

Intercontinental Press

Africa

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the Americas

Vol. 15, No. 4

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February 7, 1977

75¢



News Line

LONDON, January 14: Tim Wohlforth addressing rally of 1,150 that condemned Healyite slander campaign against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and other leaders of the American SWP.

Others on platform, from left, are: Ernest Mandel, George Novack, Tariq Ali, a translator, Pierre Lambert, Betty Hamilton, and Tamara Deutscher. Also on platform but not shown is Harry Wicks.

London Rally Condemns Healyite Frame-up Campaign

Carter's Offer to End Nuclear Testing

Sadat Blames Mass Upsurge on 'Communists'

Energy Trusts Cook Up Gas Shortage

The Pacific's New Island of Oil

Bandaranaike Threatens Emergency Rule

How CIA Poisoned Cuban Livestock

The First Ten Days of López Portillo

Review: 'Canada—Accomplice in Apartheid'

Spain—Strikes Sweep Country in Reply to Rightist Murders

Carter's Offer to End Nuclear Tests

By Michael Baumann

Using a few well-calculated sentences, Jimmy Carter captured world headlines January 25, with commentators hailing him as a man of peace. The pope, for example, greeted his fine words as "an immense service to the world."

In his first interview as president, the new head of American imperialism announced that he favored a halt to all nuclear testing "instantly and completely."

Furthermore, he added, this aim was to be part of a broader program to seek "reductions" in the spread of nuclear weapons, with the "goal" ultimately of banning them altogether.

The favorable reaction is understandable. It is well known that the Pentagon already possesses enough nuclear weapons to destroy all life on the planet many times over. Further testing to develop still more destructive weapons is pointless, even from the insane viewpoint of the Pentagon.

By renouncing new test explosions, Carter would give up nothing in the way of military advantage, while scoring a tremendous propaganda coup.

However, the sincerity of the new commander-in-chief in making this offer is open to question.

Is he also prepared to make available to the world the information obtained in previous U.S. tests so as to permit the People's Republic of China, for example, to forego repeating them?

Is the Pentagon, the world's largest arms merchant, prepared to halt weapons sales to its client regimes around the world?

Is Carter prepared to take the initiative and give up further nuclear testing on a unilateral basis?

Is Carter prepared to set an example by beginning to dismantle the Pentagon's nuclear stockpile?



CARTER

The answers to these questions were quickly provided, as White House spokesmen "clarified" Carter's intentions.

First, not a word was said about publishing the findings of American nuclear research. And on the question of arms sales, Carter himself ruled out a "moratorium."

Second, White House aides hastened to state that Carter does not envision any initiative by Washington to halt nuclear testing. The answer is "unequivocally no," a spokesman said, "we are not advocating a unilateral halt to the testing."

An instructive statement by White House press secretary Jody Powell made clear Carter's views on nuclear disarmament: "Any implication that we are on the verge" of a big reduction in the Pentagon's nuclear missiles, he said, "is incorrect and preposterous."

Still, the impact of the initial headlines remained. The intention behind a publicity operation like Carter's is simple. Trotsky explained it long ago in reference to Hitler's "peace offensive" in May 1933, a

few months after the Nazis seized power.

If you expect to meet a madman with an ax, Trotsky pointed out, but instead find a man with a pistol hidden in his pocket, you cannot help but feel a sense of relief. Unfortunately, that does not prevent the pistol from being more dangerous than the ax.

In Carter's case, the aim is to divert attention from the Pentagon's new war budget, set at a total of \$121.3 billion by the outgoing Ford administration and expected to be passed almost untouched by Carter and the Democratic-controlled Congress. "Carter aides say their changes in this year's [arms] budget will be relatively modest. . . ." the *Wall Street Journal* reported January 18.

Although Washington already possesses 8,900 "strategic nuclear warheads" and 7,000 "intermediate warheads," the new budget calls for spending \$35 billion on *additional weapons* alone, an increase of 25 percent over the previous year. This amount, it is worth noting, is three times that spent by the federal government on welfare.

The \$35 billion—give or take a few cost overruns to further line the pockets of munitions manufacturers—provides for the following additions to the Pentagon's arsenal:

- 26 warships.
- 697 military aircraft.
- 3,000 tanks and armored vehicles.
- 45,000 missiles.

In furtherance of Carter's "peaceful" aims, the Trident nuclear submarine, a particular favorite of the Pentagon, is given high priority.

A report in the January 18 *Washington Post* describes this vessel. The submarine "will be able to launch 192 nuclear warheads at different targets from an undersea platform almost as long as two football fields and as high as a four-story office building. It has been called the most expensive weapons system ever built. The new Pentagon budget includes \$1.7 billion to build two of the giant submarines plus \$1.1 billion for missiles to arm them."

A report in the January 28 *Washington Post* explains further: "One Trident missile, with 1.4 megatons in its multiple warhead, would pack 70 times the explosive power of the U.S. atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945."

Other specifics in the Carter war budget include the following:

- \$294 million to develop a giant new intercontinental ballistic missile estimated to be three times more powerful than its predecessor.
- \$1.7 billion to develop the B-1 bomber, of which 244 are eventually scheduled to be built, at a cost of \$22.9 billion.
- \$2.3 billion in military-related nuclear programs, largely production and *testing* of atomic warheads.

Carter's actual plans are spelled out in

Coming Soon . . .

- Alan Jones: "Why There Are Fewer Strikes in Britain Today."
- George Novack: "Timpanaro's Defense of Materialism."
- Jurgen Fuchs: "My Interrogation by the East German Political Police."
- Jiro Kurosawa: "The Lockheed Scandal and the Japanese Election."

this munitions shopping list. His claims to be seeking to avert a nuclear holocaust merit careful attention for what they really are, a sly adaptation of the old diplomatic maxim—peace-mongering is the best cover in preparing for war. □

How CIA Poisoned Cuban Livestock

Two years after Richard Nixon announced amid great publicity that Washington was renouncing the use of biological and chemical warfare, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) provided anti-Castro terrorists with a swine fever virus that forced the killing of 500,000 Cuban pigs.

The latest account of the CIA's criminal activity was revealed in part by a counter-revolutionary Cuban exile disgruntled by the government's investigation of terrorist activities carried out by his group in Florida.

Reporters Drew Fetherston and John Cummings, who broke the story in *Newsday*, a Long Island, New York, newspaper, also cited testimony by the American intelligence agent who gave the virus to the Cuban exiles.

According to this agent, the operation began early in 1971 at Fort Gulick, an army base in the Panama Canal Zone where the CIA operates a paramilitary training center for career personnel and mercenaries. The unnamed agent was given a sealed container filled with African swine fever virus—a highly contagious organism that infects only pigs.

The container was eventually transferred to Cuban territory near the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay near the end of March 1971. Six weeks later, the Western Hemisphere had the first outbreak of African swine fever in its history.

The virus, which can be transmitted rapidly through the water or food supply, could have easily gone undetected for months. As it was, 500,000 pigs had to be slaughtered to prevent the spread of the epidemic. The outbreak was labeled the "most alarming event" of 1971 by the UN Food and Agricultural Organization.

Until the article by Fetherston and Cummings appeared, the mystery of how the disease had come to Cuba remained unsolved. Had the Cubans thought of blaming the CIA, they surely would have been accused of paranoia.

An investigation into the incident is being carried out by the Senate Intelligence Committee. "In a case like this, though," an "intelligence source" in Miami explained to Fetherston and Cummings, "they would always give them (CIA officials in Washington) plausible deniability." □

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Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Editor: Joseph Hansen.

Contributing Editors: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

Editorial Staff: Michael Baumann, Gerry Foley, David Frankel, Ernest Harsch, Judy White.

Business Manager: Pat Galligan.

Copy Editors: Jon Britton, Fred Murphy, Sally Rhett.

Technical Staff: Paul Deveze, Ellen Fischer, Larry Ingram, James M. Morgan, Earl Williams.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December, first in January, and third and fourth weeks in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material stands on the program of the Fourth International.

Paris Office: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guéméné, 75004, Paris, France.

To Subscribe: For one year send \$24 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail.

For airmail subscriptions in Europe: Write to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL. In Australia: Write to Pathfinder Press, P.O. Box 151, Glebe 2037. In New Zealand: Write to Socialist Books, P.O. Box 1663, Wellington.

Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Varick Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

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London Rally Condemns Healyite Frame-up Campaign

By Jim Atkinson

LONDON—About 1,150 socialists packed a public meeting held here January 14, to express solidarity with Joseph Hansen and George Novack, the two veteran leaders of the American Socialist Workers party (SWP) who have been made victims of a twenty-one month frame-up campaign by the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP), a declining British ultraleft sect led by Gerry Healy.

In an effort to divert the WRP ranks and the satellite groups in his crumbling "International Committee" from considering the political roots of the impasse they have now reached, the Healyite leaders have campaigned against Hansen and Novack, often on a daily basis, accusing them of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination and of being "accomplices of the GPU," the Kremlin's secret police. These slanders have been refuted in detail by the victims and condemned by a wide range of tendencies on both the British and the international left.

The January 14 meeting showed that the WRP's frame-up campaign has succeeded merely in increasing the sect's isolation and disrepute in the left-wing movement.

The rally was a memorable occasion, bringing together on the same platform—despite political differences on certain questions—some of the leading figures of world Trotskyism: George Novack; Ernest Mandel, a leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Pierre Lambert, a leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI); and Tim Wohlforth, a member of the SWP National Committee who, until 1974, had been secretary of the Workers League, the American Healyite group.

Tariq Ali, a member of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, chaired the meeting. In opening the meeting, he explained that the speakers were there to express their "solidarity with those who have been made the victims of the most horrendous slanders we have seen in the Trotskyist movement for a long, long time."

Draped across the front of the hall was a large, red banner with the slogan "For Workers' Democracy, Against Frame-Ups and Slanders."

In addition to the speakers, several other veteran militants were seated on the stage of the auditorium to demonstrate their condemnation of Healy's slanders. They

included Betty Hamilton, a founding member of the WRP's predecessor, the Socialist Labour League, and of the International Committee in 1953, who has been active in the revolutionary Marxist movement for more than fifty years; Harry Wicks, a founder of the British Trotskyist movement who has been an active socialist since the twenties; and Tamara Deutscher, the companion of the late Isaac Deutscher, the author of the well-known biography of Leon Trotsky.

Michel Pablo, a leader of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to attend. He sent a message of solidarity which was read to the audience.

Expressions of solidarity were sent by numerous individuals and groups on the left, including the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; the International Marxist Group; the League for Socialist Action; the *Bulletin* group; the British Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; and six members of the editorial board of the prestigious Marxist bimonthly *New Left Review*.

Interestingly, Healy himself decided to attend, too, making an apparently staged entry shortly after Ali had opened the meeting, "to listen to himself being anathematised for two hours," as Colin Cross remarked in a front-page story on the meeting published in the January 16 issue of the *Observer*. Cross noted that "Mr Healy sat pink-faced, grim-jawed and expressionless." Around him was a small group of WRP members.

The first to take the microphone was Tim Wohlforth. He began by rebutting Healy's contention that an international commission of inquiry ought to be set up to hear his charges against Hansen and Novack—two militants whose lifelong devotion to the workers' movement was sufficient repudiation of Healy's vile slanders. "The only kind of inquiry that we need, really need, is an inquiry into how it can be that an organization which began and started out in the struggle against Stalinism, in the struggle for Trotskyism, has ended up going over to the methods of Stalinism."

The WRP's slanders did not affect Hansen and Novack alone, Wohlforth stressed. The blows of the WRP, he said, "are directed against, not this or that individual, but against Trotskyism."

Wohlforth went on to describe his personal experiences with Healy while secretary of the Workers League, explain-

ing how Healy had used the device of a manufactured spy scare in 1974 to prevent criticism of emerging policies inside the League and to drive him and Nancy Fields out of the League's Central Committee.

Later that year, Wohlforth went on, Healy expelled Alan Thornett and 200 other members of the WRP just before a WRP conference. With the expulsion of the Thornett group, Wohlforth noted, Healy lost the bulk of the WRP's working-class cadres. "Because they just couldn't carry the absurdities of the line of the WRP into the living struggles of the workers in the factories. And they suggested that they discuss it. . . . and then they got out, chucked out before a conference."

Wohlforth explained that Healy could not cope politically with the growth of the Fourth International or the crisis facing the WRP and the International Committee. To wall off his dwindling number of supporters from the influence of critical ideas, Wohlforth said, Healy saw no alternative but to label his opponents as spies and cops.

Wohlforth stressed that Healy's spy-scare methods did nothing to defend the security of the Trotskyist movement. By contrast, he said, the SWP had struck a blow for the whole working class internationally by launching its path-breaking lawsuit against the FBI and the CIA. Unlike the WRP, the SWP had thereby demonstrated in practice its real concern for the security of the workers movement from spies and infiltrators.

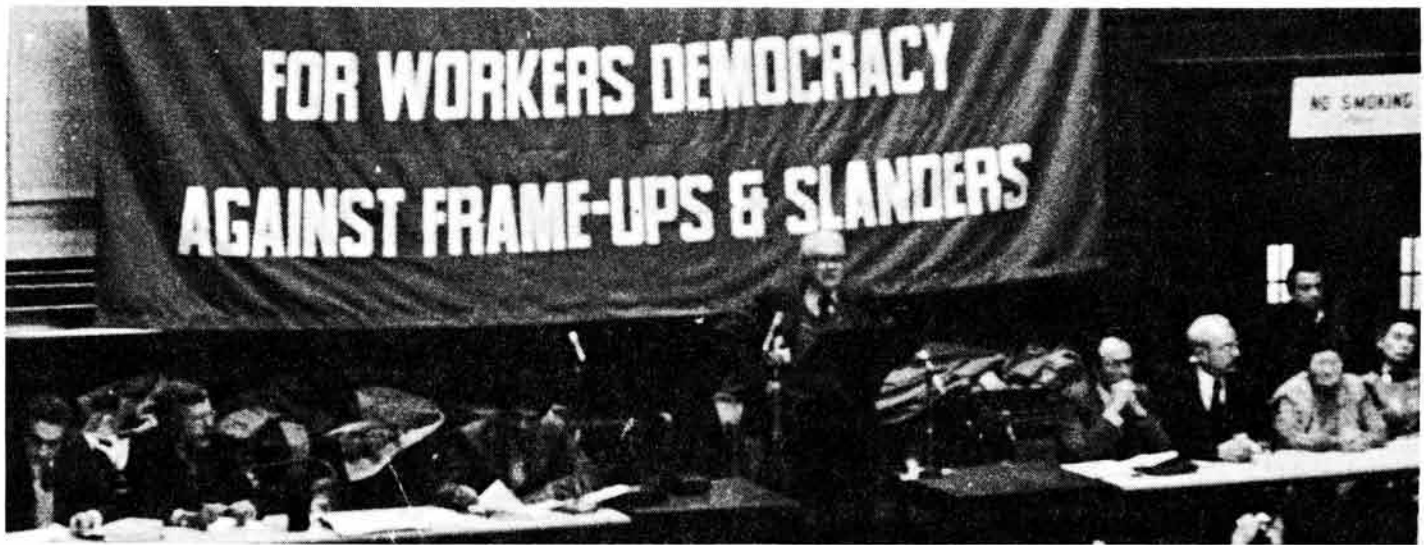
Wohlforth concluded by saying that his participation as a speaker at the rally was "the proudest moment in my life."

Lambert followed up Wohlforth by saying that Healy's campaign discredited Trotskyism and played into the hands of the ruling class and the Stalinists. "Gerry Healy and Marxism have very little in common," he said.

Lambert told the audience that Healy's methods were akin to those used by Stalin. Had Healy forgotten, Lambert asked, that the Left Opposition was founded to defend workers democracy? Did Healy not remember that the privileged, counterrevolutionary caste seized power in the Soviet Union by crushing workers democracy?

In Lambert's opinion, Healy's use of lies and amalgams to frame up political opponents gave succour to the Kremlin at a time when it is challenged by a new opposition fighting for workers democracy in the Soviet Union.

Loud and prolonged applause greeted



Skip Ball/Intercontinental Press

George Novack at podium of London meeting January 14. Others on platform included in photo are (from left to right) Ernest Mandel,

Tim Wohlforth, Tariq Ali, a translator, Pierre Lambert, Betty Hamilton, and Tamara Deutscher.

Novack as he rose to speak. Novack started by explaining the role he had played forty years ago, as national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, to get Trotsky out of house arrest in Norway to political asylum in Mexico, and in the Dewey Commission, which successfully exposed Stalin's frame-ups before world public opinion. But, Novack said, his record as a militant in the struggle against Stalinism went back even further than that. The first article he had written for the *Militant*, the American Trotskyist paper, in 1934, had polemicized against the zig-zags of Stalinist policy.

Novack described the technique of the big lie which Healy had used against him and Hansen. You let loose a lie, he said, blow it up to incredible proportions, reiterate it ceaselessly and hope that gullible people without access to the truth will swallow it whole.

Slander, Novack said, was a weapon of all kinds of reactionaries. Kerensky, for example, had used it to brand Lenin and Trotsky as agents of German imperialism. Now Healy had, he said, "descended into the sewer of slander." Having fought against frame-ups for almost half a century, Novack said he detested them as "the worst sort of moral abomination."

Like Wohlforth, Novack contrasted Healy's slanderous campaign with the work done by the SWP to expose the activities of the CIA and the FBI. This, he told the crowd, had succeeded in forcing the courts to order the FBI to halt its surveillance of the American Trotskyist movement and withdraw its agents from the SWP.

Novack made a special plea to supporters of Healy in the audience. Have you ever wondered, he asked, how it is that large numbers of workers in the Soviet

Union and China accept the lies fed to them by their governments as the truth?

Healy's frame-up, he told them, lacked even the semblance of plausibility. How could it be, he asked, that American Trotskyists could have led a double life for nearly forty years with nothing whatever to gain?

Mandel, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, opened his speech by stressing that the meeting had not been called to defend Hansen and Novack. They did not need to be defended, he said, against that "little rascal," Healy. It was the Fourth International that was under attack from Healy's antics, he said. Healy's absurd spy scares and slanders were discrediting Trotskyism and even boomeranged against his own organization, so long as the WRP—"for reasons which are unclear"—still calls itself Trotskyist.

Healy aped the methods of Stalin and Hitler, Mandel said. But, if the Fourth International was not defeated by Stalin and Hitler, it would not be stopped by a "tin-pot tyrant like Gerry Healy."

Mandel said that Healy's slanders came at a time when the Fourth International was sinking stronger roots than ever in the class struggle throughout the world. In Peru, he said, fifteen trade unions had protested the police murder of a Trotskyist student in November. Labour MPs, he went on, had been obliged to demand the release of Tariq Ali, who had recently been detained in Pakistan.

In France, Mandel said, the OCI had played a major part in the campaign which finally forced the Soviet bureaucracy to release Leonid Plyushch. And in Spain, five factories had gone on strike when the police arrested more than 150 Spanish Trotskyists a few weeks ago. The mobilizations were so powerful, Mandel

said, that the regime was forced to rapidly free them. "It is at the moment of this big historical turn, when we have become recognized and accepted as a genuine part of the working class in the international working-class movement," Mandel said, pointing towards Healy, "that such a fool comes around and says No! Start to look for agents under your bed because they have agents everywhere. . . ."

Mandel concluded by stressing that the Fourth International would not reciprocate the sectarianism of the WRP. A mass revolutionary international, he said, will include people from many political backgrounds. Militants from the WRP who broke with Healy's foul methods could play their part too.

