," the December 25 issue published a study of how the Stalinist leadership of the Greek CP, at Moscow's behest, allowed the British armed forces to reestablish capitalist rule in Greece after the Second World War and prepare the way for the liquidation of the resistance movement led by the Communist party.

The fissures in the Greek CP that helped prepare the way for an open split after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia have their origins in the zig-zags of party policy in the postwar period, in particular the decision to launch a guerrilla struggle after the resistance had already been disarmed and lost much of its support. Thus, this question is of particular importance for the faction of Greek Stalinism that is trying to maintain a certain independence from Moscow, the "interior" CP, especially since the opposing faction, the CP "exterior," makes 100 percent loyalty to Moscow its fundamental principle.

Nonetheless, up till now, the "interior" faction has dealt only very gingerly with

the questions of the civil war period. The December 25 article, on the other hand, was given a certain sharpness by the author's contrasting the claims of the Soviet and Greek leaderships at the time about what was going on with the reality of the deal between Stalin and Churchill.

The introduction said: "*Aughe* is beginning a new historical study covering the dramatic events of the last months of 1944. On October 12 that year, the first British armed forces arrived in Athens. In the same period, Churchill and Stalin were meeting in Moscow to 'coordinate' their policy toward the Balkans, and, of course, toward Greece. What relation was there between these two events—the arrival of British forces on Greek soil and the Stalin-Churchill meeting?"

"This is the question studied by our collaborator Alekos Papapangeotos and answered on the basis of Soviet, British, and Greek sources (mainly Greek CP sources). The answer is engraved in the consciousness of our people by feelings, by information, and by bitter experience. Yes, in those days (October 9-18, 1944), Churchill and Stalin agreed that Greece had crucial significance 'for the security of Britain,' just as Poland did for the Soviet Union. And since Greece had special significance for Great Britain, it was understood that the Soviet Union gave a green light to the British to deal with the problem of Greece in accordance with its interests. 'The Soviet Union,' Stalin noted to Churchill and Roosevelt in April 1945, 'was not consulted when these governments (in Belgium and Greece) were formed. The Soviet Union did not ask to be.'

"On the basis of incontrovertible documents, the new study by *Aughe* throws light on the unknown pages of this dramatic period and clarifies the 'game' the big powers were playing toward the epic march of our martyred people, a march that could have had a different outcome if the maneuvers and the game of the Greek CP leadership had been different."

la Falç

"*The Sickle*," published monthly in Perpinya (Perpignan) by the Catalan Workers Left.

The October issue responds to an article by a Communist party spokesman on the CP's position toward the Catalan movement:

"While we don't believe that the CP will evolve as regards its political line on this question, . . . we do not consider this party a homogeneous bloc. It is true that there are activists who have more or less clear positions on this problem and who want to put pressure on the leadership, but so far the results have been very small, not only in North Catalonia [the Catalan-speaking area in the French state] but in general,

and they will remain so. Taking into consideration the very limited freedom of expression and the ignorance of democratic centralism in this party, we cannot have any illusions.

"We want to point out a few facts that we think clarify things and show that the CP is not interested in these problems.

"Last summer, the events in Corsica, in Aleria, provoked ultra-French-nationalist reactions both from the most reactionary French right and from the CP, which ran the headline, 'Long Live Corsica! Long Live France!' in *l'Humanité*.

"This July, Georges Marchais, the party general secretary, spent some days of his vacation in Corsica. When he returned to Paris, he said: 'In two weeks, I didn't meet a single autonomist.' Shortly after this, the Corsican National Youth was formed, with more than 2,000 members (Corsica has 200,000 inhabitants). A week later, the Corsican Patriotic Association, the major autonomist organization, held a congress attended by 7,000 persons. Let's note that the CP in Corsica is quite small.

"Last winter, the CP held its congress under the slogan of a 'Union of the French People.' . . . This winter, Marchais said in a speech: 'Everything national is ours.' . . . Shortly afterward, the general secretary of the General Confederation of Labor, a member of the CP Central Committee, advised workers at the Schneider arms factories not to make demands that could endanger this type of enterprise, so vital to the national interests and independence of France. All these facts reveal a French nationalism worthy of the far right.

"Recently the CP federations in the 'Languedoc-Roussillon' area have published a document on the Occitanian language and culture, saying that these are part of the French national heritage, and the cultural demands should not be confused with autonomist ones aimed at weakening France."

La Falç commented: "The revival of Catalan national consciousness (which is occurring throughout the Catalan lands) is a result here of the impoverishment of North Catalonia, of dreadful social conditions, of an economy in crisis, massive emigration, a society in dissolution. How can the Catalan question be dealt with in other than political terms?"

"It is difficult therefore to make a separation among the demands raised by the Catalan people, because it is the entire Catalan people that is in danger and not just the language. The CP cannot take up the Catalan question correctly without demanding the right of self-determination. And this the CP wants no part of. This party refuses to make a Marxist analysis because it is no longer Marxist. Instead it accepts a certain cultural . . . autonomy, a position which Lenin attacked, fighting against the Austro-Marxist opportunists Renner and Bauer."

Debate in French Left

What Stand to Take Toward 'Union of the Left'

[With the approach of the French legislative elections, scheduled for early 1978, a lively debate is taking place in the pages of the press of the French left over what attitude to take toward the Union of the Left, an electoral coalition of the Communist party, Socialist party, and the

bourgeois Left Radical party. We reprint below some of the main articles in this discussion, including an item by a leader of the PSU published in *Le Monde*. The translations and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

must win a majority much larger than 51 percent, where is this majority to be found? This is a political question, not merely one of arithmetic. The answer given to it affects the campaign, the fate of the Common Program itself, and the entire future.

Broaden 'Union of the Left' to the Left

By Victor Leduc

[Victor Leduc is a member of the National Secretariat of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party). The following article appeared in the guest editorial column of the August 5, 1976, issue of *Le Monde*.]

* * *

If what is at stake in the next legislative elections is a change in society, it is important not to let the right hold the initiative unchallenged in this terrain. The main parties of the Union of the Left understand the reality of this question, even if they want to put forward only the Common Program. The Socialist party, and this is one of the reasons for its success, offers itself as the guarantor of socialism with freedom, and even, in a more distant future, of a form of socialism mixed with self-management. This is a facet of its approach. However, there are many other aspects that make the genuineness of its socialist talk seem doubtful.

At its Twenty-Second Congress, the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] tried to get into a better position in this debate. It hastily dropped the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat," and belatedly took its distance from those who distorted that concept, although without calling into question the basic nature of the Soviet system. It has maintained an internal life, and often an external practice of its own. But all this is not yet sufficient to inspire confidence in its new scheme of socialism "in the French national colors."

In short, in this battle in which the stakes are whether to maintain the old society or to go forward to the socialist future, the Union of the Left, to be credible, to win a broad majority, needs an opening to forces that have a new conception and practice of the struggle for socialism.

Although they are a minority, these forces are nonetheless the catalysts of all the social struggles of recent years, including those raising new demands in the domain of production, the standard of living, and the struggles of youth, women, and the national minorities. They have been involved in the initial struggles that have stirred French society, from abortion to the conditions of immigrant workers, from democratic rights in the army to nuclear reactors, to cite only a few examples.

