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Stop Irish Hanging!

Bernadette Devlin Campaigns to Save Murrays



BERNADETTE (DEVLIN) McALISKEY: Tours United States urging support for case of Marie and Noel Murray, Irish couple condemned to death by Dublin special tribunal. See p. 1652.

Kremlin Stung by French CP Support to Imprisoned Dissidents

George Breitman: Vereeken's Differences With Trotsky

La Razón del Triunfo de Jimmy Carter

NEWS ANALYSIS

The Case of Gary Mark Gilmore

By Joseph Hansen

Currently in the top of the news in the United States is the case of Gary Mark Gilmore, the first person scheduled for execution since the Supreme Court announced its 7 to 2 decision last July 2 that the death penalty does not violate the Constitution's ban on "cruel and unusual" punishment.

In 1972 the court, by a 5 to 4 decision had reached an opposite verdict. A number of states thereupon revised their legislation on capital punishment to meet the legalistic requirements called for by the court.

Gilmore was convicted last October 7 of first degree murder. On July 20, armed with a .22-caliber pistol, he had walked into the lobby of a motel in Provo, Utah, and ordered the night clerk, Bennie Bushnell, a twenty-five-year-old student at Brigham Young University, to lie down on the floor. He then fired a shot into Bushnell's head.

The previous night, Gilmore had allegedly shot and killed Max David Jensen in a service station holdup near Provo. The trial judge set November 15 as the date for execution.

The case attracted nationwide interest because Gilmore's execution would be the first application of capital punishment in the United States since 1967, setting a precedent affecting the fate of about 600 other persons now on death row in various states. The overriding issue, of course, is the setback that the legal murder of Gilmore would deal the long struggle in the United States to end the barbaric sentencing of human beings to die.

Certain lurid aspects of this individual case have tended to obscure the basic issues involved.

Gilmore's attorneys filed papers appealing the conviction. The Utah Supreme Court granted a stay so that all the legal aspects connected with the case could be reviewed. The attorneys also called for a psychiatric examination on the basis of new evidence that the defendant had exhibited suicidal tendencies.

Gilmore fired his attorneys and appealed to the Utah Supreme Court to order the death sentence to be carried out. In a note to the judges he said:

"Don't the people of Utah have the courage of their conviction?"

"You sentenced a man to die—me—and when I accept this most extreme punishment with grace and dignity, the people of Utah want to back down and argue with me about it. You're silly. I've been sentenced to die, I accept that. Let's do it."

Gilmore was then permitted to make a personal appearance before the Utah Supreme Court. He again pleaded for death:

"I believe I was given a fair trial, and I think the sentence was proper, and I'm willing to accept it like a man and wish it to be carried out without delay."

The justices vacated the stay of sentence and agreed to let Gilmore be shot as scheduled.

However, Governor Calvin Rampton, himself an advocate of the death penalty, intervened at this point. He postponed the execution until at least November 17, thereby permitting a last-minute review by the state Board of Pardons.

This added a new sensationalistic note. The head of the Board of Pardons happens to be George W. Latimer, the attorney who organized the campaign to save Lt. William L. Calley from punishment for the premeditated murder of at least 102 unarmed men, women, and children in the tiny South Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai.

The chief argument advanced in behalf of Calley was that an incident like the one he was involved in could not be considered "cruel and unusual" in the general framework of actions ordered by the Pentagon and the White House in Vietnam.

Another sensationalistic feature of the Gilmore case is that in Utah a person facing the death penalty is given the choice of being hanged by the neck until dead or facing a five-man firing squad. Gilmore chose the firing squad.

Warden Samuel W. Smith told the press that there was no lack of volunteers to serve on the firing squad, each of whom receives \$175 for the work (or pleasure) of shooting at the target placed over the heart of the seated victim.

The warden said he was carefully scrutinizing the list of applicants to find "solid citizens" for the task and weed out those motivated by "unhealthy reasons."

Finally, Gilmore announced November 13 through his attorney Dennis Boaz that he was "considering" marrying Nicole Barrett, a Provo woman about twenty-one years old. "They've married other convicts in prison before, so I don't think they'll stand in my way."

The application of the death penalty to Gilmore has thus been top subject on the TV newscasts day after day on prime time, and the newspapers have kept it on the front page, with many additional "feature" articles and sketches of the pending execution. Most of the reportage has



Conrad/Los Angeles Times

tended to obscure the real issues.

For instance, it is argued that Gilmore has a right to determine whether to choose death; and that this is a right everyone should be free to exercise if life, for whatever reason, becomes unbearable.

This question, however, is not involved in the Gilmore case. Gilmore's mental health is involved. The contention that a mentally ill person has the right to commit suicide does not include the right to have the state carry out this death wish through the use of a firing squad, a gallows, a guillotine, a gas chamber, an electric chair, or similar device. The suicide is converted into legalized murder.

Another contention is that the killing of Gilmore will help deter crime. This hoary argument has always been advanced by the proponents of capital punishment. Thorough studies of this question established long ago that the death penalty—and severe sentences in general—do not deter the commission of crime.

Sentences of that kind do not affect the *social causes* of crime. More than 90 percent of crimes are, in the final analysis, to be explained by the functioning of an economic system that puts profits above human needs.

To this it can be added that the brutal—and brutalizing—prison system of capitalist America adds its share to the breakdown of human beings, furthering their inability to "cope" with the violent stresses of capitalist society.

Gilmore's own record offers the most striking evidence of what the prison system does to people.

Born in 1940, Gilmore at the age of fourteen smashed a school window. For that he was given eighteen months in a reformatory.

After "rehabilitation" in the reform school, Gilmore always seemed to be in trouble, vagrancy being among his problems. In 1960 at the age of twenty he was sentenced to fifteen years in the Oregon Correctional Institution for stealing an automobile.

The newspapers do not indicate when he was released. But in 1964 he was again arrested in Oregon for assault and robbery, drawing fifteen years in prison. There he was listed among the "trouble-makers," for joining a sit-down strike in 1971.

The warden decided, however, to "give him a chance," and he was enrolled in Lane Community College in Eugene, Oregon. He showed artistic promise, and has done work in watercolors, charcoal, and oil. Recently the press published some of his poetry.

But he skipped school. After he robbed \$34 from a service station, he was again imprisoned.

Shifted to a federal prison at Marion, Illinois, he seemed to change. The Board of Paroles discharged him three years early.

He went to Provo, Utah, where a job had been offered him by his uncle. He arrived in that small town last April 9.

But after eighteen years conditioning in the prisons of Oregon and Illinois, Gilmore could not make it. After six days working in his uncle's shoe-repair shop, he quit.

In Provo, he met Nicole Barrett. For a time things seemed ideal. Then early in July, Barrett left him.

On July 2 the U.S. Supreme Court, as we have noted, approved capital punishment. Did this decision have an effect on Gilmore? On July 19-20 he committed the crimes that meant the end for him. He acted as if the decision upholding the death penalty were an invitation to engage in a course that would place him before a firing squad. It can be cogently argued that reinstitution of capital punishment fostered Gilmore's crime instead of deterring it.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were reported to be considering intervening in the case through whatever legal avenues might be open. Capital punishment has always been applied in the United States with particular vigor to Blacks and poor whites. The death penalty has therefore stood out as one of the most vicious features of class justice in the "land of the free." The racist aspect of capital punishment helped inspire the intense efforts over the years to end this "cruel and unusual" punishment.

In this battle, the interests of Blacks and poor whites as a whole transcend the understandable wish of Gilmore to die rather than be confined for the rest of his life in an American prison, the nature of which he understands only too well.

In furtherance of the struggle as a whole, it is to be hoped that the savage sentence inflicted on this victim of the capitalist system will be commuted.

Such a turn would help all of those now waiting on death row and make it easier to renew efforts on a broad scale to do away with a form of punishment that belongs to the Dark Ages. □

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Bernadette Devlin Campaigns Across U.S. to Save Murrays

By Gerry Foley

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey began a two-week tour of the United States November 7. In her opening news conference in New York City she issued an appeal to Irish-Americans, humanitarians, and defenders of civil liberties to speak out immediately to save a young Irish couple from the gallows. She has repeated this appeal in meetings, lectures, and rallies across the United States.

A week before McAliskey's arrival in the United States, the final appeal of Marie and Noel Murray, both in their mid-twenties, went before the Irish Supreme Court. They were sentenced to death by hanging in Dublin on June 10 for allegedly killing an off-duty policeman during an escape from a bank robbery.

McAliskey's initial statement on the Murrays was reported in two of the three mass-circulation papers in New York, the *Daily News* and the *Post*.

In Philadelphia, the first city where she spoke to local audiences, McAliskey's statements were reported extensively in the mass media.

The Irish press is prohibited from publishing comments on the Murray case by regulations carried over from British jurisprudence. These rules make it contempt of court to try to influence decisions in criminal cases. Any person who speaks publicly in support of defendants and any newspaper that publishes such statements can be prosecuted.

The two most respected journals in Ireland, the *Irish Times* and the literary fortnightly *Hibernia*, have already been brought before the courts for publishing statements about the case. In the first instance, the offending comment was a quote from a press release by the Association for Legal Justice, a civil liberties group. In the second, it was a letter from a reader.

While the rule against public comment on a trial was strictly observed in the case of the Murrays, most of the other rules of British and Irish jurisprudence were thrown out the window. They were condemned to death by a special tribunal. The right of judgment by a jury of their peers was denied. The normal rules of evidence did not apply.

The trial took place in the atmosphere of a witch-hunt against militant nationalists, who the government claims raise money for military actions against British forces by violent crime. In early April, only several weeks before the sentencing of the Murrays, more than twenty members of

the smallest and most vulnerable militant nationalist organization, the Irish Republican Socialist party, were hauled in by police, ostensibly on suspicion of involvement in a train robbery. Their jailers tried to beat "confessions" out of them. The evidence of brutal beatings was so obvious that it created a national scandal. The editor of the IRSP paper suffered a brain concussion.

The Murrays, formerly active supporters of the Official republican movement, say that statements by them that were cited to prove their guilt were extorted by torture and intimidation.

McAliskey spoke to more than five hundred persons at Temple University in Philadelphia November 9 in front of a giant banner that said: "Dublin: Don't Hang Marie and Noel Murray."

In an article in the Philadelphia *Daily News*, one of the city's largest papers, Jack McKinney reported:

"There hasn't been a hanging in the Republic of Ireland in more than 30 years, Bernadette pointed out, but the government would roll back the clock with next month's scheduled hanging of a young anarchist couple named Marie and Noel Murray. . . .

"Either old Pierpont [the hangman Dublin used to import from England for executions it could not get any Irish person to do] is dead, or he's too feeble to do the job," she added. "So they've brought in another hangman, all the way from Rhodesia."

McAliskey said that the government had chosen these two isolated individuals as a test case for restoring the death penalty:

"Because they're anarchists, and belong to no formal political grouping, support for the Murrays was slow to build," Bernadette pointed out. "But their hanging would renew the ugliest dimension of Irish justice, and they wouldn't be its last victims. We just hope our efforts won't be too little and too late."

In the Calvary United Methodist Church on the edge of the Black ghetto in Philadelphia, McAliskey talked about the relevance of the struggle against repression in Ireland for Americans. John DuBois reported what she said in the *Evening Bulletin*:

"The point I want most vigorously to put across," she declared, is that the Irish-American organizations have as much responsibility for helping the oppressed in their own country as they do in Ireland.

"However, said Mrs. McAliskey, Ameri-

cans today 'cannot avoid the Irish struggle' and still say they are in favor of the betterment of mankind.

"To some people in America the struggle in Ireland has become a tiresome and 'endless cycle of bomb after bomb, death after death,' she continued. And to some Americans the Irish trouble seems like a medieval hangover that endlessly pits 'Republican against loyalist, Catholic against Protestant.'

"But the struggle is real, she declared and 'relates' to the struggles against oppression in America and all over the world. . . .

"At another point she said: "There can be no peace while an instrument of oppression exists. In Ireland that's British imperialism.

"If you want the gun out of Irish politics, take the biggest armed force out of Ireland, the 20,000 British troops.'

"She compared the British force in Ireland with the huge American force that was in Vietnam to 'referee' the war there. 'You don't put that many men in arms in a country as a referee; [only] if you are a participant in the war,' she said."

In a feature article on McAliskey in the November 10 Philadelphia *Inquirer*, Elizabeth Duff reported:

"She says that young people in Ulster are not 'lured' into militant organizations, but are searching for 'a political way to fight back against their oppressors,' the British, who she claims deny them jobs and civil rights.

"But she also is here to preach a little to Americans, too. Her subject: School desegregation.

"We find it strange to see our people in America, Irish-Americans, be against what we are fighting for at home. When you see what's happening, particularly in Boston, on the international news, it just makes you cringe.

"It's important to explain to them the contradictions in their own minds. Their arguments are very loyalist arguments [like those of the Orangemen]."

McAliskey is scheduled to be a keynote speaker at the Student Coalition Against Racism conference in Boston on November 19.

At the University of Maryland in College Park on November 10, McAliskey spoke to a crowd of a thousand persons. At the University of California in Los Angeles, four hundred persons came to hear her. At Immaculate Heart College in the same city, six hundred persons attended

her talk. Her tour is scheduled to culminate in a forum at Barnard College in New York on November 20.

In most cities she has visited, McAliskey has spoken to groups of Irish activists and encouraged them to defend the Murrays. Petitions on behalf of the young couple

have been circulated at her talks. In New York City, the Ad Hoc Murray Defense Committee has been formed to mobilize support for the Murrays. It has called a demonstration at Irish Airlines on Fifth Avenue on November 20, at which McAliskey is scheduled to speak. □

"Communiqué No. 3," denounced by the committee as a falsification, it was said that "recently there have been important concessions and these have led to the rehiring of many workers." The intent was obviously to spread the idea that the need for defending the victimized strikers was diminishing.

The government has also tried to demoralize the committee, *Rouge* reported, by spreading a false report that one of its members, Lipinski, resigned after a chat with the minister of the interior.

Sixty workers at Ursus were sentenced by ordinary courts, twenty-one by criminal courts, and the cases of eight others were being examined by judges, *Rouge* reported. Three workers are in prison awaiting trial, including Malewski, who is in the prison hospital owing to maltreatment.

In Radom, seventy-three workers received sentences, forty-four of them prison terms of more than two years. *Rouge's* report was based on the Warsaw Support Committee's "Communiqué No. 2," which also revealed that eleven persons were killed in the confrontation between workers and the repressive forces on June 25, two of them on the barricades in Radom.

Formation of the French Committee of Solidarity With the Polish Workers was announced in *Le Monde* November 7. The committee's sponsors include Simone de Beauvoir, Roger Garaudy, André Gorz, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Claude Roy. Its address is c/o *Cahiers du Cinéma*, 9, passage de la Boule-Blanche, 75012 Paris, France. □

Protests Continue Despite Harassment

Polish Workers Demand Job Mates Be Rehired

A statement signed by 889 workers at the Ursus plant outside Warsaw was sent to Polish Communist party head Edward Gierek November 4. It demanded the rehiring of all workers laid off from this factory for participating in the June 25 demonstrations against the government's price increases.

The full text of the workers' demands was published in the November 6-7 issue of the French Trotskyist daily *Rouge*:

"We workers at Ursus demand that those fired as a result of the strike and demonstration June 25, 1976, be reinstated.

"We consider this essential in view of the difficult situation in which the country finds itself, the tension that prevails in the plant, and the difficulties in fulfilling the production plan owing to the lack of qualified personnel.

"We demand that the workers fired be allowed to resume work in the same conditions as previously, retaining all their rights of seniority, and that they be paid for the time they have lost.

"We are convinced that it is only when all the workers have been rehired that we, together with all Poles, will be able to deal with the difficult economic situation in which our country finds itself."

Before the June 25 strike, the total work force at Ursus consisted of 5,000 persons. Since the strike, several hundred were laid off. Therefore, the signers of this statement must have constituted nearly a fourth of all the workers still employed at the plant. Such a formal, public demand on the head of a Stalinized workers state by a substantial part of the workers at a major industrial center is an indication of how massive and open the opposition to bureaucratic dictatorship in Poland has become.

The Committee to Support Worker Victims of the Repression, organized in Warsaw to defend victimized strikers, has continued to function openly despite harassment by the bureaucracy. It has collected and distributed 360,000 zlotys (20 zlotys equal approximately US\$1) to aid the families of fired workers.

A member of the committee, Baranczak, has been arrested, *Rouge* reported, for



GIEREK

"illegally soliciting money." The government is charging that the funds collected "did not reach those they were intended for."

Two other members of the committee, Miroslav Chojewski and Antoni Macierewicz, have been fired from their jobs. The first was employed at the Institute for Atomic Research. The second was a professor of history at the University of Warsaw.

The government claims that the committee is an illegal association. The organizers maintain that they applied for registration as required by law in September but that their application was rejected.

In a statement quoted in *Le Monde* November 6, the organizers stress that the committee's activity is completely public and will cease to be necessary "when the unions and official aid organizations do their duty, when the persecution ends, and when the fired workers can return to their jobs with the same status as previously."

In addition to harassing members of the committee, the government has resorted to publishing false statements in the committee's name. For example, in a so-called

World's Most Modest Tyrant?

Official Chinese newspapers are lauding Chairman Hua Kuo-feng as "the wise leader," and poets and songwriters are singing his praises.

The November 8 *Liberation Army Daily* said that Chairman Mao wanted revolutionary leaders with rich practical experience, and had spoken highly of Hua's background at all levels in the administration—county, prefecture, provincial, and state.

The November 9 *People's Daily* described Hua in a front-page article as selfless, open, straightforward, modest, and prudent.

According to the *People's Daily*, Chairman Hua is "democratic in his style of work, unassuming and approachable, good at uniting with comrades to work together."

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Thailand—The Bloodbath at Thammasat University

By Prabhat Worawan



Stern

Arrested students in Bangkok, after demonstration was crushed in blood.

BANGKOK—"It was a hell of blood and bullets. We could do nothing to stop them. After all, it was deliberate. They wanted to kill all of us who were there."

That was the comment of an eyewitness to the bloody clash between students and police at Bangkok's Thammasat University campus on the morning of October 6, in which more than 100 persons were killed and many were seriously injured. From the accounts of several eyewitnesses and of reporters who filed their stories at the Thailand Information Center, it has been possible to piece together what happened on that day.

About 1:00 a.m., the police director general abruptly called a meeting with other senior police officers at Bangkok's police department. The meeting lasted over an hour. Later, all of them went to the Thammasat campus, where about 4,000 students and others were holding a rally against the return of former dictator Thanom Kittikachorn. The rally was organized by the National Student Center of Thailand (NSCT).

The right-wing radio station, Armour Radio, called for stern police action against the NSCT. Rightist Village Scouts and other "patriotic elements" were told to gather for a counterrally in front of the parliament building at 9 o'clock that morning.

Police stationed in the areas where

electricity, telephone, and water plants were located were told to be on alert. A special police squad was ordered to encircle the campus. Meanwhile, navy police patrol craft began guarding the Chao Phraya River, which runs behind the campus. A special unit of parachute police was called in from outlying provinces in the south. They were airlifted by helicopter, but did not arrive at the campus until about 8:00 a.m.

At about 4 a.m. the first shot was fired from outside the university. Later, police fired a M-79 rocket launcher. There was a big explosion in front of the campus. Sixteen persons were injured—eight seriously—and one was killed.

Rightist Red Gaur, police and troops tried to enter the campus. The 4,000 students, who had been in the campus since October 4, began to disperse and rushed to the several buildings surrounding the rally grounds. The students became even more frightened when firing, apparently from M-16 and AK-33 assault rifles, followed. The NSCT's security guards put up some resistance by firing back.

Some members of the Red Gaur and the Village Scouts tried to break through the campus gate by using a bus they had hijacked several hours earlier. Police, Red Gaur, and soldiers followed suit by climbing the iron wall which guards the

university. Some of them managed to get in. Armour Radio, meanwhile, called for a total surrender by the NSCT. It also claimed that police had been injured by the students' firing.

The students in the campus apparently were not aware that they were under attack from both the police and the Red Gaur. Their impression at the time was that the NSCT's security guards were only fighting against the Red Gaur, who have attacked student demonstrations before.

When the police firing intensified, the students tried to get out. All exits were blocked, however.

By 6:00 a.m., realizing that the situation was deteriorating, the NSCT leaders contacted the prime minister's secretary and asked for negotiations with Prime Minister Seni Pramoj himself. The secretary retorted, however, that his sources had told him that it was the NSCT that opened fire and that it was the police who were wounded, not the students. But he agreed to arrange a meeting with the prime minister.

Meanwhile, the death toll had increased to four. In an attempt to escape the shooting, students retreated to the river bank behind the campus. Some fled into the river, only to encounter the patrol craft, which lost no time in firing on them. Those who tried to take the wounded out to the hospitals were not allowed to by the police, who had blocked all the exits.

As the shooting continued, the NSCT appealed for a cease-fire and said they were willing to surrender before more people died. But there was no response from the police. In fact, border patrol police and police from every station in Bangkok were mobilized to the campus.

After three more students died in a rocket attack, the NSCT again appealed for a total cease-fire and added that the wounded should be sent to hospitals. The Red Gaur and police responded by attacking students who tried to get out of the campus.

The NSCT repeated their call to the prime minister's secretary, saying they were willing to disband the rally and asking for police protection. The secretary agreed. Shortly before 7 o'clock, two plainclothes policemen came to pick up six NSCT leaders and took them to see Seni at his house. The prime minister was not there, however. Instead, he asked the police director to arrest the NSCT leaders at his house. Seni later told the press that the NSCT leaders had offered themselves to the police.

In an interview to the press later that morning, the NSCT secretary denied the prime minister's story. He said, "We were cheated. They first told us that we could talk the thing out. But when we went there for a talk, they arrested us. What does this mean?"

"We again confirm that what we have done is right. We ask the people to judge the whole thing."

Back in front of the campus, police were quoted as saying that they would kill as many students as possible.

The NSCT's political secretary, together with NSCT security guards, again asked police at one of the exits to take the wounded out. Again they met with no success. The death toll continued to rise.

One of the NSCT rally announcers shouted out, "We are willing to surrender." He was immediately killed by a shot from an M-16 assault rifle.

More students tried to escape by going into the river, as police patrol boats shot at them indiscriminately. The students were promised that if they came out of the river they would not be arrested. But several hundred who came out were arrested. Their shirts and valuables were removed, and they were forced to lie down with their hands on the backs of their heads. Many students drowned or were severely beaten.

The parachute units, who had been airlifted from the south, arrived by 8:20 a.m. The shooting intensified.

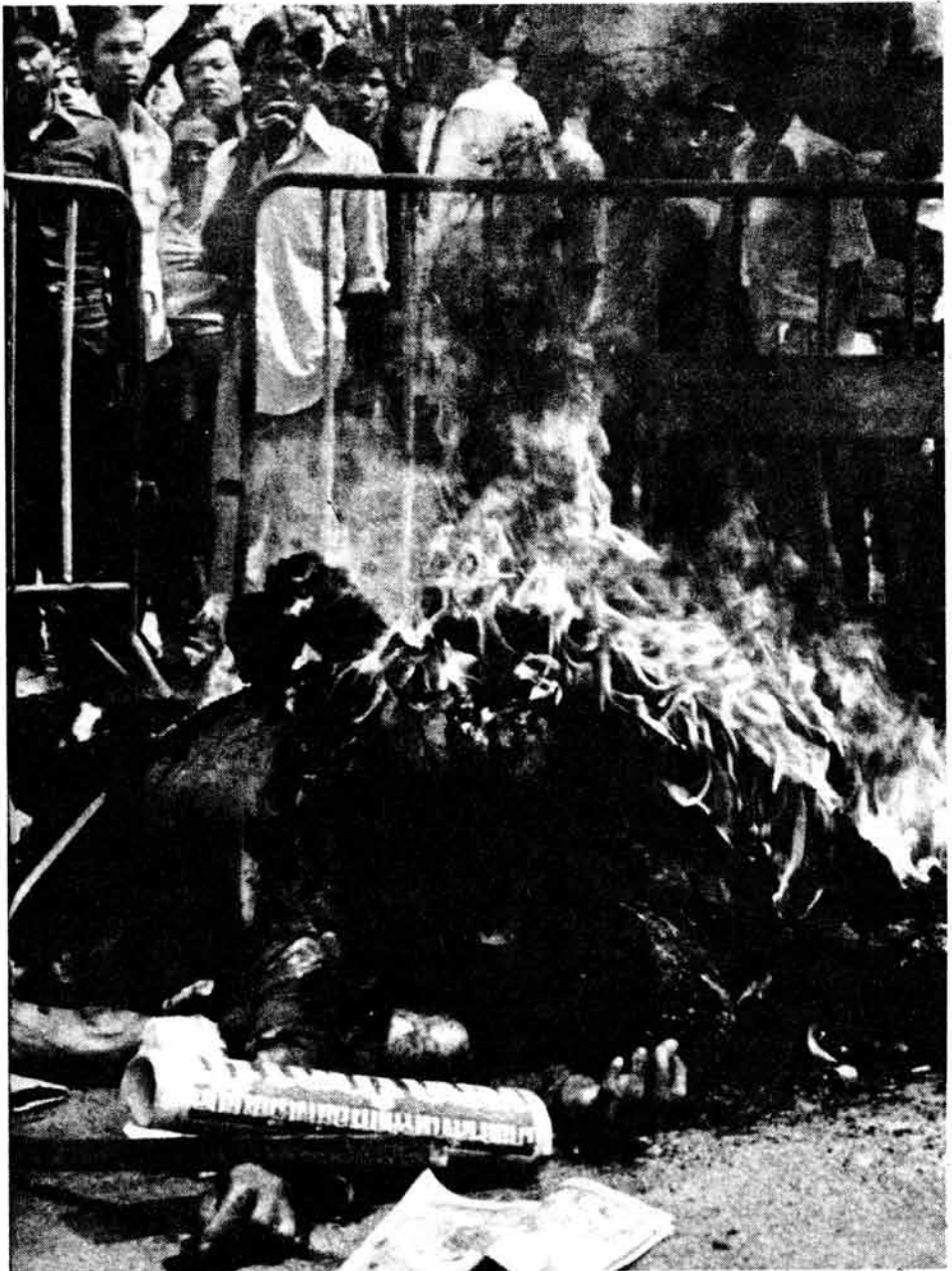
Students who tried to escape through the front gate were greeted by right-wing thugs, Red Gaurs, and scores of police and soldiers, who lost no time in beating, clubbing, and firing at them. One student was severely beaten about the head and shot when he reached the front gate. He was later hanged. A woman, apparently shocked by such naked brutality, asked, "Why must we Thais kill each other? Did we forget how many lives were sacrificed before we could drive out the tyrant trio* three years ago?"