At the end of Mandel's speech, Healy rose from his seat, waving a handbill, while WRP members yelled that he be allowed to speak. Ali, reiterating points he had made at the beginning of the meeting, explained that the rally was a demonstration of solidarity with the victims of Healy's frame-up, not a debate with its author. Ali then moved a resolution that no further discussion be taken. This was overwhelmingly carried.

Healy's dead-end factionalism was epitomized, perhaps, as the rally ended with the audience rising to sing the "Internationale." The scene was aptly described by *Red Weekly*, the IMG paper, in its January 20 issue:

"WRP members raised their fists and sang. Then a glare from Healy sent their fists wavering, their voices faltering. All around him WRP members fell silent. Only in the balcony, immune from the baleful glare of the 'wizard of Clapham High Street,' did they continue to sing the anthem of working class solidarity which their leader has so long defiled." □

Tariq Ali . . .

On the extreme left is someone many of you—persons active in the Trotskyist movement in this country—will know, a veteran activist of the Trotskyist movement in Britain, Comrade Harry Wicks, one of the first Trotskyists [applause].

On Harry's right is someone who needs no introduction, as a writer and a militant in her own right, Comrade Tamara Deutscher [applause].

On her right is Comrade Betty Hamilton, who was a founding member of the International Committee in 1953 [applause].

On her right is Pierre Lambert from the OCI in France [applause]. The comrade next to him is his translator, who wishes to remain anonymous for the purpose of this meeting.

My name is Tariq Ali. I'm a member of the Political Committee of the IMG . . . a plot, hatched in Moscow by the KGB, put pressure on the Pakistani state to allow me to be present at this meeting [laughter].

On my right is Comrade George Novack from the American Socialist Workers party [prolonged applause].

On his right is Comrade Tim Wohlforth from the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party [applause].

And on his right is Comrade Ernest Mandel from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International [applause].

There is a comrade who is absent, which is, of course, a great regret for us—Comrade Michel Pablo, whom I'm sure many of you were looking forward to seeing. Many of you have heard of him, though few of you have seen him—leave alone understood him. He could not be with us tonight because his wife, who had an operation recently has still not recovered. He is still in Greece with her. He has sent a message to this meeting which we shall read out at the appropriate moment.

It falls on me as the chairperson of this meeting to welcome you all; and I must say, very, very honestly, comrades, that personally, I'm not happy to be at this meeting. It's not the sort of meeting that we want to see repeated in this country or in any other country. Because, in fact, it is a meeting which shows and expresses the fact that degeneration, factionalism, is something which is still rife in the broad Trotskyist movement, which reduces the credibility of this movement in the eyes of the broad masses and the working class in particular, and amongst our factional opponents in the workers movement, namely members of the Communist party, and Social Democrats. It provides an excuse for saying that "these people are mad; we have always told you so, and this is a confirmation."

So I make no apologies for saying this. It should not be necessary for our movement to organize and to have meetings like this. The fact that we have to do so is just a reflection of certain aspects and certain characteristics of those who continue to call themselves Trotskyists. And I hope that meetings such as this will in the future not be necessary.

What is the character of this meeting? It is, in essence, not a debate, it is not an inquisition, it is not an apology. It is a meeting of solidarity—a meeting of solidarity with those who have been made the victims of the most horrendous slanders we have seen in the Trotskyist movement for a long, long time. That is the sole job and the sole function of this meeting.

That is why there are many, many people here who do not agree with each other on strategy, on tactics, on interpretations of various Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist texts, but who are nonetheless gathered on this platform to stress their solidarity with comrades Joseph Hansen and George Novack, who have been made the victims of a vile, slanderous campaign of abuse and innuendo, which does a disservice to the Trotskyist movement globally. That and that alone is the sole function of this meeting.

It is not the task of this meeting to decide or to proclaim upon whether or not a parity commission is necessary, as the *News Line* and the organization it represents are now demanding. Incidentally, a parity commission should have been requested, if the comrades were serious, long, long before this—before they began this vile campaign—if they were serious they should have written to the organizations and said, "We want to have talks with you."

After you have waged a campaign up and down the world, made it the central focus of your political activity, pronounced comrades Novack and Hansen guilty as charged, you then say, "Isn't it right to have a commission?"

We say, "What for?" And the organizations to which you have made these approaches will reply to this request for a commission after it has been discussed by the central committees and leading bodies of these organizations.

The first speaker we have here with us this evening is Tim Wohlforth of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers party . . .

Tim Wohlforth . . .

In my opinion, the only kind of inquiry that we need, really need, is an inquiry into how it can be that an organization which began and started out in the struggle against Stalinism, in the struggle for Trotskyism, has ended up going over to the methods of Stalinism. Healy, like Stalin, has now started on a path of slander and fabrication for which there is no end.

It began with Hansen, and then Novack. Now, in one of the latest issues of the *News Line*, Cannon is brought in. In connection with Sylvia Caldwell, it is stated: "It only means that Cannon knew of the cover-up and that he was in on it for reasons which have still to be discovered."

And thus James P. Cannon has come, in the eyes of the Workers Revolutionary party and Healy, to be one of the "accomplices." But it won't even stop there. There even is a suggestion that perhaps Trotsky should be added to this list. After all, it was Trotsky who came to the defense of Sheldon Harte, who was murdered by the Stalinists after their first raid on Trotsky. It was Trotsky's judgment on Sheldon Harte.

Now Healy's organization says that Sheldon Harte was a Stalinist agent. Obviously, therefore, it was *Trotsky* who was covering up for the GPU!

The only conclusion that we can come to is that the eyes of the Workers Revolutionary party and its followers are directed against, and its blows are directed against, not this or that individual, but against Trotskyism. And what we do ain't Stalinism [applause]!

Now, I'm going to try to make a contribution to the question of an inquiry into why this madness—and it is madness—has taken place. And I'm going to do it by speaking about what I know most about, and hoping to add that contribution. There are other comrades here who know Comrade Novack and know Comrade Hansen for more years than I have.

So what I will speak on is something I do know about, and I certainly do know Comrade Healy. And I've had some experiences with him. And in fact those experiences were the beginnings, in many ways, of the slander campaign.

It began back in the summer of 1974. We were having some difficulties in the Workers League—losing some members, having some problems. And Healy decided to take this up. Now, it wasn't

unusual that we had these difficulties. Because after all we were trying to do in America what he wanted us to do. And for that very reason we had problems. But that could not be objectively looked at. It could not be objectively stated that perhaps we made mistakes, and so did he. And perhaps we were doing things, and so was *he* doing things that were wrong and should be corrected. Instead, a campaign had to be launched, specifically against myself as national secretary.

But it was not enough to launch a campaign against me to criticize my policies; something new had to be added. One of our leading comrades in that period was Comrade Nancy Fields. As Healy knew, and others knew, Nancy Fields was personally associated with me. What better way to get at me than to attack her, because that's the way he functions and thinks. Lo and behold, it was discovered—the startling fact, known by many in the party—that Nancy Fields' uncle had worked for the CIA, had retired from that position in 1960; that when Nancy was young, her uncle had helped her through school for a certain period. It was also known that she broke with her uncle; that she had to work her way through college, taking full-time courses at Columbia University and holding down a full-time job. And as many of you here who have done that know, barely having money and time to eat; walking to college in New York City, two miles because she didn't have the subway fare; in order to work her own way because she was going to stand on her own feet, and she wasn't going to take money from anyone who was going to dictate to her. As many of you probably have done in your lives.

So this fact was brought up. But it wasn't simply brought up; it was spread around—on the eve of our summer camp it was privately spread around. Comrade Slaughter was sent over to check the security of the camp. You see, since Nancy Fields was already in Healy's mind a CIA agent, there was a grave danger that Comrade Healy might not survive the trip. James Bond. He might be shot when he arrived. So Comrade Slaughter had call up London every day to inform Healy that security was OK, and that he could perhaps come across the ocean and risk it.

But of course Comrade Slaughter could not use the phone at the camp, because that would be tapped. So he had to use a phone off the camp. So Comrade Slaughter asked a comrade to drive him to and from the phone so he could assure Comrade Healy that everything was all right with the CIA. So Comrade Slaughter asked Comrade Nancy Fields to do the driving! The supposed CIA agent [laughter]!

And that's the truth. That's the farce of these methods. Because this has nothing to do with it—there was a political motivation all along.

Then one night, midnight, because when else should one call Central Committee meetings, comrades? Especially if you're in a camp in the woods, in a camp in the Laurentian Mountains of Canada, always hold your Central Committee meetings no earlier than 12:30 a.m. It creates the proper atmosphere—for the inquiry.

And the slanders were launched against Fields that had already been spread around the camp, so forty or fifty people were told that she was CIA. And of course, later we will investigate. What is that? Have we ever had that in our movement? You slander first, you have your Control Commission later. Where? When? Because it's the same methods that he uses now in his public slanders against comrades Hansen and Novack.

I got up in the middle of the meeting and said I disagreed with the proceedings. Which was the hardest thing that I have ever said in my life because of the atmosphere. And yet, and any of you here who have ever been in the Socialist Labour League could understand this, *and yet I ended up, as those who have been in the Socialist Labour League have done and still do, I ended up voting against my convictions!*

I voted for my own removal; Nancy Fields voted for her own suspension. And then, two minutes out of that meeting, we went back to our cabin with Comrade Slaughter and we told him we disagreed with the way we voted. We just could not say it in front of such a meeting in such an atmosphere. And we spent the whole night talking.

Now, we thought about it afterwards. I did not immediately leave the organization. I went to work every day. Nancy couldn't, because she was suspended. So she spent her time reading James P. Cannon. She read *Speeches to the Party*; she read *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*; she read *In Defense of Marxism*. She read Cannon. And then I come walking home, through the door, and she starts bombarding me with Cannon; she says this is the way Cannon says a party is supposed to be. This is what they did; it's not right.

And she was right. And I came to agree with her. And we resigned. After we resigned, after we had been slandered, after we

“[Healy] is seeking to develop a theory that anyone outside of his organization who criticizes him must be a cop. And anyone inside his organization who raises a doubt or a question must be a cop. He did not originate that theory. Stalin thought the same; or whether he thought the same, he said the same.”

had been removed from these positions, then an inquiry commission was held, which then said that it wasn't true! That Nancy Fields wasn't a CIA agent—after the damage had been done and the leadership of the section removed.

Now, then we spent a month or two isolated, because we had no other friends but those in the movement. We knew no one, no one knocked on the door, no phone calls, complete isolation. And we thought and we thought, and then we wrote what we thought. And we sent what we wrote to all the papers on the left. And one of them, *Intercontinental Press*, printed it. And Comrade Joe Hansen wrote that he thought what we said sounded like the truth. And Comrade Healy then began his slander campaign against Hansen.

Comrade Novack then wrote that what Healy said about Hansen was slander. And then Comrade Novack became an accomplice of the GPU in the eyes of Healy.

And then we learned that in England, unknown to us, actually learned a month or two after it happened, that 200 members of the Workers Revolutionary party had been expelled—the Thornett group, what is now the Workers Socialist League. And we thought this was significant—it was not just us, it was throughout the world. And it was not just anyone in the Workers Revolutionary party that was expelled, it was the working-class comrades in that party who were expelled. Because they just couldn't carry the absurdities of the line of the WRP into the living struggles of the workers in the factories.

And they suggested that they discuss it, that they discuss the Transitional Program. And they perhaps got further than anyone else who has suggested a discussion in Healy's movement—they got a bulletin out that got to some Central Committee members, and then they got out, chucked out before a conference.

And we said this meant something: it's political. He's using these slanders for political purposes. He is seeking to develop a theory that anyone outside of his organization who criticizes him must be a cop. And anyone inside his organization who raises a doubt or a question must be a cop. He did not originate that theory. Stalin thought the same; or whether he thought the same, he said the same. Opposition to his policies meant that you were police. And he applied it to Trotsky. This was his theory.

And it appeared to us that what was really happening was that, confronted with a new situation which required, which opened up new possibilities for Trotskyism all over the world, Healy had collapsed. He had no policy. He didn't know what to do. He couldn't do anything. And in that collapse was seeking to guard himself off, was seeking to defend his little organization, to

protect it from criticism internally and externally, through the spreading of slanders, through frame-ups, through fabrications, and putting every resource he could get to that purpose. This was to us the meaning of what was happening.

So whatever is—because at times the question is raised in people's minds—whatever is the personal mental condition of the comrade involved in this, and those of us who have known him realize that that condition has never been overly stable—we are really dealing with a *political* madness, and that's what we must confront.

And like in any madness, including political madness, madness comes from the inability to confront reality. And thus the necessity to create a different reality in one's head. And the reality which he could not confront is the growth and the vitality of the Fourth International, the turn all over the world of people toward Trotskyism in this new period of upsurge of the working class. We do not and we cannot accept the point that Healy in any fashion is seriously seeking to grapple with the problem, the real problem, of the role of the cops and the police in our movement. Because his blows are against the movement, not against the police. And we contrast his method to the method of the Socialist Workers party, which has done more than any other organization on earth to expose the FBI [applause], to expose the CIA [applause].

This struck me so much just this Wednesday when Comrade George Novack and I held a press conference to release CIA documents that we have been able to get through our lawsuit, which showed the role of the CIA and what it tried to do to the Fourth International, to all its sections.

The daily *News Line* sent Alex Mitchell to the press conference. *He did not raise one issue* in relation to the CIA—he was not interested in it. All he did at the press conference was to press his factional attack on Novack and Hansen. Can you tell me honestly those people are concerned with security? They are concerned with the security of their clique, not with the security of the working class against the capitalists [applause]!

I just want to end on one point. Being on this platform, taking this stand with these comrades, yes, these comrades, is the proudest moment in my life. Thank you [applause].

Pierre Lambert . . .

If the accusations lodged by Gerry Healy against comrades Hansen and Novack, and beyond them, against the Socialist Workers party of the United States and the Fourth International, could be explained only in terms of insanity, it would be useless to answer them. There would be no point in having this meeting or in denouncing Healy's methods, which are contrary to all the practices of the workers movement, so as to root them out from that movement.

The accusations lodged by Healy are indeed insane. And in a statement I wrote jointly with Comrade Betty Hamilton, which has been published in *Informations Ouvrières* and in the publications of the Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale [OCRFI—Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International], we have demonstrated their absurd character.

But these insane accusations by Gerry Healy are not simply insane. The repetition of those charges, the fact that they have been made by a man like Mitchell, who has very tenuous links, if any, with Trotskyism and the workers movement, and the fact that they have already been used against the Fourth International, compel us to probe for the causes and the roots of these disloyal attacks directed against the honor of two veteran revolutionists, as well as against the activity, struggle, and memory of Leon Trotsky himself.

Mike Banda, at present the general secretary of the WRP, sent to me in Paris, from London, a letter dated the fourth of January,

1977. I read that letter carefully, and I can show, as I am going to do, that it is a prime example of the political methods of Gerry Healy. Banda launches, and I quote from the letter, "an open challenge to all the revisionist groups who are joining hands in London on January 14, 1977, to whitewash the GPU crimes against the Trotskyist movement." The Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale and the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste], which I represent here, are consequently characterized as revisionist.

Although I do not regard either the OCI or the Comité d'Organisation as revisionist, and although I could easily prove that Gerry Healy and Marxism have very little in common today, that is not the purpose of this meeting.

To characterize the policies of an organization, rightly or wrongly, as revisionist is a matter for political discussion. But to

"Stalin deduced from the political differences he had with Trotsky that Trotsky was a Gestapo agent. Gerry Healy deduces from differences he has with a political organization that leaders of that organization are GPU agents, or at least accomplices of the GPU."

deduce from that characterization that those organizations—and I quote Banda—that "all the revisionist groups," that is, in particular the organizations that I represent here, the Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale and the OCI, falsely labeled as revisionist, are in London "to whitewash the GPU crimes against the Trotskyist movement," is to resort to the Stalinist method of amalgam. Stalin deduced from the political differences he had with Trotsky that Trotsky was a Gestapo agent. Gerry Healy deduces from differences he has with a political organization that leaders of that organization are GPU agents, or at least accomplices of the GPU. All working-class militants, whatever the tendency they belong to, can only reject with contempt the methods of Gerry Healy.

Healy slanders comrades Hansen, Novack, and in fact, Cannon. He slanders them—I quote again from Banda's letter—in the following terms: "They have covered up for other agents like Mark Zborowski who masterminded the murder of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, before being brought to the United States in 1941 with the help of Novack." Thus, he accuses those taking part in this meeting of being accomplices of the GPU.

It is indeed difficult for a Trotskyist militant, for a working-class militant, to have to wade through Healy's muck. But it is necessary to do so, because what is involved are the principles of proletarian revolution, of proletarian morality.

Mike Banda, in one paragraph of his letter, is rather ironical. He states that we will be meeting here under the "bogus slogan" of workers democracy. What a thing to say!

Gerry Healy, who claims he is a Trotskyist—has he forgotten that the Trotskyists, as early as the first Left Opposition in 1923, joined together precisely to defend workers democracy against the emerging bureaucracy?

Has he forgotten that it was because Stalin started by trampling upon the principles of workers democracy that he was able to establish the bureaucracy as a parasitic caste? Workers democracy is not merely a question of behavior, it has social and political roots.

Has Gerry Healy forgotten the teachings of Leon Trotsky, who taught us to seek the political and social roots of attacks against the principles of workers democracy?

Has he forgotten in addition that Trotsky also taught us to seek the social and political roots of the rejection of free discussion in the framework of democratic centralism, and of the substitution instead of slander and lies?



News Line

Platform, from right: Harry Wicks, Tamara Deutscher, Betty Hamilton, Pierre Lambert.

Has he forgotten that the Stalinist bureaucracy, to become a privileged counterrevolutionary caste, had to begin by attacking the principles of workers democracy, and of free discussion within the ranks of the workers movement?

Mike Banda believes he is ironical. He does not seem to comprehend that he is offering us the key to understanding the social and political roots of Gerry Healy's slanders against Hansen, Novack, and the Fourth International.

To illustrate this point, I would like to recall two instances drawn from the joint experience of the Socialist Labour League and the OCI that I think will help us to understand many things.

In 1953 the SWP, the British section that was to become the SLL, the majority of the PCI [Parti Communiste Internationaliste] of which the OCI is the continuation, the Chinese section, and other forces formed the International Committee of the Fourth International. It is not the purpose of this meeting to discuss if that decision was correct. It is not, I repeat, the purpose of this meeting.

In 1963, political differences opposed the SWP to the OCI and the SLL within the International Committee. There was a split inside the International Committee, and following that the SLL and the OCI maintained the International Committee. And after that split, there was a call for a second conference of the International Committee, which took place in London. Gerry Healy, in the discussion, attempted to have that conference characterize the SWP as follows: "The SWP must now be regarded as a centrist organization."

It is of secondary importance here to note that the OCI disagreed with that characterization, and was of the opinion that in spite of the differences with the SWP, the SWP had to be regarded as a Trotskyist organization. And it is secondary in the framework of this meeting to note that Gerry Healy was persuaded to officially withdraw that characterization. I say it is of secondary importance in relation to this meeting because once

again this was a political characterization, part of a political discussion.

At the meeting of the International Committee that followed the conference Healy suggested for the first time that Comrade Hansen—at the time there was no mention of Comrade Novack—could have, I repeat, *could have* participated in the death of Leon Trotsky, playing, in Healy's words, an "obscure" role. The OCI protested and stated that it would not accept insinuations of this sort. Healy then retreated, and it was only in 1975 that he resumed and amplified his monstrous accusations against comrades Hansen and Novack.

What had happened in the intervening period? What happened between 1963 and 1975? Simply that during those years Healy attempted, and partially succeeded in, stifling political discussion within the International Committee. Healy, like his successor as general secretary of the WRP, regarded workers democracy as a "bogus" slogan. He refused discussion. And that is why he broke up the International Committee in 1972.