The broadening of the Union of the Left to social, trade-union, and political forces that fight without wavering for socialism under self-management will give it a new political dimension, presenting everyone with a demonstration that the orientation toward democratic socialism is not a propaganda theme, but is beginning to be put into practice by those who claim adherence to it.

To be sure, this broadening and qualitative transformation of the Union of the Left will require a thoroughgoing discussion. Agreement has not been won in advance. But to fail to do everything, on each side, to arrive at an agreement on this, would be to fail to recognize the basic necessity of assembling *all* the popular forces in a united bloc to defeat the right and open the road to socialism.

To help push forward the dynamic of unity among all layers of people, to effectively prepare the defeat of reaction, and to equip ourselves with the means to resist any counteroffensive by the bourgeoisie, we think it is necessary today to unite, in people's committees in the factories, neighborhoods, and small towns, all those who wish to contribute to this victory and what will come after it.

If it is true that to bring about decisive changes, a victory of the Union of the Left

All the polls have shown that the votes already won to the Union of the Left come mainly from workers, that is, from the working class and the nonproletarian salaried layers who have been won to the fight against capitalist rule. Nonetheless, more than 20 percent of the workers will still vote for the parties of the right or resort to abstention. It is clear that the main effort should be directed to this sector of society, along with the working peasants, small peasants, and certain sections of the traditional petty bourgeoisie—a new victim of the evolution of capitalism.

It is there that we can find the elements of a substantial majority and the social base of a people's unity that the working class can lead, through a process of common struggle for anticapitalist objectives, onto the road to socialism. Accordingly, there is a close relationship between the electoral majority to be won, the alliances the working class has to build, and the political goals to be pursued.

However, the leaderships of the main left parties propose a different strategic orientation. The Communist party sees a possibility for a much broader unity. All the "nonmonopolist layers"—that is, a helter-skelter assemblage of the "intermediary salaried layers," without distinction as to their role in the relations of production, plus the capitalist exploiters who are not part of the "big monopolies"—would be included under the rubric of the "Union of the People of France."

Moreover, similar proposals have emanated from the left wing of the Socialist party. J.-P. Chevènement, one of the leaders of the CERES,¹ sees the "national" section of the French bourgeoisie as a valuable ally for the Union of the Left. Developing this idea in *Le Monde* [July 16], he suggests exploiting the contradictions between this section of the bourgeoisie and the one that finds its sole expression in the shadow of the multinational corpo-

1. Centre d'Etudes, de Recherches et d'Education Socialistes (Center for Socialist Studies, Research, and Education), a wing of the SP that publishes its own journal.

rations and American protection.

Chevènement cites a quotation from Nikos Poulantzas to back up his claim that this "national" section may show interest in supporting the Union of the Left. He does not seem to have read this author to the end.

In fact, analyzing the French bourgeoisie later in the same book, Poulantzas said: "When speaking of monopoly and nonmonopoly capital in the present period, it is necessary to view them in their new relationship of *organic interdependence*. . . . There is no reason to expect a political expression of these contradictions in the form of a break by nonmonopoly capital—a social force—from the class political front."²

2. *Les Classes Sociales dans le Capitalisme d'Aujourd'hui* (Social Classes in Capitalism Today) (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1976), p. 151.

In effect, at the current point of the deepening class struggle in France, fundamental political contradictions stand in the way of an alliance between the working class and the broad masses on the one hand, and such a section of the bourgeoisie on the other.

What would the pursuit of such an orientation mean, if not a strategic retreat from the objectives the Union of the Left has set for itself? Gaullism is not to the left of Giscardism.

To defeat the right means to defeat the entire bourgeoisie. Only at this price can the struggle for the socialist transformation of French society begin. This transformation is possible only with the broad agreement and active participation of the masses of people. The forces to win this battle exist, but to carry through the electoral victory, the Union of the Left must be opened to the left, not to the right.

From 'People's Unity' to a 'Union of the People'

By R. Yvetot

[The following article appeared in the August 6 issue of *Rouge*, the French daily reflecting the views of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—Revolutionary Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

In a guest editorial published in *Le Monde* August 5, Victor Leduc tries to persuade the Socialist and Communist parties to form an alliance with the PSU so as to score an electoral victory in the 1978 legislative elections. We agree that to bring about decisive change, a victory for the left must be won by a majority far beyond 51 percent.

This raises Leduc's central question: where is this majority to be found? He rejects the CP solution of an alliance cutting across class lines in a "Union of the French People," including all nonmonopoly layers. He also rejects the proposal by Jean-Pierre Chevènement for an alliance with the so-called national bourgeoisie, represented by the Gaullist faithful.

Instead, he proposes to win the needed votes among the 20 percent of the workers who abstain or vote for the right, and among the nonproletarian "popular layers" (the new and traditional petty bourgeoisie). But to do that requires a party to attract them.

The Socialist party presents itself as the guarantor of socialism with freedom, but the genuineness of its socialist talk is open to question. As for the CP, its past and its practice do not yet allow it to rely upon its

new scheme of socialism in the French national colors. That seems to leave only the PSU. Socialist, democratic, and a supporter of self-management, it could take on the job quite easily.

After extolling the virtues of the prospective bride, Leduc of course says that he is unable to go further without a marriage contract—the betrothal requires a thoroughgoing discussion. Agreement has not been secured in advance.

Does the Union of the Left Seek to Change Society?

Leduc's proposal is suspect from the outset, because the Union of the Left is based on the Common Program, and is not a vacillating class front but above all a front of class collaboration. Neither the appeals of [French CP leader] Georges Marchais nor the proposal by Chevènement are, as Leduc seems to think, a strategic retreat from the goals the Union of the Left has set for itself. To the contrary, Marchais and Chevènement are pursuing a rightist course, in accordance with the old adage: "When the masses move to the left, the leaders move to the right."

This policy of class collaboration was set from the beginning, it will be recalled, by:

1. The alliance with the Left Radicals, who are ready to welcome the dissident Gaullists the SP and CP are today wooing.

2. The agreement to respect the Gaullist constitution, which led [French SP leader] François Mitterrand to reaffirm that he will do nothing to force Giscard out of office if the Union of the Left wins a majority in 1978 (thereby leaving the president the opportunity of using the

weapon of dissolving parliament at a propitious moment).

3. The maintenance of the market economy (which they even propose to strengthen through the nationalization of a few monopolies); the expressed intent to remain in the capitalist Common Market; and, to crown everything, the expressed intent to stay in the Atlantic Alliance.

In fact, to the "if" at the beginning of Leduc's article, to the question of whether what is at stake in the next legislative elections is a change in society, Mitterrand has already answered: Changing society is not at issue.

Class Alliance at What Price?

Leduc's second mistake is to raise the possibility of an alliance of the working class with a part of the new layers of professionals, as well as of the traditional bourgeoisie in terms of a class alliance, and this moreover, on an electoral basis. The fact is that this disparate, diverse petty bourgeoisie of widely varying class loyalties is deeply affected by the polarization between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. Accordingly, the proletariat's task is not so much to make concessions to these layers—as was the case during revolutions in countries with a strong peasantry—but rather to show its capability to take the offensive against the bourgeoisie.

The proletariat should expropriate the banks, the agribusiness trusts, and the industrial monopolies that are strangling the traditional petty bourgeoisie. It should make clear its capacity to construct a self-governing socialist society, and demonstrate concretely the superiority of the democracy of workers councils as opposed to the most democratic forms of bourgeois democracy. In short, it should carry out its program.