No sooner had she finished her comment when a man rushed up to her, pointing a finger at her and threatening, "Do you want to die? Are you Vietnamese? You social scum."

The Red Gaurs poured kerosene over four bodies and burned them. One was still alive. Another four students, who came out the front gate with their hands on their heads to signify surrender, were brutally beaten and shot. One was later hanged. The corpse of a young woman who was shot to death was sexually abused by plainclothes police, who used a stick to beat her vagina.

Nearby, one man was severely beaten and burned and another was hanged while still alive.

*A reference to Thanom Kittikachorn, his son Narong, and Praphas Charusathien, the three military rulers who were forced to flee Thailand during the massive student and worker upsurge of October 1973.—IP



Stern

Bodies of four students burned by rightists. One was still alive.

The rest of the students in the campus were herded by the police and made to lie down on the ground of the football field. Both male and female students were forced to take their shirts off. They were later taken to prison in big buses. On the way, however, they were beaten and robbed of their valuables whenever right-wing hooligans entered the buses. Several students who tried to escape were shot by the police.

At a press conference, Seni tried to dissociate himself from the violent clashes at Thammasat. While admitting that it was he who ordered the police to clear the campus, he claimed that it was "up to the police to decide" whether or not to use violent methods.

About 3 o'clock in the afternoon, rain

began to pour down. Whole areas in front of the Commerce Department, where the heaviest shooting had taken place, turned red.

That evening, it was announced that the country had been taken over by a group of military officers calling themselves the National Administrative Reform Council. Martial law was imposed and Bangkok's three-year experiment with a parliamentary system came to an end.

Figures released by the new regime claimed that forty-one persons had died and that several hundred were injured. But sources from the Chinese Benevolent Foundation, which transported and cremated the dead, revealed that it had handled "over a hundred corpses" that day. □

Healyites Continue to Claim Right to Beat Up Working-Class Opponents

By Dave Holmes

[The following article appeared in the November 4 issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist newsweekly published in Sydney, Australia.]

* * *

As the details are circulated in the labor and radical movement, widespread opposition is developing to the violent attack by the Socialist Labour League against members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. (See *Direct Action*, October 21 and October 28.)

A broad cross-section of radical and labor figures have already signed a statement expressing concern at reports of SLL thuggery and urging adherence to democratic norms by all those fighting for social justice.

The assault took place outside an SLL-sponsored meeting at the Trades Hall. During the attack Dave Deutschmann of the SWP was punched to the ground and then kicked in the head and the body while he lay there. SL member Keith Olerhead was punched and then elbowed violently in the face. SLL national secretary Jim Mulgrew along with SLL members Greg Adler, Peter Soley and Bill Haggerty played a major role in the hooligan assault. Full details of the attack are contained in a pamphlet being circulated nationally by the SWP and the SL.*

The October 28 issue of the SLL's paper *Workers News* contains their first public comment on the assault. The two-page article by Nick Beams is headed *Provocation Against Socialist Labour League*. It attempts to downplay the seriousness of what happened and defend it by claiming that the SLL was only responding to a "provocation."

The article reads extremely weakly as a defence of the SLL. All the more so when one considers that the October 21 issue of *Workers News*, which appeared four days after the SLL attack, did not mention this "provocation" at all. It contained a lengthy report of the meeting inside the Trades Hall but not one word about the clash outside. Surely this is a very strange way to treat a serious "provocation."

Why did the SLL wait for about 10 days

before commenting on the incident? Perhaps they were waiting to see what the SWP and SL would say about the incident so they could work out how to make the victims of the assault appear as perpetrators of a "provocation" against the SLL.

The *Workers News* article says: "There was no premeditated attack by the Socialist Labour League. What took place were two scuffles which resulted from efforts by SLL stewards at the meeting to prevent provocation by these organisations."

The material in the pamphlet produced by the SWP and the SL gives the lie to any claim that the attack outside the Trades Hall was any spontaneous, unplanned happening. The aggressive behavior of the SLL throughout the afternoon showed that they were spoiling for a fight. The worst attack took place only after most of those going to the meeting were already inside and couldn't witness what followed. SLL leader Jim Mulgrew was seen to take off his glasses and put out his cigarette immediately prior to the attack which he opened by striking *Direct Action* editor John Percy. It was also obvious that Dave Deutschmann was a particular target of the SLL thugs. SLL thug Greg Adler chased him screaming, "Get him."

The treatment of Deutschmann also refutes the claim that the incident was just a "scuffle." Not only was he knocked down but Greg Adler and another SLL member kicked Deutschmann in the head and body when he was lying on the ground trying to protect his head and chest. That is not a "scuffle" but a serious attempt to hurt someone. It was only good luck that the outcome was not more serious.

The SLL's main defence in the *Workers News* article is that the SWP and SL staged a "provocation" by being outside their meeting with cameras. Nick Beams writes that "there would have been no incidents had not the SWP and the Spartacist League formed a picket outside our rally with the intention of causing a provocation and involving the police in action against our movement."

"The incidents," he says later on in this article, "arose as a result of the use of cameras by the Spartacist League and the SWP." "... the first incident was provoked by the Spartacist League who had brought a camera to the meeting with the intention of causing a provocation." The SLL objects to the SL "taking photos of

our members and supporters." It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the mere presence of their political opponents outside an SLL meeting, no matter how peaceful and non-obstructive they are, is a "provocation" in the eyes of the SLL to be dealt with by the use of physical violence if need be. Any cursory examination of the previous history of the SLL in regard to workers democracy bears out this view.

The SLL fears any sort of free exchange of political views. It tries by every means it can to stop its members being exposed to contrary political ideas. That is why the SLL reacts so violently to the presence of SWP or SL members outside its meetings. The October 17 attack was no doubt meant to teach the SWP and SL a "lesson."

The stress on their opposition to their political opponents photographing SLL members and supporters outside their meetings is made simply to cover up their real motivations. In reality, the SLL does not care about being photographed. The presence of SWP or SL photographers is raised solely to serve as a pretext and an excuse for their attack.

A few facts will demonstrate this. The October 21 *Workers News* contains a front-page photograph of the audience at the October 17 meeting taken from the stage. A picture of the face of just about every member and supporter of the SLL in Sydney could be obtained from this picture by anyone who was interested. Why did *Workers News* print it if they are so concerned about such matters? Then on page three of the same issue is another large picture of a section of the audience at the same meeting taken from the front.

Not only does *Workers News* and the SLL not really care about photographs of their members and supporters, they have no objection to publishing photographs of their political opponents. Nick Beams' article in the October 28 *Workers News* has four large pictures featuring various political opponents.

The SLL has even broken into closed meetings to obtain photographs of political opponents. The front page of the October 22, 1973, *Labour Press* (predecessor of *Workers News*) features a picture of CPA [Communist Party of Australia] member Mick Tubbs and SWP member Sol Salby during a closed debate between the SWP and the CPA. To obtain the photograph the SLL broke into the meeting through a shut door. The camera issue is just a blind.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Spartacist League have presented their account of the SLL violence on October 17. A significant number of labor and radical movement figures have expressed concern at what happened. The Socialist Labour League has disputed that anything more than minor "scuffles" took place. They claim a "provocation" was mounted against them.

Because of the very great actual and

*For copies of this pamphlet write to *Direct Action*, PO Box 151, Glebe, NSW, Australia.

general importance of this incident the SWP and the SL propose that a commission of inquiry be convened to investigate the October 17 incident and other related incidents. Such a commission would be composed of authoritative and respected figures in the radical and labor movement having no affiliation to either the SWP, the SL, or the SLL. All groups would make

submissions to the commission.

The SWP, for its part, would undertake to publicise the findings of such a commission whatever the verdict.

Over the next week or so, we shall make concrete proposals to the SLL for convening such a commission. We have every confidence that our account would be vindicated by an impartial labor tribunal.

'These Attacks Must Stop'

[The following statement condemning the use of violence in the labor movement is being circulated by the Australian Socialist Workers party and Spartacist League. Appended is the initial list of signers.]

* * *

Reports have come to our attention that Socialist Labour League (SLL) members have used physical violence against members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Spartacist League (SL). It has been reported that several members of the SWP and the SL were set upon and severely beaten in a completely unprovoked attack outside the Sydney Trades Hall on October 17. Other reports of intimidation of sellers of the Tribune, Direct Action, Australasian Spartacist and the Socialist in the past months and the disruption of the SWP public meetings have also disturbed us.

These incidents lead us to make this statement in favor of the free exchange of differing views within the labor movement without fear of physical reprisal from anyone. Taking such a stand certainly does not mean repudiating the right of self-defence against violent attacks. It means making clear that differences among those fighting for social justice cannot be resolved by fists or other weapons. Any attempt to do so simply provides openings for police and other enemies of the workers movement to tear us apart.

Further, it certainly does not help us oppose the Government's use of violence against us if some of us use it against people who may not agree with our points of view. These attacks must stop and we must respect each other's democratic rights if we are to have an environment where there can be progress in the struggles of the oppressed.

We call on all individuals and organisations of labor and radical movements to support this stand and add their signatures to this statement.

Brian Aarons (Sydney district organiser, Communist Party of Australia)
Eric Aarons (joint national secretary, CPA)
John Aarons (CPA)

Christine Allsopp (secretary, Sydney University Arts Society)
Jim Alexander

Mick Armstrong (South Coast organiser, International Socialists)

Phillip Bain (president, La Trobe University Students Representative Council)

Libby Barratt

Laurie Bebbington (women's officer, Australian Union of Students)

Gary Bennett (president, SU Labor Club)

Barbara Bound (Tasmanian State president, CPA)

Steve Bolt (Sydney University AUS secretary)

J.M. Brown (senior vice-president, South Coast Labor Council and organiser, Building Workers Industrial Union)

Dick Buchhorn

John Campbell (secretary, University of Queensland Union)

Peter Carruthers (Teachers Federation delegate to South Coast Trades and Labor Council)

Adrian Chan (lecturer in politics, University of NSW)

Ernie Chaples (lecturer in government, Sydney University)

Lloyd Churchward (reader in political science, Melbourne University)

Peter Cockcroft (South Coast organiser, CPA)

Mick Counihan (editorial collective, *Intervention*)

Peter Crawford (past president, NSW Young Labor Council)

Greg Cure (AUS chairperson, University of Tasmania)

Jenny Eastwood (women's officer, NSW Institute of Technology Students Association)

Grant Evans (editorial collective, *Intervention*)

Gwyn Farr (Communist League)

Terry Farr (Communist League)

Doug Fraser (AUS Queensland regional organiser)

Jim Frazer (Victorian State secretary, Australian Railways Union)

J. Goddard (Victorian State secretary, Liquor and Allied Trades Union)

Goh Siong Hoe (*Malaysian Socialist Review*)

Geoff Goulet (CPA)

Phil Griffiths (editor, *The Battler*)

Hugh Hamilton (Queensland State secretary, BWIU)

Joe Harris (Queensland BWIU organiser)

Trevor Hart (Brisbane organiser, CPA)

Kevin Healy (ALP councillor, Fitzroy)

Phil Herrington (organiser, CPA)

Andrew Hewett (co-ordinator, CICD)

Garry Hill (Adelaide Anarchists, ex-SLL member)

Ali Kazak

Dave Kerin (Libertarian Socialist Federation)

Peter King (member SU Trainee Teachers executive)

William Legge (La Trobe University SRC member)

Sian Lewis (secretary, Griffith University Union)

Steve Lewis (for SU Communist Group)

Bill Logan (for the Spartacist League)

John McCarthy (for the Communist League)

Anna McCormack (chairperson, University of Queensland women's rights committee)

Simon Marginson (co-editor, *Axis*)

Anthony Maron (secretary, Friends of Palestine)

Michael Matteson (Australasian Society of Engineers shop steward)

George Molnar (lecturer in department of general philosophy, Sydney University)

Fred Moore (central council, Miners Federation)

Michael Munday (president, University of Tasmania Union)

Judy Munday (Sydney district organiser, CPA)

Judy Munro (co-editor, *Axis*)

Peter Murphy (co-ordinator, Alternative News Service)

Ted Murphy (secretary, Libertarian Socialist Federation)

George Murray (president, South Coast Trades and Labor Council)

Merv Nixon (secretary, South Coast Trades and Labor Council)

Tom O'Lincoln (national executive, International Socialists)

Dan O'Neill (lecturer, English department, University of Queensland)

Tasma Ockenden (president, Australian Union of Students)

Joe Palmada (joint national secretary, CPA)

David Patch (president, Sydney University Students Representative Council)

Maxwell Pearce (executive member, NSW Young Labor Council)

Jim Percy (for the Socialist Workers Party)

Ron Poulsen (for the Communist League)

Barbara Ramjan (welfare officer, Sydney University Students Representative Council)

Abed Rizk (general secretary, United Arab Workers)

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Heinze Schutte (senior lecturer in sociology, La Trobe University)

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Peter Tiernan

Frans Timmerman (executive member, Palestine-Australia Solidarity Committee)

Ted Tripp (secretary, Victoria Labor College)

Edith Turnewitsch

Peter Wertheim (lecturer in philosophy, University of Queensland)

Faye Westwood (editor, *Honi Soit*)

Harry Whitfield, (Seamen's Union delegate to South Coast Trades and Labor Council)

F.J. William (Victorian State secretary, Federated Engine Drivers and Firemen's Association)

Ivor Williams

Geoff Windon (secretary, Philip branch of the ALP)

S. Woodbury (president, Port Kemble Painters and Deckers Union)

A.N. Zeeno

□

Kremlin Stung by French CP Support for Imprisoned Dissidents

By Gerry Foley



Paris rally for imprisoned dissidents draws full-page attack from Moscow, in form of "interview" with justice minister (above).

In the October 27 issue of *Literaturnaia Gazeta*, the Soviet public was informed for the first time that the French Communist party participated in the October 21 rally in Paris's la Mutualité, where defense of victims of political repression in Latin America was coupled with defending victims of bureaucratic repression in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Immediately following the Mutualité rally, the Soviet news agency TASS did put out a statement denouncing it. But this was not published in the USSR itself. Apparently, it was intended to be a warning to the Communist parties in capitalist countries.

The Kremlin still has not reported the rally in the press that reaches the general reader in the Soviet Union. *Literaturnaia Gazeta* is designed primarily for "ideological workers."

The Paris meeting clearly stung the Kremlin bureaucracy. The response in *Literaturnaia Gazeta* seems to have been designed to firm up the "ideological" sections of the bureaucracy to meet the threat represented by a big West European CP associating itself with protests against repression in the "socialist commonwealth."

The comment in the Soviet literary weekly began with a short article signed "Grigory Kozlov," which set a rabid tone:

Last Thursday in the Mutualité hall in Paris, a noisy anti-Soviet demonstration gathered. This motley collection was called together by the so-called Mathematicians Committee, which long ago established its anti-Soviet credentials. In the presiding committee, along with Laurent Schwartz, sat one of the ringleaders of the Czechoslovak counterrevolution, Pelikan; some madame from Amnesty International—a well-known international firm specializing in anti-Soviet frauds; a representative of the reactionary union federation Force Ouvrière; the writer Pierre Emmanuel, who showed his hatred for our country when he was chairman of the international PEN club. In the corridors, anti-Soviet trash was being handed out free. From the platform, the speakers said all sorts of nonsense about the Soviet Union, "indicting" our state for "persecuting" "innocent people" for their "opinions."

The article stressed that the Central Committee of the Uruguayan Communist party had protested against the association of the case of its comrade José Luis Massera with that of Soviet and East European political prisoners at the rally. It quoted a statement from the Uruguayan CP leadership, most of whom are probably in exile in the USSR, that it was impermissible to "use the names of Uruguayan patriots to conduct a campaign whose real objective is to distort the real situation in the socialist countries."

The Uruguayan CP Central Committee statement was quoted further to the effect that the rally served the ends of "international reaction, which is seeking to put an end to the détente and to peace and freedom among the peoples. In the name of all Uruguayan patriots, we condemn this activity."

The speakers at the rally, the article said, tried to "prove something for which there is no evidence at all—that there is no freedom in the USSR, nor any democracy, and that the rights of citizens are violated here." The piece concluded: "In this context, it is difficult to understand why representatives of the French Communist party appeared among the participants in the Mutualité rally."

The Kremlin hack who wrote this article made the jibe that the speakers at the rally tried to make the imprisoned antibureaucratic fighter Vladimir Bukovsky "into some kind of superhero." As for "this character," however, the writer would let First Deputy Minister of Justice A.Y. Sukharev, with whom an interview was published in the same issue, explain the real facts.

The interview with Sukharev occupied the full reverse side of the page on which Kozlov's article was printed. The text was illustrated with a prominent picture of the minister and the columns were framed with black bars. Apparently this was intended to appear as a weighty reply to protests against repression in the Soviet Union.

In his first question, *Literaturnaia Gazeta's* "special correspondent" V. Aleksandrov asked the minister to comment on the "bourgeois propaganda" about repression in the USSR. Sukharev began by explaining that the world bourgeoisies were determined to discredit the Soviet state.

The second question was the following: "One of the favorite claims of bourgeois propagandists is that so-called dissidents in the USSR are imprisoned in psychiatric hospitals. What can you say about this?"

Sukharev replied:

The absurdity of such statements is obvious to anyone who has the slightest familiarity with our laws and judicial practice.

It goes without saying that Soviet people condemn persons whose views run counter to the fundamental interests of the people, to the political and ideological-moral norms that prevail in our society. But I want to stress that in accordance with Soviet laws citizens do not have to account to criminal or administrative courts for their opinions. And Messrs. the propagandists know full well that what is involved is not "dissent" but concrete acts.

A few paragraphs further on, Sukharev related the "concrete acts" for which Bukovsky was prosecuted. "In 1963, he was sentenced for systematically reproducing and distributing anti-Soviet literature calling for organized activity against the regime existing in our country. I repeat, not for 'dissent' but for concrete acts."

The implication was that Sukharev was proud of the advance in the rights of Soviet citizens since Stalin's death. That is, now they are not, in general, persecuted for views they may hold privately or keep within a restricted circle of friends, as long as nothing is written down. This does represent a significant reduction of police-state terror. In Stalin's day, the police sought out even dissident thoughts, as Mao's police have done to this day.

Nonetheless, Sukharev was no doubt aware that the Kremlin's allowing citizens to privately think dissident thoughts would not seem like very extensive political freedom, even to readers in the USSR. So, he hastened to warn his readers not to expect the "impossible":

Could the Soviet organs of justice remain indifferent to Bukovsky's systematic antigovernment activity? No, of course they could not. Can Bukovsky's "defenders" point to any country where the laws do not provide for the defense of the existing governmental system? Everyone knows that no such state has ever existed and does not now.

This forthright statement may reflect what Sukharev really thinks. Secret policemen all over the world justify themselves in similar terms.

A hypocritical note was injected, however, in the next paragraph. Sukharev said that in unfortunate contrast to the liberties Soviet citizens enjoy, in West Germany persons are persecuted for their beliefs by political blacklisting. He cannot be unaware that these repressive regulations are applied against persons who belong to organizations considered to oppose the "existing governmental system" or who participate in demonstrations considered to have this effect—that is, against persons who commit "concrete acts."

The same hypocritical note was continued in Sukharev's argument that the fact that some persons who commit "criminal" acts are locked up in insane asylums in the USSR shows the humaneness of the Soviet penal system. In the West, he said, mentally ill persons are often put in prison. It is true that even under the most democratic forms of capitalist rule, the mentally ill are often locked up in prisons rather than given scientific treatment in hospitals. However, reproducing and distributing leaflets criticizing the government is regarded as a crime or evidence of grave "mental disorder" only under repressive dictatorships.

Sukharev stressed, however, that the Soviet regime does not suppress criticism:

Such a claim could only be made by persons who have never held a Soviet newspaper or magazine in their hands, or by bold-faced liars. . . . Any suppression of criticism is strictly forbidden in our country, so much so that anyone guilty of this can be removed from their posts.

In this connection, it is essential to note the enormous attention devoted in the Soviet Union to work with letters and complaints from workers. This question was discussed at the Twenty-Fifth Party Congress and a special resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU was recently passed on this subject.

In this resolution, it was specifically recommended to "editors of central and local papers, journalists, and radio and TV reporters, that they regularly put before the public letters from workers and report the measures taken pursuant to these." . . .

I read through seven central newspapers for one day (August 11) and found in them twenty-seven critical pieces.

On the other hand, the minister noted:

There is criticism and criticism. There is constructive criticism, which not only points to failings but to ways for overcoming them. And there is criticism of another type, when "accusers" want to present the situation in our country in an exclusively dark light.

After this defense of the Soviet system of justice, *Literaturnaia Gazeta's* correspondent asked his final question: "Does this mean that there is no room for improvement in our legal system?" Sukharev acknowledged that some aspects could be perfected:

Of course it can be improved, and it needs to be improved to achieve a series of vital tasks, such as to further strengthen socialist legality and the social order, to wage a determined struggle against waste, against violations of state and labor discipline, and to train people in the spirit of honestly fulfilling their social and civic duty, in precise and total compliance with the law.

In concluding, Sukharev noted that the Soviet leadership's campaigns to strengthen discipline have often been misinterpreted. To clarify this point, he quoted CPSU General Secretary L.I. Brezhnev to the effect that "without discipline and a strong social order democracy cannot be achieved." Then, he hailed Brezhnev's statement as "true words, filled with profound thought."

It is not very likely that Sukharev's interview reassured Soviet citizens that they really do enjoy extensive democratic rights. It is more probable that the message that came through was that no matter what the West European CPs do, if the party general secretary says night is day, anyone who says different is going to get what Bukovsky got. That is, of course, humane psychiatric treatment for obvious "mental illness" or the proper punishment for "concrete acts."

Nonetheless, the participation of the French CP in the Mutualité meeting undermined the pretenses on which the Kremlin's totalitarian repression rests. This is what prompted such a ponderous response by the Soviet bureaucrats. If the Stalinized Communist parties outside the USSR had not defended the Soviet bureaucracy against criticism in the labor movement, it would have been much more difficult for Stalin to consolidate his totalitarian system. On the other hand, the reassertion of the totalitarian "big lie" now makes it more difficult for the French CP to convince voters that Stalinism is something that belongs to the past and is being overcome in the USSR itself. □

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Six Political Prisoners East and West

[In the afternoon before the October 21 Paris rally in defense of three political prisoners in East Europe and three victims of political repression in Latin America, a guest editorial on these six cases appeared in *Le Monde*. It was written by Michel Broué, the secretary of the Mathematicians Committee, which led the campaign in defense of Leonid Plyushch; and Gaston Ferdière, a psychiatrist and a member of the Committee against the Special Psychiatric Hospitals in the USSR. Ferdière is also the chairman of the Health Workers Committee on Chile. The text of this statement follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"I will fight for legal rights and for justice. I regret only one thing—that during the brief period I spent out of prison (one year, two months, and three days) I was not able to do more for this cause" (from Vladimir Bukovsky's statement to his judges).

* * *

At breakfast, sixty grams of salt fish. At lunch, a bowl of clear soup. For dinner, 250 grams of porridge made with water. No sugar. Four hundred grams of moist bread. Three grams (I repeat, three) of fats. That is the daily ration, euphemistically called the "reduced diet," that is frequently and regularly allotted to Vladimir Bukovsky. And this is when they do not throw him, lightly clothed, into the freezing hell of the special detention cells. At thirty-three, Bukovsky suffers from a cardiac lesion, chronic rheumatism, and an ulcer of the duodenum. After his transfer on June 7, 1975, to the medieval cells in Vladimir prison, they have been slowly and systematically destroying him. Will he die in detention like Galanskov? What crime is Bukovsky paying for? Let Andrei Sakharov explain:

"Bukovsky spoke out openly and courageously against the illegalities committed in our country. This is what he is being punished for. He informed the entire world that in our country human beings are locked up indefinitely in psychiatric hospitals for their opinions. He did this, knowing full well that it was going to cost him his liberty."