In violating the principles of workers democracy, which Healy and Banda joke about today, they have both been led to use the methods of Stalinism, the methods of lies, slanders, and provocations.

I am not saying that Healy is a Stalinist. But I say that today—when Brezhnev in Moscow is resorting to provocations against an opposition which is seeking a road forward—by his slanders, his lies, his amalgams, Healy gives support to the Stalinist bureaucracy, that bureaucracy which in alliance with imperialism and through the policy of peaceful coexistence, stands as the main obstacle on the road to the international proletarian revolution.

I will add, looking at it from abroad of course—that the Socialist Labour League, in 1960 and the years that followed, bore all the hopes of Trotskyism in this country. It was an organization of thousands of members. What is left of it today? The methods of

Gerry Healy have destroyed the Socialist Labour League.

And now comrades, in spite of the political differences that separate the Comité d'Organisation pour la Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale and the OCI from those who have sponsored this meeting—as the representative of those organizations I want to state here my full solidarity with comrades Hansen and Novack, victims of Healy's slanders [applause].

George Novack . . .

Forty years ago last month, Leon Trotsky was under internment by the Norwegian Labor government, gagged and unable to answer the infamous accusations Stalin's henchmen were hurling at him. On the other side of the ocean, his American cothinkers had formed the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, of which I was national secretary. We sought to secure asylum for the Soviet exile, and constitute a commission of inquiry to give Trotsky his day in court to refute the charges in the Moscow frame-up trials.

Both aims were realized. Trotsky and Natalia were sprung from house arrest and shuffled aboard a Norwegian tanker headed for Mexico. By chance, a while ago, I came across a letter I had written to the novelist James T. Farrell on December 4, 1936, recounting our efforts. Here are several passages from it: "As to Trotsky's condition, we get cables from Europe of the most alarming character to the effect that almost anything might happen to him after December 18, and that a visa for some other country is our only hope. . . ." I told about failures of our attempts to get visas for the United States or Cuba, and the hurdles encountered in Mexico where President Cárdenas was agreeable to his entry. Diego Rivera had telegraphed us: "Foreign Affairs Minister is making all kind difficulties, Stalinist agents and counterrevolutionaries helping him."

These obstacles were overcome, and I vividly remember how excitedly Max Shachtman and I telephoned Oslo and informed the ill-fated Walter Held, whose life I later tried vainly to save, that the Mexican invitation had come through. We met the Trotskys when they landed in Tampico early in January, and, on the presidential train the day after, discussed plans for launching the commission of inquiry. In April, under John Dewey's chairmanship, the commission went to Coyoacán and in September delivered its verdict that branded the trials as frame-ups and completely exonerated Trotsky and his son Sedov of the charges against them. Trotsky hailed this as a "magnificent achievement." Our concern for his security was unremitting from then on.

Comrades, that was forty years ago—and much water—not all of it clean—has flowed under Westminster Bridge since that time. The speakers tonight have come together to protest and expose another frame-up, in which Joe Hansen and I are cast, not as defenders of the accused, but as the accused themselves. Though it is on a smaller scale, this case belongs to the same category of political slander, and must be repelled as vigorously because of the issues of principle at stake.

The allegations against us by Healy's poison-penmen are so outrageous that their effrontery verges on the absurd. In this instance, as has already been commented, Healy has borrowed from the arsenals of Stalin and the Maoists, who crudely set about to discredit and destroy factional opponents who only yesterday were their closest associates. You let loose a lie, inflate it to monstrous proportions, reiterate it incessantly in all keys, and hope that gullible and ignorant people with no access to the facts in the case will swallow it whole. On January 4, Healy spokesman M. Banda brazenly declared to us, "None of you have been able to refute a single fact brought to light by the International Committee's investigation." Actually, the allegations in Healy's Big Lie, that Hansen and Novack are accomplices of the GPU and guilty of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination, have been refuted point by point in articles appearing in *Intercontinen-*

tal Press and publications in other countries. These have just been collected in a single brochure, entitled *Healy's Big Lie*, which can be consulted for the relevant information. I shall not go over the same ground, but intend to speak for and about myself tonight.

During my last extended stay in England, from late 1951 to early 1953, I was as intimate a collaborator with Healy as I have been with Joe Hansen since 1941. We met for political discussions three or four times a week, and articles I wrote occasionally appeared under his name [laughter]. That's a time-honored custom for foreigners residing in England. Engels, you will recall, submitted a review of Marx's *Capital* in the liberal *Fortnightly Review* under the signature of his friend Samuel Moore.

I got to know Healy's strengths and weaknesses quite well. Though he has a suspicious disposition [laughter], it would never then have occurred to him that I had anything whatsoever to do with Stalinism or its works—and he would have indignantly rebutted any such calumny.

His attitude changed from comradeship to rabid hostility after sharp differences developed between the Socialist Workers party and the unified Fourth International and his own organization. In the ensuing polemics he singled out three adversaries for especially venomous attack: Ernest Mandel in economics; Joseph Hansen in the sphere of politics and organization; and myself in philosophy.

He is rather inept and uncomfortable in discussions of Marxist theory with qualified critics. So he was eventually driven to employ the most unworthy means of coping with his political opponents. He descended into the sewer of slander, where he could throw the most noxious muck at us.

That is the background of his Stalinist-type campaign. Slander has played a considerable role in political life, as a weapon wielded by reactionary forces of many kinds against their adversaries. Many a union militant can testify to that. In the Russian revolution, Kerensky's regime accused Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks of being German agents.

In the chapter of his *History of the Russian Revolution* captioned "The Month of the Great Slander," Trotsky pointed out how poor and monotonous a character political slander has, because of the conservative mentality of its authors. So it is with Healy's unoriginal and repetitive lies. They not only imitate the more notorious frame-up artists before him, but they do not vary from month to month as his press keeps harping on the same set of falsifications.

I was pulled into the scenario only after coming to the defense of the first target, Joe Hansen, as I was duty bound to do out of concern for the truth and for the sake of solidarity with my colleague. I detest frame-ups, not only because they are unjust, although that's an adequate reason, but as the worst sort of moral abomination. I have fought against scores of frame-ups for almost half a century, beginning with the cases in the United States of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Nine in the early thirties, and coming up to the present moment, when the Socialist Workers party is so effectively uncovering the machinations of the FBI and CIA.

However, I never expected that a former associate would defame me in connection with the defense of Trotsky, which constitutes one of the proudest actions of a long political career devoted to the advocacy of his ideas in defiance of the Stalinist slander machine. The first article I wrote for the *Militant*, early in 1934, was a

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satirical criticism of the zigzags in Stalinist policy, and there are volumes on record since then.

What a contrast there is, comrades and friends, between Healy's obsessive charges, and the attitude of the grief-stricken Natalia Trotsky at the time of Trotsky's assassination! She never afterwards uttered a word of reproach about the guards. More than that, listen to this: Natalia even gave a deposition to the Mexican police absolving the unfortunate woman comrade who had unwittingly been the tool of the assassin from any complicity in the crime. That's Trotskyism.

Let me cite a sample of Healy's technique. Stalin extorted false confessions from the Moscow Trial defendants in his dungeons by means of terrible threats and torments. Though the wizard of Clapham High Street has no such means at his command (so far as I know), that does not deter him. He has contrived to twist our answers to his accusations into admissions of guilt.

Thus, in my statement of condemnation I mentioned that I had helped rescue prospective victims of the Nazis after the fall of France, by enabling them to get to the United States as I had earlier brought the Trotskys to Mexico. I worked with a group of people of diversified political opinions, including Menshevik emigrés, and they, among numerous other refugees, found asylum for Marc Zborowski, Leon Sedov's secretary and collaborator on the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*. He was later exposed as a GPU agent, a fact unknown to us at that time. Healy pounced upon this information as proof that I, too, had engaged in conscious complicity with Stalin's secret police and afterwards kept silent about it. And that is the sole item of "evidence" he brings forth against me.

What are the facts in the matter? It happens that I never met Zborowski, and had nothing directly to do with his transit to the United States, although under the prevailing circumstances, that would have been commendable. These arrangements were handled through Lola Dallin, a Russian friend of Zborowski and the Trotskys.

This has not kept Healy's faceless International Committee from repeating—I quote from the *Bulletin* October 15—"Zborowski had been brought into the United States by Novack."

That same article features a photo of Ignace Reiss, the ex-Soviet intelligence agent who, after denouncing the purges and coming over to the Fourth International, was murdered by Stalin's gunmen in Switzerland. What Healy fails to say—and probably doesn't know—is that in 1940-41 I was busy saving the lives of other targets of the GPU. Among them were the widow and son of Ignace Reiss, whom I met at the pier and escorted to safe lodging in Manhattan. Wasn't it an anomalous occupation for an alleged accomplice of the GPU to spend months and years shielding and saving intended victims from their deadly clutches?

The November 27 *News Line* carries a four-page piece under the heading: "George Novack: A case of falsifying history" which accuses me—for sinister reasons—of suppressing what it calls "the most interesting information of all" in an obituary I wrote of Sara (Weber) Jacobs, "namely that she was the sister of Lola Estrine (Mrs. David Dallin)" who had brought Zborowski to the United States. One simple fact shatters this concoction. Sara Weber was *not* the sister of Lola Estrine [laughter]; she was a friend of hers, as both were of the Trotsky family.

Joe Hansen and others have demonstrated that the rest of the materials out of which Healy has fabricated his Big Lie crumble to pieces when confronted with the simplest authentic facts. The slanders first directed against us must be firmly resisted because they have since spread like an evil stain. They have broadened to embrace anyone who has raised a voice against the frame-up, whatever their views and affiliations.

For instance, the September 17, 1976, *Bulletin*, the organ of Healy's American echoers, reports a speech given by Jean Brust in Minneapolis five days earlier that refers to what she calls "the support of renegades from the revolutionary movement around the world." There she says: "Hansen rallies the very same forces around him today who defended the Moscow Trials and Stalin yesterday."

All the signatories of the statement in our defense, including Trotsky's grandson, five former secretaries and guards, the executor of Natalia Trotsky's estate, and the people represented on this platform, are well known for their stands against the crimes of Stalin. Now they are identified as defenders of Stalin! And ourselves as accomplices. They have been condemned as tools of Hansen and Novack because they refuse to be the dupes of Healy. This expanded defamation demonstrates how one lie leads to others, still more reckless of facts and logic alike. No honest person is exempt from the mudslinging, as the two ex-leaders of his American group, Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, who were falsely accused of hiding ties with the CIA, can testify. And Tim has done so this evening.

While Healy has been transforming us into imaginary accomplices of the Stalinists, the SWP has undertaken a sustained

"The slanders first directed against us must be firmly resisted because they have since spread like an evil stain. They have broadened to embrace anyone who has raised a voice against the frame-up, whatever their views and affiliations."

offensive against real agents of the FBI, CIA, and other government departments that have long been harassing our movement. The exposures arising from our \$40 million suit have reverberated throughout the country and have had unprecedented results. The FBI has been ordered to end its surveillance of our activities, and its informers have been instructed to quit the party forthwith. Our attorneys are now in court demanding their names and unexpurgated files.

Washington officials have been greatly disconcerted by these embarrassing exposures of the illegalities of their political police as a continuation of Watergate. And they are not the only ones. The Communist party leader, Gus Hall, has stated that "the SWP is the main staging area of the FBI in the left movement" simply because we've forced the FBI to divulge the presence of sixty-six informers in our ranks. And Healy points to the informers planted by the FBI to smear our party just as Gus Hall does. That is a real alignment with the Stalinists!

There may be some friends of the Workers Revolutionary party here who either credit what Healy says, or are reluctant to believe that he would level such unscrupulous accusations against his opponents. Have you not sometimes wondered how credulous followers of Moscow and Peking can blindly accept everything they are told by their leaderships? Haven't you asked: How could a person of ordinary intelligence be taken in by such manifest slanders against the Trotskyists?

Shouldn't you apply the same criteria of critical intelligence to Healy's factionally motivated campaign that you recommend to them? Ask yourself this question: Why should the SWP leaders have placed themselves at the service of the Stalinist scoundrels and betrayers of the Russian and world revolutions whom they had fought untiringly and publicly since 1928, when they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by leading two contradictory lives and violating their whole past? The wildest political accusations should at least contain a grain of sense. Healy's trumped-up charges lack even the semblance of plausibility.

On the other hand, Healy and his entourage have compelling reasons for proceeding against us, as you previously heard. In addition to personal spitefulness and vengefulness, which are anathema to Marxist politics, coupled with an ultrafactional attitude towards his erstwhile cothinkers and everyone else, the panic provoked by the defections and disarray in their own forces, and the growth of the Fourth International in Britain, impels them to try to close the minds of their own members to any ideas and arguments coming from working-class critics of their own

policies and methods. The very existence of the Socialist Workers party, which Healy used to hold up as an example of what a democratic and principled Trotskyist organization can be—before the American angel turned into a spawn of the devil—stands as a constant reproach to his conduct.

The issues posed by this case transcend the reputations of the SWP leaders who are involved, and even the honor of Trotsky and Leon Sedov. The traditions and integrity of the Fourth International, as the banner-bearer of revolutionary Marxism in our time, and, beyond that, the fundamental interests of the entire working-class movement for liberation, are threatened and damaged by frame-up practices of this kind. The struggle for workers democracy and socialism to which we have dedicated our lives, requires a clean atmosphere, purified of all falsifications from any quarter, so that the masses can arrive at the truth and shape their destiny through an open and honest confrontation of views on all questions.

That is the common premise on which all of us stand in opposition to the Healyite peddlers of the lie [applause].

Michel Pablo . . .

[Michel Pablo was one of the scheduled speakers at the rally; however, he was unable to attend.

[He sent the following message, which was read to the audience by Tariq Ali.]

* * *

I believe that it is irresponsible, to say the least, for Gerry Healy and his organization to deal with the question of who was responsible for the assassination of Leon Trotsky in such a manner. I, myself, and anyone who remembers the situation that reigned at that time in Europe amongst the organizations claiming to be part of the movement for the Fourth International, and eventually of the International itself, would not be surprised at the many gaps which existed then in the protection of the movement and of Leon Trotsky, particularly against the criminal activity of Stalin's agents.

But to make this a basis for concluding that men such as Joe Hansen and George Novack were in complicity with these agents or with others seems to me to be both irresponsible and absurd. These men have devoted their intellectual and practical lives to defending the conception which they hold of Trotskyism. This is not the behavior of men associated in any way whatsoever with our class enemy.

The whole of this nasty quarrel is symptomatic of a certain ideological decomposition in the movement of epigones who have not succeeded in linking themselves up seriously with the natural movement of the class. It manifestly serves only the declared enemy of the great name of Leon Trotsky and his real inheritance.

It is high time that this campaign was brought to a halt by at some point submitting the whole dossier on this affair to the irrevocable judgment of an international commission composed of people who are acceptable to either side.

The task of the real revolutionary Marxists is to turn resolutely towards the future, and to find a way of consolidating the alliance among themselves on the basis of common programs which correspond to the current necessities. To remain confined within the exacerbated sectarianism of the sects would be the worst possible offense against the name of Leon Trotsky and his ideas. Our common task is to defend the European and the world socialist revolutions, and to create in time the real independent revolutionary Marxist force capable of bringing about this objective at both the national and international levels. It is therefore necessary that we search with the utmost determination, and not divide ourselves on questions which, when posed in a certain way, give the impression that we are sects who have been

irremediably overtaken by the development of reality, of ideas, of the real and essential tasks.

Michel Pablo [applause]

Ernest Mandel . . .

Comrades, why are we here tonight? We are not here tonight to defend Comrade George Novack and Comrade Joseph Hansen, because friends and comrades like these two who have been active in the revolutionary movement and devoted to Trotskyism for forty years do not need to be defended against vile slander.

The *News Line* of January 1, 1977, tells us why we are here—why all of you are here. We are here “with the express intention of protecting the GPU.” Not even with the objective intention, with the *express* intention. All the people sitting here: Here are 1,500 defenders of the GPU—that’s why we are here.

If he wasn’t such a little rascal, one could feel sorry for Comrade Gerry Healy for saying such stupid things that immediately boomerang against himself. One could be sorry for him, to see how he has been caught in the objective dialectics of a little sectarian bureaucrat who absolutely subordinates the interests of the working class, the interests of the world revolution, the interests of socialism [applause], to the interests of an inefficient, inaccurate, and meaningless little sect which has talked itself out of the class struggle in Britain and internationally. I say one could feel sorry for him, because he has, after all, devoted his life to building that revolutionary movement, and when he has to cover up his failures with lies and slanders, one could feel sorry for him, I repeat, if he wasn’t such a little rascal.

One must see the logic of this business which he has set in motion: first calling one person an agent of the Soviet police, then calling 1,000 persons agents of the police, then reducing the class struggle to police infiltration and operations of agents. Because in this very same article, you find unbelievable things. You find that we are all here together, not in order to participate in the class struggle . . . the class struggle of whom?—the class struggle of the workers of Europe and Latin America against the infiltration of the CIA! The class struggle is not any more conducted against the capitalist class; the class struggle is not any more conducted between social forces—No! the class struggle is now all against agents and infiltrators!

I tell you, anybody who would have told Comrade Healy ten years ago that he would fall to that Stalinist depth of reducing the class struggle to a struggle against spies and agents, anybody who would have told that to Healy ten years ago would have received the answer which he would have merited.

And you can only feel sorry for people who have so little control over their own development, who know so little about what is happening to themselves that by the accumulation of the logic of sectarian mistakes they can degenerate and fall so deeply as to deform and desecrate Marxism in the way in which Healy is doing today. So I say we are here neither to defend Comrades Hansen and Novack, nor to defend the GPU; it’s too stupid to discuss that.

No. We are here to defend the Fourth International. To show solidarity with Comrade Hansen and Comrade Novack. We are here to defend the Fourth International. And it needs to be defended, against the slanders of Healy, because we have to understand what this fool has done. Again I say “this fool,” because this boomerangs against himself and his own organization as long as he continues—for reasons which are unclear—to call himself a Trotskyist.

What have been the allegations of our main enemies for years and decades against the Fourth International, against the world Trotskyist movement? It has been that ours is a movement infiltrated and manipulated by agents and by spies. That was the main thesis of Stalinism, that was the main thesis of the Soviet bureaucracy—that the Trotskyist movement is not a genuine part



G.M. Cookson

Mandel, addressing rally.

of the international working class; is not a genuine part of the international labor movement, but a movement manipulated by spies and by infiltrators. And what has been the main thesis of international imperialism, what has been the main thesis of the bourgeoisie? Look at the *Congressional Record* in the United States, look at the press campaigns of the bourgeoisie against the Fourth International: They say that it is a movement manipulated by terrorist agents, infiltrators, and spies. And for years, and for decades, as long as our movement was weak, as long as our voice was weak, and our enemies spoke with very powerful material force, in a united voice, many people believed these slanders. Many people believed them, including many people inside the working class.

Today, things have changed. Today, we are much stronger, and our enemies are much weaker and much more divided than before. And especially, today, we are deeply rooted in the working class, we are deeply rooted in the toiling and fighting masses in so many countries that nobody can believe this type of business any more.

And it is at such a moment, it is at the moment of this big historical turn, when we have become recognized and accepted as a genuine part of the working class in the international working-class movement, that such a fool comes around and says, No! Start to look for agents under your bed because they have agents everywhere under your bed. And he says this hall is full of agents—you can read it in his newspaper—agents of the GPU and agents of the CIA are sitting here and rubbing shoulders with each other, and that it is here like that, and it is in every cell meeting like that, and it's in every national meeting like that. That's what this fool is saying—giving aid and comfort to all the slanders and all the attacks which for such a long period have been conducted against our movement.