However, this is precisely the question on which Leduc has little to say. He does not state the conditions the PSU would place on a governmental agreement, or on support to a government of the SP and CP. He confines himself to stressing the need to assemble all the people's forces in a united bloc to defeat the right and open the road to socialism. He says only: "To help push forward the dynamic of unity among all layers of people, to effectively prepare the defeat of reaction . . . we think it is necessary today to unite, in people's committees in the factories, neighborhoods, and small towns, all those who wish to contribute to this victory and what will come after it." In this way he makes clear that this "need" is negotiable, and in any event is not a precondition for the PSU going over to the Union of the Left.

To be sure, it is essential that revolutionists not get caught in the dilemma of merely exposing the reformists' capitulations while waiting for the masses to abandon them, or of giving tactical support to the Union of the Left while waiting

for the hour to be sounded when it can be bypassed. But it is necessary to state clearly the conditions we put on support to a government of the SP and CP.

The Conditions for Support

To open the road to socialism, such a government must break with the bourgeoisie and its parties, starting with the splinter grouping of Left Radicals, and with its institutions, starting with the constitution of 1958. It must base itself on the mobilization of the workers, by supporting workers control in the factories, by expropriating and placing under workers management all factories that are shut down or that organize economic sabotage, as well as the factories in which a majority of the workers call for nationalization. It

must prevent a military conspiracy by the bourgeoisie. That means recognizing the right of soldiers to organize, particularly their right to form a union, and imposing control by the workers and their organizations at every level in the army.

Such a government must recognize the right to self-determination for the Overseas Territories and Departments, and for national minorities who want to exercise this right. Finally, it must break with the Atlantic Alliance. These, in a very schematic form, are the conditions we think revolutionists should today place on support to a government of the SP and CP. These are the goals for which revolutionists can today call on the workers to fight—without, as Victor Leduc has done, separating the social struggles from political perspectives. □

The PSU and the Union of the Left

[The following article appeared in the August 11-25 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, under the headline, "Union of the Left: Playing Paticake." *Informations Ouvrières* is a Paris weekly reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization).]

* * *

Electoral fever continues to grip the Landerneau³ of the far left.

Under the pen of Victor Leduc, who signed a guest editorial in *Le Monde*, the PSU has set out to teach a lesson in electoral effectiveness to the parties that make up the Union of the Left.

"... the Union of the Left, to be credible, to win a broad majority, needs an opening to forces that have a new conception and practice of the struggle for socialism.

"Although they are a minority, these forces are nonetheless the catalysts of all the social struggles of recent years. . . ." How modest!

A good horse trader, Leduc explains the advantages the popular front would draw from unfolding a chair for the PSU.

"The broadening of the Union of the Left to social, trade-union, and political forces that fight without wavering for socialism under self-management will give it a new political dimension, presenting everyone with a demonstration that the orientation toward democratic socialism is not a propaganda theme, but is beginning to be put into practice by those who claim adherence to it."

In short, what is involved here is a blessing for the alliance of workers parties with the Left Radical bourgeois party, with

the anointment of "self-management socialism."

Taking up a notion that has been close to his heart for many years, Leduc continues:

"All the polls have shown that the votes already won to the Union of the Left come mainly from workers, that is, from the working class and the nonproletarian salaried layers who have been won to the fight against capitalist rule. Nonetheless, more than 20 percent of the workers will still vote for the parties of the right or resort to abstention. It is clear that the main effort should be directed to this sector of society, along with the working peasants, small peasants, and certain sections of the traditional petty bourgeoisie—a new victim of the evolution of capitalism."

And who can win these nonproletarian, city and countryside petty-bourgeois layers to the "Union of the Left"? Leduc replies: the PSU. He does not add, "a petty-bourgeois organization." But that is clear from his approach, which boils down to accepting the Stalinist "monopoly" over the working class. The CP "has" the workers, and we, the PSU, "have" the petty bourgeoisie.

This is a line of argument that, despite Leduc's denials, matches that of Chevènement and the CERES.

What we have here in effect is another "self-management socialist" Chevènement—that leader of the CERES, a clerical appendage that some view as being to the "left" of the SP—who himself is launching an effort to "broaden the Union of the Left" to the right. After having given an interview to the Gaullist magazine *l'Appel*, he published a guest editorial in the August issue of Michel Jobert's sheet.⁴ There he renewed his call to the Gaullists,

christened the "national section of the bourgeoisie," and denounced in a style that owes a great deal to *l'Humanité* [the CP daily] Giscard D'Estaing's defense policy—"the very opposite of that followed by General de Gaulle."

Another "socialist," a radical and a "man of the left," moreover, MRG⁵ President Robert Fabre, is also stubbornly pursuing a course of "broadening the Union of the Left." On July 21 he met with Roland Nungesser, UDR⁶ deputy from Val-de-Marne. On August 5, he made clear his aim:

"There is great distress at present in the [governmental] majority, particularly among Gaullists who do not view as their own the policies being followed by Giscard D'Estaing and the Independent Republicans. If they wish to collaborate with us, under the condition that they adopt our point of view [that is, as everyone knows, the "point of view" of those who seek to preserve Gaullist institutions and who recognize "positive" aspects in the actions of General de Gaulle—IO], our doors are open to them."

To summarize: Leduc extends his hand to Marchais who, along with Fabre and Chevènement, extends a hand to "honest Gaullists." Chevènement extends his hand to Jobert, and Fabre to Nungesser of the UDR, who regularly shakes hands with Chirac, etc. This amounts to a Union of the Left with no line of demarcation on the right, with a hand extended toward reaction.

Is the circle complete?

The LCR, also a supporter of "self-management socialism," which is extending a hand toward the PSU, was apparently quite upset with Leduc's guest editorial. Let's take a closer look. According to *Rouge*, "To be sure, it is essential that revolutionists not get caught in the dilemma of merely exposing the reformists' capitulations while waiting for the masses to abandon them, or of giving tactical support to the Union of the Left while waiting for the hour to be sounded when it can be bypassed. But it is necessary to state clearly the conditions we put on support to a government of the SP and CP."

But what is at issue here is not a government of the CP and SP. Leduc, with whom *Rouge* is seeking to carry out a dialogue, is talking about the Union of the Left—a coalition without a line of demarcation on the right, in which workers' leaders are fighting tooth and nail to hang

his own political grouping in March 1975 in an effort to rally "orthodox" Gaullist opinion.

5. Mouvement des Radicaux de Gauche (Movement of Left Radicals).

6. Union des Démocrates pour la République (Union of Democrats for the Republic), Gaullist formation led by former Prime Minister Jacques Chirac.

3. A town in Brittany, used as a synonym for a small, gossipy village.

4. Former Gaullist defense minister who formed

on to their alliance with the "Left" Radical bourgeois party. It is not sufficient, according to *Rouge*, to denounce "reformist" capitulations (holding still to that hoary notion that the bourgeoisie can, in the era of "neocapitalism" or of "capitalism's third age" so dear to Mandel, accept reforms imposed by the apparatuses. It is clear what is involved here); nor is it

sufficient to give tactical support to the Union of the Left. The dilemma must be broken. One must do more and better. What does that amount to, if not support today to the Union of the Left, which is the current form of the popular front?