To break the Uruguayan mathematician José Luis Massera, who has been imprisoned since October 1975, they started out by beating him. They did this so thoroughly that his hip was broken. Then they beat

him systematically on the head. This man, who was once an imposing figure, is said today to weigh no more than about ninety pounds. They also arrested and tortured his wife. José Luis Massera is a renowned mathematician. He was the founder of the Uruguayan School of Mathematics. He became one of the main leaders of the Communist party. His fellow mathematicians throughout the world have signed petitions, formed delegations, and written articles on his behalf. But this has made little impact. There have been no results. We fear for Massera's life.

Of Edgardo Enríquez, nothing more has been heard. Arrested in Argentina last April 10, he was turned over by the National Junta government—in violation of all international conventions on political refugees—to Pinochet's political police. We can imagine what followed. Edgardo Enríquez is a member of the Central Committee of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left].

"My head is shaved. I am always hungry. I am left to freeze on the cement floors of the special detention cells. They force me to march in lockstep. At any moment, they can force me to strip, to do innumerable exercises. I am a slave; the first sadist who comes along has the right and power to force me to do any kind of degrading job. I am the convict, Gluzman, S.F." This is what Semyon Gluzman wrote in a letter that slipped through the censors. Gluzman is a psychiatrist, a personal friend of Plyushch. He is in a concentration camp (formally, his sentence runs until 1982). In this way, he is paying for his courage, for his refusal to declare Plyushch mentally ill, for his fight for freedom and for defending the honor of his profession.

The case of Víctor López, secretary of the Bolivian miners federation and the father of five children, is particularly illustrative of political repression in Latin America. Arrested and tortured following the strikes last spring, he was then turned over by his government to the Chilean junta! He is now in exile 1,510 kilometers south of Santiago, in the province of Chiloe.

A very popular student leader in Prague in 1968-69, Jiri Müller was sentenced in 1972 to five and a half years in prison. He is being confined under dreadful conditions. Müller has eye trouble and gallstones. He is refused medical attention.

And they force him to work up to twelve hours a day, sticking pins into cardboard under weak artificial lighting. If he fails to meet the norms, extra work is added on as a punishment.

Each of these six cases we have just described exemplifies thousands of similar cases. Can we fail to act to secure the release of these victims? Massera is Uruguayan. Since the campaign by Amnesty International, there is a better understanding of the situation in that country, where one out of 500 inhabitants is a political prisoner, where one out of fifty inhabitants has recently undergone questioning by the police, temporary detention, or imprisonment.

Víctor López is Bolivian. It has to be understood that in Bolivia today, the authorities are turning over trade unionists to Pinochet. Workers' leaders are being treated like outlaws in the Wild West. For example, wanted posters have been put up everywhere with the picture of the Trotskyist leader Guillermo Lora, offering a large reward for information leading to his arrest.

Everyone knows what the situation is like in Chile. But just because we are familiar with it, that is no reason to forget about it. Through our fight for the release of Enríquez, we also intend to fight for Luis Corvalán and the other political prisoners being held by Pinochet. Bukovsky and Gluzman clearly exemplify the struggle for human rights in the USSR. How can we fail to associate their names with those of Stern, Moroz, Dzhemilev, and Plakhotnyuk? In defending Müller, how can we fail to recall the names of the Communists Hübl and Sabata who have been imprisoned along with other representatives of the Prague Spring?

The release of Plyushch following the October 23, 1975, rally on his behalf, and then the release of the two Peruvian trade unionists [Hernán Cuentas and Víctor Cuadros] jailed together with their lawyers, and the impact made by the recent campaigns of Amnesty International have greatly encouraged those who fight against repression and for democratic freedoms under all regimes. Along with most of those who fought for his release Leonid Plyushch has helped to form the International Committee Against Repression, which is now undertaking a campaign against political repression in Latin America, and at the same time publishing a French edition of the Czechoslovak socialist opposition magazine *Listy*.

Bukovsky, Enríquez, Gluzman, López, Massera, and Müller must be saved! □

Documents discussed at 1974 Tenth World Congress of Fourth International. 128 pages, 8½ x 11, \$2.50

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Why the Pentagon Hangs On to Panama

[Miguel Antonio Bernal is an exiled opponent of the Torrijos regime. He recently conducted a speaking tour on political repression in Panama, under the auspices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. The following interview was obtained in New York October 28.]

* * *

Question. What can you tell us about the latest demonstrations in Panama and the repression that accompanied them?

Answer. The demonstrations in Panama City from September 10 to 20 were a protest by the Panamanian masses against the high cost of living our country has been experiencing, above all during the last two years.

Without any warning, the Panamanian government decided to raise the prices of two basic food items—rice and milk—as well as of other basic goods.

The demonstrations began in the secondary schools but quickly gained the support and participation of the people as a whole.

The military regime headed by General Omar Torrijos presented the demonstrations as a campaign to “destabilize” the regime. They accused the American intelligence agency—the CIA—of promoting this campaign. In this way they tried to divert national and international public opinion from the people’s real reasons for demonstrating and tried to present the protests as something the people did not support.

We would like to ask why the regime waited for these demonstrations to expose CIA plots, if it knew beforehand that such plots existed? Why hasn’t the regime exposed the fact that in Panama there is permanent, twenty-four-hour-a-day aggression from the simple presence of military bases on our territory?

Of course, no one in Panama ever believed that the demonstrations had really been organized or carried out by CIA agents. Everyone was aware that they were fundamentally led by the Frente Estudiantil Revolucionario [FER—Revolutionary Student Front], the Guaykucho organization, and the Liga Socialista Revolucionaria [LSR—Revolutionary Socialist League, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International]—the three main organizations of the Panamanian revolutionary left.

The government was once again using its old gimmick of making an amalgam between the organizations of the revolu-



Susan Ellis/Militant

MIGUEL ANTONIO BERNAL

tionary left and those of the right, trying to lump them together and present them as agents of imperialism and of the CIA.

These demonstrations showed the true economic, social, and military policies of the regime. The regime was unable to provide a valid explanation of why it had raised the prices of these basic products. They blamed the drought, but this is not a strong enough argument to justify a price increase of four cents a pound, such as occurred with rice, which is a basic staple in the diet of the Panamanian people.

The explanations the regime tried to give for this increase carried no weight because previously there had been even smaller crops. Moreover, on a world level this year, the grain crop is the biggest it has been in recent times.

The demonstrations exposed the regime’s economic policy, showing that far from benefiting the broad masses, it continues to benefit those who own the means of production, that is, the ruling classes.

The demonstrations also exposed the regime’s military policy. A very special sort of repression was unleashed, of a type unknown to many persons—especially to the younger generations. In recent years the regime has insisted that all Panamanians have the right to protest and that organizations have the right to express their points of view.

This time, the regime was not satisfied

with making an amalgam between the protests and the aims of the rightists. It also used anti-riot troops to physically repress all demonstrations that were held. Dozens of persons were wounded, not to speak of those arrested and then mistreated in prison—above all the young students arrested on September 20. Many of them reached prison after having been badly beaten with clubs and suffering the effects of the massive amounts of tear gas and the anti-riot dogs used by the police.

Specially trained riot police had never been used before. When they appeared, people became aware that they must have existed beforehand, that the regime had been preparing to crush those opposing its policies.

The repression was selective. Only certain persons were arrested, and student leaders were singled out for threats. The university was closed. All types of public meetings were banned.

This opened the eyes of the Panamanian masses to the true character of the regime. Although it has always presented itself as “populist,” it has now shown that after offering the carrot, it moves in with the stick.

The regime took advantage of the incidents to send an exile back to Chile. Compañero Edmundo Arenas was arrested September 20 and deported the following day. When he reached Chile he once again fell into the hands of the notorious Chilean DINA [Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional—National Intelligence Bureau, the political police], which is holding him in prison.

Q. The press here made a big point that the demonstrations did not raise the question of the canal or the role of the United States in Panama. How accurate is this?

A. It should be pointed out that in fact the demonstrations in Panama, particularly in the last two years have always dealt with the question of the canal, with the traditional, historic goal of the Panamanian people to end the U.S. presence in our country. This goal is captured in the demand for the immediate withdrawal of the American military from our territory.

At the same time it must be made clear that the other demonstrations were not only protests against the U.S. presence but also against the regime’s economic policies. In the demonstrations last year one of the slogans most frequently heard was, “Rice, beans, and meat. The people are hungry.” Commonly heard too was, “What are the sugar refineries for if we don’t see the sugar?”

These were attacks against the regime’s policy on building sugar refineries. The sugar sold in Panama is worse and more expensive than it was before, despite the fact that more is being produced.

Of course, in reporting these demonstra-

tions the bourgeois press referred only to the question of the canal, because that is what makes it easiest to explain the situation. The press did not mention the organizations that have always linked their domestic and anti-imperialist policies, that is, their opposition to both the Torrijos regime and the U.S. presence.

This time, because of the immediate situation, it was urgent to attack the price increases. That does not mean, however, that the problem of the military bases or the American presence on our soil has stopped being an urgent problem.

Q. Can you briefly summarize the facts of your deportation?

A. I was expelled from Panama when I returned from a trip to Europe last February 18. I was deported to the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador, after being held more than twenty-four hours in a barracks at the Panama airport, without any explanation. The government still has not formally accused me of anything related to my deportation.

Up to now, it has prevented me from returning to my country, where I have a right to be and where I should be because that is where I work.

The authorities have been unwilling to give any explanation. However, in statements made at the time to a news agency, they said that they were expelling me because I was a revolutionary Marxist activist, a leftist activist plotting with rightists. Once again they used the traditional amalgam to try to present the far left as being in an alliance with the far right.

But fundamentally I attribute my expulsion to the fact that I have always totally opposed—and will continue to oppose—the American military presence on my soil, as well as the regime's policy on the negotiations with Washington. Also involved were my activities as editor-in-chief of the magazine *Diálogo Social*, as a commentator and analyst for Radio Impacto, and as a university professor, and my criticisms of the regime's foreign and economic policies, which go against the interests of the Panamanian people.

My activity mainly revolved around the demands traditionally raised by the oppressed Panamanian masses—for the immediate withdrawal of the American military bases, which are used to attack our brothers on this and other continents; and against the high cost of living.

What is happening is that the regime does not tolerate any sort of opposition. It acts as if expelling those persons who criticize it will resolve its problems. But it is a fact that although individuals can be deported or even killed, their ideas cannot be suppressed. The ideas are simply the embodiment of the aspirations of the masses.

By deporting us, the Panamanian re-

gime has again shown its true character. Far from being an anti-imperialist government, it is one that uses anti-imperialist rhetoric but in practice supports the imperialists' aims in our country.

Q. Concretely, how does the U.S. military apparatus function in Panama?

A. That requires an extensive answer, but I will try to summarize.

Washington established its presence in



PANAMANIAN DICTATOR TORRIJOS

Panama in 1903 with the so-called Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. That treaty stipulated that Panama would cede to the United States in perpetuity a territory of 553 square miles for the construction, maintenance, functioning, and protection of the Panama Canal.

Then the United States decided on its own to place troops in Panama. Little by little a military network was installed, a network that today to our knowledge includes fourteen military bases in addition to training centers—antiguerrilla schools, as they call them.

Washington has managed to make the Canal Zone one of its most important military centers on the entire Latin American continent, if not the most important. Of the land included in the so-called Canal Zone, 68 percent is used for military installations and not for matters related to the canal.

With the excuse of defending the canal, the United States has proceeded to build military bases, thus converting the canal

into a military installation. But it is common knowledge that the Panama Canal cannot be defended, owing to the pace of the worldwide armaments race.

Today in the Canal Zone there are between 10,000 and 20,000 American troops. That is where, for example, the invasion of Santo Domingo was launched. That is where the people who assassinated Che Guevara in Bolivia were trained. The forces that went to help in one way or another in the 1973 Chile coup departed from the Canal Zone.

Washington built several towns in the Zone to resemble Vietnamese villages, and it was there that they trained the Green Berets before sending them to Vietnam.

The training given includes everything from counterinsurgency to lessons in riot control, assassination, and sabotage. Everything having to do with training in techniques or tactics to combat all types of aspirations of the masses—no matter how they manifest themselves—is carried out in the Canal Zone in close coordination with other American agencies.

Q. What is the relationship between the Torrijos regime and Washington?

A. Washington, and particularly the State Department and Pentagon, is in agreement with the Torrijos regime on something—they both want to work out a treaty that safeguards American interests and permits Torrijos to stay in power.

To do this they have developed a policy that can be explained in the following way: The State Department tolerates Torrijos radical-sounding speeches because they feel that his regime can assure a new treaty in which American interests will continue to prevail in Panama. Since both are agreed on working out a treaty, they have developed the line that the absence of a treaty will lead to guerrilla struggles. It should be noted how Torrijos and Kissinger use the same language.

The Torrijos regime has managed to stay in power thanks to the important economic aid provided by Washington and by the different international bodies Washington has decisive weight in, such as the Inter-American Development Bank, the Agency for International Development (AID), and the International Monetary Fund. It should be pointed out that Panama has become an international financial center in the last five to seven years.

Taking things to an extreme, I would say that Washington would be willing to lose the canal because it has already won the country. That is, the United States totally controls the economy of the country. Panama has no currency of its own. The national currency is the dollar. The 1972 constitution, drafted by the Torrijos regime, forbids the issuing of currency.

The Panamanian government is willing to accept an American presence in Pana-

ma until the year 2000, along with U.S. military bases. It simply says that the number of bases should be reduced to three. But for the Panamanian people, there is no question of the Americans remaining in our country until the year 2000; they should get out right away.

In addition, the Panamanian and American negotiators have reached so-called conceptual agreements, which were made public last year by the LSR. They stipulate that Panama accept, for example, a "joint defense"; that is, that the Panamanian government be willing to participate with Washington in what they call defense of the Panama Canal.

"Joint defense" goes beyond simply recognizing or legalizing the presence of military bases on our soil. It also means Panamanian participation in the aggression the imperialists carry out against the peoples of Latin America and other countries of the world.

The troops of the Panamanian National Guard are trained in the Canal Zone. They participate with American troops in anti-guerrilla training.

Moreover, officers and troops of the National Guard are trained in the Escuela de las Américas [School of the Americas] and in other schools Washington has established in the Canal Zone. Among the officers who have taken most courses at this school is General Torrijos himself.

The Panamanian regime is seeking to modernize the existing capitalist structures, so as to bring the system more into tune with the present economic, social, and political situation.

This is done very subtly so as to permit the government to present itself as progressive, although there is nothing progressive about it.

Q. You mentioned the demagoguery of Kissinger and Torrijos about the inevitability of guerrilla warfare if a treaty is not signed. Is this a real possibility?

A. There are no guerrillas in Panama and the Panamanian population has no plans whatsoever to begin carrying out guerrilla warfare. We are aware that it is impossible for us to use that type of tactic to regain the canal at this time. The Panamanian people understand that the solution to the problem of the canal does not by any stretch of the imagination involve guerrilla warfare.

What has happened is that prearranged plans with Washington lead the regime to speak in those terms because it knows that it will create a certain stir in the United States. In addition, it should be pointed out that it is the Panamanian regime that has discussed this question the most.

This type of cheap populist demagoguery is used to maintain an atmosphere of unrest. Torrijos tries to take advantage of the aspirations of the Panamanian masses to immediately regain their land so as to

negotiate bigger concessions from the United States, above all in financial aid, which is what he needs the most to enable him and his incredibly corrupt, despotic regime to stay in power.

We feel, and I personally think, that the Panamanian masses must take up the struggle to regain the canal and that we must succeed in building up real international support for this struggle among the peoples of the world, not among different governments. We will be able to regain our canal if we can make known the real extent of domination and control by American imperialism and the magnitude of the American presence in the Canal Zone, and if the Panamanian masses themselves become more conscious through education, mobilizations, and other activities, of what recovering the canal would mean.

There is no revolutionary left organization in Panama that is currently proposing guerrilla warfare to regain the canal. We are not stupid; we are not going to provide the imperialists with cannon fodder to recover something that is ours.

When the Torrijos regime talks about patience running out, they are talking about their own patience. They are desperately trying to figure out how they can stay in power.

We can review the entire policy of the regime in its eight years in office and see that neither in the social arena nor in the economic arena has it carried out a single step that has really benefited the Panamanian masses. For example, there has not been a single expropriation of any company in Panama. They did not even dare to expropriate United Fruit Company or the electric company. They bought the stock of these companies from their American owners.

At the same time, the Panamanian masses have been suffering more and more

blows. There is a lack of democratic rights, a high cost of living, and almost 80,000 persons unemployed now. The government's control over the trade unions is supported by the pro-Moscow Communist party. To carry out the repression, Panamanian military forces have grown from 3,000 troops in 1968 to almost 12,000 today.

Q. What do you hope to accomplish in your American speaking tour?

A. The central aim of my visit is to make known to the American public—particularly to its working class and students—the real situation in Panama and the truth about our relations with Washington.

We feel that the American people are called upon to play a very important, decisive role in our regaining the Panama Canal and the so-called Canal Zone, and securing the immediate withdrawal of military troops.

We are not fighting against the American people. We see the American working class as an ally in our struggle against the capitalist system and its expression in American imperialism. That is why there is such a big need to create closer ties between the Panamanian and American peoples.

Another aim of my visit is to denounce the repression the Torrijos regime is carrying out in Panama. We feel that Americans should know about the Panamanian people. They should know how the U.S. government, its espionage agencies like the CIA, and its so-called development agencies like AID have been carrying out a policy in Panama that helps keep our people oppressed and exploited.

It is necessary for the American people to know and be conscious of this situation so they can help us combat it from inside the United States. □

MEMO

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Prospects in Spain and Other Imperialist Countries

[The following interview appeared in the October 23 issue of the Barcelona weekly newsmagazine *Mundo*. It was conducted by Antonio Ubierna, author of *Qué es el Trotskysmo* (What Is Trotskyism?), and Jean Pierre Male, professor of international economic relations at the Autonomous University and coauthor of *La crisis económica y su repercusión en España* (The Economic Crisis and its Repercussions in Spain).

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Ernest Mandel is a professor at the Free University of Brussels and a member of the economics faculty at the University of West Berlin.

He has published numerous books on economics and political theory, among which the following have been translated into Spanish: *Tratado de Economía Marxista* (in two volumes, Editorial Era, Mexico), *Ensayos sobre el Neocapitalismo* (Era), *Introducción a la Economía Marxista* (Nova Terra, Barcelona), *Proceso al Desafío Americano* (Nova Terra), and *La Crisis* (Editorial Fontamara, Barcelona).

He has also written books in other languages on self-management, the formation of Marx's economic thought, and innumerable articles, which have been published on the five continents.

The material for the current interview is the result of hours of conversation and attendance at his meetings during his recent stay in Barcelona. Mandel's answers were extensive and very nuanced, but reasons of space have forced us to summarize them.

Question. What is the character and fundamental nature of the crisis (or crises) currently affecting capitalism?

Answer. I believe that at present several different crises are converging.

In the first place, there has been a reversal in the long-range trend. We are passing from a long cycle of expansion, which favored Europe from 1948 until at least 1968, to a period similar to that of 1913 to 1939, that is, a long wave of stagnation.

The rapid expansion and high rate of growth that characterized world capitalism after the war is now a thing of the past. It is finished, and for a long time.

Q. Does this mean that there is no easy way to again stimulate the development of



F. Elvira/Mundo

ERNEST MANDEL

the world economy.

A. In this case the long-range analysis must be connected to the present conjuncture. In fact, the reversal in the long-range trend at this time comes on top of a periodic crisis of overproduction. We could say that what is involved is a classical phenomenon—limited or distinguished by the ongoing inflation—which is currently accentuated by the depression. But within this long-range stagnation there can be future conjunctural periods of upswing.

Q. Was the oil crisis the detonator of

this crisis?

A. I consider this to be a third feature of the current situation. There is a crisis in the relations between the center of world capitalism and the periphery, or to be more concrete, a crisis in the relations between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the semicolonial bourgeoisie. Because of the lasting rise in the prices of oil and other raw materials, resources really began to flow toward the peripheral sectors of the bourgeoisie. This trend is limited, uncertain, and insufficient to be the basis of a new world economic order. But it is causing a series of painful adjustments and violent counterstrategies that are currently shaking world capitalism.

Q. What is the solution to the situation?

A. In the context of the bourgeois system, the normal, logical solution to this situation of simultaneous crises would be to step up the exploitation of the working class considerably to compensate for the indicated negative effects, and to get the economy going again on a long-range scale. In this setting, even the recession has a precise function—to create the mass of unemployed necessary to exercise sufficient pressure on the working class so that it will accept the increased exploitation.

Q. Is the bourgeoisie capable of imposing such an economic policy?

A. The bourgeoisie's biggest problem is the coming together of the three types of crisis I have mentioned, all of them economic in nature and all of them coinciding, moreover, with an ascending cycle of the class struggle in Western Europe, which will spread—it seems to me—to all the imperialist countries.

The current organization and combativity of the working class are much higher than they were in previous periods of capitalist crisis and they make the working class capable of rejecting the bourgeois solution.

Q. How then do you see the situation for the immediate future?

A. While in the coming period the bourgeoisie will not be able to apply its historic solutions, the working class does not have sufficient maturity—keeping in mind its political consciousness and level of organization—to impose its solutions.

Thus a period of extreme political and social instability is beginning in which the

On the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria

[The following item accompanied the *Mundo* interview with Ernest Mandel. It has been translated by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The Liga Comunista Revolucionaria [LCR—Revolutionary Communist League], like Ernest Mandel, belongs to the “majority tendency” in the Fourth International. On the eve of Mandel’s visit the LCR held several press conferences. Lluís Maria Bonet i Llovet attended the one in Barcelona, which was held in a posh hotel, after making an appointment and passing a security check.

Roser Rius i Camps, a graphic arts worker who recently spent fourteen months in Madrid’s Yserías prison; Pau Pons Sagrera, a teacher; and Joaquín Nieto Sainz, a construction worker—all from the LCR in Catalonia—represented the party at the press conference. Without specifying or concretizing what their posts in the organization were, they were the activists entrusted with beginning to explain what the LCR is.

Formed six years ago by activists of the recently dissolved “Front organizations (FLP, FOC, ESBA),” the LCR was set up as a “sympathizing organization of the Fourth International,” that is, with a Trotskyist ideology. This last, absolutely central point, however, currently seems to have been subtly altered.

Not only because Trotsky was not mentioned once during the press conference (not even as founder of the Fourth International), but also because they explicitly described themselves more as “revolutionary Marxists” (a definition approaching that used by groups like Acción Comunista, the POUM, and

Unión Comunista de Liberación,¹ which are not Trotskyist despite the light-minded labels placed on them) than as Trotskyists.

The most important split of the LCR took place in 1971. It appears that both factions were tied with regard to the number of members. This was the origin of the Liga Comunista [LC—Communist League]. And now the LCR raises the need for a speedy meeting and an immediate fusion.

“The split was a disaster,” the LCR currently thinks. At the time, the split was explained as the result of different strategic concepts for Spain. Now, fusion is justified on the basis of the international strategy they share (both groups are sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International). However, the LC does not view such an operation as an immediate one, simply as one that is necessary in the abstract. . . .

The LCR assesses its fusion with the ETA-VI Asamblea² at the end of 1973 as one of the most important happenings since the split. It was at that time, they say, that the history of the LCR began. Everything else was prehistory.

According to their figures, they currently have more than 3,500 members in the main areas throughout Spain.

More than two-thirds of them have joined in the last year. Forty-five percent are of working-class origin; 60 percent are wage workers; 32 percent are women. The average age is twenty-three.

The LCR favors a workers government and opposes a “class-

1. Communist Action, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (Workers party of Marxist Unification), Communist Union of Liberation.

2. Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna-VI Asamblea (Basque Nation and Freedom-VI Assembly).

collaborationist” government. In line with this, it calls for a working-class united front that will install such a government through a general strike.

The working class, faced with a constant decline in its standard of living, must play a vanguard role, promoting at one and the same time the fight for civil liberties and for freedom, a necessary tool to defend social gains. They refuse, however, to subscribe to any social pact in order to defend such gains.

This perspective of class independence involves, on the one hand, the organizational autonomy of the working class and a mistrust of collaboration between classes, on the other.

The LCR rejects any negotiation of the autonomy statutes. It believes that the Generalitat de Catalunya [the Autonomous Government of Catalonia] is the product of negotiations and concessions. It rejects a self-proclaimed Catalan (or Galician or Basque) government that does not represent the will of the people.

On the contrary, it favors calling general elections for a sovereign national assembly. In the LCR’s opinion, “all options including those promoting separation” must be offered in these elections.

Once such an assembly is formed, the LCR will defend “a federal republic in Spain based on the free union of the oppressed peoples.”