I say, what Hitler and Stalin couldn't get away with—when these mass murderers couldn't destroy our movement, a tin-pot tyrant like Gerry Healy is not going to destroy us or stop us in the building of the Fourth International [applause].

Why is it not possible to have any serious group of workers in the world today accept that we are a movement full of agents, full of spies, full of infiltrators, manipulated by outside forces? Because people, as I said before, thanks to our principled activity, thanks to our activities in the service of the working class and in the service of the revolution, know us now, and they know us by the thousands, and they know what we are, and nobody is going to tell them anything else than what they themselves know in the living class struggle of the different countries.

I'll just take a few examples from the last weeks to show what

the Fourth International is today, and to show how the international working class, and how the international labor movement looks upon the Fourth International.

A young comrade of ours, hardly twenty years old, was arrested in Peru, brutally tortured, and murdered by the police. Fifteen trade unions—fifteen trade unions—spoke out within twenty-four hours in his defense. Do you think you will convince the Peruvian workers that the Trotskyist movement is a movement infiltrated and manipulated by agents of the GPU, and of the CIA, when they see and do such things?

In Pakistan, Comrade Tariq Ali, who is sitting here, was prevented from leaving the country. Immediately there was a telegram sent, of MPs of the British labor movement; there was a movement started in France by leaders of the labor movement to force President Bhutto to get Comrade Tariq out of that prison in Pakistan, and he got out.

We have had in France—I must give the due to whom we have to give the due—a powerful mobilization of left working-class forces in which the comrades of the OCI have played an excellent, an exemplary, role: to get one of the representatives of the left-wing opposition in the Soviet Union—not Solzhenitsyn, not the reactionaries, not the semifascists, but a representative of the *left-wing* opposition in the Soviet Union, Comrade Plyushch, out of the grasp of the Soviet bureaucracy. And we got him out! [Applause.]

And the most important, and most inspiring example of all, four weeks ago 154 comrades of the Basque conference of our Spanish organization were arrested at the end of their meeting. Within twenty-four hours, five factories went on strike to get these comrades out. In this united action about every single one of the working-class organizations of the Basque country was represented, and we got every single one of the 154 comrades out before the week was over! *That's the Fourth International today!* [Applause.]

Do you think that slandering our movement, slandering the leaders of our movement, slandering the public representatives of our movement, is going to stop this business which is the business of the rise of a new revolutionary vanguard, which is the business of building a revolutionary party, which expresses objectively the rise of world revolution today? You think you're going to stop us by slandering? You are just a *fool* when you think so! Look at this meeting, and look at the reality of the Fourth International today, and you will see what results you will get: zero point zero!

“One must see the logic of this business which he has set in motion: first calling one person an agent of the Soviet police, then calling 1,000 persons agents of the police, then reducing the class struggle to police infiltration and operations of agents.”

And why couldn't you stop us, and why can't you stop us, and why can nobody stop us, on that road? Because we have followed a very simple, a very consistent, and a very, very, very difficult way, in which we have had to build our movement against terrible odds. But that's the only road which will repay in the long run. We have followed the road of just sticking to confidence in the working class; confidence in the class struggle; participating in the class struggle, participating in mass action, educating our members and educating the working class in relentless and irreconcilable struggle against every form of exploitation and oppression in the world. That's what the program of socialism is all about, that's what the program of Marxism is all about, and that's what is indestructible.

When you have a correct program, when you follow the line of that program, when you tell the truth to the workers, when you don't hide anything from them, when you don't use slanders,

when you don't use false accusations, when you don't see spies where there are social forces in operation, then in the long run you must win, inasmuch as you have confidence that the working class will continue to fight, that world revolution will continue to rise, that capitalism is unavoidably crisis-ridden and will be overthrown, that the Soviet bureaucracy and all other conservative forces inside the labor movement cannot stop this movement of history in the long run. By striking out along this line, we could resist, successfully, I repeat, terrible odds—because the slanders of Stalin, and the murders committed by Stalin and Hitler, were far graver than the slanders of Thomas Gerald Healy. We could resist them, and we could transmit the heritage to a new generation—a new generation that is today ten times stronger in numbers than the older ones, in which Healy, myself, and all the people who are sitting on this platform participated. That was a united Trotskyist movement. But a united Trotskyist movement which was, I repeat, ten times weaker in number, and immeasurably weaker in influence and in activity than the Fourth International is today.

By sticking to this principled line, by sticking to this simple line, by not looking for some miracle solution, by not looking for some shortcuts, by not trying to do more than you can do with the forces which you have, but by doing whatever you can with these forces on the basis of your program, and on the basis of the unfolding class struggle, we have come out of that tunnel, and today we have a movement much stronger, much more influential, in a better position and much more capable of gaining results through our intervention in the class struggle than we ever had before. And we will continue to build the Fourth International, and we will continue to build revolutionary parties by that method because that's the only method which gives results in the long run. And we are dedicated—we dedicate our members and we dedicate the vanguard of the working class—to that method. That means a method which fights with politics, which fights with the weapons of the class struggle, and not of science fiction or of the spy scare; which fights not with witch-hunts but by means of the working-class struggle, mass struggle—that's the weapon with which to build the revolutionary party; and that's also our weapon against imperialism and against the Soviet bureaucracy.

And I would add: we should keep our sense of proportion, as Comrade Tariq said when he opened this meeting. We should use that method towards the Workers Revolutionary party, too. We should not be sectarian against the sectarians. It's meaningless and it would be worthless to our own cause. We should understand that whatever be the madness that inspires their present slanderous course, at the slightest sign they would show, at the slightest sign we could force them to show, to return to reason, we would treat them like we have to treat every other tendency of the revolutionary left, every other tendency of the revolutionary wing of the international labor movement, as potential allies, and potential members today in big mass revolutionary parties which we want to build, and for which many, many participants will have to come from many, many different political tendency and factional origins [applause].

And when I say we have to keep our sense of proportion, and we have to apply the same classical methods of working-class policy, of working-class tactics and of working-class strategy, to all the problems that concern us this evening, we have to understand that in the fight against Stalinism at this stage, at this peculiar, particular stage, which is an extremely important stage, especially in Western Europe, we have today exceptionally powerful weapons to conduct a political campaign, to which I invite all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions, and organizations, to participate and come together to conduct this fight.

Whatever one may think about all the intricacies of so-called Euro-Communism, of which we are of course no friends whatsoever, no apologists—which we don't cover up—it is a new stage in the reformist degeneration of these parties, preparation for the deeply counterrevolutionary role of these parties in the coming revolutionary struggles in southern Europe. We have to under-

stand one thing, in addition to all these aspects—that they have introduced new and tremendously vulnerable elements of division inside the world Stalinist movement, which can today have very big effects in favor of Trotskyism.

And I would therefore propose to the tendencies, factions, and organizations which are present: Let us conduct a common political campaign, to ask from the Italian Communist party, from the French Communist party, from the Spanish Communist party, from the Belgian Communist party, from the British Communist party, that they immediately, openly and publicly, rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow Trials, and that the Spanish Communist party in particular draw the logical conclusion from this rehabilitation and immediately expel the vile murderer of Leon Trotsky from its ranks [applause]. Such a propaganda campaign today will perhaps not uncover some secret spy device which caused the assassination of 1940, but is instead a political campaign which will hit the Soviet bureaucracy, which will hit international Stalinism ten thousand times more deeply, more profoundly than any of these spy inquiries. And it is especially a political campaign which will have an effect in the working class of France, in the working class of Italy, in the working class of Spain, in the working class of Portugal, which will make it easier to fight class collaboration and betrayal of the revolutions which are mounting there; which will widen the scope of workers democracy in the unions and the factories of these countries, which will make it easier for the revolutionaries in these countries—and there are already thousands of them—to fight against what remains of the poison of Stalinism today in the working-class movement, in the Communist parties, and in the trade-union organizations of these countries.

That is a fight worthy of Trotskyism, that is a fight worthy of the Fourth International, that is a fight which is in the great tradition of revolutionary Marxism, for which we stand in the great tradition of defense of workers democracy, which we must defend relentlessly, unconditionally, and without reservation if we are to be principled in every country, in every case, and against everybody who questions them [prolonged applause, foot-stamping, etc.].

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Energy Trusts Engineer Natural Gas Shortage in U.S.

By David Frankel

Meteorologists say that this winter may turn out to be the coldest this century for the eastern two-thirds of the United States. Snow has fallen as far south as Miami Beach, Florida, normally ice-free rivers have frozen solid, whole cities have been isolated by blizzards, and, in parts of the country like Minnesota, the wind-chill factor has pushed the effective temperature as low as 100 degrees below zero (-73.3 degrees Celsius).

After looking the situation over, the giant energy trusts that organized the oil and gasoline shortage a few years ago have apparently decided that the time is right for another exercise in extortion.

The shortage this time, they say, is in natural gas. To prove it, they have stopped supplies to factories employing some 548,000 workers. Estimates are that in Ohio alone another 250,000 will be out of work by January 31.

If that doesn't convince the public, the corporations are ready for the next step. James R. Schlesinger, President Carter's adviser on energy matters, warned Congress January 28 that natural gas deliveries to some homes might be cut off "in a few weeks, indeed in a few days."

This treatment is usually reserved for those unlucky consumers who are unable to pay their bills. But this year things are different. The energy giants have a point to make, and it may be necessary for some outside the ranks of the very poor to freeze to death. As Schlesinger put it, "The situation just isn't very good."

What can be done to improve things? President Carter has proposed that Congress temporarily remove price controls on natural gas sold across state lines. "This bill will not end shortages," Carter says—presumably because the price controls are only lifted temporarily. However, it is expected that this action would mollify the corporations enough so that they would help the country through the winter.

The companies don't deny that they have gone on strike for higher profits. They see that as their right. As one advertisement run by the Mobil corporation in 1972 and reprinted in major newspapers this January explained: "The price a producer gets for natural gas he sells into interstate commerce has been artificially depressed to uneconomically low levels. This has sent demand soaring, while at the same time reducing the incentive to risk money in the search for new supplies of gas. Inevitable result: shortage."



But the shortage has nothing to do with the amount of gas being produced. *In states like Oklahoma and Texas there are huge surpluses of natural gas that are being held off the market.*

What is involved is the fact that there are no federal price controls on gas produced and sold within any single state. Supplies in this category have sold for as much as \$2.37 per thousand cubic feet. But

as soon as the corporations pump this gas across state lines, price controls come into effect. The average price of natural gas to consumers then becomes \$1.42 per thousand cubic feet.

Under these circumstances, the corporations naturally prefer to hold their supplies off the market until they can be sold at the highest prices possible. And if a few hundred thousand persons are unemployed or some freeze to death in the interim, it may speed up action to end price controls.

Plans for this squeeze play have been maturing for a number of years. Tom Girard of the Energy Action Committee, a consumer group, charges that the energy trusts "are deliberately creating a shortage interstate while making a huge surplus intrastate. In 1975 they dedicated 87 per cent of the new gas found to the intrastate market." (Quoted in the January 27 *New York Post*.)

Now, the corporations have decided it's time to collect. "The return is going to be astronomical to producers," Girard says. He estimates that "it's going to be in the tens of millions of dollars and probably in the hundreds of millions."

Most of the unpleasantness connected with this operation could have been avoided, according to Mobil, if people had not been so stiff-necked about paying its price. As Mobil's recent advertisement put it: "Yesterday, nobody listened. Today, there's a natural gas crisis." □

New York Landlords Save on Heat

The City of New York delivered 300 blankets to the Hudson Residence Hotel January 20, but the gesture came too late for Herman Sutton and Pinkney Carson. The two men, both elderly welfare recipients, froze to death in the heatless hotel January 18, when temperatures ranged from 1 degree below zero (-18 degrees Celsius) to 12 above.

The hotel, which houses mostly welfare recipients and elderly people living on social security, had been largely without heat for a week. Unsuccessful pleas for blankets were made to the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the United States Army, and the National Guard.

When police entered Carson's room, they found a glass with the water frozen inside it. Patches of ice had formed on the walls

of Sutton's room. Police said he "was frozen solid as a log."

New York landlords saving money on heat were responsible for at least one other death in the case of ninety-five-year-old Martha Furgeson. She was brought to a hospital with a body temperature of 80 degrees (27 degrees Celsius).

Another resident of the Hudson Hotel, sixty-two-year-old Andrew Avery, used his last money to buy an electric heater. "If he hadn't had the money, we'd have three bodies in here now," one neighbor remarked.

However, electric heaters are expensive to run, and if Avery falls behind on his electric bill, he can be assured of dying in the dark as well as the cold.

Strikes Sweep Spain in Reply to Rightist Murder Squads

By Gerry Foley

Massive strikes developed throughout Spain following the murder, during the night of January 24-25, of five Madrid labor lawyers by rightist gunmen. Four of the dead men's colleagues were wounded in the attack.

Before the ambulance took the victims to the hospital, a lawyer who arrived after the shootings managed to talk to one of the wounded men. He relayed the following eyewitness account, which was published in a January 26 Agence France-Presse dispatch:

Two men knocked at the door. One of our comrades opened it, trustingly. He was immediately covered by one of the attackers, who had a machine gun with a silencer. At the same time, an accomplice went to cut the telephone wires and check if there was anyone else in the offices.

By the time he came back, the nine lawyers were facing the wall, supporting themselves with their hands. On his return, the man simply said: "There's nobody else." Then the butchery began. They fired a volley at head level, and then, firing lower, emptied their magazines.

Minutes before the shootings, a delegation of striking Madrid private-transport workers had left the offices, which were used by the Workers Commissions, semilegal trade-union organizations led by the Communist party.

After the attack on the labor lawyers, the same commando team went to a nearby office of the Unión General de Trabajadores (General Workers Union, the semilegal union federation led by the Socialist party). But they found no one in.

Thus, within a few hours, the rightist commando team had struck at the two largest workers organizations. Protest strikes began on a piecemeal basis, apparently largely spontaneously. A dispatch published in the January 26 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge* reported:

Yesterday general strikes were called, following factory assemblies, in all the industrial areas of Bilbao, throughout the province of Navarra, at the SEAT automobile factory in Barcelona, and throughout the Baix Llobregat (the main working-class concentration in Catalonia, five kilometers outside Barcelona). Strikes have also developed in the industrial areas of Madrid, in Villaverde and Getafe, and in all the main factories, such as Perkins. The four Standard (or Chrysler) factories and the AEG are on strike. Work has stopped at all the building sites in the capital. Strike mobilizations have begun in the railway shops in Seville and Valladolid, as well as in various factories in Alicante, Vigo, and Valencia.

Following the spread of local strikes January 25, the union federations issued a

call for a nationwide general strike January 26. *Rouge's* correspondent reported: "Despite the Communist party's appeals to the workers not to go out of the factories, demonstrations took place locally in various neighborhoods in Madrid, Vallecas, Villaverde, and Cuatro Caminos."

New York Times correspondent James M. Markham reported that the national general strike January 26 was most effective in the Basque country, Asturias, and the Madrid industrial belt. The action apparently took on very broad scope and a powerful momentum.

Markham noted: "Across the country, universities and courts were closed in protest against the killings. Tonight, the news broadcaster on the Government-run television astounded viewers by declaring the solidarity of his colleagues with the protests."

According to *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca, more than 100,000 persons marched in the funeral procession in Madrid January 26 for the murdered labor lawyers. Since the victims were CP members, however, the Communist party had complete control of the march. It was tightly monitored by CP marshals, and no political slogans were permitted.

CP labor leader Nicolas Sartorius estimated the number of strikers January 26 at nearly two million. Another labor leader, quoted in the January 26 *New York Daily News*, said the figure could have been as high as "four to five million." It was, therefore, at least as large, and probably much larger, than the first nationwide general strike in recent Spanish history, held on November 12.

On January 27, more sections of workers struck, although those who had participated in the previous actions were sent back to work by their leaderships. An estimated 200,000 workers went out in the Barcelona region alone. In Pamplona, the main city in the Basque province of Navarra, workers went on strike to protest the shooting of a comrade by police in a January 26 demonstration.

Tensions had been building up for some time before the murders in Madrid. On January 23, an unauthorized demonstration took place in the center of the Spanish capital, demanding amnesty for the remaining 200 officially acknowledged political prisoners. Police clashed with demonstrators. Then, according to *Le Monde's* correspondent José-Antonio Novais, "an unidentified person took out a revolver and, after shouting 'Long Live Christ the

King' [a fascist civil-war slogan], fired at nineteen-year-old student Arturo Ruiz García, killing him on the spot."

The "Guerrillas of Christ the King" are one of many ultrarightist and fascist gangs still operating. Although Franco let the fascist mass organizations decline after the civil war, fascist goon squads have continued, to varying degrees, to enjoy government patronage up to the present day.

There is no indication that any important section of the Spanish capitalist class wants now to return to an ironfisted dictatorship. But the bourgeoisie may be uneasy about the way the relaxation of repression has opened up the way for growing mass mobilizations, at times calling into question the government's grip on the situation. Moreover, the world economic crisis has blighted the boom that marked the last phase of Franco's rule, and is cutting into the capitalists' ability to offer material concessions.

In this situation, the Spanish capitalists may well favor using the Francoist ultrarightists as an intimidating force, even in the framework of continued relaxation of the dictatorship.

The Spanish government's toleration of the ultrarightist and fascist gangsters is so obvious that even the bourgeois press has had to comment on it. For example, in a January 27 dispatch from Madrid, Markham wrote:

Rightists inclined to violence have not been so much endorsed as tolerated. A glaring example is the incident last May in which two men were shot to death by ultrarightists.

High-ranking right-wing figures were conspicuously involved in the affair, but there have been no prosecutions. A man who was photographed firing a pistol—apparently fatally—is at large.

The intent of the ultrarightists is also obvious. They want to create the appearance of a private war between themselves and the still illegal political organizations of the working class. In such an atmosphere, they could get away more easily with using violence against the left and carrying out wholesale murder. Their model seems to be Argentina, where rightists are applying this method with success.

Responsibility for the murder of the young demonstrator Ruiz García was claimed in the name of an "Anti-Communist Apostolic Alliance." The initials of this group are AAA, like the Triple A (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance).

In Argentina, the "right-wing terrorists"

are simply the police operating under the thinnest of disguises. The activities of left guerrilla groups divorced from the masses were seized on by the cops to "justify" their murder campaign.

In Spain, where no leftist guerrilla organizations exist outside the Basque country, the right may have decided to invent them.

A grouping calling itself the "Grupo de Resistencia Antifascista Primero de Octubre" (GRAPO—the October 1 Antifascist Resistance Group) claimed responsibility for the kidnapping December 11 of Antonio María de Oriol, president of the Council of State.

The same group claimed the responsibility for the January 24 kidnapping of Lieutenant General Emilio Villaescusa, former chief of staff of the Spanish army.

Many of the major capitalist papers, which are generally very quick to blame political violence on "leftist extremists," have expressed doubts that the GRAPO is what it claims to be.

In the January 26 *Le Monde*, one of the paper's most prominent journalists, Marcel Niedergang, commented: "Most Spaniards are pretty much convinced that the GRAPO is actually manipulated by the extreme right.

"Members of the government recently reinforced this supposition by suggesting that the GRAPO is not really on the left and that there would be 'surprises' when the Oriol affair is cleared up."