It is in this way that Krivine extends a hand to Leduc, who himself extends a hand to . . . , etc. □

In Reply to an Article in 'Lutte Ouvrière'

By R. Yvetot

[The following article appeared in the September 6 issue of *Rouge*.]

* * *

Under the headline, "In Reply to an LCR Statement to the Press," *Lutte Ouvrière* published the following item in the most recent issue of its weekly [September 4]:

In a communiqué published the day after the governmental crisis,⁷ the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire denounced the Giscard regime and its austerity measures, and then continued: "In this situation the CP and SP should, without waiting for 1978, present themselves as an alternative to the government. The majority of the workers are calling for this."

To be sure, we do not know how much the communiqué was shortened, nor even if it was. In particular, we do not know if the Ligue also warned the workers about the role the left will be brought into the government to play.

But is there a clearer way of backing, in advance, the policy of the reformist left, which will not be called to power, especially before the legislative elections, except to take anti-working-class measures the right is less capable of carrying through? The role of a revolutionary organization is not to sow illusions about a left alternative for the bourgeoisie, but to unmask it before the eyes of the workers.

The LCR is in complete agreement with the comrades of *Lutte Ouvrière* that "the role of a revolutionary organization is not to sow illusions about a left alternative for the bourgeoisie, but to unmask it before the eyes of the workers." The question is, How?

By limiting oneself to denouncing the policy of the reformist leaderships, and by calling for the construction of a revolutionary party? That is certainly necessary, but to remain there is to forget that the great majority of workers learn only by experience.

Why do the majority of workers still place their confidence in the historically bankrupt parties of the SP and CP? Because they have illusions in winning a change in policy without overturning society, and hope for a peaceful, progres-

sive transformation of society. Accordingly, they view the SP and CP as being, to all appearances, the most effective tool for this. But while the workers genuinely want a change of policy and a transformation of society, the SP and CP leaderships want only to carry through a similar policy with "a social consensus" and to "democratize" the bourgeois state, in collaboration with the bourgeoisie itself.

Two Parallel Dangers

So, for revolutionists there are two parallel dangers. An opportunist danger that consists in seeing only the illusions and aspirations the masses have in SP-CP unity, despite the open policy of collaboration and the differences between the leaderships (a danger illustrated by the present orientation of the PSU). And a sectarian danger that consists in seeing only the policy of the reformist leaderships without taking into account the genuine aspirations of the masses, who still have confidence in these leaderships (a danger that *Lutte Ouvrière* seems to illustrate).

To break out of this double impasse, revolutionists must help the masses to fight and organize by pushing their traditional parties forward, while at the same time exposing concretely the collaborationist policy of their leaderships. Revolutionists must show how an SP-CP government can provide a political opening for struggles if, in face of the government's austerity policy, the trade-union and political organizations together open an offensive for unifying demands (such as the thirty-five hour week, a minimum monthly wage of 2,300 francs [about US\$460], a 300 franc wage increase for all workers, sliding scale of hours and wages, nationalization of factories that shut down, with maintenance of previous gains, etc.).

An SP-CP Government Under What Conditions?

In doing that, we answer workers who know both that isolated struggles are not sufficient and that united struggles mean a confrontation with the government. We must make clear the conditions under which an SP-CP government can open the road to workers power:

- By breaking with the bourgeois parties, beginning with the so-called left parties, the Radicals and the UDR.
- By breaking with bourgeois institutions, beginning with the 1958 constitution, which legitimizes Giscard's remaining in power and enables him to dissolve parliament at will.
- By basing itself on the mass movement, and in particular by supporting workers control.
- By opposing the economic and military conspiracy of the French and international bourgeoisie.

In that way we translate explicitly the thoughts of millions of workers who give their votes to the SP and CP, not for the application of the Common Program or the program of François Mitterand, but to bring about real change.

Break With the Bourgeoisie

Although they certainly have not adopted the whole of the revolutionary program, the workers in effect expect that once in power the SP and CP will radically break with the bourgeoisie and base themselves on the mass movement. It is by fighting alongside them on this road that revolutionists will demonstrate concretely the reformist impasse that leads to a Chile or Portugal, and build a credible revolutionary solution. That is why we must begin today to show the workers that even if the SP and CP are forced by a greater pressure to go further than they would like, they are in no way ready to commit themselves to workers power.

Tweedledum and Tweedledee

What better lesson can there be for the



GEORGE MARCHAIS

7. On August 25 the Chirac cabinet resigned, largely over a dispute on strategy for the 1978 parliamentary elections. Chirac favors a head-on attack against the Union of the Left.

workers than to see the SP and CP renounce their stated goals as the days pass? To see the SP and CP yesterday, after the cantonal elections,⁸ tomorrow, after a similar victory in the municipal elections,⁹ refuse to organize struggles for economic demands and refuse to demand the coming [legislative] elections, out of

8. In regional elections held March 7 and 14 to fill posts on local government councils, Union of the Left candidates won 51.7 percent of the vote in the first round and 50.9 percent in the second-round runoff.

9. Scheduled for 1977.

Letter From the LCR Political Bureau

[The following letter, signed by R. Yvetot, was sent August 20 from the Political Bureau of the LCR to the Political Bureau of the OCI.]

* * *

Comrades,

Under the headline "Playing Pattycake," *Informations Ouvrières* No. 763 [August 11-25] accuses the LCR of extending its hand to Nungesser via Leduc-Marchais-Chevènement-Fabre. To do that,

fear of disrupting the institutional game of the Fifth Republic? Although Giscard put himself on the front line by firing Chirac, Mitterrand is reaffirming more and more clearly that he is prepared to become Giscard's premier if the left wins in 1978, that is, if the majority of the voters condemn Giscard's policy!

What demand would then be better understood by the workers than this indictment put forward by the revolutionists: "You are the majority, take power! Full power! Without Giscard or bourgeois ministers!" Does *Lutte Ouvrière* propose to say to the workers: "Giscard and Mitterrand are Tweedledum and Tweedledee! Why distinguish between them?" □

the author of the unsigned article bases himself—without quoting any of the essential passages—on the answer that appeared in *Rouge* to the guest editorial by Victor Leduc published in *Le Monde*.

We consider it legitimate to ask that you correctly inform your readers of our real positions by publishing the entire answer in *Informations Ouvrières*.

We think that on this occasion at least you should try to show that you view debate as something other than slander. □

Editorial Note in 'Informations Ouvrières'

[Along with the above letter, the following editorial note appeared in the September 8-15 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*.]

* * *

In this issue of *Informations Ouvrières* we are reprinting an article by R. Yvetot, a member of the LCR Political Bureau, that appeared in the August 6 issue of *Rouge*. The article was referred to in the August

11 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*. We hope publication of this article will help clarify the discussion of decisive questions facing the entire workers movement. We are surprised that Comrade Yvetot's letter seems to call on us to show that "debate means something other than slander." Political discussion will scarcely advance if assessments of each other's political positions are viewed as "slanders" as soon as disagreement arises. For that is what is involved here. □

The Position of the OCI

[The following article appeared in the September 8-15 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*.]