On the trade-union question, the LCR favors a single trade union of the working class, coming out of a constituent trade-union congress based on assemblies in workshops, factories, and so forth. It should be based on building united groupings in each company, “which have already begun to be built.” All this should begin from strengthened workers commissions, which must promote trade-union unity. □

two fundamental classes of society find themselves in a very fragile equilibrium that presents the possibility of sharp changes in one direction or the other. Either the working class succeeds in solving its problems of political leadership and reaches the level of consciousness needed to impose socialist solutions or the bourgeoisie will impose its solutions, which could be extremely violent and bloody.

Q. How do you view the problems of leadership and organization of the work-

ing class by the Communist and Social Democratic parties in the context of the bourgeoisie’s weak base of support in society?

A. I think we must make a dialectical analysis of the evolution of the reformist and neoreformist parties. It is true that these parties continue to be class-collaborationist and in that sense they are the last recourse of the bourgeois order. Without them the bourgeoisie could not confront the immense combativity of the masses and detour it into partial struggles

for aims and reforms that are compatible with the survival of the capitalist system and the bourgeois state. The Union of the Left in France, the historic compromise in Italy, and the social pact in Spain objectively accomplish this function.

However, there is a real dialectic between what the reformist leaders want and what the masses want and we cannot simplify the problem by merely accusing those leaders of being traitors. The so-called *Euro-Communist* evolution of the French, Italian, and Spanish parties signifies a very clear turn to the right from

the programmatic, doctrinal point of view—an abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of all reference to the Communist International and the October revolution, in a certain sense even of all reference to communism.

But that does not permit us to place these parties on the same level as the Social Democratic parties of today and to consider their programs to be similar. We can say that these Communist parties are adopting the same position Kautsky adopted vis-à-vis Lenin in the Second International during the 1920s.

Q. Is such an evolution of the western Communist parties due exclusively to the pressure of the bourgeoisie, or do other factors enter into it?

A. This evolution of the Communist parties cannot be attributed exclusively to pressure from the bourgeoisie. Such an evolution is also a response of some sort to pressure from the workers. When such parties abandon reference to the dictatorship of the proletariat it is not, as French Communist party General Secretary Marchais says, because the word "dictatorship" reminds the workers of fascist dictatorships. That is ridiculous. There is no worker who identifies the French Communist party with Hitler or Mussolini. What Marchais does not yet dare to recognize is that the French workers, including the Communist workers, do not want a Stalinist-type dictatorship and it is that type of dictatorship they identify with the French CP.

That is, the Communist parties that are going the Euro-Communist route are not simply making concessions to the bourgeoisie. They are also making them to the working class, to the powerful anti-bureaucratic current that is developing within the working class in Western Europe. It is simply not accidental that Nicolás Sartorius* refers to the factory delegates elected in Italy in 1969. It shows the pressure that the rise of workers' struggles is exerting on the Communist parties. At the same time, this does not prevent their leaders from acting bureaucratically and manipulatively in the trade union federations they control.

Q. What are the possible consequences of these conflicts inside such parties?

A. The Stalinist system was quite consistent, but these new tendencies developing in the Communist parties are contradictory and their contradictions will become more acute as the class struggle deepens. You cannot demand freedom and democracy for even the bourgeois parties and reject it for revolutionary tendencies.

That is why revolutionary Marxist

currents today have a much more powerful weapon than in the past to use in dialogues with workers and Communist cadres and to apply in following a policy of rapprochement and unity in action. All this will aid in building the revolutionary party, and above all it will make possible the generalization of the experiences of self-organization of the working class, which are decisive for the future victory of the socialist revolution.

Q. In accordance with what you have said before, how would you characterize the situation in Spain?

A. I would say that Spain today is an industrial capitalist country of the classical type. To speak of Spain as an underdeveloped, semicolonial country is an aberration. Spain is a moderately strong imperialist power. Foreign capital has a growing importance in the Spanish economy, but that does not mean we can state that Spain has a neocolonial-type economic structure.

Obviously, the phenomenon of the internationalization of capital has created relations of a new type among the imperialist countries. But there is nothing permitting us to assert that the influence of foreign capital is such that the Spanish state defends foreign interests in counterposition to the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It did not do so even in the most critical years after the war.

Q. How do you view the relationship of class forces in Spain?

A. The industrial development of Spain has created social and political conditions favoring a change in the relationship of forces to the advantage of the working class. Industrial development has greatly increased the number of workers and their proportion within society. At the same time it has made possible the rise of a new working class that has not been traumatized by the Civil War, one full of combativity and with a growing level of organization.

Q. What prospects face the Spanish bourgeoisie?

A. To serve the interests of the bourgeoisie itself, the authoritarian regime must disappear. What good is it for the bourgeoisie if its repression only engenders new struggles?

The bourgeoisie will use any means necessary to achieve a social pact, because today, with the fall in the rate of economic growth, with the increase in the balance of payments deficit, and inflation, it has no other way out.

The bourgeoisie wants to slow down the struggles of the workers now because it cannot grant what they are asking for. That is why it is looking for a rapproche-

ment, a social pact with the forces capable of slowing down or paralyzing the workers' struggles.

But the bourgeoisie can only get such a social pact if it grants bourgeois democratic freedoms. And it is obvious that the Communist party will not risk losing its influence in the working class without obtaining such freedoms in exchange. It would be a mistake to think that they can get the Spanish Communist party to participate in the elaboration of a social pact without granting it freedom of action, participation in the elections, and, perhaps, participation in the government.

Q. If the needs of the bourgeoisie are so obvious, why doesn't it institute these bourgeois democratic freedoms now?

A. We must keep in mind that the Spanish bourgeoisie is very heterogeneous.

In the first place, not all the bourgeoisie believes that the Spanish Communist party is capable of guaranteeing the social pact, since they think the working class will go beyond the CP and the other parties.

In addition, the state apparatus handed down from the Franco epoch does not want to place the reins of power in other hands, and playing on the indecisiveness of the bourgeoisie, it is slowing down the democratic reforms.

Unquestionably, this situation is untenable and a social pact is the most attractive option available to the bourgeoisie. This is all the more true since it coincides with the interests of the international bourgeoisie, who need to increase their room for maneuver and put a brake on the social crises inside the countries that are part of the bloc of the most developed countries.

Nonetheless, the current indecisiveness of the Spanish bourgeoisie and its inability to get out of the crisis are not comprehensible to a foreign observer, above all when its economic interests are in danger and when all the conditions are ripe for it to take such a step forward. □

Smash Hit in Shanghai

William Watts reported from Shanghai in the November 9 *Washington Post* that the Shanghai Symphony and Chorus climaxed its Saturday night performance with a spirited rendition of a new work entitled "Smash the Gang of Four."

On Sunday, school children were seen drawing their own colorful posters condemning the four "pests"—Mao Tsetung's widow, Chiang Ch'ing, former Communist party Vice Chairman Wang Hung-wen, former Vice Premier Ch'un-ch'iao, and former Politburo member Yao Wen-yuan.

* A leader of the workers commissions.

A New Stage in the Factional Struggle in China

[The following is a translation of an editorial published in the October 28, 1976, issue of *October Review*, a Trotskyist monthly published in Hong Kong. The subheadings appeared in the original.]

* * *

Behind the solemn mourning ceremonies following the death of Mao, a violent struggle for the leadership occurred in the upper strata of the Chinese Communist party. In less than a month after Mao's death the battle reached the showdown stage and the faction headed by Chiang Ch'ing was crushed.

The recent upheaval shows once again the extreme instability of the political situation in China, and in particular, the acute nature of the crisis within the Communist party.

The crisis caused by the struggle for power stems from the nature of the whole bureaucratic system, led by Mao in the Stalinist tradition. In place of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is the dictatorship of a single party. The democratic rights the people are entitled to are abrogated by the party, and the party is totally beyond the supervision of the masses.

Within the party, there is the absolutism of the central party leadership, instead of party democracy for all party members. Finally, there is the individual dictatorship of the party chairman in place of collective leadership of the Central Committee. Mao's "pupils" remain committed to this system and tradition.

Before his death, Mao used his personal power to block an open clash of the two main factions in the party. Various posts were left unfilled for quite a long time, reflecting the prolonged nature of the crisis caused by the struggle of the various factions. Once Mao died, the battle for supreme power—chairman of the party and of the Military Commission—and for seats on the Political Bureau exploded.

Despite the ferocious struggle in the upper strata and its initial outcome, the Communist party officialdom has not given the facts to the people and party members so they can judge and intervene in the situation. This shows that the new holders of power continue to conspire and struggle behind the backs of the people and the party members.

As in the past, the defeated faction is not allowed to speak. Instead, the new rulers merely accuse the crushed clique in the same way that Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing were accused. They are



CHIANG CH'ING

accused of causing splits and maneuvering to seize power, but the victorious group acts in just the same way.

They charge the defeated faction of practicing revisionism, but they themselves do not follow Marxism-Leninism. Basically, both sides are faithful disciples of Stalinism-Maoism. Whether someone is branded a traitor or not has nothing to do with their fundamental program, but depends on whether or not they have the power in their hands.

Collapse of Chiang Ch'ing Faction

Chiang Ch'ing was Mao's closest "partner" for the past thirty-eight years, and one would expect her to be a most enthusiastic supporter of Maoism. For years she, Chang Ch'un-ch'iao and Yao Wen-yuan have functioned as authoritative messengers from Mao and interpreters of Mao's "thought" and directives. As for Wang Hung-wen, Mao elevated him in one stroke to the top party leadership for his faithful execution of Mao's policies during the Cultural Revolution. It had appeared as if he would be Mao's successor.

In the past few years and particularly after the death of Chou En-lai, major newspapers and magazines under the control of this faction had posed their ideas as the ideas of the whole party and government. Under the protection of Mao, they had for some time given out orders in the name of the party Central Committee.

If we want to identify a "Maoist" faction, then it is the faction led by Chiang Ch'ing, Chang, Wang, and Yao.

This faction had appeared to be very strong, but today it has been crushed in one blow, indicating the faction depended heavily on Mao's support. Its downfall is a sharp blow to Mao's prestige. This signifies some sort of opposition to Mao, and reveals the real attitude of the present successors of Mao.

Mao, in attempting to bureaucratically appoint his successor, apparently made error after error—from selecting Liu Shao-ch'i in the beginning, to naming Lin Piao in the constitution as his successor, to praising "the takeover of the throne by Empress Lü," to promoting Wang Hung-wen to a high position,¹ and finally to suggesting that Hua Kuo-feng be named first vice-chairman of the party. He did not predict that the successor he "suggested" would so sweepingly purge his closest and firmest supporters.

This also shows that the present successor resembles former "successors" like Lin Piao in his double-dealing. When Mao was alive, he demonstrated his faithfulness to gain Mao's trust. When Mao died, on the one hand he utilized Mao's prestige (projecting such things as building a Mao memorial and printing Mao's complete works) to gain support and stabilize his position. On the other hand he joined with leading non-Maoist cadres and military leaders to liquidate hard-line supporters of Mao. This indicates that some of Mao's policies do not have real and general support even within the party leadership.

The Maoist faction had boasted of its popularity among the people. But after the news of the arrest of the Chiang Ch'ing group was spread in China, almost no resistance was reported in the 8341 corps,²

1. Liu Shao-ch'i was named head of state in April 1959. Defense Minister Lin Piao was named as Mao's official successor in the party constitution adopted at the Ninth Congress in April 1969. The Empress Lü was the first woman ruler of China. She took over de facto power on the death of her husband, the early Han dynasty emperor Kao Tsu, in 195 B.C. Mao's praise of the Empress Lü was taken as an endorsement of Chiang Ch'ing as a possible successor; since Chiang Ch'ing's purge, articles have appeared in the Chinese press criticizing the reign of the Empress Lü (195-180 B.C.). Wang Hung-wen was made the CCP's third ranking official after Mao and Chou En-lai at the Tenth Congress in August 1973.

2. The 8341 corps is the Peking unit that served as Mao Tsetung's bodyguard and organized

the militia in Shanghai (the Maoists' firmest base), or among activists of Peking's six factories and two universities. The response of such former enthusiastic supporters of Mao was rather cool—let alone the response of the masses. This shows how weak the mass base of the Maoist faction really is.

In ideological terms, the Maoists talk of "purging the bourgeoisie within the party." In reality, however, their objection to improving the living conditions of the masses (which they call "the evil wind of economism" and "expansion of bourgeois rights"), their advocacy of winning mass support through "political leadership" and "raising consciousness"—was aimed at seizing greater power in the top leadership and "reforming" the bureaucracy from above. These policies have alienated them from the masses. They built their base on loose sand. Their ideology amounts to empty words and naive illusions.

Situation Far From Stable

In the recent power struggle, various factions united by Hua Kuo-feng overpowered the leaders of the Maoist faction in a lightning attack. It has been established that Hua Kuo-feng was elected chairman of the party and of the Military Commission by a few leaders in a Political Bureau meeting instead of by a plenary session of the Central Committee.

If Hua does not resign from his post as premier, he will hold the top posts in the party, government, and army—which does not match his real political capital and status. News of his "appointment" was spread at first only by wall posters. Later, a spokesman explained that the news was not immediately announced because it took time to inform the various party units throughout the country. The procedure of the election and announcement of its results was unprecedented. Why?

According to the constitution approved by the Tenth Congress of the party, the plenary session of the Central Committee of the party elects the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau and the chairman and vice-chairman of the Central Committee.

After the death of Chou En-lai, only four of the nine members of the Standing Committee were left, and only two of the five vice-chairmen remained. When Mao died, even the chairman's seat was left empty. Why is it that a plenary session of the Central Committee has not been called to elect new leaders according to the constitution? The fact that this has not been done proves not only that the party leadership does not respect the constitution but also that bureaucratic centralism,

with control by a handful at the top, is still practiced in China today. It also reveals that the reallocation of power in the top leadership has not yet been settled and the new master is not yet secure on his throne.



HUA KUO-FENG

When the "appointment" of the new chairman was reported throughout the country, the initial response was neither quick nor enthusiastic. In particular, there were no reports of telegrams of "whole-hearted support" from the provincial party committees and military units. This contrasted to the swift and unanimous support voiced for the party leadership after the Tien An Men event³ and at the time of Mao's death. The people took a wait-and-see attitude. Hua Kuo-feng's authority and prestige were put to a severe test.

After it became clearer that Hua was holding onto his position of power, various units began to express support for the party central body headed by Hua. Posters to that effect, with some even demanding, "Hang the antiparty clique headed by Chiang Ch'ing," appeared at the formerly Maoist bastions of Tsinghua University, Peking University, and in Shanghai, their largest base.

Though the expressions of support to Hua in part are due to the people following the line of least resistance, they do not mean that the people genuinely support

the new central leadership, or that they support a continuation by Hua of the former policies of Mao. What is reflected is the joy of the masses at the collapse of the diehard Maoist faction.

Today, those party leaders who had great prestige have either died or been liquidated. The new leaders do not have outstanding records or any political program different from the past; it will be difficult for them to win the support of the people.

Various factions still exist within the party leadership, and although they joined hands in crushing the Chiang Ch'ing faction, the vacant posts have become bones of contention, which can lead to new clashes. Not only will the people at the top in Peking contend for the various posts, but the local party leaders will also be watching closely. Every change in the power of a faction through the filling of the vacant posts will cause new factional convulsions within the party. Moreover, such struggles will be frequent and harder to control because of the absence of a central leader with great authority like Mao.

To stabilize and consolidate his position, the new successor will have to revise some of the policies of the Mao era. Certain improvements or concessions have to be made, including in the areas of economic policy, the living and working conditions of the people, democratic freedoms, education, the orientation toward the arts and films, the policy of forcing the youth to go into the countryside, and the attitude toward scientists, technicians, and the intelligentsia.

The new leadership claims to follow Marxism and to oppose the wrong ideas and deeds of Chiang Ch'ing. If this were so, it should "give the government back to the people," practice proletarian democracy, give the masses all democratic rights, restore all rights to those who have been arrested or put under surveillance simply because they hold different ideas (such as the Trotskyists), and raise the standard of living of the people.

The Real Desires of the People

In China today, there is a universal desire among the people for change. Under the leadership headed by Mao, the people were deprived of minimum democratic rights and their demands for better living conditions were not met. They will no longer tolerate the political and economic privileges enjoyed by the bureaucracy.

The factional struggles in the party have been mainly over who is in power. The masses are forced to uphold the victors and attack the losers. These factional battles continuously hinder normal economic development and are an obstacle to improving the lives of the people. The people are tired of such struggles, they want to change their conditions and first of all, change the present policies.

security for the party leadership compound near Tien An Men Square.

3. Some 100,000 persons took part in a spontaneous demonstration in Tien An Men Square on April 5 this year in honor of Chou En-lai, which developed into a protest against the regime. The demonstration was suppressed and denounced as a "counterrevolutionary incident." See *IP*, Vol. 14, Nos. 15, 34, and 36.

This universal desire was given concrete expression in the manifestolike poem that appeared during the Tien An Men demonstration: "China is no longer the China of yore, And the people are no longer wrapped in sheer ignorance, Ch'in Shih-huang's feudal society is gone and cannot return."

Since the one who proclaimed himself to be Emperor Ch'in (and even claimed to be ten times more of a strongman than Emperor Ch'in) has passed away, the people expect that the era of his rule will begin to pass away too. If Mao's successor continues to cling to the old policies, he will be challenged very soon.

Moreover, the top leadership's base has been severely shaken by the factional struggles, and the social contradictions it faces are much more acute and challenging. Any limited concessions could be inadequate in face of the desire of the people for radical change.

Struggle for Soviets

The people can see from the continuous power struggle that the bureaucratic system is a hotbed of such battles. To eliminate this incessant power struggle, they will have to eliminate the privileged bureaucracy. To prevent a bureaucratic dictatorship that blocks any supervision by the masses and robs the people of their rights, the masses have to establish what the October revolution led by Lenin and Trotsky did—the soviets, which are based on total democracy.

The Chinese Communist party has completely departed from the experience and teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the Paris Commune and on the Russian revolution. It refuses to set up such organs of power in China because it refuses to give up its one-party dictatorship and let the workers, peasants, and soldiers exercise real power. The people of China should take the power that belongs to them and exercise this power through a system of workers, peasants, and soldiers soviets.

The time has come for the masses and revolutionists in China to assert themselves, utilizing every opportunity to push their struggle forward step by step. They will first fight for an improvement in living and working conditions, for democratic rights, and then, in various ways, they will intervene in state affairs, and take back the political power from the privileged bureaucracy. Through active struggle, they will rapidly go beyond the control of the Communist party leadership.

All Communist party members who have faith in communism and are willing to struggle for it should learn the lessons of the past factional struggles in the top leadership. They should arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism. They should break free from the manipulations of the leadership and help set up a genuinely revolutionary proletarian party with a correct program.

The People's Liberation Army and the militia should stand firmly on the side of the workers and peasants now and in the antibureaucratic struggles to come, support every just demand of their class brothers, and oppose bureaucratic directives that suppress the masses. Only in

this way can they avoid being accomplices of the bureaucracy in suppressing the people. Only then can they push the antibureaucratic struggle to a climax and help the proletariat overthrow bureaucratic rule. China can then embark on the road toward the realization of socialism. □

Save the Lives of Argentine Trotskyists!

International Campaign for Páez and Apaza



JOSE PAEZ

The international campaign to save Argentine Trotskyists José Francisco Páez and Arturo Apaza received new impetus in late October when two prominent Australian trade unionists and a member of parliament demanded that the Argentine military dictatorship free Páez.

Páez is a well-known figure in the auto workers union in the industrial city of Córdoba. In 1973 he was the vice-presidential candidate of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers party). He has been held since January on charges of "illegal associations" and possession of "subversive" literature.

Apaza is a leader in the metalworkers union and a member of the PST. He was kidnapped a few days after the March 24 military coup and his whereabouts are still unknown.

Bill Richardson, federal secretary of the Australian Council of Salaried and Professional Associations; Jim Roulston, Victorian state president of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union; and Queensland Labor Senator George Georges added their names to an already sizable list of labor figures throughout Australia who are working for Páez's release.

Earlier signers of the Australian appeal include Bob Hawke, president of the Australian Labor party; radio commentator Claudia Wright; federal Labor Member of Parliament Ken Fry; and the New South

Wales Young Labor Council.

Open letters and resolutions to the Videla junta on the Páez and Apaza cases have also been recently sent from:

- Twenty-two Greek journalists, attorneys, and professors.

- The student body at Antioquia University in Colombia and officials of five different Colombian public-employees unions.

- A large number of prominent individuals in the United States, including Nobel Prize laureates George Wald and Salvador E. Luria, Massachusetts State Representative John Businger, Rabbi Irwin Blank, Professor Noam Chomsky, Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee, Lydia Sánchez Bracamonte of the Spanish-Speaking Catholic Commission, and Douglas Butler—president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in Boston.

- The leadership of the Unión Nacional de Educadores (National Union of Educators) in Ecuador. □

Peruvian Trotskyists Injured in Bomb Attack by Maoists

Members of the Peruvian Trotskyist youth group, Juventud de Avanzada Socialista (JAS—Vanguard Socialist Youth), in Cantuta were brutally attacked by some twenty goons September 18.

The attackers, members of Patria Roja (Red Homeland)—a 1969 Maoist split from the Peruvian Communist party, threw a Molotov cocktail at the JAS members. Several persons were burned, one so severely that he had to be hospitalized.

A report of the incident in the September 24 issue of *Palabra Socialista* noted that violent attacks against the Trotskyist movement by Patria Roja and other Maoist groups had occurred before. In April 1976 the Maoists attempted to physically disrupt meetings organized for Hugo Blanco at two university campuses in Peru.

Palabra Socialista made an appeal to "all student and left organizations to conduct a campaign rejecting these gangster methods and defending democracy in the student movement."

Socialist Suit Puts American Rulers on the Defensive

By David Frankel

In January 1974, six months after the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance filed suit demanding an end to government spying and harassment against them, the American government replied to the indictment in court. Government lawyers admitted that electronic surveillance of the SWP had gone on from 1945 to 1963, and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had a program to disrupt the party from 1961 to 1969.

The disruption program, the lawyers said, was designed "to alert the public to the fact that S.W.P. is not just another socialist group but follows the revolutionary principles of Marx, Lenin and Engels as interpreted by Leon Trotsky."

There was considerable skepticism from the beginning about the government's reply. A January 10, 1974, Reuter dispatch pointed out that "the government claims the 'disruption program' was conducted in the interest of national security, a defense it has used repeatedly in rationalizing various Watergate-related activities."

It was not long before FBI documents turned over in the course of the suit began to show how justified that skepticism was. They proved that the government had lied about when the surveillance and disruption against the SWP began, about whether it had stopped, and about the type of activities involved. Among the government projects exposed by the suit were:

- FBI attempts to get SWP members fired from their jobs because of their political views.

- FBI forgeries intended to provoke conflicts within the SWP and YSA and between them and other left-wing groups.

- FBI attempts to disrupt the antiwar movement by encouraging right-wing attacks on it, by red-baiting the movement as a whole and specific groups within it, and by planting accusations that antiwar activists were police agents.

The FBI also forged evidence that loyal members of the SWP were police informers in an unsuccessful attempt to start an agent-hunt within the party.

- New material about "Operation Chaos," a Central Intelligence Agency program to spy on and disrupt the antiwar movement.

- The FBI's "Administrative Index," a list of 1,250 persons—including 110 members of the SWP—deemed "dangerous to the internal security and who would be afforded priority investigative coverage in the event of a national emergency,"



Herblock/Washington Post

according to FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley.

Kelley told reporters that those on the list, which included SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo, were "only those individuals who pose a realistic, direct and current danger to the national security."

- Ninety-two burglaries of the SWP national office in New York. Carried out by the FBI between 1960 and 1966, the burglaries averaged one every three weeks.

The Department of Justice had previously denied that federal agents had engaged in burglaries of SWP offices.

FBI Director Kelley declared in July 1975 that when such "surreptitious entries" were used, the only purpose was to obtain "information relative to the security of the nation"—material "paramount in the protection of the nation."

- Kelley also insisted that such burglaries ended in the late 1960s. But this July still another burglary came to light. The Denver SWP headquarters was broken into by FBI informer Timothy Redfean July 7, and documents stolen from the headquarters were turned over to the FBI.

'Enough is Enough'

In October 1975, months before proof of the FBI burglaries had come to light, the editors of the *New York Times*—under the headline "Enough is Enough"—said, "The Socialist Workers party is a legal Ameri-

can political organization. Although it has been the subject of wiretap surveillance for thirty years, no indictments and no convictions have been obtained by the Government. The only conceivable purpose of the continuation of the Cointelpro [counterintelligence program] techniques is harassment and disruption of legitimate political activity."

Others also responded to the disclosures. A CBS-TV reporter reacted to the release of the first documents obtained by the SWP suit in March 1975 by saying, "The FBI may have called it counterintelligence, but it reads a lot like lies and libel . . . like a mixture of the late Joseph McCarthy and the worst of Watergate."

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* said in an editorial March 23, 1975, "From those papers emerges a portrait of the FBI officials . . . that looks ominously like a self-assigned political police force flouting the U.S. Constitution. . . ."