In general, the big capitalist press has speculated that the kidnapping of Oriol and Villaescusa was designed to provoke the army into carrying out a coup to restore "order." The Spanish CP apparently also believed this. In the January 27 issue of the Rome daily *Repubblica*, Saverio Tutino, a correspondent friendly to the Spanish CP, reported that at the party headquarters he was told: "We were worried. For three days tension kept rising. But our information also confirmed that the army remained calm."

This is nonsense; military coups are not "provoked" but prepared long in advance. In Argentina, for example, the capitalist rulers, in concert with their imperialist senior partners, chose the moment coolly and in accordance with their primary political interests. The isolated actions of the left guerrillas simply helped the capitalists create the proper political climate for carrying out their plans.

This shows the dangers that can result if forces on the left allow themselves to be drawn into a private war with rightist gangs. Fortunately, the class-conscious and battle-hardened Spanish working class responded in the most effective way to the provocations of January 23-24. They put the blame for the murders squarely on the government. They responded with mass actions, with strikes against Spanish and foreign capital.

The government of Franco's heirs has

tried to shift the blame for rightist terrorism onto foreigners living in Spain. In its January 26 issue, *Le Monde* reported that members of the Croatian Ustashi had been picked up in connection with the murder of



JUAN CARLOS

the labor lawyers. The *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent referred to "suggestions that 'international fascism' is involved." He reported that an Argentinian had been arrested in connection with the Ruiz Garcia shooting.

Argentinians, in fact, seem to be becoming the government's favorite scape-goats. Saverio Tutino reported that "linguists" claim the language of the GRAPO statements has an Argentine flavor. Because of the wholesale political killings in Argentina, the government may think that the suggestion of Argentine involvement will help raise the specter of runaway gang terror. Furthermore, "Argentine commandos" could be either leftists or rightists. Tutino reported that the government was suggesting that GRAPO might include exiled Argentine or Uruguayan guerrillas.

Whatever the nationality of the rightist gunmen involved in any specific outrage, the responsibility falls entirely on the Spanish government, which continues directly or indirectly to maintain ultra-right and fascist gangs as a kind of auxiliary police.

The Spanish and international capitalist press claims that the rightist terrorists are a threat to the Suárez government and its policy of "democratization." In fact, such forces are difficult to control. But there is no evidence that the rightists do not still serve the interests of the capitalist class that called them into being. Quite the contrary.

The climate of violence and fear created

by the rightist murders serves the Spanish ruling class as a whole very well. It has given the government a chance to slow up and even reverse to some extent the relaxation of repression, which, under mass pressure, was moving too quickly for the comfort of the authorities. Now the government has suspended Articles 15 and 18 of the so-called Rights of Spaniards (the government's substitute for a bill of rights), allowing the police to carry out searches without a warrant and to lock people up for extended periods on "suspicion." By presenting these measures as aimed at halting an escalation of "terrorist provocations," the capitalist rulers sought the cooperation of the Stalinist and Social Democratic mass workers organizations. And so far they have gotten it.

In the present relationship of forces, the government needs the help of the mass workers organizations to keep control of the situation. The CP and Social Democrats extend this support to "strengthen Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez's position against the right." The result is that the government has no reason to crack down on the rightist killers, but can afford to let them go still further.

The Communist party was the organization most workers looked to to lead the protests against the January 24-25 killings, among other things because the victims were CP members. But the party let them down.

The CP took the occasion of the murders, according to Tutino's approving report, to demonstrate how "moderate" it was. He wrote:

What struck the middle classes in the capital, who have a constant fear of a return to the civil war, was the Communists' unexpected patience and sense of responsibility. Even the order for sit-in strikes, cautious as it was, was withdrawn this evening. And if there were suspensions of work in the capital today, they went unnoticed.

Tutino asked: "What did the left forces get from Suárez to make them show such moderation? First of all, a meeting between Suárez and the armed forces commanders yesterday afternoon offered proof that the military was under control." So, apparently, every time an attack occurs, what the workers have to do is remain quiet so as not to provoke the army.

The type of "discipline" the CP is trying to impose on the workers movement will not prevent the rightists from drawing left-wing activists into a private war. The more impatient elements can be driven to desperate actions by the inaction of the mass organizations. What mass protests do occur will tend to be spontaneous, and thus more vulnerable to provocations.

The threat of "Argentinization" can be blocked if the workers movement mobilizes and goes into action against those who profit from rightist provocations. The response of the Spanish workers to the January 24-25 murders shows that they know what kind of action is needed. □

Spain After the Referendum

By Juan Fernández

[The following article appeared in the January 13 issue of *Inprecor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

A referendum is a form of electoral consultation in which only the government can formulate proposals. That is why regimes almost always win referendums, except when gross errors of appreciation are made. Thus, a referendum cannot be considered a form of "democratic consultation," unless it is the result of a popular initiative.

This general rule is especially applicable in Spain today. The most elementary democratic rights continue to be violated in this country. Propaganda calling for abstention on the referendum was forbidden and advocates of abstention were persecuted. The right to vote was denied to youth under the age of 21 in order to avert massive abstention among the youth. Many forms of pressure were brought to bear on voters. State employees, pensioners, unemployed persons, and workers absent from their jobs on the day of the referendum were compelled to present their voting certificate before receiving the stipends and wages legally due them. There were also many forms of more direct pressure, especially on the part of local power brokers in the rural areas, as well as many instances of fraud. Persons less than 21 years old were allowed to vote if it was known that they would vote "yes"; some people voted in the names of others without presenting any proof of identity. The government did not limit itself simply to calling the referendum. It spent more than 2,000 million pesetas (more than \$30 million) to guarantee a victory for the "yes" vote.

In spite of all these efforts and contrary to appearances, the government did not achieve everything it was aiming at. The overall turnout was 77.7% of registered voters; the proportion of registered voters casting "yes" ballots was thus 72.9%. In other words, more than one-fourth of the electorate either abstained (22.6%) or voted "no" (1.9%, essentially the fascists) or cast blank or invalid ballots (2.5%). But the abstention rate was much higher among many oppressed nationalities and in working-class circles:

- Guipúzcoa: 55.1% abstention;
- Vizcaya: 47.2%;



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- Province of Tenerife (Canary Islands): 32.4%;
- Province of La Coruna (Galicia): 30.5%;
- Cuenca del Nalón (industrial center): 48%;
- Barcelona: 36.3%;
- Miners' areas of Oviedo: 49.6%, etc.

In general the abstention rate was 10 to 15 percentage points higher in province capitals than in other cities in the provinces.

As the detailed results came in—the government did not publish these, limiting itself to nationally distributing the overall figures province by province—what increasingly took shape was an image of massive abstention by the conscious working class and a broad abstentionist current among the oppressed nationalities.

In view of the conditions under which the referendum was organized and held; in view of the absence of an active campaign for abstention with demonstrations and strikes, except in the Basque country (where this campaign resulted in rejection of the government project by a majority of the population); in view of the massive political commitment abstention required in the absence of real freedom for the

workers movement, one can say that the results of the vote represent a twofold partial failure for the government.

First, it is impossible for the government to interpret the result as a vote in favor of the electoral law (which particularly provides for elections without the participation of all the workers parties), or as a vote in favor of maintaining the institutions of Francoism, or as a vote in favor of concentrating power in the hands of a monarchy inherited from the dictatorship. Second, from the standpoint of the conquest of liberty, the open emergence of workers parties and organizations, the activity of the trade-union, women's and youth organizations, and the hundreds of meetings, assemblies, and protest strikes and demonstrations represented a precious school of mass political activity which the proletariat of the Spanish state and its allies had not experienced in nearly four decades. This experience will pay dividends in the struggles immediately ahead. That is when we will see who was really strengthened by the test of the referendum.

The unfolding and results of the referendum also permit important political lessons to be drawn about the forces in the field today as well as their basic orientations.

The referendum demonstrated that the fascist far right completely lacks any social base; the result obtained by the campaign for a "no" vote was derisory.

The referendum indicated just how far the Francoist monarchy is prepared to go in "tolerating" an opposition. This was, in a certain sense, a dress rehearsal for the elections that have been announced—without the legalization of the Communist party, the far left, and the radical nationalist groups of the oppressed nationalities. Anything that endangered this dress rehearsal was systematically and harshly repressed. Not only thousands of arrests, but also threats, attacks, and torture in the police stations and prisons were applied systematically.

The referendum indicated where the political orientation of the "democratic opposition" is headed. The "seven conditions for accepting the referendum" which were presented to the government on November 18 by the permanent commission of the opposition amounted to a serious capitulation to the government, even in comparison to the moderate positions perviously adopted during the opposition meeting in the Canary Islands. All reference to a constituent assembly or to the problem of self-determination for the nationalities was abandoned in these "seven conditions." This amounts to a desire not to challenge the fundamental bases of the "political reform law," to disarm the masses politically, and to curb or break their mobilization. The fact that a "commission to negotiate with the government" was established in the midst of the campaign for abstention could only disor-

ient the voters, whereas the aim should have been to incite them against the political projects submitted to the referendum.

The Social Democratic Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE—Spanish Socialist Workers party) and the Communist party did nothing to bring about a campaign of active abstention. CP leader Santiago Carrillo even went so far as to assert that “the opposition could have voted ‘yes’ on the referendum if the government had accepted the seven conditions” (conditions which, as we have just noted, in no way challenge the very bases of the Juan Carlos reform).

The Maoist organizations PT, ORT, and MC waged strong agitation for abstention, as did our comrades of the LCR/ETA-VI and the LC.* But from the very outset the campaign of the Maoist groupings reflected a total contradiction between an adaptation to the political orientation of the class collaborationist bodies on the one hand and the desire to put forward slogans capable of mobilizing the masses for a real and active boycott of the referendum on the other hand.

In a call issued December 12 the PT asserted that abstention was not enough to achieve democracy, but that a general strike was necessary . . . to realize the program of the “platform of democratic opposition,” a program that includes neither the constituent assembly nor the right of the oppressed nationalities to determine their own future. But the same call added that it was necessary to struggle for constituent parliaments, amnesty, democratic rights, etc. The ORT likewise called for struggle for the program of the platform of the democratic opposition, while also speaking of a “resolute fight for the overthrow of the imposed monarchy,” a programmatic position excluded from the platform of the “democratic” opposition. As for the MC, it cautiously occupied a mid-stream position, substituting “the right to autonomy” for the right of the oppressed nationalities to determine their own future and “the formation of a democratic government that would convoke genuinely free elections” for the demand for a constituent assembly.

Thus, the test of the referendum confirmed the correctness of our orientation. It confirmed that we were correct to stress the necessity for the mass movement and the workers organizations not to adhere to the program of the “democratic opposition,” but on the contrary to offer the mass

movement slogans capable of putting an end to the monarchist regime inherited from the dictatorship: immediate legalization of all workers organizations, self-determination for the oppressed nationalities



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ties, free elections to a constituent assembly, republic. As far as the organization of the boycott is concerned, it confirmed the necessity of abandoning all pacts and groupings of class collaboration, which can only curb the mobilizations of the masses, and of replacing them with workers united front bodies intent on stimulating and organizing mass action.

Although it is true that the government did not emerge from the referendum as the big winner, it would be childish to try to deny that it achieved a partial success for its political “project”: to arrive at a limited bourgeois “democracy” in which the democratic rights of the masses and their organizations would be considerably restricted and the institutions inherited from Francoism could be maintained as far as possible, especially the Francoist repressive apparatus. The “Suárez plan” constitutes a means by which to achieve this project of big capital in the Spanish state:

- Through the game of an electoral law that would permit the establishment of a “center” bourgeois majority based on an axis composed of the Partido Popular and the Christian Democracy and would exclude the CP, the far left, and the radical nationalist organizations from the benefits of legality. The legalization of these organizations might be granted later if necessary, once the bourgeoisie’s control of the new parliament and the other institu-

tions had been confirmed and consolidated.

- Through the full utilization of the “stabilizing mechanism” of the “political reform law,” that is, “the legal and legislative labyrinth” which guarantees that any further reform will have to be approved by a two-thirds majority of the “two houses” of parliament. This tends to compel the opposition to maintain an attitude of *permanent negotiation* with the regime, which impedes and disorients the activity of the masses.

- Through drawing the opposition into contenting itself with eyedropper “reforms,” which makes it abandon any systematic campaign for the complete winning of democratic rights, amnesty, self-determination, etc.

- Through maneuvers that foster divisions among the workers parties, seeking to draw the PSOE into participating in elections while the CP remains banned.

- Through applying the same method as the “political reform” to the question of the trade unions in order to avert a massive strengthening of the workers trade-union federations and to continue to utilize the CNS (the vertical union of the fascist period) as an instrument with which to accentuate the division among these federations, the intent being to foster the negotiation of a “social pact,” which is required by the economic policy of the government.

The Coordinación Democrática (Democratic Coordination) the opposition is thus increasingly in crisis. The growing polarization between mass struggles on the one hand, which place the winning of democratic rights and rejection of the government’s “social pact” on the agenda, and the de facto imposition of the “political reform law” on the other hand leaves little maneuvering room for negotiations between the Democratic Coordination and the government. The ability to use the authority of this Democratic Coordination to curb the mass struggle is thus inevitably narrowing increasingly.

Under these conditions, the “constitutional compromise” proposed by the leadership of the PSOE at its latest congress in Madrid implies opting for a “realistic” policy of collaboration with the government and its political project, with de facto acceptance of a parliament that would be devoid of all constituent capacity and would not even be the result of free elections. It likewise implies a basic commitment to reintroducing parliamentary cretinism into the workers movement, a doubly lamentable cretinism since the “parliament” in question is neither really sovereign nor democratically elected.

Ramón Tamames, one of the major leaders of the CP, pushed the same parliamentary cretinism in an article published in the December 10 issue of *El País*. In this article he wrote that even if it won 51% of the vote in the legislative

* PT: Partido del Trabajo—Labor party; ORT: Organización Revolucionaria de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers Organization; MC: Movimiento Comunista—Communist Movement; LCR/ETA-VI: Liga Comunista Revolucionaria/Euzkadi ta Askatasuna-VI—Revolutionary Communist League/Basque Nation and Freedom-Sixth Assembly; LC: Liga Comunista—Communist League.

elections, the opposition would be unable to overturn the antidemocratic constitution now in effect . . . since this same constitution stipulates that a two-thirds majority is necessary to modify it and that this two-thirds majority must be won in both houses. Point by point Tamames showed that the only way to modify these antidemocratic rules was to go through the various channels of the regime, through the "legal labyrinth" established by the Suárez law. Such a procedure, according to Tamames, obviously requires a very "broad democratic front," the only force in position to amass the very "broad majority" capable of successfully running this marathon. But Tamames seems not to realize that this "broad front" is in full contradiction with the needs of the bourgeois parties, which are favored by the electoral law, and with the needs of the CP itself, which has to fight for legalization.

Does all this mean that the elections will take place as called for in the Suárez plan? Not necessarily. It all depends on the pace and scope of the struggle of the masses.

The masses are fighting under very difficult conditions, with unemployment approaching 1 million and repression intensifying. But they nevertheless succeed in winning satisfaction on many occasions. The framework imposed by the government has been broken many times, with the workers forming democratic rank-and-file organs of self-organization. The organization of the neighborhoods, the groupings of youth, the women's liberation movement are gaining in strength. The masses are continuing to fight for full and entire freedom for all their organizations, for total and unconditional amnesty for all political prisoners.

It is certain that the road to victory in these areas is longer and less linear than could have been supposed. It is also certain that this possibility of maneuver by the regime has been largely determined by the policy of the majority organizations within the working class, which have subordinated everything to their pacts with the government.

Beyond the intentions and maneuvers of the reformist parties, however, it is the mass struggles and their relative success that will determine to what extent and at what pace the puppet democracy projects of the Francoist monarchy will wind up being swept aside or partially realized. The episode of the arrest and then release on bail of Santiago Carrillo and his comrades of the central leadership of the Communist party constitutes a new additional test in this regard.

The mass mobilization for the release of Carrillo was not really stimulated and centralized at the level of the whole Spanish state by the apparatus of the CP. This is true to such an extent that our comrades of the LCR/ETA-VI were the first to react publicly and extensively, a

fact which was implicitly recognized by the CP, which saluted the LCR/ETA-VI for the initiative it took on this occasion.

As for the CP, here once again it exhibited its concern to subordinate every-



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thing to the pact with the bourgeois democratic opposition, allowing that opposition to negotiate the release of its general secretary with the government rather than trying to win his release in the streets. The CP hailed it as a great victory that this release was obtained through negotiation. The CP showed that it was prepared to pay an immediate political price: it withdrew from the opposition's commission for negotiation with the government, which is discussing the question of the opposition's participation in the next elections. The importance of this concession may be measured by the fact that it was the government that demanded that the CP withdraw from this commission. The "solidarity" the "democratic" opposition manifested toward the CP was expressed in its transmission of the government ultimatum and capitulation before it.

In fact, the CP is prepared to jettison the demand for its own official and formal legalization before the elections. It has already abandoned the demand that the rest of the opposition (above all the PSOE) boycott the election so long as all the workers and radical nationalist organizations are not legalized. It is now content with an indirect electoral participation, hoping to obtain legalization after the establishment of the puppet parliament.

It is useless to insist on how much this policy facilitates the task of the government and disorients the masses politically.

But the masses are demonstrating a real will to maintain their political mobilization, especially through the cascade of struggles to win total amnesty for political prisoners. That will be one of the major tests of strength during coming days and weeks.

The fundamental question of the "social pact" hovers over the entire orientation of the CP. In a widely noted article published in the January 1, 1977, issue of the weekly *Triunfo*, Nicolas Sartorius, one of the major leaders of the workers commissions, wrote: "Probably, it will possibly turn out that the Spanish right made a mistake in thinking that a government issued of a parliamentary majority in a Cortes within which the workers forces had been marginalized through unsavory procedures could have the authority necessary to clearly move out of the crisis. It has been repeated on many occasions that *the present crisis has characteristics such that we can emerge from it only on the basis of an agreement among all the real social forces*, among them undoubtedly the trade unions, which will not fail to put forward the basic demands of the workers." (Emphasis added—J.F.)

In other words: Legalize the CP and the workers commissions or else there will be no social pact. In exchange for legalization, we are prepared to impose the social pact on the workers.

But how can this blackmail be followed through if in order to maintain the alliance with the bourgeois parties the mobilizations and struggles of the workers are curbed and fragmented even before a pact is concluded? And how to convince the bourgeoisie that once legalized the CP and the workers commissions will succeed in imposing the social pact on the workers? Such is the dilemma, for the CP leadership as much as for the bourgeoisie.

December 30, 1976

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Sadat Blames Mass Upsurge on 'Communists'

By David Frankel

On the surface, the events that shook the Egyptian government to the core January 18 and 19 are over. The wreckage from smashed nightclubs and government buildings has been swept up and the angry crowds that stormed through Egypt's cities to protest increases in food prices have dispersed.

But the effects of that mass upsurge will be felt in Egypt for a long time to come. Capitalist commentators were taken aback both by the depth and extent of the discontent shown in the protests.

"The most surprising aspect of the rioting," *New York Times* correspondent Henry Tanner commented in a January 24 dispatch from Cairo, "was that it spread to virtually all urban centers of Egypt, from Alexandria to Aswan. This had not happened in several decades. Political unrest in the past was confined to Cairo and Alexandria."

A rapid retreat by President Anwar el-Sadat defused the rebellion for the time being. However, Tanner took note of the fears of "well-informed Egyptians" in the wake of the protests. "They say that the urban masses, which have been sinking into ever-greater poverty, have had their taste of power and will use it again to hold the regime to its promises."

Sadat's backers abroad were also shaken by the eruption of protest. Qatar's finance minister made a hurried trip to Cairo following the demonstrations, and it was announced in Cairo January 24 that the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had agreed to loan Egypt \$140 million.