* * *

The worsening crisis and decomposition of the Fifth Republic makes the question of "popular fronts" all the more timely and pressing. According to the founding program of the Fourth International they, along with fascism, constitute "the last political resources of imperialism in the

struggle against the proletarian revolution."¹⁰

The Union of the Left, that is, the alliance of the CP and SP with the "Left" Radical party, a bourgeois party, has as its content the subordination of the workers parties to the bourgeoisie and bourgeois order. This is reflected in the Common

10. *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1973), p. 74.

Program, a program of defense of bourgeois order, specifically the institutions of the Fifth Republic. It is a new rehash of the policy of popular fronts. The character of the Union of the Left will not emerge only when the course of the crisis brings it to power as "the last political resource" of French imperialism. It has a political role right now—to impede and block the united mobilization of the working masses against the Fifth Republic, its institutions, and its government.

That, we repeat, is a decisive question on which there can be no ambiguity. In the present situation, it is worthwhile to refer to what Trotsky wrote in 1936: ". . . the People's Front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch. It also offers the best criterion for the difference between Bolshevism and Menshevism."¹¹

The line of countering popular-front schemes with the workers united front is the line of proletarian class independence, in opposition to submission to the bourgeoisie. Today, it is expressed on the governmental level by the call for a CP-SP government, without representatives of the bourgeois parties.

We note in this regard that in an article in the September 6 *Rouge*, Comrade Yvetot refers, in terms close to those the OCI has long used, to the question of a CP-SP government, particularly in the following passage: "What demand would then be better understood by the workers than this indictment put forward by the revolutionists: 'You are the majority, take power! Full power! Without Giscard or bourgeois ministers!'"

He correctly indicates that the break with the bourgeoisie must begin by a break with the "Left Radicals" (which in no way signifies that a government of the CP and SP can be characterized as a "workers government" independent of its program). That would mean no longer considering the presence of the "Left" Radical party as a secondary question, that formation not being a "representative" party of the bourgeoisie.

That was still the position of the United Secretariat representative at the recent Socialist Workers party convention, which was attended by a delegation from the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. The United Secretariat representative said that the popular front was exclusively a governmental coalition between workers parties and *big* parties of the bourgeoisie.

But the word "then" in the quotation above refers to the situation arising from an electoral victory of the CP and SP. What about right now? Isn't the demand for a CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers, counterposed to the Union of the Left-Popular Front, indispensable in propelling forward the mass movement

11. *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1935-36)* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 43.

against the Fifth Republic and its institutions?

Yvetot places particular stress on the necessity of the struggle against these institutions, against the constitution of the Fifth Republic, but he fails to draw the conclusion: the call for the dissolution of the National Assembly, a call that today concretizes the desire of the working masses to get rid of the bonapartist regime.

There is a certain ambiguity that, in our opinion, undercuts Comrade Yvetot's polemic with Victor Leduc. He criticizes Leduc for not specifying the conditions which the PSU would place on a governmental agreement or on support to a government of the CP and SP.

But that is precisely the point. Leduc is not talking about an "SP-CP government," but about a government of the Union of the Left, that is, a popular-front government. That is why we have a right to ask Yvetot why he does not clear up this confusion deliberately created by Leduc.

Revolutionists will give their support to any effective step on the way to a break with the bourgeoisie. The real question is how to give a conscious expression to the desire of the working class to bring an end to the government of the bourgeoisie, and to impose what it believes to be "its own government." This perspective can only be formulated on the basis of the political organizations (the CP and SP) in which the working class in its broad majority has entrusted its aspirations.

"A CP-SP government without ministers representing the bourgeois parties"—that is the axis for mobilizing the masses against Giscard and [French Premier] Barre. It is the concrete formulation of the demand for a break with the bourgeoisie; it represents a rejection of the Union of the Left.

The question of "relations" with a government of workers parties can only be posed in regard to a government of workers parties alone. A government of the CP and SP with the "Left" Radicals (and they are not, we repeat, a "splinter grouping," as Comrade Yvetot still says, but representatives in that government of the class interests of the exploiting bourgeoisie) is not a government of the SP and CP with a flaw that should be eliminated, but a counterrevolutionary apparatus erected against the working class.

Yvetot does not define a Union of the Left government as a popular-front government, that is, a counterrevolutionary apparatus, and it is from this that the ambiguity stems.

Unless one begins with the Trotskyist characterization of the popular front—and from the understanding that the Union of the Left is nothing other than a new rehash of the popular front—it is impossible to understand its function as an obstacle to the mass movement. That results—whether one wishes it or not—in

presenting the Union of the Left as a progressive stage that should not be shunned in a sectarian way.

In the June 16 issue of *Politique Hebdo*, Alain Krivine, a member of the Political



CHIRAC

Bureau of the LCR, had a discussion with a leader of the PSU. Speaking of the situation that would be created by a "victory of the left," he said: "For a certain time the illusion will persist that the government elected is the workers' government. . . . But, in any case, we don't think that the role of revolutionists will be to shout: 'Out with the government, long live workers power.'"¹²

He added: "I would note, to make myself clear, that it is not excluded that on a specific point we might support one or another initiative by the government, if it corresponded to a demand raised by the masses."

Without any ambiguity, this refers to a government of the Union of the Left. The stand of revolutionists in regard to such a government can only be to demand a break with the bourgeoisie, starting with the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the government: "Out with the capitalist ministers!"

However, when he spoke of contradic-

12. For an English translation of the text of this discussion, see *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, p. 1408.

tions that will ultimately develop between workers struggles and the program of the parties in the government, Krivine said further: "The emergence of these contradictions will lead to the first breaks with the program of the government parties, to the appearance of the first signposts pointing out a different road. This alternative will have credibility only when such a break assumes mass scope, that is, when these [workers] committees have become a mass phenomenon."

For Krivine, therefore, the perspective of an alternative to a popular-front government can only be opened when the committees become a mass phenomenon. And meanwhile, what should be done? What political struggle will give birth to and centralize these committees?

Is it a slander to say that in Krivine's view, until that time the only possibility would be to put pressure on the Union of the Left-Popular Front government to take "initiatives" corresponding to the demands of the masses?

Is it a slander to conclude from this that for Krivine, it was not therefore a question of fighting for a break with the bourgeoisie, in the concrete form of a break with the bourgeois parties present in the government? And, accordingly, that there cannot be a political axis centralizing these elements of dual power (the committees)?

Is it a slander to say that Krivine's position in that discussion in June leads to the acceptance of the framework of the popular front, an acceptance resembling the attitude of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left] toward the Popular Unity government in Chile?

We have noted, particularly in Yvetot's most recent article, various elements we consider positive.

But the discussion must continue and it must be clarified. Yvetot was indignant with the polemical formulations in *Informations Ouvrières*. If our skin were as sensitive as his, what a great deal we could say about the abuse and insults with which his Political Bureau colleague Michel Lequenne showered the OCI in the magazine *Critique Communiste*. However, in doing this, Lequenne had to emphasize an important point: that the split that occurred in the Fourth International between 1951 and 1953 was justified by principles, and that the Pabloite current was based on revisionist positions contrary to Trotskyism. That is what is most important to us. What do Lequenne's epithets matter?

We repeat, what is involved is not petty squabbles, but questions of major importance for the future of the workers movement in this country.