Among the sponsors of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is raising money and organizing support for the suit, are author Noam Chomsky and Nobel Prize winners Kenneth Arrow, Salvador Luria, George Wald, and Linus Pauling; Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers; historian Henry Steele Commager; film-maker Emile deAntonio; playwright Arthur Miller; critic Eric Bentley; sculptor Alexander Calder; and authors such as Joseph Heller, John Hersey, Norman Mailer, and Ring Lardner, Jr.

In addition, the suit has won wide endorsement from leaders in the Black liberation movement, which was a central target of the FBI and other government agencies. Daniel Ellsberg, who was prosecuted for releasing the Pentagon Papers, and Michael and Robert Meeropol—the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed during the McCarthy period on frame-up charges of stealing the secret of the atom bomb—have also endorsed the suit.

As a result of the secret documents it has exposed, and because of the basic issues it raises, the suit by the SWP and YSA has emerged as one of the most important civil liberties cases of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. In a recent interview with *Intercontinental Press*, PRDF National Secretary Syd Stapleton stressed that it is necessary to look at the developments in the legal fight carried out by the SWP and YSA in the context of the overall radicali-

zation affecting American society.

"I think the present ferment around the spying done by the government against socialists, civil rights activists, and so on, is very much linked to what happened during the Vietnam War," Stapleton said.

"A situation arose where there were divisions not only among ordinary people in the United States, but there were big divisions in the ruling class about the whole progress of the war. At the same time there was an independent mass movement out demonstrating in the streets, talking to GIs, organizing against the war.

"The interaction between the mass movement and the sections of the ruling class who were hesitant about pursuing the Vietnam War in the face of growing domestic opposition and the Vietnamese resistance, began to create a situation where, when the government moved against the students and unionists and Black activists who were opposed to the war, they inevitably began to carry this over into attacks on sections of the ruling political parties."

Thus, Nixon's famous "plumbers" squad was originally set up to stop leaks to the press from his own aides on the National Security Council—leaks that were publicizing Nixon's lies about the war to the whole world. G. Gordon Liddy, a member of the plumbers, was credited with developing a \$1 million plan for dirty tricks tied to the 1972 election campaign. Electronic surveillance and prostitutes were to be used in an effort to compromise Nixon's Democratic party opponents, while mugging squads and kidnappings were proposed for use against antiwar activists.

Watergate Breaks Open

The arrest of five of Nixon's burglars at the Democratic party national headquarters in June 1972 was an outgrowth of a scaled-down version of Liddy's plan. By January 1974, when the government first responded to the SWP and YSA suit, Spiro Agnew had already resigned as vice-president as a result of his shady financial dealings. After a four-month fight to keep the White House tapes secret, Nixon's lawyers had announced that two of the key tapes had never existed after all, and the eighteen-minute gap in another tape had come to light. New leads on secret bank accounts and additional evidence of White House spying and dirty tricks were coming out on a regular basis.

"The big difference in what we did as opposed to virtually every other tendency on the left," Stapleton explained, "is that we did not focus on Nixon. What the SWP and YSA did, was to focus on the broader questions of democratic rights.

"Democratic rights had been violated by the Nixon administration, but we knew and we said that they had also been violated by Democratic and Republican administrations going right back through



Crime in U.S. down 6% in first half of 1976.—FBI report

Conrad/Los Angeles Times

the Second World War. And sure enough, as the facts began to come out, our political approach was confirmed. We were able to see far enough ahead of the evolution of the career of Nixon as an individual to focus on what were really the important questions—that is, the overall growth of the government's attack on democratic rights."

Almost without exception, other groups on the American left concentrated on the demand for Nixon's impeachment, although each group added its own particular twist to this demand. Thus, the Maoist Revolutionary Union raised the slogan "Throw the bum out!" while the sectarians of the Spartacist League said, "Impeachment is not enough!"

In practice, the American ruling class itself eventually adopted the alternative of impeachment in an attempt to show that the institutions of American bourgeois democracy really do work. Nixon was forced out of office amid a flood of propaganda praising the American system.

Those on the left who focused on the demand that Nixon be impeached simply made it easier for the ruling class to pretend that Nixon's violations of democratic rights represented an aberration rather than the norm. At the same time, these tendencies completely missed the significance of the SWP and YSA's initiative in the courts.

One small sect, the Workers League (followers of the British Revolutionary Workers party, headed by Gerry Healy), complained in an open letter distributed to the August 1973 convention of the SWP, "Today in the midst of the greatest crisis in history, when the independent struggle of the working class is a question of life and death, the leaders of the SWP go into court to 'sue Nixon.'"

Equally contemptuous was the Spartacist League, which charged in an article

devoted to Watergate, "The chief activity of the SWP in the past months has been to push its series of lawsuits against Nixon and the government for conspiring 'against the rights of dissenters.' . . . This 'offensive' reveals the SWP to have a set of priorities more in keeping with an outfit like the American Civil Liberties Union than a revolutionary organization . . ." (*Workers Vanguard*, February 15, 1974).

Meanwhile, the SWP and YSA went ahead with their legal challenge to the government.

Crisis of Confidence

Nixon's use of the FBI and his own right-wing thugs against political opponents within the two capitalist parties forced the issue of government spying and harassment into the open. But what kept it there long after the editors of the *New York Times* cried "enough is enough," and what underlies the success of the socialist suit, has been the overwhelming distrust of the American people in the U.S. government and those who run it.

Like Nixon's attempts to use extralegal repression against his opponents, this deep distrust also originated from the war in Vietnam. Night after night Nixon—and Lyndon Johnson before him—would stand up on national television and lie about the war to the American people. They had to lie because of the deep opposition to the war. But the lies about Vietnam, followed by the lies about Watergate, have resulted in a crisis of confidence that the American ruling class has been unable to overcome.

"Every time some fact comes out about what the CIA and FBI have done, people assume that there are ten more facts about worse things that are still being covered up," Stapleton said. "And the progress of the revelations has confirmed all those suspicions. Every time one thing comes out, it is proved that there are others lurking in the background—more disclosures that are spurred by the disclosures that preceded them.

"It's now taken as an article of faith that all these government agencies collaborate and try to stamp out opposition to the government's policies."

As long as this is true, the ruling class cannot simply cut off the disclosures about its police agencies without suffering a grave blow to its democratic pretensions. Every American schoolchild is taught that the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to the American constitution—guarantees the right to speak, write, and peacefully demonstrate in behalf of any political idea. Now, masses of people believe that government agencies systematically violate these rights. This is a blow to the ideological legitimacy of capitalist rule.

By using "national security" as an excuse for trying to suppress information about the Vietnam War—as in the case of

the Pentagon Papers—and as a shield in trying to first cover up and then justify the violations of democratic rights around the Watergate scandal, Johnson and Nixon undercut the traditional means for justifying government programs designed to destroy socialist groups, Black liberation organizations, and similar targets.

In their suit against the government, the SWP and YSA took advantage of this situation to pose the contradiction between the claims of bourgeois democracy and its reality. Those radicals who were so busy denouncing the Trotskyists' illusions in bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois courts proved unable to recognize an opportunity for exposing the false nature of American democracy before an audience of millions.

Of course the government has done its best to stop the flow of revelations. "The Freedom of Information Act is an example of that," Stapleton noted. "This is a law that supposedly allows people a chance to find out what files the government has, what information it's trying to hide. It's an empty law. Any bureaucrat in the government can get around its provisions.

"But because there was so much pressure on the government to come clean, they had to let the Freedom of Information Act function a tiny bit. Not much—just a little tiny bit—and out came the information about FBI disruption programs to break up the civil rights movement, the antiwar movement, and the SWP.

"Then it was too late to put a lid on it, because it would have just looked worse to try to cover it up. So they had to let the whole Cointelpro operation come out—resisting every inch of the way—over the course of the year. Most of the exposures—almost all—resulted from our suit."

By November of 1975 only 37 percent of those asked in a national poll gave the FBI a "highly favorable" rating, compared to 71 percent in 1970 and 84 percent in 1965. The CIA got 14 percent.

A new attorney general, Edward Levi, was appointed by President Ford in an attempt to reverse this situation and convince the public that the FBI was really going to be cleaned up. Levi issued new guidelines for FBI investigations, supposedly ruling out use of the bureau as a political police force. In August, FBI agents acting under orders of the Justice Department raided the bureau's New York office. As one federal official described it, the agents carted away "file cabinet after file cabinet" of FBI documents.

"The latest step that they've taken, that is, Levi's announcement that he is ordering the FBI to terminate the investigation of the SWP, is the boldest move they've made so far. But it's in the same general category as these others, of things that are too little and too late," Stapleton commented.

"Levi's order was given to create the



Herblock/Washington Post

impression that the FBI was doing less political spying than it has done in the past. But every indication since then, including FBI Director Kelley's instructions to FBI field offices, has made it clear that the order is going to have little or no impact on what the FBI actually does. Instead of investigating the SWP as an organization, it will simply investigate members of the SWP.

"Nevertheless, there is another side to it. In addition to being an attempt to perpetrate the hoax that the FBI is no longer engaged in political surveillance, the ruling was a public admission by the attorney general of the United States that it is not proper to carry out such activities against the SWP. Well, we can take that admission and show people that in spite of the fact the Levi has publicly admitted that the SWP should not be investigated, the FBI is continuing to carry out its spying under the ruse of investigating individual members. So, it gives us another weapon to expose the FBI and the government as enemies of democratic rights."

Need for International Pressure

Turning to the future of the PRDF suit, Stapleton said, "There are years left in this case, and there is no reason to believe that the disclosures are going to stop, or that the complexities are going to be any easier for the government to handle.

"It is quite clear that the trial is not going to take place for quite some time. Many, many issues have to be resolved before a trial. Some of them, involving what kinds of information the government has to turn over, may go right up to the Supreme Court."

In addition to arguing that much of the

information being demanded by the SWP and YSA deals with "national security," Stapleton said, "There are spy programs the government is going to want to officially continue, things that they will defend on the basis that supposedly the SWP will engage in violence some day because it is a Marxist group.

"CIA spying on the SWP and its international activities is an example. They want to defend that. They're going to fight to prevent disclosure of CIA activities, and we're going to have to fight them clear through the trial on this issue.

"We will be taking Levi's admission that FBI spying on the SWP is improper and confronting the CIA with it in the courts. We will be demanding that all the CIA's activities against the SWP and the Fourth International be brought to a halt and that the CIA files be turned over to us.

"This begins to get into the operations of the American ruling class on a world scale. It involves the apparatus that they have set up to intervene in countries around the world, to violate their laws, and to try to manipulate the ruling classes in competing capitalist countries, in addition to trying to break up and disrupt the workers movement around the world."

Stapleton stressed that "one very important response to the CIA's crimes will be the development of international support for our suit. The CIA operates internationally, and pressure from supporters of democratic rights overseas can have an impact on whether the American government will have to retreat on the use of the CIA, and if so, how far."

Of course, the SWP and YSA do not believe that they will get justice from the American legal system, that when the trial and the appeals are all over the American government will stop its spying and harassment—even if its own courts rule that it should.

As Stapleton explained it, "The ruling class in the United States is certainly not prepared to do away with the FBI, or to do away with the other agencies that engage in these types of police functions. They may change their names or adjust the type of language they use, they may write fewer things down on paper, but fundamentally they are prepared to back these agencies and the people in them.

"But their ability to justify this type of thing to the American people is undermined. That's the really significant thing that is happening—not that they have stopped doing any of these things, but that they are less able to tell people that this is the way the government should operate, that this is what you should expect from a so-called democratic government. Our suit has undermined their ability to rule by deception."

In contrast to most other groups on the American left, who have simply called for the dissolution of the FBI and CIA, the central demand the YSA and SWP have

raised is that all the secret files of these agencies be opened up, so that the American people themselves can see what the government has been doing.

"What is going to make a difference in what happens in the United States," Stapleton notes, "is not how the American government organizes its secret police apparatus, but rather how much information workers, women, Blacks, and others in this country have on what the government has tried to do to their struggles.

"The less trust there is and the less of a cover there is for the government's operations, the more possibility there is for forcing respect for our democratic rights, and that has nothing to do with whether the U.S. government organizes its international operations through the CIA or the NSA [National Security Agency] or the Health, Education and Welfare Department, or however they end up doing it.

"So, getting the facts, the whole idea of full disclosure, is the center of our political campaign around this issue, and it is going to continue to be as the suit progresses."

Other Gains of the Suit

When asked to sum up some of the other gains of the suit, Stapleton said, "I think one of the most valuable things to come out of this whole case is a very simple fact that was just not very widely understood outside of the Trotskyist movement. That

is that a common disruptive technique the government uses is to accuse people of being 'agents'.

"That was very common in the antiwar movement. You would see people get up in a meeting and accuse revolutionists of being agents of the police—and you knew, if you were somebody who had had any experience in the radical movement, that real police agents had been at work planting such allegations.

"Now, there is absolute proof of the use of this police technique, and it is a very valuable tool for revolutionaries to use in educating people about the kind of tactics the government uses."

At the same time that the suit has made it harder for the government to use its disruptive tactics successfully, it has also had an impact on the consciousness of millions of Americans who have never been involved in any type of radical activity. "There have been literally thousands of articles in hundreds of newspapers concerning the suit," Stapleton said.

"And the impact that type of information has, both from the point of view of making people aware of the criminal activity the government has been involved in, and from the point of view of making people aware of the Socialist Workers party, is very great.

"It has had an even bigger impact in preventing this whole process of disclosure from being brought to a close. They would

finish one investigation—as in the case of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence—and within a month we would have information that they hadn't dreamed of, or looked for, or asked for."

Finally, Stapleton said, the PRDF suit "has made these individual FBI agents feel that they might be prosecuted for things they got away with scot-free a few years ago, it has made them more cautious and it has made it harder for them to operate."

The successes registered by the SWP and YSA have helped create a climate where others who have been victimized feel emboldened to fight back. For example, La Raza Unida party in Texas—an independent Chicano political party—has followed the example of the Trotskyists and filed their own suit against government harassment and spying. Another important case that has been helped by the precedents established by the PRDF suit is that of the sons of the Rosenbergs, who are fighting to get out the truth about the frame-up and murder of their parents by the American government.

As an editorial in the September 18 issue of the influential liberal magazine *The Nation* put it: "One must wish the Socialist Workers Party and their counsel, Leonard Boudin and Herbert Jordan, well in their suit against the government. Their cause in this action should be the cause of all Americans." □

Editors of 'The Nation' Hail Suit Against FBI

Victory for the SWP Would Be 'Giant Victory for Everyone'

[The following editorial appeared in the November 6 issue of *The Nation*, an influential liberal weekly published in New York.]

* * *

Fascinating skirmishes in court—which may lead to landmark decisions on the scope of civil liberties in the United States—continue to take place in the three-year suit of the Socialist Workers Party against the FBI. The latest involves the use of "informers," those government spies the FBI has sprinkled so liberally among political groups whose opinions the G-men dislike.

Details of the FBI's "investigation" of the SWP are by now well known to *Nation* readers (see particularly Walter and Miriam Schneir's "Square Target of the FBI," September 25). The investigation has supposedly been halted by order of Attorney General Levi, relayed to agents by FBI Director Clarence Kelley. But in the light of Kelley's pledge to keep an eye on party members who are "likely to use force or

violence in violation of federal law," and in view of the bureau's admission that it has sixty-six informants within the party, the SWP is understandably skeptical. It has demanded in court that the informers be identified.

To that demand the FBI responded last week with frantic wringing of hands. "What is at stake on this motion," wailed the bureau in a court memo, "is nothing less than the ability of the FBI . . . to obtain information which is vitally necessary to the continued performance of their duties." (The duties, of course, consist of domestic political espionage.) A high-level FBI spokesman claimed that already, because of the threat to confidentiality growing out of the suit, twenty informers have broken with the bureau and many others have "simply ceased to provide adequate information."

A glimpse into the underground activity of these presumably patriotic moles, who number about 1,500 according to a Congressional inquiry, is afforded by the 2,000-page file on one Timothy Redfearn, which

was previously released to the SWP. During the four years that Redfearn informed for the bureau's Denver office, he burglarized SWP offices with the FBI's approval, performed seven nonpolitical burglaries of which the bureau was aware, and spent a month under psychiatric care in a mental hospital.

For the FBI a vital principle is at stake in the SWP suit, but the rest of us can only be pleased that fearful informers are dropping out of circulation, thus hampering the bureau's repellent work as a political police force. And a court decision to unveil all the Timothy Redfearns within the SWP would be a giant victory for everyone who cares about the Constitution. As the ACLU [American Civil Liberties Union] declared in its policy statement denouncing the use of informers, "The use of police spies offends the fundamental notion that citizens have the right to associate among themselves to achieve social or political objectives in which they believe without interference by the government." □

OUT NOW!

Chapter 22

The First Counter-Inaugural and the Demise of the National Mobilization Committee

By Fred Halstead

[Second of two parts]

The National Mobe-SDS "election offensive" was a failure. There were no successful strikes anywhere because the students didn't respond. Most local SDS chapters didn't even try to organize strikes at their own campuses. There were a few small picket lines and rallies. Here and there, where other groups, including the SMC, were involved, there were modest peaceful antiwar demonstrations. The confrontations SDS had counted on did not occur.

The failure of their plans was particularly demoralizing within SDS where the national leadership and its followers lost ground to the Progressive Labor faction. The PL-SDSers had opposed the strike call.

The high point of the National Mobilization's "GI week" was supposed to have been a mass "be-in" just outside Fort Dix, New Jersey. Ordinarily this phrase described a gathering of countercultural youth in a park for a day's outing. For the Fort Dix affair

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they distributed a leaflet with a picture of a woman in Vietnamese dress and the title: "HANOI ROSE yearns for you." The text continued: "Join her in the freedom booth. . . . All GIs who join us get free ham sandwiches, music, love, dope, surprises, civvies, money, bus tickets, flowers, theater, hippie wigs. . . ."9

"A Freedom Booth," said the *Mobilizer*, "at first glance looks like an election booth but inside instead of the levers, knobs, toilet paper and other irrelevant machinery, the Freedom Booth contains civilian clothes, bus tickets and subway tokens, civilian ID cards and other great choices for the American serviceman."¹⁰

It might have seemed funny in Greenwich Village, but it was harebrained foolishness under the circumstances at Fort Dix. The affair was a flop as GIs avoided it like the plague.

Harry Ring commented in the *Militant*: "Now, it has been recognized by the most obtuse that there is significant antiwar sentiment among GIs and that there are an impressive number of servicemen and women ready to assert their constitutional right to voice their views on the war.

"Finally compelled to recognize this reality, a turn toward the GIs was finally made by those like the present operators of the National Mobe (which, incidentally, for all practical purposes has virtually stopped functioning as a coalition). But they made the

turn to the GIs in such a damagingly irresponsible way that one is tempted to think it might almost be better if they hadn't."¹¹

* * *

The military authorities could limit direct GI participation in demonstrations, harass the coffeehouses and GI editors, but they couldn't eliminate contact between GIs and the general population of their age group, which by this time was heavily against the war. The SMC emphasis on supporting the right of GIs to oppose the war helped assure that the antiwar movement was not isolated from this communication.

The interplay went both ways. This was particularly important in the fall and winter of 1968-69 when, in spite of the growing antiwar sentiment, the organized antiwar movement was largely in disarray and a lot of the previous activists were confused, demoralized, or turning inward into sectarian concerns and abandoning antiwar activity as such. Though the number of GIs who could attend antiwar meetings was small, they had a healthy influence on the movement.

They were far less inclined than civilians to have illusions in the negotiations or the occasional U.S. bombing halts, or to believe that the war was practically over. Their material interest in the growth of the antiwar movement was more direct. What is more, GIs were being rotated in huge numbers from a year's duty in Vietnam and many brought with them stories of the war—including descriptions of corruption and atrocity and a remarkable respect for the "VC"—which spread throughout the bases in the United States and turned even more GIs against the American intervention. The fact that significant numbers of GIs were participating in the antiwar movement was a new factor which added great authority to the antiwar arguments.

The SMC did everything it could to take advantage of this new factor to rejuvenate and regroup the antiwar movement. In line with this it initiated a GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference in Chicago on December 28. Among other things it was hoped this conference could give impulse to a call for unified mass actions in the spring of 1969.

The Chicago Peace Council agreed to cohost the GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference and the SMC was able to get fairly broad sponsorship for it. But the building of the conference was difficult because of the divisions within the movement. To some extent these were also reflected among GIs who had connections with one or another radical tendency. A number of forces, including the Dellinger-Davis-Hayden grouping in National Mobe, the Du Bois Clubs, SDS, Youth Against War and Fascism, and others, took a dim view of the conference and kept their distance from it. Some PLers campaigned against the conference beforehand.

The editorial board of one GI newspaper, the *Last Harass* at Fort Gordon, Georgia, wrote an open letter to Howard Petrick of the SMC staff accusing him of using the paper's name as a

9. This leaflet was reproduced in the *Militant*, November 22, 1968.

10. National Mobilization Committee *Mobilizer*, October 25, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

11. *Militant*, November 22, 1968.

sponsor of the conference without the permission of the full editorial board. Petrick answered that he had been assured by the one editor he had spoken to that it was okay to list the paper as a sponsor, but Petrick apologized and removed it from the list.¹²

In their letter to Petrick, the *Last Harass* editors argued against the conference on the grounds that it would expose dissenting GIs to the military authorities. "We hope you will become aware of the security precautions that are necessary in order to prevent organizations from being effectively wiped out by a few swift moves by army intelligence when certain individuals' connection with certain things have been confirmed."¹³

In his reply Petrick summarized the specific context in which activist youth in the U.S. military services found themselves, concluding: "I think that it's fair to say that a good-sized majority of active duty GIs are against the war in Vietnam. Our task, then, is to find some way to organize this sentiment, to find ways in which GIs can organize and protest that won't get them into legal trouble and will have a real effect towards ending the war. . . .

"Anyone who has been in the military service knows that one of the things the brass tries to do is make it seem that citizens lose their constitutional rights once in uniform, and that free speech and assembly do not apply to GIs. Although they try to make GIs believe this, and although many do believe this, the facts are just the opposite—at least according to the constitution. GIs do have the legal right to free speech; GIs do have the right to speak out against the war; GIs do have the right to demonstrate. True enough, the brass will attempt reprisals against the first GIs who speak out but experience shows that with proper legal defense, GIs can win, and can assure their rights.

"In order for GIs to organize against the war, we have to publicize the fact that GIs have the right to do so. The only way to publicize that fact is to act; to be very careful to exercise legal rights and thus minimize the chance of victimization; and to be prepared for an adequate defense in case the brass tries illegal reprisals. In that way antiwar GIs who speak out can show the others what can be done. This publicity is also necessary for organization.

"In this sense, it seems to me that the main aspect of the 'necessary security' that should be undertaken is the security of carrying out legal actions [as opposed to illegal ones], so that any attempted victimizations can be fought. I don't deny the need for security, but too much secrecy can hurt organizing efforts. If a GI is to be actively engaged in antiwar activity (more than in his private thoughts) then I don't think that that activity can really be kept secret from military 'intelligence' unless it is also kept secret from the very same GIs you want to reach. And you can't organize GIs to act out against the war unless you explain what you want to do. GIs who are willing to speak out now can reach others who are silent only if they do actually speak out. . . .

"The conference, I hope, will place a very strong emphasis on the responsibility the civilian antiwar movement has to help in the defense of GIs' civil liberties. In addition, I should hope that the conference will repudiate any attempt by anyone to foster a 'freak show' spirit onto the proposed GI-civilian action, or any attempt to call illegal actions which could maximize the chances that GIs who take part will get into trouble with the brass."¹⁴

In general, the movement toward escalated rhetoric and sectarian practices in SDS circles was reflected in the GI movement in a tendency to emphasize an underground approach. Superficially, this tactic might have appeared more militant, but in practice it was an escape from the real opportunities that presented themselves.

12. Letter from Howard Petrick to the *Last Harass*, December 14, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

13. Letter from the *Last Harass* to Howard Petrick, November 29, 1968. (Copy in author's files.)

14. Letter from Howard Petrick to the *Last Harass*, December 14, 1968.

The GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference itself was poorly attended, in part due to a severe snowstorm that hit the Midwest and made travel to Chicago difficult that weekend, but mainly because of the crisis in the movement.

Some 300 people attended the first night's session, which heard a number of GIs, including Rudy Bell, one of the Fort Hood forty-three; his mother, Nettie Bell, who was active in the defense; Reber Boulton, the Atlanta ACLU attorney who was working on the case of Captain Howard Levy; Chicago Alderman Sammie Raynor of Vets for Peace; Sid Peck; and others.

Both Peck and Sid Lens attended the conference though they were obviously not entirely comfortable with it. They did not want to close the door to the possibility of unified mass action in the spring.

Some 270 persons registered for the working sessions on the second day. An absolute majority of these were members or close sympathizers of the YSA. This was not by design, but because the YSA and the SWP were the only radical organizations that gave full support to the conference and made sure their people got there, snowstorm or no.

The conference did propose mass GI-civilian demonstrations for the spring, suggesting that they be held in six or seven cities: New York, Chicago, Seattle, Atlanta, Austin, San Francisco, and possibly Los Angeles. The suggested date was to be Easter Sunday, April 6, 1969. This holiday was chosen to make it more difficult for military authorities to restrict GIs to base on the day of the demonstrations.