The IMF played a central part in forcing Sadat to attempt the implementation of the budget cutbacks that led to the mass protests in the first place. But Sadat was hardly in a position to put the blame on the imperialists, where it belonged. Instead, he chose to scapegoat Communists.

"The Communists definitely were behind what happened and we have evidence of this," an official of the Interior Ministry said January 21. No proof, of course, was ever produced, although the witch-hunting statements about "Communist plotters" continued.

There was some question raised as to how well-advised this redbaiting campaign was. Gavin Young commented in the January 23 issue of the *London Observer*, "If the Communists continue to be blamed for this people's revolt, they will reap much undeserved benefit. The people will congratulate them."

Perhaps Sadat considered this possibility and decided it was preferable to the



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alternatives. As Tanner reported in the *Times* dispatch quoted above, "The Government chose to name 'Communists' only. But it is known that other leftist opposition groups not connected with either the Soviet or the Chinese Communist Party have been leading a clandestine existence. . . ."

"None of these groups are believed to be large. But in an atmosphere where much of the country's urban population is disaffected, all or most of them have a potential appeal."

Helena Cobban also took up the question of why Sadat singled out the Communists in the January 25 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. She noted that other opponents of Sadat such as the right-wing Muslim Brotherhood, the various Nasserite factions on the left, or the followers of Libyan chief of state Muammar al-Qaddafi could have all been blamed. She argued:

The answer seems to lie in the fact that the riots could be interpreted as a victory for whoever triggered them, in that they forced Mr. Sadat to rescind the price increases against which the demonstrators were protesting. To attribute blame (or credit) for the riots could therefore conceivably strengthen the position within Egypt of the group or organization singled out as being behind them. And it is probably because the Communists are in fact so weak in Egypt that they have been chosen as the "safest" scapegoats.

Finally, the editors of the *New York Times* suggested still another motivation

for blaming the popular rebellion on "Communists." "If we read the news from Cairo correctly," they said January 27, "President Sadat seeks now to turn a time of domestic turmoil and weakness into something of a foreign-policy advantage. He seems to feel that the United States and others owe him an extra measure of support. . . ."

Although the *Times* editors said they did not mean to imply that Sadat had staged the mass uprising "for foreign effect," they complained that "the Egyptian leader, who controls his press and television, has quite clearly been willing to advertise his troubles, once he had surmounted the worst of them."

A scare campaign around the theme of the menace from the left could be used "to raise the subsidies from oil-rich Arab friends, to win delays on debt repayment, and to attract more sympathy from the American negotiators who will seek further concessions from him at the bargaining table with Israel."

However, the *Times* editors were not convinced by Sadat's performance. "This is not a bad way to play a weakened hand," they said. "But the economic counsel that prompted Cairo's risky price increases was sound to begin with and must still be heeded, in smaller bites perhaps."

The demand that Sadat condemn the Egyptian masses to hunger so as to pay off the imperialist banks that have lent Egypt money was linked to the demand for an even more abject posture in negotiations with Israel. As the *Times* put it, "Concessions to peace can be very impressive to foreign investors." □

'Town Planning' in Jerusalem

Since 1968, the Israeli government's Israel Company for Restoring and Rebuilding the Jewish Quarter has evicted some 6,500 Arabs in the process of renovating and expanding Jerusalem's Jewish Quarter.

"Every government that wants to plan its towns must expropriate property," one official explained to *Washington Post* correspondent H.D.S. Greenway. "Otherwise you could not have any town planning."

What the official did not add is that once the Arab families have been evicted to make way for the new housing in the Jewish Quarter, they will not be allowed back in.

"The Jewish quarter is intended for Jews only," another company official was quoted as saying in the Israeli daily *Haaretz*. "The Arabs have been offered fair terms [for their houses] and if they refuse that's their problem. Ask any Jewish occupant of the quarter. It's no great pleasure to live with Arabs" (*Washington Post*, January 16).

Gloom in Bonn and Tokyo Over Carter's Economic Program

By William Gottlieb

When Jimmy Carter, the new chief of American imperialism, announced his long-awaited economic program on January 7, observers were generally struck by its conservatism.

As amended on January 25, Carter's proposals include a series of tax cuts and rebates adding up to \$20.2 billion. The cuts include a \$3.6 billion windfall for business, which employers can take either in the form of a 4% credit against their Social Security taxes or an increase in the investment credit from the current 10% to 12%.

In addition, Carter announced a series of increased expenditures amounting to \$11.1 billion through 1978. These consist of stepped-up expenditures for public works, payments to pensioners, and increased federal support to various state programs. Taking into account the combined effect of increased expenditures and reduced taxes, it is estimated that \$31.3 billion will be added to the economy in the next two years.

In addition to the official stimulation program announced by Carter, there are plans to increase military spending, something that promises to keep the armaments industry operating at a brisk clip.

Carter's closest advisers have admitted that these measures will bring about only a gradual reduction in massive unemployment.

According to the January 24 *Business Week*, Charles L. Schultze, the head of the new president's Council of Economic Advisers, estimates that unemployment, currently 7.8%, will fall to between 6.5% and 7% by the end of the year, and to 6% "or less" by the end of 1978.*

What Schultze is saying is that unemployment will remain at what have historically been considered recession levels for at least two years. The American trade-union federation AFL-CIO has expressed dismay at this prospect.

In a special statement published in the January 15 *AFL-CIO News*, the AFL-CIO Executive Council legislative sub-



AFL-CIO CHIEF GEORGE MEANY: Got less than he bargained for.

committee said: "America's key economic problem is unemployment and the solution is jobs. Reliance on tax cuts and rebates, instead of job-creating legislation, is to use the least-effective method. The stimulus from these tax cuts and rebates is far more costly and moves at a much slower pace than the program we recommended."

The bureaucrats who control the AFL-CIO have good reason to be concerned about Carter's tight-fisted approach. They promised their ranks big gains if they voted for Carter and threw out the Republicans headed by Gerald Ford. Consequently, Carter's decision to tolerate massive unemployment, especially at a time when the Democratic party is also in solid control of both houses of Congress and most state governments, threatens to create serious difficulties for the misleaders of the American working people.

Of course these troubles are not confined to Wall Street's labor lieutenants but are also of concern to the capitalists themselves.

Some have already expressed their reservations. In the January 15 *New York Times*, Clyde H. Farnsworth quotes Reginald H. Jones, head of General Electric Company, one of the most important American trusts, as saying: "It may seem

strange to hear a businessman warning against too small a program, but the fact is that when you have a \$1.7 trillion economy it takes at least \$20 billion [a year], and probably more, to have any significant impact on the course of economic events."

Carter's economic program has left the leaders of European and Japanese imperialism profoundly uneasy as well. "Carter was unwilling to take an inflation risk," one Paris economist said. "Yet the situation is so perilous that risks have to be taken." (Quoted in the January 15 *New York Times*.)

European and Japanese capitalists have been counting heavily on massive stimulation of the American economy. Bugged down in economic stagnation, faced with high unemployment of their own, and suffering from persistent inflation and shaky currencies, they are hoping for a major American boom to bail them out.

An expanding American market would mean rising demand for their exports, an improving balance of payments, and, they hope, an end to their current economic stagnation.

Faced by such massive economic problems at home and abroad, why didn't Carter propose a more ambitious program?

The answer is to be found in the state of the world economy. Following the period of rapid growth after World War II, the international capitalist economy has been characterized by a growing long-term stagnation since the end of the 1960s. This is the framework in which the current slow recovery from the sharp crisis of 1974-75 is taking place.

The upturn has been slower in Europe and Japan than in the United States. This is even true of West Germany, considered financially the soundest of the major imperialist states. In the January 8 *New York Times*, a correspondent wrote the following from Bonn: "Pessimistic talk is heard frequently here as the steam keeps running out of the recovery. Unemployment—almost unknown before 1974—hovers around the million mark, or 4.5 percent of the labor force. And many influential West German businessmen and political leaders—reflecting the views of the Western European community—are saying that economic leadership must come from Washington in the coming year, not from here."

The correspondent quotes Hans Birnbaum, a leading West German steel execu-

* It should be kept in mind that government unemployment figures are grossly understated. One way this is done is by not counting those who have ceased to look for a job because they are convinced they cannot get one. The overall figure also masks much higher levels of unemployment among Blacks, youth, women, and other oppressed groups.

tive, as saying: "We're at the beginning of a long cold winter and unemployment here will certainly be a lot worse by the spring."

The problem is that the policies the capitalist governments have followed since World War II to counter recessions have proved increasingly less effective. Generally associated with the name of British economist John Maynard Keynes, these policies consisted of deliberate deficit spending and easy money during periods of recessions. This was supposed to increase buying power, thereby insuring quick recovery from recession and above all preventing a repeat of the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Under conditions of deepening long-term economic stagnation, however, deficit spending has tended to cause increasingly serious inflation and less and less of a rise in demand. Once inflation becomes acute it tends to reduce demand by diminishing the real purchasing power of individuals and firms, even when nominal income is increasing.

This reduction in the purchasing power of the currency affects the state as well, forcing it to spend more and more in nominal terms just to keep up. This in turn tends to force even greater expenditures, bigger deficits, and in the end—worse inflation.

It is this vicious circle that the capitalists are trying to break out of, so far with no significant success. Carter's economic program is little help. □

Latest Budget Cut in New York— Food for Jobless

The New York state government has proposed a measure that would give some 50,000 to 55,000 childless persons currently on the state welfare rolls forty-five days to find work, after which they would be cut off from public relief, regardless of whether they found jobs.

Of course, State Social Services Commissioner Philip L. Toia admitted, "There are some people who are not going to make it."

Perhaps private charities would feed those cut off from state aid, Toia suggested. "What's wrong with the soup-line concept if that's the least-expensive way to feed the poor?" he asked.

Toia defended the state proposal by citing a study done in Massachusetts, a state that in 1975 ended welfare payments to persons deemed physically able to work. According to Toia, 40 percent of those cut off found marginal employment, 30 percent moved to cheaper lodgings, "and the rest just disappeared—probably to New York City."

Jolted by Wave of Strikes

Bandaranaike Threatens Emergency Rule

By Ernest Harsch

Faced with eroding support for her regime, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike warned January 25 that she may follow in the footsteps of the Gandhi dictatorship in India and impose emergency rule in Sri Lanka.

Speaking at a meeting in her electoral district, she declared, "Mrs. Gandhi used powers for the protection of her peoples. Should it be necessary, we too will have to use our powers to safeguard the nation."

Like Gandhi, Bandaranaike cloaked her threat of wider repression in the guise of "defending" the masses. But coming only a little more than a week after the end of some of the biggest strikes in Sri Lanka's recent history, her warning was clearly directed at the working class.

The strike wave began on December 15 when workers at the Ratmalana railway workshop walked off their jobs after the regime rejected their demand for an increase in their year-end salary advance from Rs 100 to Rs 500 (one rupee equals US\$0.13). Within days, railway workers throughout the country joined the strike, paralyzing the entire railway system. Workers at Colombo Port walked off their jobs December 29, and on January 1 postal and telecommunications workers joined the strikes.

Most of the leaders of the strikes were members of the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP—Ceylon Equal Society party), which 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 1975, however, the party has participated in mass actions against the regime. The LSSP controls the Ceylon Federation of Labour and is particularly strong among workers on the railways and in the ports, and among the engineering sectors of the telecommunications workers.

In response to the spreading strikes, Bandaranaike issued an Essential Services Order (ESO) January 5, declaring those areas affected by the strikes as essential services and threatening to imprison strikers or confiscate their property.

This strike-breaking measure met with a sharp response from the unions. According to a report by B.H.S. Jayewardene in the January 21 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the unions "retorted that the strike is being continued because the Government has refused to concede the principle of negotiating while a strike is on—a basic

fundamental right of workers. . . . The unions also want the Essential Services Order outlawing the strikes withdrawn. . . ."

The Ceylon Federation of Labour threatened to bring out its 300,000 members on a general strike if the order was not lifted.

Support for the strikes was so great that the Communist party, which holds posts in the government, also felt compelled to back them. Some of the CP-dominated unions joined the walkouts, and the CP condemned Bandaranaike's refusal to negotiate.

Even some workers belonging to Bandaranaike's own Sri Lanka Freedom party participated in the strikes.

The work stoppages continued to spread, drawing in bus workers, civil servants, municipal employees, and industrial workers. At the high point, nearly 250,000 workers were involved.

Stepping up its efforts to suppress the labor unrest, the regime mobilized army units for scab duty and other strike-breaking activities. A rigid press censorship was imposed January 10, to which the LSSP and CP newspapers replied by carrying large blank spaces with the word "censored" in their editorial columns. Public meetings were banned and more than 100 unionists were arrested on charges of being "inciters and agitators."

In face of the heavy repression, a union representative announced January 15 that the strikers would return to work January 17. The announcement came shortly before the regime issued a communiqué declaring, "No persons who have lost their employment by joining the strike will be taken back after January 18." The regime also threatened to hire thousands of scabs to replace those who did not return to work.

The strikes, however, won a partial victory. The regime was forced to grant the demand for a Rs 500 salary advance.

Throughout the course of the labor unrest, the Bandaranaike regime attempted to slander the strikers by claiming they were involved in a "conspiracy" to overthrow the government and that they were only "pawns in the hands of politicians." The LSSP and CP came in for particular attack.

During her January 25 speech threatening the use of emergency powers, Bandaranaike also said that unnamed "foreign powers" could have been behind the strikes. Indira Gandhi used a similar claim to justify her suppression of democratic rights in India in June 1975. □

The First Ten Days of López Portillo

By Eugenia Aranda

José López Portillo was inaugurated as president of Mexico December 1, at a time when the country was shaken by rumors of a coup, devaluation of the peso, and news of peasant land seizures in the northwest. The new president set to work immediately to put things in order.

In his inaugural address, López Portillo announced to the country that an austerity plan would be imposed, "not as a passing fad or fashion but as a way of life." He called on the population to prepare themselves for years of "sacrifice" and said that only with "realism" could the country meet and solve the present crisis.

López Portillo left no room for doubt that he was preparing a frontal attack on the already low standard of living of the Mexican workers. Neither did he hide the fact that his government would be openly procapitalist, and that he would try to create the most favorable conditions for the enrichment of the ruling class.

López Portillo's speech left implicit the course he intended to follow for putting an end to the peasants' struggles for land. He made clear that the solution would not be to distribute the land, but rather to promote further development of the "productive" zones. He implied that the "realistic" way to solve the agrarian problem in Mexico is to leave the land in the hands of the rich landlords and force the peasants into peonage.

The December 2 editions of the main Mexican dailies carried many pages of advertising welcoming the new president and praising the correctness of his policies. These displays had been bought by all the prominent groups of businessmen, merchants, and bankers.

American businessmen were also pleased. Al R. Wichtrich, president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Mexico, told the *New York Times*: "The economic theme of the speech reflects the kind of philosophy that businessmen can understand. The reactions have all been very good. . . .

"The economy is sick and businessmen are looking forward to the medicine of austerity. I think the private sector is ready for what is coming."

López Portillo is trying to make a good impression on Washington at all levels. Among the hundreds of inaugural guests, Rosalynn Carter (wife of American President Jimmy Carter) received special attention.

As a show of "friendship" toward the people of Mexico, according to one of her aides, Mrs. Carter practiced the little



LOPEZ PORTILLO

Spanish that she knows with the Mexican servants at the American embassy.

If on his inauguration López Portillo made it clear that the "sacrifices" of the people would have to be big, his actions on the following days were overwhelming.

On December 3 the new minister of agrarian reform, Jorge Rojo Lugo, declared that the government would tolerate neither "illegal land invasions" nor private estates larger than the law permits. This announcement came as thousands of peasants in the states of Sonora and Sinaloa were occupying land that has for years been the object of struggles and that outgoing president Luis Echeverría Alvarez himself felt obliged to expropriate November 19. The landowners had appealed to a judge to reverse Echeverría's decision and return the land.

From the moment it was given, Rojo Lugo's declaration was a very bad omen for the peasants.

In a dispatch to the *New York Times* from Los Mochis, Sinaloa, on December 7, Alan Riding said that the deputy attorney general of Sinaloa, Sergio Herrera y Cairo, had announced that "army and police units have begun evicting squatters. But

most of the peasants are refusing to budge."

On December 9, the army ousted 4,000 peasants who had occupied cotton fields near the Texas border in the state of Coahuila. The expulsions continued on the following days.

In the state of Durango as well, the peasants had occupied lands and were expelled from them.

Finally, on December 12 the agrarian reform authorities declared that they would comply with the judge's decision that 8,000 peasants must abandon the lands they had occupied in Sonora. These were the lands Echeverría had expropriated on November 19.

The leaders of the peasant organizations controlled by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party, the main government party) retreated immediately, saying that they would continue the struggle in the courts. They called on the peasants to return the land to the landowners and to have confidence that at some future time another judge would decide that they had been right. Some peasants resisted these orders, but the majority followed, having no other alternative.

This constituted a defeat for the peasant movement, but López Portillo has not resolved the problems that confront his class in the countryside. He has only postponed for another day the inevitable settling of accounts that the Mexican peasantry will demand of the bourgeoisie.

The second act of the López Portillo government was to sign a "pact" on December 10 with the most powerful employers' organizations in Mexico. The pact was called an "alliance for production" and included a US\$200 million joint investment package.

According to some reports, the details of this accord had been negotiated by special representatives of López Portillo and business leaders during the three months before he took office.

"This pact is evidence of the changed attitude of the government," said Jorge Sánchez Mejorada, head of the National Chamber of Industries. "You can even breathe the new atmosphere. Of course, this is only the beginning."

López Portillo has made clear what the course of his government will be: to openly seek the favor of Washington, in exchange for which the American imperialists will continue to reap extraordinary profits at the expense of Mexico; to leave the land in the hands of the landlords and force the peasants to become peons; and to impose a policy of permanent austerity that will permit him to keep signing "pacts" with the bosses in exchange for yet more reductions in the workers' standard of living.

The first ten days of the López Portillo government did much to clarify the intentions of the Mexican ruling class. □

French Stalinists and Social Democrats Make Gains

By F.L. Derry

PARIS—With much fanfare, the French Communist party announced November 30 that it had recruited 100,834 new members in the first eleven months of 1976. The recruitment figures were released at a news conference by CP leader Paul Laurent.

Laurent noted that the CP now had 550,000 members. "We are going to surpass 600,000 members in 1977," he boasted. "Why not already think further, to 700,000, to 800,000, to one million adherents? This is a possibility already written into the political realities of France today."

French President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has tried to deny the growth of the CP. He told a breakfast meeting at the National Press Club in Washington May 20 that "the PCF has experienced an historic decline. . . . The number of its members is now half of what it was fifteen years ago."

But various studies conducted independently of the CP indicate that this is hardly the case. "It is undeniable that, in relation to 1961, the number of Communists has not fallen but has *grown* . . .," Annie Kriegel, a noted authority on the French CP, remarked in the October 8 issue of *Le Figaro*.

Despite its rapid growth in membership, however, the CP has been unable to make substantial electoral gains. This has been especially galling to the CP leadership in view of the electoral advances being made by the Socialist party.

Recent by-elections confirmed the continued electoral growth of the SP at the expense of the bourgeois parties, the CP, and the smaller groups on the French left. The by-elections were the result of the resignation of the government headed by Jacques Chirac in August. Six former ministers in Chirac's government attempted to regain their seats in the National Assembly, and a seventh race was precipitated by the death of a deputy.

These former ministers were all nationally prominent politicians, and their districts were considered conservative strongholds. The results, however, were a clear setback for the bourgeois parties, with the SP capturing two of the seven seats.