The policies of the CP and SP apparatuses, which run counter to the interests and aspirations of the workers, are reflected concretely in the presence of the "Left" Radical party, a bourgeois party, in the

coalition they formed. It is the presence of the "Left" Radicals that gives the Common Program its real meaning. The Radical party is the link of a chain that on one end binds the workers movement to bourgeois order, and on the other can be grasped by all the bourgeois formations. In this sense, the Union of the Left has no line of demarcation on the right. The leaders of the CP and SP have made this sufficiently clear.

But it must also broaden itself out on the "left." It needs a "left" cover in the form of supporters of a "popular front of struggle," of "critical support," etc.

An organization like the POUM [Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista—United Marxist Workers party] of Spain, which had some roots in the working class and which had the benefit of a revolutionary heritage and experience, was politically destroyed when it got enmeshed in the gears of the popular front.

With an orientation of "popular front of struggle," the Chilean MIR made easier the demoralization of the working class by the policies of the Popular Unity government.

These are decisive questions for the workers movement. They are also decisive questions for all the currents and organizations that claim adherence to the Fourth International. For as the program on which the Fourth International was founded states, "There is not and there cannot be a place for it in any of the People's Fronts."¹³

There is an irreducible incompatibility between Trotskyism—the program of proletarian revolution—and any adaptation, be it ever so "ambiguous," to the criminal policy of popular fronts.

In this regard, it should be noted that the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International and the OCI have several times proposed to the United Secretariat that an international discussion be opened, with no preconditions as to the agenda. In our view, the question of the Union of the Left commands attention as one of the necessary topics of this discussion.

The point of view put forward by Comrade Yvetot, particularly in his last article, represents a step forward in clarifying these questions. The conclusions, however, remain to be drawn.

Everyone understands the political importance of the coming municipal elections. But in cities of more than 30,000 inhabitants—the places where the vote will be the most important—the CP and SP are going to impose slates of the Union of the Left; that is, class collaborationist popular-front slates.

Will the LCR then say that after all, voting "Union of the Left" is the same as voting CP-SP, thus erasing the class line without which the call for a CP-SP government without bourgeois ministers

has no meaning? Or will it fight to educate the workers vanguard on the way to break with the bourgeoisie, that is, breaking with the Popular Front-Union of the Left, and to help the masses push aside, through their own experience, the counterrevolutionary obstacle of the popular front? When Yvetot denounces the "opportunist danger" represented by the PSU and the "sectarian danger" embodied in *Lutte Ouvrière*, how can he reconcile a

consistent struggle for the line of a CP-SP government with an attempt to set up "united slates" for the municipal elections?

If on that occasion the LCR shows without ambiguity that it will not be associated in any form whatsoever with the chain that links Leduc to Nungesser, we will not be the last to express our satisfaction. □

The Union of the Left and Our Tasks

By the Political Bureau of the LCR

[The following article, signed by the LCR Political Bureau, appeared in the September 22 issue of *Rouge*.]

* * *

A debate has opened in the entire far-left press on the Union of the Left, what it represents, and the tasks of revolutionists in relation to it. This is not an academic debate, but a discussion of differences that result in different axes of struggle and different demands.

For example, the comrades of *Lutte Ouvrière* think we are demonstrating our opportunism when we speak of the need for a CP-SP government. In the view of the comrades of *Révolution*, the question must be looked at differently now that they have termed the Socialist party a bourgeois party.

Finally, there remains the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, which printed in issue No. 766 [September 8-15] of *Informations Ouvrières* a lengthy answer to an article by our Comrade Yvetot. In their view, the Union of the Left amounts to much the same as the Popular Front of 1936.

It is in the context of this debate that the Political Bureau of the LCR is writing to clarify the position of the Ligue on this question.

Is Union of Left a Popular Front?

Apart from the dispute over terminology, this seems to be an empty question, since we say the Union of the Left is a class-collaborationist front, while the others answer that every class-collaborationist front is a popular front!

In fact, the real question is the following: How does the class collaboration of the major workers parties become clear before the eyes of the masses?

The OCI mechanically and loudly repeats quotations from the analysis in our "classics," independently of the concrete historical situation.

For example, before the First World War, the Russian reformists (the Mensheviks) had a socialist program close to that of the Bolsheviks. But when the revolution of

1917 broke out, at a time when the Mensheviks were a majority of the working class, these same Mensheviks said that this program was not on the agenda, and that state power should go to the main bourgeois party (the Cadets), so as to limit the revolution to bourgeois-democratic reforms.

Similarly, at the beginning of the 1930's, when the Communist party was in an ultraleft period and had not yet made the popular-front turn, it called for the expropriation of capital and "soviets everywhere," at every instance and regardless of the situation. But when the general strike of 1936 actually placed soviets on the order of the day, the CP said that the struggle should be limited to the defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism, and that power should go to the Radical party, the main bourgeois formation of the Third Republic.

In these two situations, the demand made by the revolutionists on the reformists, for a break with the bourgeois parties so as to put in practice the socialist program, had an enormous impact on the ranks of those parties. The Russian reformist leaders, the Mensheviks and the Social-Revolutionaries, saw their ranks go over to the Bolsheviks. They complained, "The Bolsheviks have taken over our program."

There is nothing similar in the situation

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13. *Transitional Program*, p. 111.

in France. First, there is no qualitative difference between the program of the SP, the program of the CP, and the Common Program of the SP and CP that was signed later by the small bourgeois grouping, the Left Radicals. Accordingly, it is impossible to say seriously that the SP and CP had to make significant programmatic concessions to the so-called Left Radicals. To the contrary, even the SP's signing of the Common Program appeared to numerous worker militants as a step to the left in which the SP thereby agreed to a lasting alliance with the CP.

Furthermore, if it is true that the Left Radicals are a bridge to the main bourgeois parties, to say, as the OCI does, that in a government of the left the Left Radicals would be "the representatives in that government of the class interests of the exploiting bourgeoisie," is to pass over in silence the fact that the main representative of bourgeois interests in such a government will be Mitterrand himself, with the support and collaboration of Georges Marchais.

The Union of the Left, whose program is the program of the reformist workers parties and in which the Left Radicals are only a nod toward the main bourgeois parties, cannot be analyzed in the same way as the "historic compromise" of the Italian Communist party. The price for that alliance with the Christian Democracy, the main bourgeois party in power for thirty years, was the CP's renunciation of the slightest anticapitalist measures.

CP government without representatives of the bourgeois parties.

In face of the development of workers control and self-defense, they call for



GISCARD D'ESTAING

"Republican order." That is why we today call on the workers to refuse to defer their struggle to electoral timetables. That is why we today call for their organizations to unite in action against the austerity plan.

In this way, we show the workers both the road to getting rid of Giscard and imposing an SP-CP government, as well as the tasks this government must carry out if it is not to be a government that simply manages the crises of capitalism, but a government that opens the road to workers power.

To be sure, the immense majority of the workers who have confidence in the SP and CP will see this as a form of pressure against their leaderships. But for our part, we will not develop any illusions and will refuse to support an SP-CP government that applies the Common Program (with or without the Left Radicals).

Opportunism in Name of Great Principles?

The OCI on the other hand thinks that independently of all programmatic considerations, "the call for a CP-SP government, without representatives of the bourgeois parties" represents "the line of the workers united front." They further believe

that this leads to a government that, in their own words, "cannot be characterized as a 'workers government'!"