C. Clark Kissinger, who chaired one of the sessions, wrote an article for the *Guardian* in which he characterized the conference as a failure. Said Kissinger: "The boycott of the conference by national GI papers like the *Bond* and *Vietnam GI*, as well as by local groups, resulted in a conference pretty much limited to the YSA and its supporters. In this setting the unanimity and boredom was not surprising.

"The GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference ended late Saturday afternoon, so the national conference of the Student Mobilization Committee, which was to have begun Sunday morning, was called to order after a dinner break. The entire SMC conference lasted one hour and 10 minutes. Only a shadow of its former self, the SMC (mostly YSAers) heard brief reports, endorsed the actions of the GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference, and adjourned."¹⁵

Yet the SMC leaders were convinced that the demonstrations called by the GI-Civilian Antiwar Action Conference would be successful, and in the process the SMC would be rebuilt. The reason was as simple as it was profound. The war was not about to end, and the American people were turning more and more against it.

The outgoing Johnson administration, and the incoming administration of Richard M. Nixon, who had been elected in November, were united in a determination to continue trying to win the war. This is not what they said, but it was the way they acted, as the GIs well knew from the preparations they saw under way. Nixon had promised he had a plan to end the war, the details of which he kept secret. But neither the Democrats nor the Republicans made any sign of doing the only thing that would end it—getting out of Vietnam. By spring the illusions that the war was about to end would be dissipating.

* * *

Meanwhile the National Mobilization Committee had called for a series of antiwar activities in Washington around the inauguration of President-elect Nixon on January 20, 1969. These came to be known as the Counter-Inaugural. The experience of the "election offensive" had a somewhat sobering effect and this time the projections were more realistic, and an attempt was made to involve broader forces. The central leaders of the National Mobilization Committee now were Davis, Dellinger, and Potter.

15. *Guardian*, January 11, 1969.

Hayden had moved to the West Coast, and was only nominally involved.

Essentially Davis's and Dellinger's approach remained the same—to court the SDS and countercultural “confrontationists” while attempting to keep at least some moderate forces involved. But in this case most of the concessions tended to be to the moderate side. Some of the others resented this and made no secret about it.

The final plan was for three days of activities: a series of workshops on a wide variety of subjects on Saturday, January 18; a march along Pennsylvania Avenue on January 19; a “Counter-Inaugural Ball” that night featuring rock bands and a light show in a huge circus tent; and a “movement presence” along the route of the inaugural parade itself on Monday, January 20.

The tension during the preparations revolved mainly around whether there should be a physical confrontation, particularly on Monday at the inaugural parade. The New York Parade Committee, as well as the few moderate groups and individuals who had become hesitantly involved, opposed this. A milieu of small radical groups, some SDSers, and the self-proclaimed “Crazies” (an offshoot of the Yippies) continued to press for a confrontation. In New York, the Coalition for an Anti-Imperialist Movement (Co-Aim) devoted itself to organizing this milieu for the Counter-Inaugural. Co-Aim itself was largely a bloc between Youth Against War and Fascism and Walter Teague's Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front.

The SDS national office did not support the National Mobe's call for the inaugural demonstrations. According to Dellinger the SDS national office wasn't opposed to the action, but would not join the call because of the internal dispute with PL.¹⁶ Things had reached the sorry point where public support to a coalition antiwar demonstration had become a point of embarrassment in the faction struggle within SDS.

The SMC supported the Counter-Inaugural, though it was not involved in the planning or on the Washington staff. I returned to the staff of the Parade Committee for the Counter-Inaugural preparations but worked from the New York end, not on the Washington staff of the Mobe. This was not accidental. If I had been on the Washington staff it would have been uncomfortable for everyone concerned. It was no secret that I was not in a mood to equivocate with the advocates of getting small bands of youth into street fights with the armed forces of the state. That was neither more militant nor more anti-imperialist than peaceful demonstrations as far as I was concerned. It was just damned foolishness.

Once again, Dellinger—and in this case much of the staff—found themselves in the position of trying to smooth things out between the moderates on the one hand and Co-Aim and those of like mind on the other. To reassure the moderates, the National Mobe literature emphasized that the affair would be peaceful and that the confrontation would be political, not physical. This was the policy agreed upon among the major forces participating. There was, however, a certain fuzzy area. In the words of a staff statement: “Groups that were seeking more militant kinds of action were also aware that there would be other opportunities during the weekend for militant tactics to be employed.”¹⁷

Just what these “other opportunities” were was not quite clear, and in any case Co-Aim and the Crazies did not want to do their thing by themselves—they could never muster very many people on their own—they wanted to involve the larger crowd.

As it turned out, the National Mobe's activities for the Counter-Inaugural came off more or less as planned. The Saturday workshops were well attended with perhaps 2,000 persons taking part. On Sunday there was a short rally in the circus tent (it was too cold for an outdoor rally) followed by a march of 13,000, more or less the number projected.

The last speaker at the rally was Derrick Alexander, a GI who

had been seriously wounded in Vietnam only two months before. He had literally gotten out of his bed at Walter Reed hospital to take part in the antiwar activity. Throughout the program, a group of hecklers kept interrupting speakers, demanding “action.” It was clear they hoped to win the crowd at the rally to their perspective of physical confrontation. The atmosphere of hostility among these types toward the Mobilization Committee had reached the point where some of them even allowed themselves to be led into trying to shout down Alexander in an effort to get the crowd running through the streets after their fashion. It didn't work. Alexander finished his talk and led off the march together with other GIs, though he was clearly suffering physically.

That night some 10,000 people stood in and around the tent attending the Counter-Inaugural Ball. That event went smoothly, except for a superabundance of mud. But while most of the National Mobe staff was at the tent, a group of about thirty people from the Co-Aim group raided the office and took it over physically. Apparently the raiders hoped this coup would allow them to determine the tactics for the following day at the inaugural parade. Some of them put out a press release along those lines.

In practical terms the raid was nonsensical because the press release couldn't possibly have been published before the next morning's events, and street demonstrations cannot be directed out of an office anyway.

Dave Dellinger was called back to the office from the tent and negotiated with the raiders, assuring them that National Mobe had always intended to provide “legal, medical and communications help for all groups on Monday.”¹⁸ A physical free-for-all in the office was narrowly avoided.

On Monday the inaugural parade was heavily guarded by troops as well as police. Squads of well-trained soldiers in battle dress, with rifles and bayonets, were moved quickly into position opposite any area along the route where demonstrators appeared to gather in force. The crowd was heavily infiltrated with plainclothes cops. But they generally didn't interfere with the demonstrators as long as they stayed on the sidelines.

Several thousand demonstrators stood along the route, chanting antiwar slogans and giving the peace salute. Some had gotten tickets in the grandstands and held up antiwar signs as the parade went by. One group spelled out “Vietnam for the Vietnamese,” one letter per person.

Meanwhile the Co-Aim forces concentrated at a certain place along the route. Rumor had it they would attempt to rush the president's motorcade when it passed, but there was nothing more than a little pushing and shoving and a few wads of paper and small stones thrown into the street. Anyone gesturing as if to throw something was apt to be pounced upon by the plainclothes cops. Incredibly, in this situation, a group of Crazies wandered through the crowd passing out marijuana cigarettes. One of them tried to hand one to me and it took considerable restraint to keep from laying him out right there.

After the presidential motorcade passed, several hundred youths broke away from the rest of the demonstrators and moved north, away from the parade route, running through the streets of downtown Washington, turning over trash cans and breaking windows here and there. The cops chased them through the streets for a couple of hours until they were dispersed after several dozen arrests. So ended the Counter-Inaugural.

* * *

In one sense the Counter-Inaugural had been a modest success. Except for the trashing at the end—which wasn't really all that serious—it had gone according to the agreed plan, and the turnout, while small, was just about what had been expected. What is more, at the workshops on Saturday there had been widespread support for the idea of the projected Easter GI-civilian

16. “Summary of Administrative Committee Meeting, Washington, December 14, 1968.” See report by Dellinger. (Copy in author's files.)

17. *Liberation*, February 1969.

18. *Ibid.*



Brian Shannon/Militant

Counter-Inaugural march of 13,000 in Washington, D.C., January 19, 1969.

demonstrations, though the workshops had not been structured to make decisions.

I hoped the National Mobilization Committee would take over the national coordination of the Easter actions after the Counter-Inaugural. The December GI-Civilian conference had left this to a "Liaison Coordinating Committee" with me as convenor. But so far, aside from me, only an SMC representative and Sid Lens had agreed to serve on this body. (This was another of those times when Sid Lens's anxiety for unity at all costs played a positive role.) Involving the National Mobe as such, in spite of its current narrowness, would be very important because it would signal a greater unity around the spring actions and make it much easier to get the New York Parade Committee to sponsor the New York regional affair, and for other local coalitions to be constituted or refurbished.

But the National Mobilization Committee was roundly criticized after January 20 by both the moderates and the ultra-lefts. The bad feeling involved around the Counter-Inaugural—highlighted by the raid on the office—apparently had a traumatic effect on the National Mobe staff. Of great importance here, considering the general approach of Dellinger and Davis, was the fact that after the Counter-Inaugural, National Mobe was sharply derided in SDS circles.

By that time the level of polemic within SDS was rapidly deteriorating and plain slander had become part of the style. For example, an article on the Counter-Inaugural in *New Left Notes* complained that the Saturday march had not resulted in a confrontation, and declared:

"The reason that the pigs could perform so smoothly and in such reserved fashion on the Mobilization march, using only four

or five motorcycle cops per block to keep us on our side of the street, was because the Mobilization marshals effectively functioned as cops. In fact, several of them drew knives on demonstrators who were trying to rip down the flag in front of the HEW [Health, Education and Welfare] building."¹⁹

But what rattled Dellinger and Davis wasn't so much the fact that the specific charges were largely false and unfair—we had all developed rather thick skins by then—but that the Counter-Inaugural had the effect of repelling rather than attracting the SDS milieu to National Mobe.

The same *New Left Notes* article declared: "In the past the Mobilization has played an important role as an anti-war coalition, and has organized actions which have built SDS and the movement in general. It is clear that it is no longer able to deal with the radical movement's development in terms of political analysis and militance."

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Dellinger and Davis agreed with this part of the criticism. In effect they deferred to it. During the preparations for the Counter-Inaugural, Davis and Paul Potter had responded to a similar criticism as follows: "The Mobilization came into being and has continued to exist through all its travails not because anyone ever 'looked to the Mobe for political leadership' or the correct line, but because there was a simple, powerful sense of urgency about the war that was strong enough to bring into a working coalition groups that distrusted,

19. *New Left Notes*, January 22, 1969.

even hated one another."²⁰ But after the Counter-Inaugural, Dellinger and Davis acted as if the National Mobilization Committee had become a liability.

* * *

On February 7, 1969, an enlarged steering committee of the National Mobilization Committee met in Norma Becker's apartment in New York. Those present included Becker, Dellinger, Davis, Hayden, Potter, Irving Beinin, Eric Weinberger, Barbara Bick of Washington Women Strike for Peace, Sid Lens, Sid Peck, Carol Lipman who was the acting executive secretary of the SMC, and myself.

This meeting rejected my proposal that the National Mobe take over coordination of the Easter GI-civilian demonstrations. Both Dellinger and Davis advanced the argument that in the coming period, considering the mood of "the youth," it would not be possible to organize mass demonstrations without their getting out of hand. Lipman and I argued that their view of "the youth" was too narrow. Co-Aim, the Crazies, others in a similar mood, and even SDS were a tiny part of the American youth willing to actively oppose the war. If we set the proper tone and were unequivocal as to the discipline, we could organize mass peaceful demonstrations.

Dellinger and Davis had no proposal for the spring and seemed preoccupied with news leaks that a number of movement figures would soon be indicted by a federal grand jury in connection with the Chicago Democratic Party convention demonstrations. The important thing, in their view, was to make the most of that case. (Later they would write: "We believe exciting, new energy can be released by a positive political offensive against the indictments of the movement's action in Chicago. . . ."²¹ My own view was that defense of the inditees would be important, but that the case could not be a substitute for—and was not likely to be a precipitator of—mass action, which it seemed to me was objectively possible.)

Potter and Hayden expressed no interest in another set of antiwar demonstrations, nor in the continuation of a national formation to call and organize them. Both seemed in an introspective mood and would soon drop out of national antiwar activity as such for an extended period.

Peck, Lens, and Bick were dissatisfied with the recent course of the National Mobe. They saw the need for rebuilding a national antiwar coalition, but didn't think the National Mobe would serve their purpose. Bick said it no longer had any authority among Women Strike for Peace groups. The discussion turned around dissolving the National Mobilization Committee. It was decided not to do this for the simple reason that such an announcement might be used by prowar forces and publicized as a sign of weakness of the antiwar movement. But in effect the activity of the group was suspended.²²

The only national antiwar coalition effort remaining was the Liaison Coordinating Committee for the Easter GI-civilian actions. I had previously sent out a letter to prominent activists and local coalitions calling a meeting of this body for February 9 in Chicago and had hoped to present it with the news that the National Mobe would join the effort. This was now not possible.

20. *Guardian*, January 11, 1969.

21. Letter to "Dear Friend" from Dave Dellinger and Rennie Davis, February 24, 1969. (Copy in author's files.)

22. Unfortunately, no minutes of this meeting were produced, as I recall, precisely because the major decision it made was not to be announced. My account is based on memory refreshed by two documents which reported the results of the meeting at the time, referring to the central decision only by implication. The accounts in the two documents emphasize different points but are not contradictory. The documents are a National Mobilization Committee mailing of February 24, 1969, entitled "Inauguration, Chicago Indictments, Anti-war Directions: A Mobilization Report," and an internal SWP mailing of February 15, 1969, entitled "To Antiwar Directors and Organizers." (Copies in author's files.)

The Chicago meeting was poorly attended. Present were representatives of the Chicago Peace Council, Vets for Peace, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the SWP, and regional coalitions in Cleveland, Detroit, and Minneapolis. Of the seven regional centers where the Easter actions were supposed to take place, only Chicago was represented by a local coalition. The New York Parade Committee had not yet discussed the Easter actions, and I was not empowered to represent it at this meeting. So I represented the SWP.

The meeting received a supporting telegram from the national board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The text is interesting in that by implication it touched on the tactical differences the moderate groups had with the recent approach of National Mobe. It said:

"WILL ENCOURAGE LOCAL BRANCHES COOPERATION IN CITIES CHOSEN FOR NONVIOLENT, LEGAL DEMONSTRATION EASTER SUNDAY. CONCUR WITH EMPHASIS ON ENDING THE WAR IN VIETNAM, LEGAL RIGHTS FOR GI'S, ABOLITION OF DRAFT, AND GENERAL REDIRECTION OF RESOURCES FROM WAR TO PEOPLES WELFARE."²³

Sid Lens and Sylvia Kushner assured the meeting that the Chicago Peace Council would sponsor the demonstration in Chicago, though on Saturday, April 5, rather than Easter Sunday. That left six cities to go. Lens reported that Stewart Meachum of the American Friends Service Committee had organized a National Action Group (NAG) of pacifists, mostly Quakers, which would be holding some actions in early April. Lens was sure NAG would not consider these in competition with the Easter efforts, and that Meachum would be supportive of the GI-civilian actions. So would Sid Peck, but for the moment he did not want to be directly involved.

The meeting set up a committee of five, instructed to broaden the sponsorship and participation in organizing the Easter demonstrations. They were: Sid Lens and Sylvia Kushner, Leroy Wollins of Vets for Peace, Howard Petrick of the SMC, and myself. All told, the results of the meeting were not much to go on, and the five of us knew it. But the war was continuing, the opposition to it was growing and needed a focus to surface. The most significant point about the Chicago meeting was that it was held at all, and that it decided to proceed.

On March 29, 1969, a federal grand jury in Chicago indicted eight people on charges of conspiracy and "traveling in interstate commerce to incite a riot." The defendants faced up to ten years in prison and \$20,000 fines. Those indicted were: Dave Dellinger, Rennie Davis, and Tom Hayden of the National Mobilization Committee; Bobby Seale of the Oakland Black Panther Party; Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman of the "Yippies"; graduate SDSer John R. Froines; and Lee Weiner, a research assistant at Northwestern University.

In effect what was left of the National Mobilization Committee dissolved into "The Conspiracy," a group set up by Dellinger and other inditees to publicize the case and the variety of political views and approaches held by the defendants.

[Next chapter: *The Easter 1969 GI-Civilian Demonstrations and the Birth of the New Mobilization Committee.*]

23. Quoted in February 15, 1969, report by Gus Horowitz. (Copy in author's files.)

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Sara (Weber) Jacobs, 1900-1976



Joseph Hansen

SARA WEBER, secretary to Leon Trotsky, talking with Sol Lankin, one of the guards, in Coyoacán, Mexico. In background, two paper targets used by guards in pistol practice.

Sara (Weber) Jacobs, former secretary of Leon Trotsky and close friend of Natalia Sedova-Trotsky, died in New York City of cancer November 6.

Born in Grodno, Poland, in 1900, she came to the United States around 1920 and lived for most of her life in New York, where she furthered her interest in Marxist ideas.

In 1931, Sara journeyed to Prinkipo, Turkey, where the Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky was experiencing his third exile, twice at the hands of the tsar and then on orders by Stalin, his arch-opponent. Since she knew five languages—Polish, Russian, French, German and English—she proved to be a valuable aide in his literary work and voluminous

correspondence. At that time she served as his secretary for almost three years.

After Trotsky secured asylum in Mexico some years later, she acted in the same capacity for him during 1939 and was regarded as a cherished member of the household. Shortly after Trotsky was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in August 1940, she returned to the house in Coyoacán where the couple had been living and stayed with Natalia for some months.

During the next twenty-two years of Natalia's life, Sara remained in constant communication with Trotsky's widow, for whom she was a trusted confidante who shared her views. She was named by Natalia as executor of her estate. Sara related some reminiscences of Natalia during this period in a memorial volume entitled *Homage to Natalia Sedova-Trotsky*, published in Paris in 1962. She also wrote about her recollections of Trotsky in *Modern Occasions Quarterly* several years ago. She had translated and collected the moving correspondence conducted with Natalia for two decades and was seeking a publisher for the letters before her death.

One of her last political acts was the signing of the statement condemning the slander campaign by Gerry Healy's Revolutionary Workers party of Britain against Joseph Hansen, George Novack, and other leaders of the Socialist Workers party. This was accompanied by a letter testifying from personal knowledge to the truth about Hansen's contact with a GPU agent at Trotsky's request.

Sara worked for many years with a refugee organization in New York. She is survived by her husband, Jack (Weber) Jacobs. □

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Vereeken's Differences With Trotsky

Reviewed by George Breitman



This is one of the most irresponsible books about the Trotskyist movement ever written by a former member. Its author, Georges Vereeken (he used to spell it Vereecken in the 1930s), is now eighty years old. Forty years ago he was a leader of the Belgian section of the movement that became the Fourth International. Politically, he is remembered as an inveterate sectarian and centrist. As a result he came into sharp conflict with the international leaders of the movement, both Leon Trotsky and the International Secretariat. On two occasions when his views did not prevail, he split away from the movement—the first time in 1935, when the Belgian section voted at a national conference to enter the Belgian Social Democracy; and again in 1938, two years after he had returned to the section,¹ when Trotsky and the IS made it plain that they wanted to found the Fourth International at an international conference being held that year.

These were not the only disputes Vereeken had with Trotsky in the thirties—just the ones over which he walked out. And they were not the only times he walked out: from his book we learn that the long-suffering Belgian section readmitted him two more times after World War II. His stay each time was brief, and today he is a member of the Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, led by M. Pablo.

Politically, Vereeken has not changed much. He is still incensed about his disputes with Trotsky and the IS in the thirties, and his book is an attempt to prove that he was right and they were wrong, dishonest and bureaucratic. It is filled therefore with long excerpts from what he and his adversaries said and wrote at meetings, in internal bulletins and newspaper articles, etc. Vereeken's style and his form of presentation can only confuse the uninitiated reader, but a useful book might have resulted from an objective discussion of the political and theoretic

cal issues raised in the Vereeken-Trotsky disputes.

Unfortunately the number of people who would want to read so specialized a book is rather limited. Vereeken has met that problem by jazzing the thing up, as the title shows, through the addition of a theme that overshadows everything else. Briefly stated, it is that the leadership of the Fourth International and its predecessors in the thirties was infiltrated by a series of agents of Stalin's secret police in such numbers and so effectively that they were able, in addition to their other crimes, to dominate and disrupt the internal life of

The GPU in the Trotskyist Movement, by Georges Vereeken. London: New Park Publications, 1976, 390 pp., £3.00.

the organization, causing frequent splits and "factional struggles in which the GPU agents called the tune," and in other ways rendering it impotent as a political force. That, says Vereeken, is "how our movement was manipulated from Moscow." The corollary is that this explains why Trotsky, misinformed by these Stalinist provocateurs, disagreed so often with Vereeken (and with Landau, Rosmer, Nin, Sneevliet, and other people admired and defended by Vereeken, who all broke from the Fourth International).

It is well known, of course, that Stalin's agents sought to infiltrate Trotsky's secretariat and the Trotskyist movement from the time he was exiled to Turkey in 1929 until they succeeded in assassinating him in Mexico in 1940. The chief provocateur was the Ukrainian-Polish Marc Zborowski (Etienne), who joined the French Trotskyist movement in 1934, wormed his way into the confidence of Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, and regularly supplied the GPU with information used to assassinate Sedov and several other leaders. His role as a GPU agent was not uncovered until 1955, when he was convicted of perjury in the U.S. Zborowski and other agents like him undoubtedly would have liked to play the major political role inside the Trotskyist movement that Vereeken attributes to them, but there is no evidence whatever to show they played more than secondary

political roles.² Lacking such evidence does not stop Vereeken: he is good at spinning a fantasy. Since the number of known Stalinist agents is small, he expands the list to make a more substantial scenario. Let us now examine the five names he has added.

1. M. Mill (also known as J. Obin and Okun). A Ukrainian, he emigrated to Palestine and then France, where he joined the Communist party's Jewish Language Group in the 1920s. By 1929 he had joined the Oppositionist *Contre le Courant* group and after that the Oppositionist group around *La Verité*. He was a founding member of the French section and a member of its Jewish Group. Because he knew Russian, he was chosen to represent the Russian section on the IS in 1930 when Sedov was unable to leave Turkey for France. Dissatisfaction with his performance led to his removal from this post, whereupon he went over to the Stalinists in 1932.

2 and 3. The Sobolevicius brothers (Roman Well, later called Robert Soblen, and Senin, later called Jack Soble). They were Latvians or Lithuanians. Senin reportedly joined the Left Opposition in the USSR in 1927. Later, in 1929, both were members of a Left Opposition group in Germany, and became leaders of the German section in 1931. In 1932 they began to criticize the Opposition's irreconcilable attitude to Stalinism and they split away, joining the German CP in January 1933 on the eve of Hitler's ascent to power. In 1957, Senin testified that he became a GPU agent in 1931.

Vereeken puts all three of these in the category of Stalinist infiltrator, part of the grand pattern of GPU subversion. But the facts point to something else.

There were more than a few politically unstable and irresponsible types who came around the Trotskyist movement in its early years. It took time and experience before their real quality became known—in fact, in some cases before they themselves realized they were in the wrong organization. Some dropped into inactivity and

2. Vereeken unwittingly supports this estimate when he writes, "I know of no political document of theirs of any real value" (p. 27).

1. See the discussion about Vereeken between Trotsky and James P. Cannon in Mexico, March 1938, where Cannon complained about Vereeken being chosen political secretary of the Belgian section immediately after his return to the movement in 1936. *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1937-38)*, pp. 288-290.

some became syndicalists or Social Democrats, while others became Stalinists, out of corrupt and careerist considerations or even out of political conviction. (This was during the Stalinist "third period," and similar defections were taking place at the same time among Oppositionists in the USSR, who were drawn to Stalinism by its ultraleftist line, and who were far more serious types than the Mills, Wells or Senins.) Mill became a Stalinist in 1932 because he was an opportunist, Well and Senin in 1933 perhaps for more ideological reasons, but that doesn't at all mean they entered the Trotskyist movement as GPU agents, which is Vereeken's contention.

Vereeken admits that neither Trotsky nor anyone else up to now believed Mill had been a Stalinist agent when he joined, but he says that Trotsky was "fooled" and the he, Vereeken, can prove this by "historical hindsight": Looking back, he sees that Mill always behaved the way Vereeken thinks a GPU agent would act—provoking splits, embittering personal relations, acting "more Trotskyist than Trotsky," etc. By such "logic," of course, Vereeken himself could fall under suspicion as a GPU agent—after all, he holds the all-time international record for the number of times he not only provoked but actually led splits from the movement.