While the SP advanced substantially in each of the recent elections, the same was not true for the CP. It declined in five races and advanced in only one. In earlier elections, this trend has even stung the Stalinist leadership into criticisms of the "reformist" practice of the Social Democrats. This was the case, for example, after

the CP suffered losses in the October 1974 by-elections. But this tack proved unproductive, and after the latest election the Stalinists responded by simply demanding a "reequilibrium" on the left, with the CP receiving its "just share" of the votes in the Union of the Left.*

The problem for the CP is that many workers are frankly afraid of its lack of concern for democratic rights. While they may not remember the Moscow Trials, they do remember the crushing of the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, and the treatment of dissidents inside the USSR.

It is the working-class youth who lack this historic memory who are joining the CP. Many of them believe it to be the most militant party of the working class. And this is what explains the seeming contradiction of a declining vote for a rapidly growing party.

In attempting to overcome the well-founded suspicion of the CP among masses of workers, the French Stalinist leaders have spoken out in defense of political prisoners in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. CP leader Jean Elleinstein, who ran for office in the Paris university district, has begun to talk about "socialist democracy." But the CP vote in his district still declined from 15% in 1958, to 11% in the recent by-election.

Another problem for the CP leaders is that there is tension between the older Stalinist hacks and the younger workers who have come into the CP with illusions about the character of the party. The old-line Stalinist stalwarts have tended to become alienated by the criticism of the Soviet regime.

Many of the new recruits, on the other hand, do not seem to settle comfortably into the Stalinist harness. When a Stalinist-dominated marshaling squad physically assaulted a feminist contingent during the most recent May Day demonstrations in Paris, many young CP members responded favorably to petitions condemning the attack.

But the electoral advances of the SP and the growth of the CP have also posed problems for the smaller groups on the left. In Paris's Latin Quarter, one of the centers of the student radicalization and the site of

the barricades that went up at the beginning of the revolutionary events of May and June 1968, the vote for those groups claiming to stand to the left of the CP and SP has declined sharply.

In the legislative elections of June 1968, for example, the Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU—United Socialist party) surpassed the SP vote in this district. The PSU got 10.4% of the vote to the SP's 7.8%. In 1973 the PSU's vote declined to 6.5%, and in 1976 it was only 1.6%. Similar declines for the PSU have been registered elsewhere.

Three Trotskyist groups also ran in this district. The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International) went from a vote of 1.95% in 1973 to a vote of 0.57% in 1976.

The Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle) group received 0.33% of the vote, while the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization) received 0.3%.

The SP, meanwhile, doubled its vote in this district in 1973, receiving 15.35%. In 1976, it received 19.73% of the vote.

The candidate of Lutte Ouvrière in Bordeaux withdrew in favor of the Left Radicals in the second round of the recent election.

A communiqué from Lutte Ouvrière that appeared in the journal *Sud-Oest* November 18 explained that the call for a vote for the Left Radical candidate was made "without illusions either in the man, in his politics, or in the Common Program [of the Union of the Left]. We do not think that the radical-socialist candidate should be the representative of the workers. He is a bourgeois politician. And the illusions which the workers have in regard to such men could be very dangerous tomorrow. But Lutte Ouvrière is in solidarity with the immense majority of workers who wish a victory of the left. And it is in solidarity that [Lutte Ouvrière candidate] Gérard Barthelemy calls for a vote for the candidate of the Union of the Left. . . ." (Quoted in *Rouge*, November 20-21.)

Both the growing vote of the Social Democrats and the growing membership of the CP reflect the radicalization of the French working class. Although the immediate effect of this radicalization is to increase the strength of the two biggest reformist parties in the country, and to increase the illusions in the Union of the Left, in the long run it will present broad new opportunities for revolutionary socialists in France. □

* The class-collaborationist electoral alliance between the CP, the SP, and the bourgeois Left Radicals.—IP

Capitalism Fouls Things Up



The Pacific's New Island of Oil

The breakup of the *Argo Merchant* off Nantucket Island on December 15, which created an island of oil in the Atlantic 346 kilometers long and 161 kilometers wide, has now been matched in the Pacific.

On January 17 a Greek-owned oil tanker under Liberian registry, the *Irenes Challenger*, broke in half about 220 miles southeast of Midway Island in the Pacific.

The 600-foot tanker carried a cargo of 5.5 million gallons of light crude oil, most of which was dumped into the water. The oil slick covered 150 square miles, according to Jim Gilman, a representative of the Coast Guard.

Of the crew of thirty-one, three were reported missing. The Coast Guard was concentrating its search for them in the mile-long stretch between the two sections of the tanker.

The twenty-eight other members of the crew were rescued by the Japanese container ship *Pacific Arrow*.

According to Gilman, the slick posed no immediate threat to any of the nearby islands. The basis for this reassuring statement was not reported by the press.

The two sections drifted in a southeasterly direction. The *Pacific Arrow* stood by the bow and a Norwegian vessel, the *Rona River*, kept watch on the stern.

The Coast Guard planned to tow the stern section into the open ocean where it would presumably be sunk.

The tanker, owned by the Tsakos Shipping and Trading Company of Piraeus, was traveling from Venezuela to Japan.

Gilman said that the cause of the

accident was not known.

Seas in the area were only about six to eight feet with winds of ten to fifteen knots.

The Coast Guard Cracks Down

Recent criticism of the permissive attitude displayed by the Coast Guard toward violations of shipping regulations committed by the giant corporations who register their ships under "flags of convenience" seems to have stung the U.S. government agency. It decided to crack down on a small British-owned vessel, the *M.V. Croesus*.

The eighty-foot trawler ran aground January 18 one mile off Nantucket Island and became icebound.

On January 21 the Coast Guard removed 12,000 gallons of diesel fuel, claiming that this was done to prevent a spill that could have polluted rich shellfish beds in the area.

The following day a federal court granted the Coast Guard permission to impound the vessel, tow it to port, sell it, and collect \$10,000 for the expenses incurred in preventing the oil spill.

The vessel had just been sold to Andrew Gardner of Gibraltar, a British subject, who was waiting in Nova Scotia for delivery.

A crew of three left Portugal with the ship on December 18 and were en route to Nova Scotia when the accident occurred.

Alaska Oil Fleet Below Standard

A study recently made by the state of Alaska shows that the fleet now scheduled to transport oil from the Trans-Alaska Pipeline will have few improvements in design despite promises that the tankers would be "thoroughly modern and unique."

Thirty-one ships have been listed for the fleet. Of these, eighteen were built before 1976. Only seven under construction will have double bottoms or double hulls.

Seventeen of the tankers have no gas inerting systems to avoid cargo tank explosions. The system is required on all supertankers now being built.

International rules call for segregation of ballast from oil tanks to reduce pollu-

tion; they also call for ballast to be used as protection from ramming and grounding. But a loophole in Coast Guard regulations permits a majority of the tankers to escape these requirements.

As now projected, thirteen ships will not use ballast as defensive space.

The ships will have only single propellers and single rudders. This reduces maneuverability, a serious defect, particularly in the dangerous waters of South Alaska. Both the states of Washington and Alaska have objected strenuously to this feature of the proposed fleet.

A further complication is the use of an "interim" fleet composed of ships that fall below even the shockingly inadequate levels of the "thoroughly modern and unique" fleet promised by the oil barons.

New Flaws Found in Alaska Pipeline

The Alaska Pipeline Commission is investigating charges that "inferior quality or damaged pipe" was used in the Alaska pipeline project.

In early December the commission launched a major investigation into the escalating costs. Later in the month the commission announced that it was reviewing, among other items, a report prepared by two metallurgists at the University of California, according to which the steel used in the manufacture of the pipe is "common low-alloy steel which does not have any usual low-temperature properties."

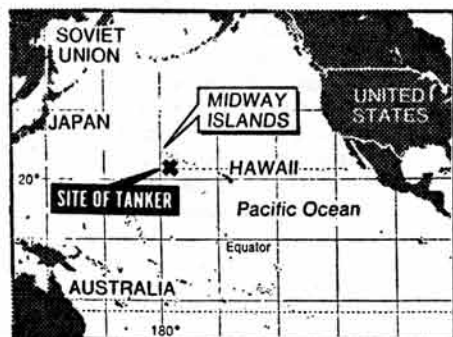
The study implies that the steel is of such low quality that it will not be able to withstand the tensions caused by hot oil flowing through the pipe while blasts of frigid Arctic air whip around its outer surface.

Meanwhile in Washington, D.C., the staff of the House Commerce Subcommittee on Energy and Power raised new questions about welds on the pipeline.

Interviews with pipeline workers brought out evidence that about 200 sections of pipe with defective welds were installed before repairs were made.

In addition it was disclosed that radiographs of welds had been falsified.

Late in December Alaska state inspec-



New York Times

tors reported that they had found flaws in the anticorrosion covering of the pipeline. This is a problem that could prove much more serious than defective welds.

The special covering is designed to prevent the soil around the pipe, much of it high in acid content, from corroding the metal.

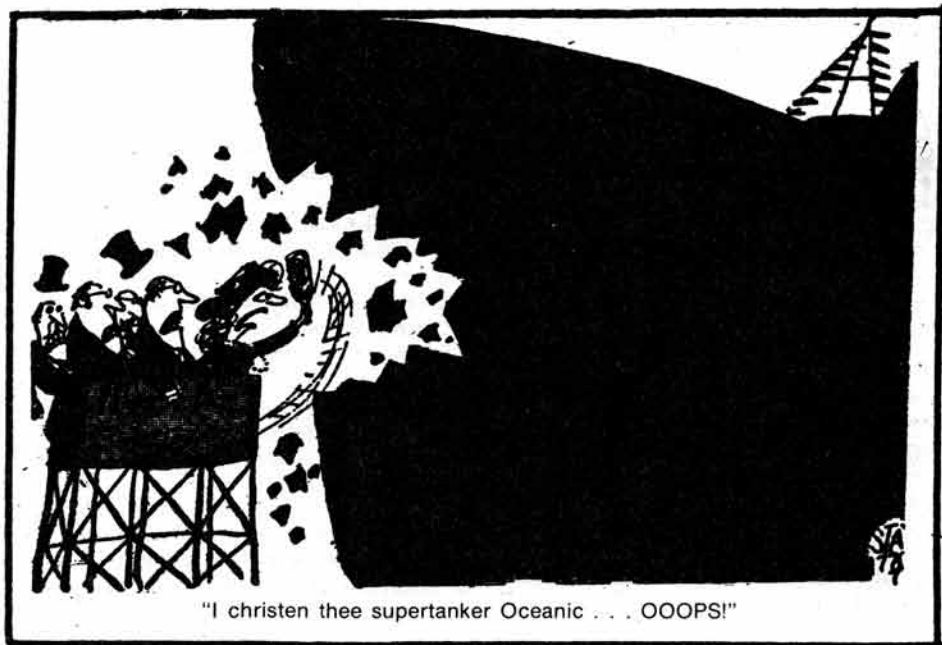
The Alaska Pipeline Coordinator's office said that corrosion historically has caused more pipeline leaks than faulty welds.

Overseas Alice Runs Aground

The *Overseas Alice*, an American-owned tanker carrying almost six million gallons of gasoline, ran aground January 25 in the Brewerton East approach channel to Baltimore's harbor.

Fortunately, after a day's effort, tugs managed to free the tanker.

According to the Coast Guard, no gasoline was leaked or spilled, and the ship's hull was not damaged.



Reprinted from Action

Poison Gas in Aachen

Police in Aachen, West Germany, reported January 20 that in a needle factory in the area nitric acid was mistakenly pumped into a tank of sulfuric acid.

The resulting poison gas escaped from the plant in a cloud and drifted over the area.

Schools and highways were ordered closed until the gas dissipated.

At least forty-four persons were reported to have been injured.

Clammers Sue for \$500 Million

The National Sea Clammers Association is suing the states of New York and New Jersey for \$500 million, charging that sewage dumped by the two states into the Atlantic Ocean triggered a "black mass" of algae in mid-1976.

According to a report in the January 27 *Washington Post*, "The association charged that the states and nine municipalities have dumped toxic materials that fed the algae that blanketed the water from the southwestern portion of Long Island to Cape May"—a distance of some 130 miles.

In addition to the monetary claim for damages, the suit calls for a court order barring the states and municipalities from discharging wastes into the ocean.

The association, which represents about half the independent clammers in New Jersey, has pointed out that the spread of the algae last year caused massive destruction of marine plant life, fish, clams, lobsters, and the collapse of many industries that are dependent on marine life.

Tumorous Shellfish May Be Edible

Studies of oysters, clams and mussels that grow in scores of polluted coastal

bays and rivers in the United States have disclosed cancerous growths in a relatively large number of shellfish, according to the National Marine Fisheries Service.

The shellfish were collected in the states of Washington, Oregon, Virginia, Delaware, Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Maine.

In some studies the incidence was so high as to be the equivalent of epidemics in human populations.

As reported in the January 27 *New York Times*, "The discovery of tumors in shellfish does not foreclose human consumption of these resources, according to the researchers. The danger in eating a tumorous clam or mussel depends on the amount of toxic substances it may contain, they point out."

It was not reported in what way the amount of toxic substances in tumorous shellfish might be easily determined.

The studies disclosed that the relatively recent increase in the number of cancer-like growths may be an indicator of increased levels of toxic substances in the country's waters in recent years. A decade ago only a few cases of unusual growths in shellfish were reported. In the last few years they have been counted in large numbers.

The scientists who made the studies were enthusiastic over the results. For instance Dr. Dante G. Scarpelli, professor of pathology at Northwestern University School of Medicine in Chicago, noted that the collective significance of the studies, in addition to the discovery of a common problem, was to place an important tool in the hands of environmental protectionists.

"Such a tool," he said, "can alert us to the possible exposure of man to carcinogens in bays and estuaries and in the

streams and rivers that flow into them."

He added: "Equally important is the obvious next step we must take—careful laboratory studies that will expose healthy invertebrates to known cancer-causing agents. Then, if the tests prove out and the shellfish get cancer from known human carcinogens, we will have one of the most sensitive sensors of pollutants in the environment."

Thermal Pollution in Japan

Research material indicating that thermal pollution is reaching dangerous levels in Japan has been released by the Japanese government.

As a result of excess heat generated in Tokyo and the decline in evaporation accompanying urbanization, the air is being warmed at the rate of 0.2 calories per square centimeter. The result, as reported by the *New Asia News Notes*, "is that the temperatures in the central city are as much as 3.5 degrees Celsius higher than normal."

By 1985-90 the rise may reach double the present level. If this proves to be the case, "it would have a serious effect on the natural ecosystem."

Meanwhile, the mounting level of air pollutants such as sulphur dioxide is "cause for serious concern."

Oil Spill Near Cape Cod

The barge *Frederick E. Bouchard No. 65*, carrying more than 3.3 million gallons of home-heating oil, ran aground January 28 near Cape Cod, Massachusetts. An estimated 100,000 gallons spilled onto beaches and shellfishing areas before the vessel could be towed to a pier. Home-heating oil is exceptionally poisonous to sea life.

Selections From the Left

klasse- kampen

"Class Struggle," published fortnightly in Copenhagen by the Revolutionary Socialist League (Danish section of the Fourth International).

The January 18 issue features an article by Hans-Erik Rasmussen on Greenland. He begins: "Denmark's role as a colonial power did not end when we sold the West Indian islands. Denmark still holds one of the world's largest colonies. Formally it is called part of Denmark, but in reality Greenland is a colony. . . . They are talking now about home rule for Greenland, but in fact they do not want to give the Greenlanders the right to dispose of the country's national resources.

"The Greenland Home Rule Commission was established in October 1975. The commission has fifteen members. . . . Formally there is supposed to be equal representation—seven Danes, seven Greenlanders, and the chairman. But actually the commission has a bourgeois majority, and this political majority cuts across the lines of nationality. . . .

"In 1953, with the adoption of a new organic law in Denmark, Greenland became a part of the Danish state with 'equal rights'—but not a Danish county as many think. . . . The Greenland Mineral Resources Law established that all the minerals . . . belong to the state. However, the Greenland people never gave the Danish state the right to dispose of their land and subsoil resources. So, the question of who owns the subsoil has now become central in the home-rule discussions." [According to the home-rule proposals, a "common state" structure is to be maintained, including both Denmark and Greenland, with Copenhagen continuing to preside over defense and foreign relations.]

"Why is the Danish state so interested in the Greenland subsoil? It contains a series of raw materials essential to the capitalist countries' production and trade—oil, cryolite, lead, zinc, iron, nickel, molybdenum, and uranium. There are relatively high costs involved in exploiting many of these resources. But the rising price of oil and the shortage of raw materials on the world market means that exploiting Greenland's resources will soon be profitable for the capitalists. . . .

"The Greenland people, and especially the hunters, fishermen, and rapidly growing working class do not have the same interests as the capitalists and the Danish state. If the exploitation of raw materials is continued on a capitalist profit basis, it will produce very few jobs for Greenlanders, while mine waste, for example, will destroy a very delicate ecological system.

"The Greenland Home Rule Subcommittee, which published partial recommendations in February 1975, called for making the subsoil resources Greenland's property under home rule. And in autumn 1975, the Greenland local council adopted a position in principle that the subsoil should belong to the native population.

"However, the commission majority does not want to confirm Greenland ownership. Its opinion is that this is incompatible with maintaining a 'common state structure'. . . . Instead, the commission majority supports the chairman's recommendation that Greenland should have a right of veto over the use of its resources. But how much is such a veto worth? Will the Danish state be able to overrule it?"

bresche

Twice-monthly German-language organ of the Revolutionary Marxist League, published in Zurich, Switzerland.

The January 15 issue reports that the Zurich branch of the Revolutionary Marxist League has decided to give critical support to the Social Democratic candidate in an upcoming cantonal by-election. This decision was made despite the dismally reformist and class-collaborationist outlook of the Zurich Social Democrats:

"The Socialist party's main slogan is that as the biggest party in the canton, it deserves a second seat in the government. . . . And in the campaign it has become clear that the SP candidate Hedi Lang herself is presenting this election as a matter of personalities and steering clear of any class question. And even where she took a position in the national assembly, on the abortion question, she said in an interview with the *Tages-Anzeiger*: 'For me . . . the abortion question is absolutely not an issue in this election.'

"We do not expect Hedi Lang's election to bring any great change in the relationship of forces. One or two SP seats more in the government will not stop either the growing attacks on democratic rights or the 'demolition of social services' the SP talks so much about. And in fact the sole SP member in the government council up till now, Bachmann, has shown that SP members not only generally have to go along with the government's reactionary policies but put their weight behind them. . . .

"Nonetheless, it cannot be a matter of indifference for us whether a reactionary bourgeois representative wins this election or an SP representative. On two important questions recently, the SP has shown that it is still a workers party and is susceptible

to pressure from a class-struggle tendency: In its support for a yes vote in the referendum on the forty-hour workweek; and in its unambiguous position in favor of the Democratic Manifesto and against the Cincera informers."

A major scandal has developed in Switzerland around the case of an informer named Cincera who was planted in the radical milieu by reactionary political forces. The Democratic Manifesto is a united front formed to defend democratic rights. It has come under strong attack from the bourgeois press.

In Switzerland, the forty-five-hour workweek remains in force. At the same time, citizens have the right to initiate laws through referendums. The Swiss Trotskyists, along with other forces, gathered the necessary support to get a referendum on a proposal to establish the forty-hour week. This campaign was an uphill fight, in particular since about a third of Swiss workers are youth or immigrants without the right to vote. The proposition was thus defeated by a large margin. But in the industrial cities and towns, about a third of the voters cast their ballots for it, and in Geneva the yes vote was 42 percent.

tribune socialiste

"Socialist Tribune," weekly magazine of the United Socialist party. Published in Paris.