Is it possible to make sense of this? Only if the workers united front is defined as unity of the workers parties on no matter what programmatic basis, so long as it includes no bourgeois party or grouping!

That amounts to reducing the united front to the unity of the reformist leaderships! And it shows how the most rigorous demands for a break with the Left Radicals end up masking the most spineless criticism of the reformists themselves, particularly the Socialist party.

During the prerevolutionary crisis in Portugal before November 25, we saw where this opportunist line of limiting the break with the bourgeoisie solely to a break with the bourgeois parties leads. The OCI raised the formula of an "SP-CP government led by Soares, without the military and without representatives of the bourgeois parties, responsible to the Constituent Assembly." And since the SP had also demanded that the military leave the government and called for sovereignty to the Constituent Assembly, the OCI discovered a thousand virtues in the Portuguese SP, including that "it has never broken a strike (*Informations Ouvrières*, No. 720)."

In a situation like that, a break with the bourgeoisie implied not only a break with the military hierarchy and the bourgeois parties, but also and above all support to the emerging organs of dual power (workers committees, workers commissions, and so forth) and their strengthening, centralization, and coordination.

But "what political struggle will give birth to and centralize these committees?" the OCI asks. They answer, by "fighting for a break with the bourgeoisie, in the concrete form of a break with the bourgeois parties present in the government." Thus the committees will not be centralized by the demand for the extension of workers control, the elaboration of a national plan, and the centralization of self-defense, but by the demand that the Left Radicals get out!

Such an orientation amounts to making the mass movement dependent on the unity of the reformist leaderships, to transforming the revolutionary party from a party of class action to an oppositionist party concentrating its fire on those same leaderships.

From their condemnation of the barricades in 1968, to their total passivity during the repression of the soldiers movement, and their refusal to participate in the Lip march, the OCI has shown in practice its dependence on the reformist leaderships.

Tomorrow, when Mitterrand, like Soares, will demand the end of "anarcho-populism," the end of the "parallel power of the committees," and "respect for Republican legality represented by the National Assembly," will we see the OCI

The Tasks of Revolutionists

To determine the tasks and demands that will enable the masses to go forward, it is essential to analyze concretely the way they view the government. And, from that point of view, it cannot be said that there is a qualitative difference between an SP-CP-Left Radical government applying the Common Program and a CP-SP government applying the Common Program.

In both cases, the workers will have initial illusions that it is their government, when in fact it will simply be a bourgeois government in disguise.

Under the illusion that this government is their own, the workers will want to go forward. But they will confront the obstacle of class collaboration by their traditional parties. Under the guise of respect for the constitution of 1958, Mitterrand has begun saying that Giscard should be kept as president. That is why we today denounce their commitment to respect the Gaullist constitution and why we raise the perspective of a constituent assembly. Mitterrand and Marchais explain that 51 percent is not enough and will seek to broaden the government to the right.

That is why we today denounce the alliance with the Left Radicals and are preparing the workers to demand an SP-

adamantly demanding that the Left Radicals leave, so as to call for an SP-CP parliamentary majority?

Such an attitude pushes the OCI "into parliamentarism," as Charles Berg acknowledged in a self-critical article that appeared in *Informations Ouvrières* before

the last OCI congress.¹⁴ The article apparently had no impact, since it is in the name of "respect for the rule of democracy" (sic) that the OCI has just launched a call for the dissolution of the National Assembly.

14. *Informations Ouvrières* No. 726, November 13-20, 1975.

Some Decisive Questions in an Ongoing Debate

[The following article appeared in the September 29-October 6 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*.]

* * *

Under the headline, "The Union of the Left and Our Tasks," in the September 22 issue of *Rouge*, the LCR Political Bureau clarified its position on what it refers to as a debate that is unfolding in the "entire far-left press."

The OCI has the right to claim the lion's share. It is incontestable that the LCR Political Bureau's main polemic is with what they present as the positions of the OCI. However, the direct references and quotes that are supposed to present the positions of the OCI as it defines them itself amount to no more than a few sentences.

Rouge's introduction points out that *Informations Ouvrières* No. 766 published "a lengthy answer to an article by our Comrade Yvetot." At the request of the LCR Political Bureau, the same issue of *Informations Ouvrières* also published Comrade Yvetot's article.

To clarify the debate, we believe that by the same token this article should appear in *Rouge*, and we are of the opinion that this request will be granted.

In our view, the requirements for a serious discussion are undermined by presenting as a quotation something that is actually only an interpretation (in this case, false) of the positions of those with whom one is debating.

We learned, for example, in regard to Portugal, that "since the SP had also demanded that the military leave the government and called for sovereignty to the Constituent Assembly, the OCI discovered a thousand virtues in the Portuguese SP, including that 'it has never broken a strike' (*Informations Ouvrières*, No. 720)."

The following is what was written in issue No. 720 of *Informations Ouvrières* (the issue of Thursday, October 2, 1975) in an article on the formation of the Azevedo government, showing that the Socialist party occupied a preponderant position in it:

"Can the rise of the Portuguese Socialist party, the most important workers party of the country, into first place in the Sixth Government change in any way the fundamental facts of the situation?

"The masses have given their support to the SP because they see in it the only workers party that has not attacked their strikes, that has defended their commissions of elected delegates, that opposed housebreaking the labor movement through the establishment of a single union federation tied to the state, that resisted rather than endorsed the attacks against the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly (against the pro-MFA¹⁵ parties), and that opposed the attempts to establish a military dictatorship."

It is clear that what the LCR Political Bureau attributes, in the form of a quote, to *Informations Ouvrières* has only a very distant relationship, if that, with the actual text.

A number of other questions are taken up in the LCR Political Bureau statement, and without any specific references.

If this discussion is to be a serious debate, isn't it time to give it an organized form? On our part, we are ready to circulate in the OCI all the documents on the Union of the Left that the leadership of the LCR sends us. And naturally, LCR members in turn should be able to learn the positions of the OCI through the circulation of its documents.

Today, in the limits of this article, it would be best to narrow the focus to the real questions, to dot some of the "i's."

Is Union of Left a Popular Front?

Is the Union of the Left a popular front? The LCR Political Bureau answers that this seems to be an empty question, since we say the Union of the Left is a class-collaborationist front, while the others answer that every class-collaborationist front is a popular front!"

We cannot take responsibility for the "others," but as far as the OCI is concerned, we have never said that every governmental coalition based on class collaboration through the presence of workers parties in a bourgeois government is a popular front.

The popular front is a specific form of class collaboration, whose special character resides first of all in the fact that the reformist and Stalinist workers parties join it as the first line of defense of

15. Movimento das Forças Armadas (Armed Forces Movement).

bourgeois order, and that it is the workers parties (or party) that hold a predominant place.

A governmental solution of the popular-front type is always a solution of crisis (Spain and France in 1936, Chile in 1970). The formation of a popular-front government is not the product of the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. It is the counterrevolutionary response of the bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic leaderships of the workers movement, subordinated to the bourgeoisie, to a situation of crisis created by mass mobilization of a revolutionary character. It is a last resort.

It is in this sense that the founding program of the Fourth International declared: "People's Fronts' on the one hand—fascism on the other; these are the last political resources of imperialism in the struggle against the proletarian revolution."