As for Senin and Well, all that Vereeken knows about them he learned from Isaac Deutscher's *The Prophet Outcast* (1963). Deutscher reported that in 1957, when Senin was convicted in the United States as a Soviet spy, he testified that he had become a GPU agent in 1931. Deutscher was quite dubious about the accuracy of that date,³ but in any case Vereeken has no other date than 1931 to go on. On what basis, then, does he set the time Senin became a GPU agent as 1927 or 1929? Never mind, Trotsky was wrong again and Vereeken *knows*. Along the way he forgets to ask himself, if Senin and Well were GPU agents in 1932 before they openly joined the CP, why (unlike Mill) was their course of action different from the one he thinks GPU agents follow? Why didn't they remain inside the Trotskyist movement, where they already had the authority of leadership in a national section, and, acting more Trotskyist than Trotsky, continue the disruptive work that they could not do on the outside? Why would they just walk out, or why would the GPU want them to just walk out, if they had

How Trotsky Viewed Vereeken's Approach

Vereekenism, a specific blend of sectarianism and centrism, was analyzed on several occasions by Leon Trotsky between 1933, when the call for a Fourth International was first advanced, and 1938, when the Fourth International was founded. These political articles and letters will be found in the Pathfinder series *Writings of Leon Trotsky* for the years 1934-35, 1935-36, and 1937-38. What follows are some excerpts from those articles about Vereeken's method that almost could have been written about Vereeken's 1975 book.

"Formalist minds [like Vereeken's] frequently seize upon altogether secondary questions to inflate them out of all proportion.

"... his anti-Marxist journalist thought ... flies from reality and concerns itself with phantoms.

"... mountains of errors, distortions, unwarranted accusations and complete misconceptions on the part of Comrade Vereeken.

"[Vereeken should] strive to orient himself not in accord with his own texts but in accord with the reality of the struggle" (March 2, 1935).

"[Vereeken's negative qualities]: the absence of balance and a sense of proportion, the inclination to excessive exaggeration, indiscipline, and capriciousness—all these traits are characteristic of sectarianism" (November 17, 1935).

"[Vereeken combines] absolutely Menshevik ideas [on Spain with] leaps to the left, extravaganzas, and caprices" (December 24, 1937).

"The world appears to be upside down in Ver.'s head.

"[He engages in] factious distortion with regard to badly interpreted, isolated quotations" (January 2, 1938).

"It is necessary to ... make him understand that one cannot practice politics with flights of fancy, improvisa-



Bulletin

VEREKEN

tions, and petty personal combinations" (June 12, 1938).

"[Vereeken's] state of frenzy is not at all an individual quirk. Rather, it is characteristic of a particular political state of mind. This is what the draft Transitional Program says about it: 'Since sectarians, as in general every kind of blunderer and miracle-man, are toppled by reality at each step, they live in a state of perpetual exasperation, complaining about the "regime" and "the methods," and ceaselessly wallowing in small intrigues'" (June 22, 1938).

"The ancient Greeks used to parade drunken helots in order to turn their youth away from alcoholism. [Vereeken is among] the helots of sectarianism who fashion their grimaces and leaps as if with the special aim of repelling our youth from sterile and annoying sectarianism" (July 18, 1938).

3. "Yet his [Senin-Sobolevicius's] whole correspondence with Trotsky and the circumstances of their break throw doubt on the veracity of this part of his confession. Sobolevicius himself broke with Trotsky after he had openly and repeatedly expressed important political disagreements, which was not the manner in which an *agent provocateur* would behave. Trotsky denounced him in the end as a Stalinist, but did not believe that he was an *agent provocateur*. Whatever the truth" (*The Prophet Outcast*, p. 26).

joined in order to be able to destroy the movement from within?"

4. Henri Lacroix (party name of Francisco García Lavid). In the twenties, a member of the Spanish Socialist party and then the Spanish CP. In exile in Belgium, he helped set up the first Spanish Left Opposition group, and then returned to Spain, where he became the section's general secretary until 1932, when he was

replaced by Nin. He led a struggle against Nin, seeking Trotsky's support, until he was expelled in 1933. He then tried to get back into the CP and when that failed applied for readmission to the SP, which accepted him after he renounced his Trotskyist past. He was killed during the Spanish Civil War.⁴

4. According to a note by Pierre Broué, Lacroix

To our knowledge, nobody, absolutely nobody has ever charged Lacroix with being a Stalinist or a GPU agent—except Vereeken. He has the right to dislike Lacroix and, as a partisan of Nin, to dislike him doubly, but what right has he to pin the “agent” label on him? Here is a sampling of his reasons: (1) When Mill was taken off the IS as the Russian section’s representative, Lacroix wrote the IS saying the Spanish section wanted to put him back as its representative. Vereeken omits the well-documented fact that this was the position of the whole Spanish leadership, not just of Lacroix, preferring to speculate instead that Lacroix was “working in agreement with this agent” (Mill). (2) Lacroix wrote an internal article in 1933 arguing that the Spanish CP was stronger and had better prospects than some Oppositionists were willing to admit. Vereeken calls this “nothing but an apologia,” although underestimating the Stalinists was one of the chronic and ultimately fatal weaknesses of the Spanish Oppositionists. (3) Lacroix’s political position (faction not party) “was what suited the Stalinist bureaucracy best at this time.” It was also the position at that time of the whole International Left Opposition, with few exceptions. And so on. Vereeken presents himself as a defender of democracy, fair play, honest discussion, and other excellent things, but I’d hate, on the basis of his hatchet job on Lacroix, to be on trial in a court where he was judge or jury.

5. Rudolf Klement. A young German, a secretary to Trotsky in Turkey and France, a member of the IS, he was the administrative secretary in charge of preparing the founding conference of the Fourth International when he was kidnapped and murdered by the GPU in 1938. As a member of the IS he was in several clashes with Vereeken over current political issues, including the Trotskyist movement’s attitude to the centrist POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) during the Spanish Civil War.

Vereeken disliked Klement intensely and entitles his chapter “Rudolf Klement: an agent? Certainly a coward.” With a GPU revolver to his head, Klement may have signed his name to a GPU-type letter calling Trotsky an agent of Hitler after he was kidnapped (or his signature may have been forged). If that makes Klement a coward, what does saying such a thing make Vereeken? Is he utterly shameless? Not necessarily. Slandering a revolutionary victim of the GPU and being unable to distinguish between the victim and his murderers are little things, easily over-

was a commissar in the Republican Army, “reported to have been hanged a few meters from the French frontier by men of the Lister division.” *La révolution espagnole* by Léon Trotsky, 1975, p. 761. The Lister division was dominated by the Stalinists.

looked when you are obsessed with a fixed idea that supplies the key to all mysteries. “. . . the more I think over these extraordinary events,” he confides, “the more I am convinced that he [Klement] was actually in the GPU, perhaps without even knowing that Zborowski and others were also in the game.” There’s no telling what else he will be convinced of if he continues to think more.

Anyhow, out of the five cases examined, two never had anything to do with the GPU, except that one was murdered by it, and the only evidence available about the other three is that they were not GPU infiltrators but capitulators to Stalinism who became agents of the GPU some time after they had joined or after they had quit. Saying that in no way extenuates the three or mitigates their crimes, but it does point up the total irresponsibility of Vereeken’s deductions.

If Vereeken’s book is worthless as interpretation, does it nevertheless have any of the “documentary” value that he claims for it? A little, but only a very little. Virtually all of the Trotsky citations he uses will be found in the *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series, usually better translated, complete and in their proper context. Vereeken’s book has many factual errors. For example, Vereeken says—twice—that the Transitional Program (written by Trotsky in 1938) was adopted at an international conference in 1936. It also has many errors based on ignorance or distortion. For example, Vereeken says that in 1933 “not a voice was raised to demand that the lessons of the betrayal by the brothers Senin and Robert [sic] Well were learned. . . . [Two months after they left in January] they had still not been publicly denounced in the Trotskyist press.” These were the months when Hitler came to power. But Trotsky’s article, “Serious Lessons from an Inconsequential Thing,” dated January 28, 1933, appeared in a February 1933 issue of *Die Permanente Revolution*, the German section’s public paper.⁵ Of course the lessons Trotsky drew are not the lessons Vereeken wants us to learn today, but that doesn’t give him license to say that they were not drawn or that a public denunciation was not made. In general, his tendency is to deny something happened if he doesn’t remember it or if it isn’t mentioned in his documents.

Vereeken’s method can be illustrated by a typical episode in the book. In 1935 his friends in the Spanish section, led by Nin, split from the Trotskyist movement and helped to found the POUM, affiliated to the centrist London-Amsterdam Bureau. In January 1936 the POUM signed a People’s Front programmatic pact and Trotsky wrote an article, “The Treachery of the POUM,” denouncing the signing of

5. See *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1932-33)*, pp. 90-94.

the pact as “a betrayal of the proletariat for the sake of an alliance with the bourgeoisie” and calling for a struggle to build a section of the Fourth International in Spain.⁶ In August 1936, shortly after the Spanish Civil War had begun, the French Trotskyist paper published on its front page excerpts from a speech by Nin, describing him as a revolutionary, and on its second page Trotsky’s January article denouncing the POUM. Vereeken’s indignation knows no bounds. This for him is a clinching example of the GPU’s sabotage inside the Trotskyist movement because, in his view, a rapprochement between the POUM and the Trotskyists was prevented by Trotsky’s article, which, he says—twice—was “not intended for publication.” He goes on at great length about the “fact” that since the French paper was published in Paris and Zborowski lived in Paris, “it can be deduced that it was Stalin’s agent who translated this document and that he was also behind its publication. . . . Only Stalin’s man, installed in a key position in our organisation, had any interest in seeing us isolated from the POUM,” etc.

The whole construction rests on the absurd contention that Trotsky’s article was not intended for publication; that he thought the POUM’s capitulation to People’s Frontism was a subject fit only for whispering into the ears of a few comrades. But the *fact* is that his article was published in English in the *New Militant* on February 15, 1936, in German in *Unser Wort* also in February 1936, and in French in the publicly sold *Bulletin* published by the IS in May 1936—all before the Civil War began. Only a crank could think that the POUM leaders were unaware of Trotsky’s January article until it was printed in Paris in August 1936. Only a crank could think relations with the POUM depended in any serious way on the August publication.

In 1937 Trotsky wrote a letter about sectarians and ultraleftists on the fringes of the Fourth International that fits the Vereekens too, then and now.⁷ They are

6. See *The Spanish Revolution (1931-39)*, pp. 207-211.

7. “Lenin called the ideas of these people ‘infantile disorders.’ A sick child arouses sympathy. But twenty years have passed since then. The children have become bearded and even bald. But they have not ceased their childish babblings. On the contrary, they have increased all their faults and all their foolishness tenfold and have added ignominies to them. They follow us step by step. They borrow some of the elements of our analysis. *They distort these elements without limit and counterpose them to the rest.* They correct us. When we draw a human figure, they add a deformity. When it is a woman, they decorate her with a heavy moustache. When we draw a rooster, they put an egg under it. And they call all this burlesque Marxism and Leninism” (“On the Sino-Japanese War,” dated September 23, 1937, in *Leon Trotsky on China*, p. 567, emphasis added).

political parasites, who help themselves to some idea from the Marxist movement (labor party, security or vigilance against infiltration by alien forces, or whatever), mangle the idea beyond recognition, twist it into a fetish to ward off all evils, and then counterpose this caricature to the Marxist movement and its program as a whole. Totally lacking in any sense of proportion, they can reduce the soundest concept to drivel.

It is fitting that the English translation of this 1975 French book has been published by the Healyite "International Committee of the Fourth International," because Trotsky's 1937 remarks apply with full force to this outfit too. There were a few embarrassing problems that arose. Technically, Vereeken is a Pabloite, and Pabloites are the most evil spirits in the Healyite demonology. In addition, some of Vereeken's charges are so patently groundless that even the Healyites want to avoid responsibility for them. Here, for example, is how Cliff Slaughter of the "International Committee" handles Vereeken's claim that Klement was in all probability a GPU agent who was liquidated after accomplishing his mission: "He arrives at this—still tentative—conclusion from various pieces of circumstantial evidence. . . . In our opinion, there is no basis for Vereeken's conclusion about Klement."⁸ But if there is no basis for Vereeken's central "revelation" about one of the martyrs of the Fourth International, what is the basis for translating, publishing, circulating, and touting the book that contains it?

Slaughter explains that too: "Clearing up these great historical questions [on the workings of the GPU in our movement] is the most important task of the preparation of the Trotskyist movement for the coming revolutionary struggles." If that is "the most important task," then of course everything else has to be subordinated to it, embarrassing or not. So the Healyites try to cover themselves in their introduction to the British edition by explaining that they have "no political agreement with Georges Vereeken."⁹ For them what counts is that Vereeken's book is "an

invaluable contribution to the history of Trotskyism"—no, more than that, "an incomparable service to the Trotskyist movement and to the international working class." And even if that's a little hard to demonstrate, the book is still worth publishing because, they say, it "confirms"

fight Stalinism, and pretend that they are not political? I doubt it. In 1938, Vereeken quit rather than participate in the founding of the Fourth International, while Healy and the group he belonged to at that time also refused to attend the founding conference. They had differences at that time, but they were in political agreement against the Fourth International. Today Vereeken and Healy also have differences, but they are drawn into a bloc by their common animosity to

The Case of Younus Lulat

Zambian Political Prisoner Begins Hunger Strike

By Tony Hodges

Younus Lulat, a Zambian university lecturer who has been detained without charge or trial since February 25, has started a hunger strike to protest his treatment, according to his supporters at the University of Zambia (UNZA).

Lulat was one of five UNZA staff members and seventeen UNZA students detained without charge or trial last February under Zambia's draconian Preservation of Public Security Regulations. One of the country's top journalists, Robinson Makayi, a reporter for the *Times of Zambia*, was detained in March.

The arrests followed President Kenneth Kaunda's announcement January 28 that the government had invoked the full emergency powers available to it under the country's eleven-year State of Emergency. The government sought to suppress a series of peaceful demonstrations organized over the previous few days by students at UNZA's Lusaka campus against Kaunda's collusion with the imperialist powers' intervention in the Angolan civil war.

The detentions sparked considerable international protest, finally forcing the Zambian authorities to release four of the five detained UNZA staff members (all non-Zambians) in March and expel them from the country. Makayi and fifteen of the seventeen detained UNZA students were released August 4.

The government has still refused, however, to free Lulat and two UNZA student leaders—Mubita Gilbert Mwiya, an activist in UNZA's Franz Fanon Club, and Samuel Simon Miyanda, who was general secretary of the UNZA Students Union at the time of his arrest. Mwiya and Miyanda are being held at Mumbwa Detention

the slander campaign being conducted by the Healyites against Joseph Hansen and George Novack as "accomplices of the GPU." All we can say is that this campaign must be in really bad shape if they have to publish such wretched stuff to bolster it. □

the Fourth International and are in political agreement that, together or separately, they should throw whatever mud they can at the Fourth International and its history. We can only speculate as to which member of the Vereeken-Healy bloc will tell us in what specific "period" the GPU "actually gained control of the international organization," and what effect this control had specifically on the politics of the "controlled" movement.

Prison in the Central Province town of Mumbwa. Lulat is detained in a jail in Lusaka.

Lulat's attorney presented an application for a writ of habeas corpus October 29. However, in a move clearly designed to prevent Lulat's release, Chief Justice Bweupe adjourned the proceedings on a technicality. The state, he said, had failed to produce a copy of the Presidential Order under which Lulat was detained.

On hearing this ruling, Lulat told the court that he had begun a hunger strike five days previously (on October 24, Zambian Independence Day) "for all people in prison without trial during peacetime in Zambia."

The Zambian authorities have been unable to produce any evidence that Lulat, Mwiya, and Miyanda violated any laws. It is clear that they are being held behind bars for no other reason than that they spoke out against the Kaunda regime's pro-imperialist policies. That is why the Zambian government has been unable to bring any charges against the three detainees.

As Amnesty International declared in a November 3 appeal for "urgent action," there is "no reason to believe that the Zambian authorities have any more evidence of alleged offences by Mr Lulat and the two remaining students than they have had against the expatriate lecturers, the other students and the journalist who were all released uncharged."

Letters demanding the three detainees' immediate release may be sent to Dr Kenneth Kaunda, President of the Republic of Zambia, State House, Lusaka, Zambia; and to Mr Aaron Milner, Ministry of Home Affairs, Lusaka, Zambia. □

8. See Slaughter's review of the Vereeken book, "Stalin's agents inside the Fourth International," in *The News Line*, August 21, 1976. But on exactly the same basis, or lack of it, Slaughter accepts and repeats Vereeken's slanders against Lacroix.

9. Depends on what is meant by "political." Vereeken says that the Trotskyist movement was "manipulated from Moscow" and the Healyites say, in the editorial introduction to Slaughter's article, that the GPU "actually gained control of the international [Trotskyist] organization for a period." This certainly qualifies as "agreement," even though the Healyite statement in this case is the more extreme of the two. But is it possible to call such an agreement "non-political"? Can one make charges so monstrous, so fraught with the direst implications about a political organization created to

Selections From the Left

VOZ SOCIALISTA

"Socialist Voice," weekly journal of the Socialist League, Venezuelan sympathizing organization of the Fourth International.

Commenting on the U.S. elections in the November 4 issue, Raúl Castroverde stresses the importance of the radicalization beginning among American workers:

"If 1975 was marked by the depression and defeat in Vietnam, 1976 was the year in which the workers movement, a potentially greater threat to the exploiters than the Vietnamese, began to wake up. Whether Ford or Carter wins, the victor will have to face this formidable internal enemy.

"For us as Latin Americans, this process has enormous importance. Both the Republicans and the Democrats have been and will continue to be supporters of the exploitation of our countries and the repressive military dictatorships. It will be the American workers organized into their own party who will deal the deathblow to the archenemy of the workers of the world, Yankee imperialism.

"It is on this road, the road of building a revolutionary party, that the compañeros of the Socialist Workers party (in fraternal solidarity with the Fourth International) have embarked. They put forward an anti-imperialist and socialist program in the American elections. Among other things, it included a struggle against racism, for equal rights for Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and for the destruction of Yankee imperialism. Through their campaign, they presented a revolutionary alternative and took the lead in calling for the formation of a workers party capable of leading the socialist revolution in the USA."



The paper of the International Marxist Group, British section of the Fourth International.

The November 4 issue contains a two-page spread on the Socialist Workers party campaign in the American presidential elections, including a map showing the states where the SWP was on the ballot. The headline is "Rising Interest in Trotskyist Platform."

Providing a detailed picture of the SWP campaign and program, the article summarizes the platform on which the Trotskyist candidates ran and points out the support won from other political groups and independents. The way in which the SWP combined its court case against FBI

harassment with its campaign is explained.

Red Weekly informed its readers about the obstacles that have to be overcome to run against the bourgeois parties in the United States:

"Even when all the signatures are collected, the authorities try to sabotage the campaigns of independents. In Missouri, the SWP was ruled off the ballot after collecting 25,000 signatures. One of the signatures 'invalidated' by the scrutineers was that of Roger Goldman, the eastern Missouri president of the American Civil Liberties Union.

"Financing their campaign is also a problem for opposition candidates. They do not get a cent from public funds, although the Democratic and Republican campaigns benefit to the tune of \$43.6 million apiece."

The internationalist aspect of the SWP's campaign is also pointed out:

"Another theme running through the SWP campaign is its internationalism. Camejo and Reid have spoken out against the racist repression in South Africa and Israel, making solidarity with the struggles of the working class and the oppressed around the world part of their campaign."



"Workers Struggle," Paris weekly supported by a grouping of militants who view themselves as Trotskyist in orientation.

The October 23 issue devotes a page to the American elections, with descriptions of the campaigns of the various workers parties. Most prominent coverage was given to the campaign of the Communist party.

The French weekly writes that the CP's campaign represented a new departure since it had supported the Democratic party candidates ever since 1948. However, it explains that the CP was still following a basically class-collaborationist policy:

"Its program is, at bottom, a liberal democratic one; it is simply a more radical one than those put forward by the liberal Democratic party politicians. But, of course, the simple fact of having the label 'Communist' in a country like the USA is enough to set it apart entirely."

The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party, *Lutte Ouvrière* writes, also failed to offer a working-class alternative in the elections:

"The SWP says that it is for an independent political party for the workers. Against the background of depression and unemployment the SWP is conducting a

socialist propaganda campaign and supports demands such as calling for dividing up the work among all, a sliding scale of wages, and so on. But the principal axis of its campaign is defending the rights of the people—the right to work, to education, to free health care, the struggle against pollution, the rights of the racial minorities, the right to independence for Puerto Rico.

"On this level, in particular in an American left whose ideology is that of radical democrats and not proletarian revolutionists, certain ambiguities have arisen about the value of the ballot, or of the democratic system. The limitations of these are never clearly pointed out in the SWP's propaganda. 'If the workers representatives were elected, they could pass laws that would guarantee jobs for all . . . a workers government would guarantee democracy and the possibility for a new bill of rights for the workers.'" *Lutte Ouvrière* does not indicate where it found this phrase in the SWP campaign literature. It is unfortunate that they do not indicate this, since they draw the following far-reaching conclusion from the words they enclosed in quotation marks:

"This no doubt is a reflection of the fact that the SWP has been cut off from the working class for decades and when it began to grow again after the mid-1960s, this was primarily in the student milieu, that is, among the radical petty bourgeoisie that fought for civil rights or against the Vietnam war."

In its November 6 issue, *Lutte Ouvrière* ran an excerpt from *Rouge*, the revolutionary communist daily published in Paris, which gave a positive assessment of the SWP campaign.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES 753

"Workers News," open forum for the class struggle. Published weekly in Paris.

The November 4-10 issue contains a major article on the U.S. presidential elections, which concludes with the following comment on the Socialist Workers party campaign:

"The SWP . . . waged the most intense campaign in its history.

"It was a campaign that cannot be called 'electoral,' although it made the fullest possible use of the opportunities of the electoral period. It was a political campaign that drew strength especially from the blows the SWP dealt to the FBI, forcing it to admit that it had engaged in illegal acts against the party and winning an injunction against any continued surveillance by the FBI. This decision, Peter Camejo said, was not only a victory for the SWP but for the democratic rights

of all Americans.

"It was a campaign that had to overcome many obstacles, since, in order for a presidential candidate to appear on the ballot in a state, a certain number of citizens (sometimes a very large number, as in California, where 100,000 signatures are required) must sign a petition to that effect. The SWP won ballot status in almost thirty states, including California.

"These obstacles could only be overcome by a political struggle centering on the defense of the rights of the working masses in the United States. The SWP pointed out that the democratic rights guaranteed by the amendments to the American constitution called the Bill of Rights were only won by a revolution, the revolution that established the independence of the United States.

"In order to win the abolition of slavery, a revolutionary war was necessary.

"Today, to guarantee such elementary rights as the right to a job, to education, the government of the capitalist parties must be replaced by a government based on the working masses and that defends their interests, a workers government.

"But the fight for such a government requires an instrument—a workers party. The next stage in the history of the class struggle in the United States will center around the formation of such a party. The SWP's campaign was part of that struggle, and an important one, since it not only made this a concrete perspective for tens of thousands of workers and youth but also marked a step forward in building the SWP itself."

rouge

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

Rouge sent a special correspondent, Julien Tonnac, to cover the presidential elections in the United States and carried a number of reports on the American political scene in the weeks preceding the vote. The November 2 issue devotes a page to the Socialist Workers party campaign, including an interview with the party's presidential candidate, Peter Camejo.

Tonnac asked Camejo: "A twenty-two month campaign, a \$250,000 campaign budget, eighty candidates scattered over twenty-eight states . . . wasn't such a project too ambitious for an organization the size of the Socialist Workers party?"

Camejo replied: "Many people besides SWP members participated in this campaign. The most important thing is that it enabled us to reach millions of people who could not have been reached by socialists any other way."

Tonnac's second question was the following: "The SWP campaign is extremely propagandistic. In most rallies, the general level of the speeches would be called

elementary in France. What is more, there were no red flags and no revolutionary songs, to say nothing of the *Internationale*. Can you explain why?"

Camejo answered: "Our socialist propaganda is aimed at getting people to understand that parties represent classes. There has never been a mass working-class party in the United States, and so our main task in this campaign has been to expose the electoral farce conducted by the two bourgeois parties, both of which represent the same interests, and to get the masses of Americans to realize that the problems that affect them—unemployment, inflation, discrimination, racism, and pollution—are created by these two parties to satisfy the interests of the ruling capitalist class."

In a dispatch from Berkeley, California, on the same page, Tonnac reports on one of the SWP candidate's final rallies and sums up his impressions of the campaign:

"Peter Camejo, SWP candidate for president of the United States, has not spoken on the Berkeley campus since that day in 1968 when, in solidarity with the French student movement, the Berkeley students went into the streets. . . .

"At the time, Peter Camejo was one of the leaders of the Young Socialist Alliance, the youth organization in solidarity with the SWP, which initiated the demonstrations. He was arrested along with other leaders of the student movement. . . . In the subsequent period, Berkeley was one of the campuses most active in the antiwar movement. . . .

"Today, like many campuses that were very militant not long ago, Berkeley has become a place where students are more interested in working and in enjoying the gentle California sunshine than in fighting for 'overly noble causes.' Nonetheless, more than a thousand assembled this Wednesday [October 27] on the esplanade to listen to Camejo. This was only slightly fewer than had come to hear the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, Senator Walter Mondale, explain a week before why they should vote for Jimmy Carter on November 2.