The National Council of the United Socialist party recently decided to apply for inclusion on the Union of the Left slates in the upcoming municipal elections in France. In its December 28-January 12 issue, *Tribune Socialiste* asks both Charles Fiterman, secretary of the Communist party, and Gilles Martinet, national secretary of the Socialist party, to comment on this.

Fiterman says: "We Communists have always considered that the best way to achieve our objectives in these elections was to move toward the formation of Union of the Left slates in the first round, with these slates basing their campaign on a clear municipal program patterned after the Common Program. This is why we have worked for a national accord on this basis and are happy that such an agreement was concluded. So, our only concern is to assure its application and the success of the slates formed.

"It is in accordance with this desire that our party has taken note of the United Socialist party's wish to take its place on the Union of the Left slates. We have called on our organizations to make contact with the United Socialist party

organizations anywhere that they have influence and show a desire to join in the common struggle. Naturally, it is important that the conditions be created for fruitful cooperation on the basis of the commitments made by all the left parties. This also involves, it should be noted, agreement of our partners."

The Socialist party secretary said:

"It must be understood that the No. 1 problem for the SP activists working in the municipal election campaign is an agreement with our partners supporting the Common Program. The presence of United Socialist party comrades on the slates has not been rejected, but as long as the main agreement has not been concluded, the tendency of a number of our comrades is to put aside the problem of the United Socialist party, perhaps in some cases to wipe it out of their minds entirely. The poor showing of the United Socialist party in the last elections leads these comrades to underestimate the importance of including on our slates a party that stands halfway between the Union of the Left and the far left. As you know, I hope that the United Socialist party will not remain in its ambiguous position and that it will enter into the Union of the Left definitively and fully."

was fun

"What Is To Be Done," weekly paper of the International Marxist Group. Published in Frankfurt, West Germany.

A mass movement has sprung up in West Germany against the building of atomic power plants without sufficient safeguards. The high point so far has been the demonstration of about 30,000 persons on November 13 at the A-plant construction site in Brokdorf, Schleswig-Holstein.

The editorial in the January 20 issue deals with the growing uneasiness of the West German population about the way nuclear power is being developed.

"Last week two bombs exploded in the German Federal Republic. The first was a paper one in the realm of 'gray theory.' This event was denied by 'responsible sources.' Then there was a real one. Responsible sources pooh-poohed it, trying to make out that everything had gone 'as planned.'

"The headline in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* January 13 was, 'New Cries of Alarm Raised in the Atom Plant Conflict—Report Prepared for the Federal Ministry Talks of Disastrous Consequences of Accidents.'"

The Bundesverband der Bürgerinitiativen Umweltschutz (BBU—Federal League of Citizens Initiative Groups to Defend the Environment) had gotten hold of a secret study on the possible results of an accident at the retreatment centers and atomic power plants and published it. According

to the BBU's interpretation, the study said that thirty million persons in the Federal Republic alone could die as a result of an accident in such installations.

"The next day, the headline in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was, 'Federal Ministry Sees Irresponsible Panic-Mongering.' The federal ministry called the study 'purely hypothetical . . . bearing no relation to a realistic assessment of the risks. . . .'

"On January 15 the headline in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* was: 'Atomic Reactor Heats up Greatly After Defect Develops. Emergency Shut-down of Gundremmingen Reactor.' The ministry's comment was: 'At no point was there any danger to the plant personnel or to the population in the surrounding area.' And: 'The security system functioned according to plan.'

"Panic-mongering? Everything according to plan? The ministry was right. This was nothing but an everyday occurrence, which because of unfortunate circumstances got into the headlines. . . ."

ARRITTI

Corsican autonomist weekly. Published in Bastia, Corsica.

The November 12 issue includes the following comment by N. Palavesani on the pollution of Corsican coastal waters:

"The court case on the all-too-well-known red mud [a poisonous silt caused by discharged industrial waste] has opened again in Bastia. The case will be discussed, briefs presented, and a judgment handed down that will probably remain as much a dead letter as the previous ones. The Montedison company has a long arm, and just as it has escaped the lightning bolts of justice in Italy, it will avoid the still-more-dampened ones in our republic. Thus, under our so-called democratic regimes, big capital can defy the law with impunity and continue its crimes undisturbed.

"Montedison is going to continue to dump its poisonous waste in Mare Nostrom [the Mediterranean]. It is true that we are living in a time when everyone, and in particular the big 'operator' in politics, is constantly talking about pollution, ecology, and the 'quality of life'. . . ."

"But no matter how much they bandy these words around, things keep happening inexorably and push our society forward on the disastrous road of a kind of 'progress' that is leading to a catastrophe that can already be clearly seen ahead. The day when some million-ton oil tanker splits open in a storm between Cap Corse and the French shore, it will be the Corsican maritime workers, as well as the Italians, who will have to bear the tragic consequences.

"This kind of contemptible 'democracy'

that conceals under fancy but empty words a process of degeneration leading to the ruin of our old civilization is something we Corsicans have been familiar with for a long time."

QUÉ HACER?

"What Is To Be Done?" organ of the Socialist Workers Organization, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International. Published in San José, Costa Rica.

The January issue includes an article on the growth of community organizations in the slums developing around the larger towns in Costa Rica.

"Today, the poverty in the countryside and the scarcity of land and jobs have driven the peasants to migrate to the cities as the only way out, even if a difficult one. Thus, what were simple clusters of poor dwellings, without light or water, where there were tremendous problems of communication because of the state of the streets as well as transportation, have filled up with people."

The fight for minimum urban services, lighting, sewers, and paved streets has become fundamental in this growing slum belt. In response to the demands of the slum dwellers, the authorities have been pushing the idea that the inhabitants of these neighborhoods can solve their problems by "self-help."

The paper writes: "The state has the responsibility to meet all the vital needs of the communities. We should not take on this burden by trying, with the best intentions, to solve such basic problems through fund drives and enormous personal sacrifices. . . ."

"Where is the money collected in taxes? Is it reasonable for them to ask us—as if it were the most natural thing in the world—to put up half the cost of any public works? In Concepción and Guadalupe, for example, the people of the neighborhoods have organized and fought to win street lights, among other things. The city government is asking that they pay half the cost. In other communities where the people are fighting for paved streets, the city governments provide the materials but neither the labor nor machinery. Should we be grateful to them for this? What are the city governments doing to solve such grave problems as the lack of potable water, of adequate lighting, of passable streets, of sewers, etc? . . ."

"They want us to believe that the taxes collected and the resources of the state are not sufficient. We must demand strict accounting for the money collected, with full participation by the citizens. But if the state's funds are not sufficient, there are plenty of parasites who live by exploiting the people who could always be taxed more."

AROUND THE WORLD



Gary Tyler Sentenced to Life at Hard Labor

On January 24, the Louisiana State Supreme Court refused to grant a new trial to Gary Tyler, a Black youth who was framed-up on charges of killing a white student and sentenced to die in the electric chair. The state's chief witness having recanted her testimony in the trial, the court set aside the death sentence but then ordered Tyler imprisoned for life at hard labor. It specifically ruled that he could not be eligible for parole, probation, or suspension of sentence for twenty years.

An editorial in the February 4 issue of the revolutionary socialist weekly *Militant* condemned the court decision upholding Tyler's conviction and stated, "All supporters of justice should redouble their efforts to free Gary Tyler."

Duvalier's Holiday 'Amnesty' a Hoax

According to Amnesty International, President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier's "Christmas amnesty" was a hoax. Only thirty of the ninety persons listed as having been released were actually politi-



"BABY DOC" DUVALIER: Finds Washington is not fussy about details.

cal prisoners, the human-rights group said January 9. And only a few of them were actually set free. Previous "amnesties" have also proved to be phony.

The announcement of the release of political prisoners was apparently designed to give political cover to Washington, which supplies military aid to the Duvalier dictatorship. Shortly after the phony "amnesty," the U.S.-controlled International Development Association announced a \$10 million loan to Haiti.

American Linguists Say No to Funds From Shah

The Linguistic Society of America (LSA), at its annual meeting December 29, passed a resolution opposing the acceptance of funds from institutions controlled by the Iranian regime. The resolution was partly in response to a recent agreement in which the City University of New York accepted a grant of more than \$100,000 from the National University of Iran.

LSA representative Prof. Frank W. Heny referred to the imprisonment of intellectuals and academics in Iran and the surveillance of Iranian students in the United States by SAVAK, the Iranian secret police.

He said, "If this government succeeds in funding programs here, we can be sure it would try to exert direct influence and control over American faculty and institutions, and over the courses they offer. . . it would create, relatively cheaply, an image of benevolence and goodwill, diffuse our protests on behalf of our colleagues in Iran, create an environment in which control of Iranian students in this country was made more effective. Not to mention buying specific expertise in teaching English and computational linguistics which is needed . . . as an integral part of training for the internal military and surveillance programs which are so extensive in Iran today."

Hungarian Intellectuals Back Charter 77 Group

Several dozen Hungarian intellectuals have signed a statement of solidarity with the Czechoslovak civil liberties group Charter 77, according to a report in the January 21 *Le Monde*. The declaration was made in the form of a letter to Pavel Kohout, one of the spokesmen of Charter 77. It stressed that the "normalized"

Prague regime's attacks on defenders of civil rights were cause for international concern.

Some of the more well-known signers of the Hungarian statement were the writer Miklos Haraszti and the philosophers Agnes Heller, Ferenc Feher, and Janos Kiss.

The reported list was quite broad. It included the musician Zoltan Kocsis, as well as the economists Ferenc Donat and Ferenc Janossy; literary critics such as Sandor Radnoti and Erzebet Vezer; and the sociologists Maria Marcus and Judith Haber.

Signers also reportedly included the philosophers György Bence, Mihai Vajda, György Marcus, and Zador Tordai; and the writers Istvan Eorsi and Miklos Meszöly. According to the January 30 issue of the Rome weekly *L'Espresso*, former Hungarian premier Andras Hegedus also associated himself with the statement.

Translation Request

An article datelined Las Vegas, New Mexico, in the January 10 *New York Times* reported: "The first meeting of the newly elected San Miguel County Commission has been conducted in Spanish, and some English-speaking residents do not like it."

"The 1970 United States Census shows that, of the county's population of 21,951, there were 17,943 people with Spanish surnames or listing Spanish as their native language.

"Lois Beck, editor of the Las Vegas *Optic*, the English-language daily in this city, which is the county seat, informed Attorney General Toney Anaya that her staff reporter, Ralph Damiani, was unable to follow the session's proceedings this week.

"When asked to comment, Mr. Anaya said: 'I told the newspaper that the action of the San Miguel County Commission was not illegal but that it did clearly violate the spirit and intent of the state's Open Meeting Law, the intent of which is to permit individuals to participate and understand what is going on.'

"He added: 'We will take a good look at the possibility of having an amendment made which would require translators to be provided at public meetings.'"

The attitude the attorney general has adopted in this case contrasts sharply with the whole American judicial system, which

has never been concerned when Mexicans or Chicanos didn't understand "what is going on." It's a good thing if translators are to be provided in New Mexico, but they should also be required at meetings held in English in places where part of the population—often a considerable part—is Spanish-speaking.

Unless they now want to write into law the double standard that has in fact always prevailed in the United States: It doesn't matter if people who speak Spanish don't understand anything . . . but watch out if Anglos don't have translators when they need them!

20,000 Reported Slain or Missing in Guatemala

More than 20,000 persons have disappeared or have been murdered in Guatemala during the past ten years, according to a report issued by Amnesty International in London December 11.

The human-rights organization charged that "massive killings" began in the 1960s under the guise of counterinsurgency operations. The report describes accounts of torture of peasants and labor leaders and quotes witnesses who found mutilated bodies, wrapped in plastic bags, in lakes and rivers and mass graves in the countryside.

According to Amnesty International, the killings were carried out by security forces or by paramilitary groups, which operated with "the knowledge and, at times, close cooperation of government authorities."

Trotsky in Gaelic

In its January 12 issue, Ireland's most authoritative paper, the *Irish Times*, carried a comment on Leon Trotsky's role in history. This was provoked by an unconfirmed report in a London paper that the GPU assassin who murdered the Russian revolutionary leader has been given a medal in the Soviet Union.

The comment came in the *Irish Times'* regular Irish-language roundup of news and comment called "Tuarascáil," which is produced by a team of journalists. Among other things, "Tuarascáil" said: "Trotsky's ghost is still a vital force, and young disciples continue to come forward every year to replace the old stalwarts. What pull, what attraction is there in this personality and his teachings thirty-six years after his death and a half-century after his fall from power? The politicians should have studied that question this year."

Smith Vows Stepped-Up War Against Freedom Fighters

Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith rejected British proposals for a negotiated settlement January 24, claiming that the proposal would have led to immediate

control of the country by a "Marxist-indoctrinated minority." The British plan, put forward by Ivor Richard, called for Black majority rule of Zimbabwe in



SMITH: Says he will take a "new tougher line" against Zimbabwe's Black majority.

fourteen months and a Black-dominated interim regime supervised by London. In rejecting the plan, Smith declared that his regime would adopt a "new, tougher line" against the Zimbabwean freedom fighters.

A representative of the Zimbabwe African People's Union said that Smith "has opted for a war path."

Ukrainian Nationalists Debate Stance Toward 'Marxist Camp'

The appearance of groups and personalities such as Leonid Plyushch that speak out against the national oppression of the Ukraine from a socialist point of view has caused a new problem for right-wing Ukrainian nationalists.

Plyushch's tour of the United States in early 1976, for example, provoked a flood of articles and editorial comment in the violently anti-Communist New York Ukrainian daily *Svoboda*.

In its January 21 issue, *Svoboda* carried an article from a Paris correspondent on "Euro-Communism," that is, the moves by the big West European CPs to criticize repression in the USSR. Although the article was written from a rightist point of view, its author recognized that it is no longer possible simply to ignore or red-bait socialists who defend the democratic rights of the Ukrainian people.

"Is the Ukrainian press right when it considers that there can be no discussion with Communists?"

"It is right that you can't discuss with Communists. But we are not right if we think that there can be no discussion aimed at Communists. . . . The French in fact are actually provoking discussion, discussion aimed not only at mobilizing a lot of people against the CP but at forcing members and sympathizers of the CP to think. . . .

"It would be easy to eliminate the problem of L. Plyushch, for example, by relegating him to a hopeless 'Marxist camp.' But are we right to close the door against those who are 'outflanking the CP to the left' in France and throughout the free world, and perhaps tomorrow in the USSR?"

Vietnamese Seek to Tap Oil Reserves

The Vietnamese government is planning to establish its own state oil company and will soon approve a detailed foreign-investment code in preparation for the involvement of foreign oil companies, according to a report in the January 27 *New York Times*.

One Western diplomat, who reportedly had extensive contacts with Vietnamese trade officials, explained, "What the Vietnamese need and are talking about is money on the order of oil money or massive reconstruction aid, and they need it quickly. They've privately written off anything from the United States, even the Soviets. So all that's left is oil."

Anti-Allende Book Was a CIA Job

A book critical of the Chilean regime of Salvador Allende was commissioned by the Central Intelligence Agency and published in Britain and the United States. *Chile's Marxist Experiment*, by British journalist Robert Moss, was rushed into print between Allende's overthrow in September 1973 and the end of that year.

Representative Don Edwards, the chairman of the House Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, said that the publication of the book could be a "serious violation of the First Amendment," which "guarantees the 'free flow of information,' which is entitled to be unpolluted by secret government propaganda."

Another 'Independent' Bantustan

The South African regime has taken another step in its strategy of divide and rule. It was announced January 24 that Bophuthatswana, one of ten African reserves, or Bantustans, would be declared "independent" on December 6. "Independence" was already imposed on the Transkei in October 1976. Of the 1.6 million Africans assigned to Bophuthatswana, only one-third actually live in the reserve. The rest live and work in "white" South Africa.

BOOKS

Canada—Accomplice in Apartheid

Reviewed by Ernest Harsch



One of the most important tasks in an international campaign of solidarity with the Black struggle in South Africa is to pressure Pretoria's allies into breaking off all ties with the apartheid regime. For antiapartheid activists, the exposure of the specific forms of support their governments give to Pretoria—whether economic, military, or political—is a crucial step in building such a campaign.

It was with this goal in mind that Dick Fidler wrote *Canada—Accomplice in Apartheid*. Fidler is a staff writer for the Toronto socialist fortnightly *Labor Chal-*

Canada—Accomplice in Apartheid, by Dick Fidler. Toronto: Vanguard Publications, 1977. 23 pp., \$0.50.

lenge and is a member of the Central Committee of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, Canadian section of the Fourth International.

Although the Trudeau government has expressed its official "revulsion" at the "cancer of Apartheid," Fidler shows how Ottawa has, in fact, aided the Vorster regime.

By 1973, the latest year for which figures are available, Canadian companies had at least \$105 million invested in South Africa, or 84 percent of all Canadian investments in Africa.

One of the major attractions for foreign companies in South Africa is the fabulous profit rate. Alcan Aluminum, which produces a wide range of semi-fabricated and finished aluminum products, grossed almost \$5 million in profits in 1972. Massey-Ferguson, the giant agricultural equipment producer, did even better, raking in more than \$8 million in the same year. Its average annual profit rate for the previous five years was 21.5 percent.

One of the main reasons for these high profit rates is the low cost of labor in South Africa. Black workers are virtually barred from taking any strike actions and their trade-union rights are severely curtailed. Referring to Pretoria's minimum poverty level, the Poverty Datum Line (PDL), and the Minimum Effective Level (MEL), which is 50 percent higher, Fidler wrote that "of Massey-Ferguson's 733 Black workers, 642 were paid less than the Poverty Datum Line. Not one received the

Minimum Effective Level wage. . . .

"At Alcan's Pietermaritzburg plant, no fewer than 703 of 706 Black workers were paid below the PDL (\$131.60 monthly in that area). None were paid the MEL or higher.

"Bata Shoes in Pinetown paid more than 60 percent of its Black workers below the PDL, and more than 98 percent below the MEL."

The Canadian government actively encourages investments in South Africa. Fidler quoted a Canadian trade commissioner in Cape Town who urged "enterprising Canadian businessmen" to "cash in on the upsurge of the South African economy." Ottawa also grants export credits for Canadian trade and investment in both South Africa and Namibia.

"One of the most shocking aspects of Ottawa's complicity in South African repression," Fidler wrote, "is the evidence that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police have trained South African police forces."

After reviewing Ottawa's denials of such training, Fidler continued, "Is the RCMP doing a cover-up job on its own role in South Africa? The answer is yes, if the information confirmed by Canadian officials in South Africa is accurate. No wonder the government and its diplomatic and police agents are so reluctant to tell

the truth about their operations! The RCMP may have trained the same police officials responsible for the massacres in Soweto!"

Fidler also answered the argument put forward by some Canadian nationalists that Canada is not an imperialist power at all, but a semicolony of the United States. According to this logic, its involvement in southern Africa is the result of pressure from Washington.

"Canada's complicity in the racist system in southern Africa," he said, "is rooted in the imperialist structure of Canadian industry and the Canadian state. Canadian capitalists don't have to be instructed to invest in South Africa. . . . For them, it pays."

In conclusion, Fidler stressed that "Canadians can help the struggle of the oppressed in southern Africa by building a powerful mass movement of solidarity with their struggles. . . .

"In addition, pressure should be mounted on Ottawa to terminate immediately all measures designed to protect and promote Canadian investment in southern Africa. . . . Terminate all other forms of assistance to the South African regime—such as . . . RCMP training of Vorster's police!" □

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