The popular-front government is viewed by the masses as "their" government precisely because of the essential role played by the parties to which they have entrusted their aspirations, and because the presence of the representatives of the bourgeoisie, given its form, inevitably appears to be a secondary matter.

Yes or no, is the Union of the Left a scheme of that sort, today utilized to perpetuate the final agony of the Fifth Republic, tomorrow serving as the means to provide the ruling class with "a last political resource" on the governmental level? The question is neither subtle nor "empty." It is simple and it is politically decisive. We have noted Comrade Yvetot's ambiguity in this regard. The answer of the LCR Political Bureau, despite its contradictions, is unequivocal. It is a "no" that they try to pass off as having no great importance, since in any event they are opposed to class collaboration.

'Splinter Groups' of No Importance?

The LCR Political Bureau takes particular exception to our supposedly barricading ourselves behind quotations, cited without regard to time or context. But in point of fact they are the ones who are hiding behind abstract generalities. The aim of our references to the "classics" was not to lump different situations together, but to show by example that from the point of view of its function as well as its basic political relations, the Union of the Left is a popular front par excellence.

It is as much a popular front as the one in Spain, that "alliance with the shadow of the bourgeoisie" Trotsky spoke of (pardon us for resorting to a quotation!). As is well known, he attached great importance to participation in the Spanish popular front by bourgeois parties that the LCR Political Bureau would have no doubt characterized as "splinter groups of no importance."

Furthermore, in seeking to attribute to the Union of the Left virtues it does not have, the LCR Political Bureau statement

becomes entangled in multiple contradictions. We learn that the programs of the SP and CP themselves are not "qualitatively" different from the Common Program and that it is therefore "impossible to say seriously that the SP and CP had to make significant concessions to the so-called Left Radicals." To be sure they did nothing of the kind—they found they were all in agreement on a bourgeois program.

The LCR Political Bureau also states that to view the Left Radicals as representatives of the exploiting bourgeoisie in a government of the Union of the Left is "to pass over in silence the fact that the main representative of bourgeois interests in such a government will be Mitterrand himself, with the support and collaboration of Georges Marchais."

Apart from the fact that Georges Marchais will not play a secondary role, but will carry equal political weight with Mitterrand (no minor detail), who would argue against this obvious fact? And what is new about it? Was Léon Blum less of a representative of the interests of the bourgeoisie when he presided over the Popular Front government?

Isn't it a fact that the allegiance to the interests of the bourgeoisie reflected in the Common Program is concretized by the presence in the government of a bourgeois party, the living incarnation of the bourgeois character of the Common Program? Isn't demanding that the parties that represent the working masses break with the representatives of the bourgeoisie the way to show the working masses how to fight for a workers government?

The LCR Political Bureau then declares: "The Union of the Left, whose program is the program of the reformist workers parties . . . cannot be analyzed in the same way as the 'historic compromise' of the Italian Communist party. The price for that alliance with the Christian Democracy, the main bourgeois party in power for thirty years, was the CP's renunciation of the slightest anticapitalist measures." No one denies that there is a difference, and a big one.

The aim of the "historic compromise" is to postpone the crisis that would require resorting to the "last political resource," the popular front. But if the difference was that the Italian Communist party made programmatic concessions in renouncing any anticapitalist measures, should we then conclude that since the French CP and SP have not done so, the Common Program may have anticapitalist aspects?

Turning Lead Into Gold

Can anyone make sense of this, the LCR Political Bureau asks, accusing the OCI of being unaware that what is important is the Common Program, not the presence of the Left Radicals. Nonetheless, if one reads *Rouge* the following day, things begin to become clear. In an editorial, also signed by the LCR Political

Bureau, we learn that "in addition to the nationalization of ten big companies, the Common Program provides for enabling the workers to propose new ones. Why not begin discussing that right now, lengthening the list of big factories to be nationalized without compensation?"

This is how lead is transformed into gold, and how a bourgeois program becomes a springboard for anticapitalist measures. And these lines were written by those who, the day before, accused us of being ready to support a government that carried out the Common Program!

The heart of the matter becomes clear when the LCR Political Bureau talks about the "tasks of revolutionists." It writes: "To determine the tasks and demands that will enable the masses to go forward, it is essential to analyze concretely the way they view the government [our emphasis]. And, from that point of view, it cannot be said that there is a qualitative difference between an SP-CP-Left Radical government applying the Common Program and a CP-SP government applying the Common Program."

There we have an essential difference that goes back to the questions that were at the origin of the crisis of the Fourth International, of the split of 1951-53. We do not take the illusions of the masses as our starting point, although we do take into account the progressive element buried under the crust of those illusions.

We begin with the class interests of the proletariat. As Trotsky said in a discussion on the Transitional Program, "the scientific character of our activity consists in the fact that we adapt our program not to political conjunctures or the thought or mood of the masses as this mood is today, but we adapt our program to the objective situation as it is represented by the economic class structure of society."¹⁶

The masses may view equally as "their" government both a popular-front regime and a government of only the SP and CP. But revolutionists cannot for a single instant confuse a government comprised solely of the workers organizations, which should be called upon to break with the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois state, and a popular-front government, where that demand must necessarily begin by calling for a break with the representatives of the bourgeois parties present in the government—raising the demand, "Out with the capitalist ministers!"

That is the revolutionary policy, the policy of Trotskyism. Contrary to what the LCR Political Bureau says, the OCI has never suggested that it would support a government of the SP and CP based on the Common Program!

The 'Best' and the 'Worst'

The superficial radicalism of saying that

16. *Transitional Program*, p. 141.

an SP-CP government without the "Left" Radicals would be no "better" than a Union of the Left government has the consequence of viewing the Union of the Left as no "worse." That leads to an adaptation to the real policy of the CP and SP leaderships as expressed in the Common Program, which is not to govern by themselves but together with the political parties of the bourgeoisie.

The logic of this position is to present the Union of the Left as a united front of workers organizations in a corrupted form, and the Union of the Left government as a CP-SP government with a minor "flaw."

Krivine's proposal in *Politique Hebdo*, which we have taken up in *Informations Ouvrières* No. 766, is clarified by the following passage in the LCR Political Bureau statement:

"But 'what political struggle will give birth to and centralize these committees?' the OCI asks. They answer, by 'fighting for a break with the bourgeoisie, in the concrete form of a break with the bourgeois parties present in the government.' Thus the committees will not be centralized by the demand for the extension of workers control, the elaboration of a national plan, and the centralization of self-defense, but by the demand that the Left Radicals get out!"

It is a caricature of the OCI's position to say that it reduces the question of presoviet-type bodies to "the demand that the Left Radicals get out." What the OCI says—and this is a basic point for all who call themselves Marxists—is that a revolutionary crisis poses the question of power, of the state, and thus of the government. Moreover, without a governmental objective counterposed to the government of the bourgeoisie, the working class cannot centralize its fight and its forms of organization against the bourgeoisie.

The position taken by the LCR Political Bureau evades this key question. It leads to accepting a popular-front government, while the masses supposedly undergo "their experience" without a struggle for power. This can only lead them to the road of disorientation.

Such a political orientation, if followed by a vanguard, would have tragic consequences. It is the road to defeat, the road that was followed by the Chilean MIR between 1970 and 1973, to cite one example.

These questions are too crucial for anyone who claims adherence to Trotskyism to refuse to discuss on a national and international scale. □

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