"There was quite a different atmosphere this time, however. Camejo . . . is an excellent speaker who knows how to mix humor with rigorous political analysis. The frequent applause that punctuates his speeches is often more in tribute to the sharpness of his analysis than to the hits scored on his targets. In a little more than an hour, Camejo went through the basic questions that socialists have to answer in the U.S. today—the source of the economic crisis, the role of the bourgeoisie, the electoral farce of the two parties, the need for a workers party and for mass organization of the Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos, the need for women to organize, for a fight against the bureaucracy in the unions, the bourgeois false alternatives such as that presented by Eugene

McCarthy, the role of American imperialism on the three continents, peaceful coexistence, criticism of the 'socialist models' [i.e., the bureaucratic workers states], the socialist alternative. . . .

"Of Latin origin, but born in the U.S., Camejo says that he is the 'first Latino ever to run for the presidency.' Naturally, he gives a great importance to the struggle of the Chicanos against deportation and the struggle of the agricultural workers—Black and Chicano—who are fighting in California to win the right to a secret ballot in their unions.

"The rally was a real success. Seventy-six people took out subscriptions to the *Militant*. . . . There was a discussion afterwards with more than 120 students, of whom about thirty wanted further discussions with members of the Young Socialist Alliance. Six persons joined. From campus to campus, the success was the same. Many people knew nothing about the socialist alternative and saw communism only through the distorting prism of bourgeois propaganda or in the form of the Stalinist caricature. Everywhere the same questions were repeated: 'What do you think about the events in China?' 'Elections in Czechoslovakia?' 'What alternative is there to bureaucratic planning?'

"Whether they are students or workers, Americans are totally ignorant as regards politics. Camejo's speeches would seem very elementary in France but here they come as revelations. What Americans can't figure out is explained with implacable logic by socialists, who, what is more, offer solutions! . . . Most often there is a sense of impotence, mixed with cynicism and individualism, and this predominates. Support often stops at the billfold, but unlike what happens in France, this is after people have contributed. In Los Angeles, the 250 participants in the central rally 'contributed' the modest sum of 3,500 dollars."



"Ergatike Pale" (Workers Struggle), weekly paper serving the interests of the working people. Published in Athens.

Commenting on the Trotskyist campaign in the American presidential elections, the November 6 issue says:

"According to an American TV commentator: 'It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle or for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven than for any party but the Republicans and Democrats to get candidates on the ballot.'

"The government of every state has its own laws placing obstacles in the way of opposition parties participating in the elections. The most deliberate is the demand for collecting thousands of signatures of registered voters. Moreover, there is no lack of terrorist attacks by parastate and fascist gangs. During the Socialist

Workers party campaign, there were many incidents of attempted bombing of local offices, as well as assassination threats against several of its candidates. Two such threats were made against its candidate for president, Peter Camejo.

"Beginning early in 1975, the SWP collected more than 600,000 signatures, which enabled it to get on the ballot in twenty-eight states, where two-thirds of the population of the U.S. is concentrated. . . . The growth of the party enabled it to participate for the first time in elections in such states as Virginia, Illinois, and Ohio."

After summarizing the main points of the SWP's program, the article notes: "In speaking to workers outside unemployment offices, Peter Camejo always immediately identified himself as a socialist, because if the workers thought he was some Democrat or Republican politician they would walk away in disgust."

The Greek weekly takes note of the political groupings that supported the SWP campaign, as well as individuals such as "many student leaders, independent fighters for civil rights, newspaper editors and reporters, and leaders of the women's liberation movement." It concludes:

"Despite all obstacles the SWP faced, it seems clear that the opportunities for American Trotskyism are greater than ever before. An example of this is the respect the SWP has won for its struggles to safeguard and extend the democratic rights of the working people of the USA."

Ny Tid

"New Times," socialist weekly published in Oslo, Norway. Reflects the views of the Socialist Left party.

The Socialist Left party is a fusion of the Socialist People's party and a large layer of former members of the Norwegian Communist party. The first group split from the Norwegian Labor party, primarily out of opposition to the latter's support for NATO. It developed generally left-centrist positions.

Seeking to play more of a role in parliamentary politics, in imitation of the Italian and Swedish CPs, the Norwegian CP entered into a common electoral formation with the Socialist People's party a few years ago. In the process, the loyalties of sections of the CP to Moscow began to weaken. Under pressure from the Kremlin, the CP leadership reversed the fusion process, but a whole layer of the party's activists was left behind in the rump of the united group dominated by the centrists.

So, *Ny Tid* is an unusual meeting ground of activists trained in the Stalinist tradition as well as various shades of left

centrists. Its reaction to the Portuguese experience could be expected to be interesting. In the October 1 issue of the paper, Trond Eric Seem begins to draw some lessons from what happened in Portugal. He focuses on the Portuguese CP's policy of alliances with bourgeois forces and its theory that a democratic revolution must precede a socialist one.

"The political consequences of this [the CP's strategy of an antimonopoly alliance] was that the Portuguese CP tried to build alliances with sections of the bourgeoisie against the monopolies at the same time it sought to link up with the working-class vanguard. In 1975 in particular, the PCP was thus forced into a zig-zag policy alternating between class collaborationism and ultraleftism.

"An example is the PCP's policy in May and June 1975, when it carried out a campaign in Intersindical, the Portuguese union federation, called the 'Battle for Production.' The workers were supposed to work harder and longer to prevent stagnation in the Portuguese economy, in a capitalist economy.

"The campaign failed because the workers had no interest in giving the bourgeoisie bigger profits by suspending their trade-union and political struggles. At the same time, the Portuguese CP made rabid attacks on the revolutionary left organizations supporting the militant mass movement and helping to organize it. . . .

"The Portuguese CP's strategy dividing the historic march toward socialism into a 'democratic' phase and a 'socialist' phase led the PCP to try to hold back the political development of the working class and subordinate this to its strategic schemas. . . .

"The PCP's answer to the problem of finding allies was an antimonopoly strategy and front. This is the fundamental strategy of all 'traditional' Communist parties in Europe. . . . But the Portuguese CP is the first to apply this theory in practice in Europe in an acute phase of class struggle. This means that the Portuguese example can provide important, concrete experiences as regards this theory's strengths or weaknesses."



"Socialist Portugal," central organ of the Portuguese Socialist party. Published weekly in Lisbon.

The October 21 issue, one of the last before the SP congress held over the weekend of October 30-31, carries the announcement of a series of expulsions:

"The National Commission on Conflicts, applying the statutes of our party, has announced the imposition of penalties of expulsion in the following communiqués.

"1. In pursuance of Section No. 3 of

Article No. 8 of the Disciplinary Regulations, it is announced that since the accusations made in the relevant disciplinary hearings were proven, the penalty of expulsion was imposed in accordance with Line C of Article 24 of the Statutes against Eurico Heitor Consciência, a member of the Abrantes section, for violating Article No. 5 and its sections 1, 2, 4, and 6. These infractions were aggravated by violations of sections 5 and 6 of Article 10." There were two other such communiqués on expulsions in Espinho and Aveiro. All were in the same legalistic gobbledygook, with no further explanation.

In the center pages, a communiqué from the National Secretariat admonishes: "Cohesion and unity are indispensable for the success of our experiment in Constitutional Government. Therefore, the organs or structures of the party must avoid spreading speculations aimed at casting doubt on the cohesion of our party through alluding to so-called splitting maneuvers in its ranks, such as those referred to in a recent communiqué by the Ad Hoc Committee of the Lisbon Area Federation; they must also avoid challenging the policy of the government by repeating false and demagogic accusations such as those contained in the Trade Union Work Committee motion [criticizing the SP minister of education]."

EST- INFORMATIONS

"East-News," published in Paris.

This information bulletin offers selections of particularly revealing items from the East European press, in French translation.

The October issue features articles from the Soviet and Yugoslav press. It contains, for example, an item by Argentine journalist Rodolfo Nadra, taken from the CP youth paper *Komsomolskaya Pravda* of August 20. Nadra explains the Kremlin's cordial attitude toward the Videla dictatorship as follows:

The Peronist regime may have fallen, "But the monopolists and big landowners have also failed in their effort to replace that powerless and corrupt government with a bloodsoaked dictatorship. The military coup of March 24 had nothing in common with Pinochet's takeover. It did result in limits on political and trade-union life, but at the same time it did not place the Communists outside the law. For the first time in the long history of military coups in Argentina, the Communist party has the same rights as the other Argentine political parties.

"In this situation, we Communists have a clear line. We support everything that is positive in the military's program, but firmly protest their reactionary economic policy. Communists have rejected from the beginning the extreme left's infantile notion of a frontal assault on the government."

Capitalism Fouls Things Up

The Acropolis Can't Take It

The Greek government has become concerned about the deterioration of one of its main tourist attractions, the Acropolis of Athens.

According to a recent study, Greek monuments have suffered more from air pollution in the last forty years than in the past four centuries.

The calcification of the caryatids on the Acropolis has now advanced to 4mm (about one-fourth inch) below the surface, causing serious disfigurement.

UNESCO experts recommended that the five genuine caryatids on the Erechtheum be removed, treated for decay, and kept in a museum until such time as their marble could be effectively protected from air pollution.

The Greek government accepted the recommendation but then decided that the removal would be a difficult and delicate operation requiring much study. As an interim measure, it was decided to encase the statues in plastic.

The main agents of decay were identified as sulphur and carbon oxides emanating

from fuel oil used in the vicinity.

The Greek Ministry of Industry decided to furnish all nearby buildings with fuel oil of lower sulphur content. Eventually the purified fuel will be furnished to factories whose fumes are carried towards the Acropolis.

The Ailing Adriatic

The symptoms affecting the Adriatic are grave, Patricia Clough reports in the October 14 London *Times*.

1. Alongside the deserted beaches of Italy's Adriatic coast, a huge mass of thick red seaweed was forming. "Floating among it were vast, stinking masses of dead fish, molluscs and shellfish."

The seaweed forms each year as autumn rains wash down fertilizers from the land and the effluence from local food industries and distilleries. The runoff leads to rampant growth of algae which absorbs all the oxygen in the water, suffocating the fish.

2. "A few days later in Venice, to the north, the health authorities seized large

quantities of tuna fish found to contain dangerous amounts of mercury."

3. Near Manfredonia, police and naval launches keep fishermen away from the area "where large quantities of a deadly arsenic compound from a nearby chemical factory have contaminated the sea."

4. Off Otranto lies an ecological time bomb. "This consists of 900 drums of lead tetra ethyl and lead tetra methyl, some of the deadliest poisons known to man, which are corroding on the seabed in and around the sunken Yugoslav ship Cavtat."

The prognosis for the Adriatic is decidedly bleak. "Every day rivers pour into it some 64 per cent of Italy's industrial effluence and 42 per cent of its sewage. At its northern end heavy industries discharge into it mud of various colours containing, among other substances, the poisonous heavy metals, lead, mercury, cadmium and zinc.

"Each year thousands of oil tankers steam up the Adriatic, leaving large quantities of oil in their wake. More effluence comes from Yugoslavia, albeit less industrialized and more thinly populated than Italy, and from Albania, which has consistently refused to join in any efforts to keep the sea clean."

Clough reports that laws were passed last June obliging firms to declare the substances they discharged into sewers and rivers and the sea and to install purification plants where necessary. These laws were intended to bring pollution from land sources down to "an acceptable level" in the next six years.

"But the laws had the misfortune to be passed in the midst of the severe economic crisis. Cleanliness costs money; antipollution installations would put up the price of many products by 5 to 6 per cent, and that of chemical products by 12 per cent. If imposed too rigorously at the present moment, cleanliness could end up by costing jobs."

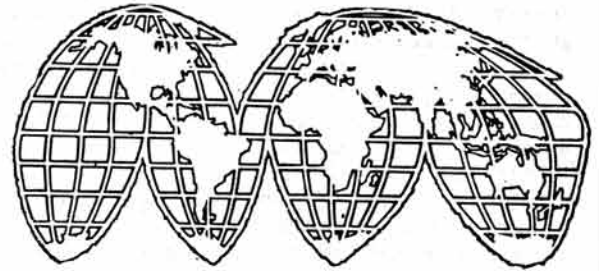
Too Rich for Salmon

Associated Press reported October 10 from Grand Rapids, Michigan, that hundreds of salmon died after up to 240 pounds of copper cyanide was dumped into the Grand River. The poisonous chemical was traced to waste from a factory.



"Cut Pollution? Why That Could Cost These People Their Jobs!" Konopacki/Nation

AROUND THE WORLD



Ford Wins Consolation Prize

When Ford appeared before the television cameras on November 3 to concede victory to Carter in the presidential elections, he had difficulty holding back his tears. His wife had to read the message for him.

A couple of weeks later, however, playing golf in Palm Springs with Bob Hope and other notables, Ford's broad face was back to its usual idiotic grin. And not without reason.

After he retires in January, he will receive \$63,000 a year as a former president of the United States.

In addition, he will be eligible for a pension of \$40,500 a year as a congressman who served twenty-five years.

Ford also gets free postage and \$96,000 a year for clerical help.

This is not all. Up to \$900,000 can be awarded him to cover the costs of transition for an outgoing president. (Carter can be awarded an equal amount for the transitional costs of moving into the White House.) Of course, Congress may not be that generous to Ford, since it set the precedent of giving Nixon only \$200,000 for his transitional costs.

Nonetheless, whatever Congress comes up with for Ford is a booby prize not to be sneezed at.

But Not Greenland's Mineral Rights

Greenland is scheduled to get home rule as an integral party of the Danish kingdom in 1979, but its mineral rights will remain the property of the Danish state as a whole.

Prime Minister Akar Jorgensen said on the Greenland Radio Service, that Greenland's population will hold veto power over exploitation of its resources but that is all.

Meanwhile Cominco Ltd., a Canadian company, is mining lead and zinc in Greenland; and next year oil-lease holders are expected to drill at least three exploration wells on the west Greenland shelf.

Mexico Opens Two Model Prisons

The Mexican government has closed the antiquated Lecumberri prison, and the inmates have been transferred to new facilities that look like a small college campus, except for high stone walls.

Associated Press described the two new prisons as costing about \$17 million each. They "are among the most modern in the world, and officials in them stressed rehabilitation and dignity for the inmates."

"Each of a dozen stone, brick and glass confinement buildings is surrounded by flowers and shrubs," AP continued. "The buildings are connected by shrub-lined, covered walkways. All guards wear gray slacks, dark blue blazers, light blue shirts and maroon ties. They do not carry weapons.

"Cell doors are unlocked at 6 a.m. each day. Prisoners can spend the day lounging in bunks, wandering about the grassy grounds, playing tennis or handball, watching television at the mess hall, working in the gardens or prison laundry for pay or learning a trade in daily classes at the machine shop, carpentry shop or training schools.

"Classes in English and Spanish are also available.

"Unlike some U.S. prisons where inmates are ushered into a room to talk with visitors through a mesh-wire screen, prisoners at the new Mexico City prisons are allowed to greet visitors and receive food packages in special rooms with small tables or even picnic on the lawns.

"At the Reclusorio Norte, the northern prison in Mexico City, there is a three-story, attractively decorated modern building, with draperies, plants and paintings. It is where the prisoners are allowed to have overnight conjugal visits once each week in private bedrooms with their girl friends or wives.

"Not far away is a playground where children can play on swings, slides and other equipment while parents visit together."

Bill Clary, chief psychiatric consultant to the U.S. federal prison at Springfield, Missouri, who recently toured one of the new prisons, was quoted as saying:

"I've never seen anything like this. It looks like the Maria-Isabel," a luxury hotel in Mexico City.

Lockheed Scandal Touches Spain

The Air Ministry of the Spanish government announced October 27 that it had suspended Air Force Brig. Gen. Luis Rey Rodriguez and Col. Carlos Grandal Segade until an investigation of Lockheed payoffs in Spain was completed.

On November 6 the government said that the two had secretly managed sales by the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, receiving commissions worth \$277,000 each.

According to Miguel Acoca, writing in

the *Washington Post* of October 28, the payoffs could total \$1.35 million. "There were reports that as many as 17 persons are implicated."

King Juan Carlos I sent a special emissary to Washington last winter in hope of keeping a lid on the scandal until the transition from Franco's regime was well underway.

In the latest step, King Carlos was drawn in when the Information Ministry attempted to ban the newsweekly *Cambio 16* for publishing details of the scandals and the names of those allegedly involved.

The editors of *Cambio 16* reportedly appealed to the king just before he left for France on a state visit, and the king ordered that the magazine be permitted to circulate freely.

"Several months ago," Acoca reported, "police arrested Fernando Herce, head of Avionica, S.A., the company that served as a funnel for the Lockheed payoffs to Spain. While in prison, Herce accounted for \$600,000, but could not give a clear explanation for an additional \$750,000 paid by Lockheed to his company.

"The funds were deposited in Swiss bank accounts, according to sources familiar with Herce's testimony."

Right to Self-Determination Demanded by Indigenous People in Canada

Leaders of the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories submitted a formal demand October 25 to Warren Allmand, the Minister for Indian and Northern Affairs, that 450,000 square miles of federally administered land be returned to their rightful owners. The area claimed would be placed under the jurisdiction of a new political entity, equivalent to a province, to be known as the Dene nation.

Dene—pronounced DEN-nay—is an Indian word meaning the people.

In presenting the legal documents to Allmand, George Erasmus, president of the brotherhood, said that his people wished to function politically as "a nation within Canada."

As he explained it, "We would see our government roughly equivalent in status to the provincial level. In no way are we challenging the legitimate jurisdiction of the federal government."

The area claimed by the Dene nation is confined mostly to the Mackenzie River Valley. It includes all the Northwest Territories not claimed by the Eskimos

(Innuits) in their presentation to the government last February.

The Innuits claim all of the land above the tree line. They asked for a province of their own to be called New Nunavut. Pronounced noo-NAH-voot, the word means "our land."

Speaking for the Dene nation, Erasmus said that the proposed agreement on land claims and political rights would replace Indian rights lost in earlier treaties.

"We are calling for a radical change in the relationship between aboriginal people and the people of Canada," he said. "Furthermore, we do not see why our right to self-determination cannot be met within the Canadian Confederation."

Enver Hoxha to Stand on Own Feet

Enver Hoxha announced October 29 that from now on he will place less reliance on support from China, according to a November 1 AP dispatch.

In a keynote speech at the opening of the Albanian Communist party's seventh congress, Hoxha said "our party and our people express their deep gratitude to the Chinese party and people for their valuable aid and support.

"Nevertheless, despite its great importance, the external factor—international aid and solidarity—is but an auxiliary and supplementary element, and not the determining factor."

Instead, he added, it is vital for Albania to embrace "the principle of reliance on one's own forces."

The congress observed a minute of silence for Mao, the "great leader of the Chinese people and a dear friend of the Albanian people."

As for the new Peking leadership under Hua Kuo-feng, Hoxha refrained from uttering words of praise.

Associated Press observed: "There has been speculation in the West that the Albanians leaned toward the leftist faction in the Chinese leadership that has now been purged.

"The Chinese failed to send a delegation to the Albanian party congress."

However, a message was received from Chairman Hua saying that Albanian-Chinese friendship "can never be undetermined."

50,000 Political Prisoners in Pakistan

Air Marshal Asghar Khan charged at a news conference October 30 that the Pakistani government is holding more than 50,000 persons in jail for their political activities and views.

Asghar Khan, the head of the rightist Teherik-i-Istiqal party has been campaigning against the regime of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

In November 1975, Amnesty International estimated that there were 38,000 political prisoners in Pakistan.

"The picture painted by Amnesty Inter-

national regarding Pakistani prisoners is not as black as the reality," the air marshal said. "The jails are crammed with political prisoners six times above their capacity."

Some of the prisoners, he charged, have been held in jail for six years without being brought to trial.

154 in U.S. Congress Condemn Jailings in South Korea

A letter of protest from 154 U.S. senators and representatives expressed "profound distress" over South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee's "arbitrary action" in jailing critics of his regime. The letter, made public October 27, followed a letter in April asking President Ford to take a tougher stand on violations of human rights in South Korea. The earlier letter was signed by 120 members of Congress.

The congressional protesters did not say whether they were prepared to vote against U.S. aid for the Park regime.

A Little Help From Their Friends

The October 22 issue of *Research Institute Recommendations*, a private economic newsletter used by investors, discussed the outlook for the main imperialist economies. "France is struggling with 10% inflation she only hopes to reduce," it said, while "Italy barely gets by, thanks to unofficial help from Communists."

Tan Wah Piow Seeks Political Asylum

An international campaign has been launched to secure political asylum in the United Kingdom for Tan Wah Piow, who was formerly held in Singapore.

"Since my release from prison in October 1975, after being arbitrarily convicted on a frame-up charge," Wah Piow said in London October 13, "I was wanted by the Singapore police for my refusal to comply with the military conscription which I consider in my case as a continuation of the political persecution against me for my activities as a student leader in 1974."

Wah Piow continued: "Since then, it is impossible for me to walk on the street without fearing the prospect of being arrested and thrown in jail for an indefinite period. My move to apply for

political asylum is not isolated and coincidental, but rather the logical consequence of the repression in Singapore in general, and in particular, the result of the ruthless and blatant suppression of the independent student movement which flourished in 1974."

Letters of support can be sent to: Mr. Merlyn Rees, Home Office, Whitehall, London SW 1. Copies of these letter should be sent to the organization that is coordinating the international campaign: FUEMSSO, c/o NUS (International Section), 3 Endsleigh Street, London, WC 1.

200 Women Stage Protest in Madrid

Two hundred women staged a ten-hour sit-in at a church in Madrid November 7. They demanded legalization of contraceptives and divorce.

Under dictator Franco, divorce, abortion, and birth-control devices were outlawed.

The fascist caudillo used to personally present prizes to families with large numbers of children.

As a militarist, Franco took a firm conservationist attitude toward Spain's resources in cannon fodder.

Japanese Canadians Protest Trudeau's Apology in Tokyo

Trudeau's apology in Tokyo at the end of October for the wartime treatment of Canadian residents of Japanese ancestry stirred a wave of protest.

The apology, said Japanese Canadians, should have been made to those of Japanese ancestry who were herded into concentration camps in Canada during 1942.

About 23,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, of whom more than 17,000 were Canadian citizens by birth or naturalization, were moved from their homes by government order. Many found on release that the government had auctioned off their properties, often for a fraction of their true value.

This shameful violation of civil rights was taken in accordance with the example set by the U.S. government at the opening of World War II.

At that time, Japanese Americans were driven out of California, herded into concentration camps, and their small farms and other properties were sold.



Stevenson/Los Angeles Times

La Razón del Triunfo de Carter

Por David Frankel

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "Behind the Vote for Carter," que apareció en el número del 15 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

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Una cosa quedó clara en las elecciones presidenciales de los Estados Unidos: al final, les costó mucho trabajo a los votantes decidir quién era peor, si Ford o Carter. "Yo creo que ninguno de los candidatos le gustaba mucho a la gente," admitió en Cleveland un dirigente del Partido Republicano al terminar las elecciones.

En el cierre del primero de los llamados grandes debates entre los dos candidatos capitalistas, Ford resumió la situación diciendo: "Yo creo que la verdadera cuestión en esta campaña . . . es si deben votar por sus promesas [de Carter] o por mi actuación de dos años en la Casa Blanca."

Una pequeña mayoría escogió las promesas de Carter en lugar de la actuación de Ford. Votaron, sobre todo, a favor de la promesa de Carter de hacer algo sobre el desempleo y de restaurar la prosperidad.

La elección, sin embargo, no se hizo de manera entusiasta. Las encuestas calcularon que 20% de los votantes no se habían decidido todavía en la última semana de la campaña. La respuesta que dio un votante de Massachusetts a los reporteros expresaba el sentimiento de la gente: "Carter no me entusiasma mucho, pero el otro tipo me gusta menos."

La clase dominante norteamericana estaba feliz de que la gente siquiera se hubiera molestado en votar. "Los Votantes Atestan las Urnas," decía el titular principal de un diario neoyorquino. Algunos estados informaron que la gente había votado en cantidades "masivas" o "sorprendentes," y el Chemical Bank, uno de los bancos más grandes del país, compró un anuncio de una página en el *New York Times* del 5 de noviembre que decía:

"Estados Unidos: 79,000,000

"Apatía: 0

"Más de 79 millones de norteamericanos demostraron que eran infundadas las predicciones sobre la apatía de los votantes. El pueblo tenía algo que decir y lo dijo. Nosotros creemos que también dijo algo más: el sistema funciona."

El Chemical Bank, sin embargo, veía su caso con demasiado optimismo.

Aproximadamente 67 millones de personas se abstuvieron de votar, y es obvio que



CARTER

millones de las personas que finalmente votaron seguían sintiendo resentimiento y descontento por falta de una verdadera alternativa. El número real de personas que votaron es el más bajo desde 1948, cuando votó el 51% de los ciudadanos con derecho a hacerlo. Este año votó un 53.3%, continuando con el descenso persistente de la participación de los ciudadanos que se ha visto desde 1960, cuando votó un 63% de las personas que tenían derecho a hacerlo. En 1976, el número de personas que votaron fue 2% menor que en 1972, cuando votó un 55.4% del electorado.

El objetivo más importante de la clase dominante en las elecciones de 1976 era restaurar la confianza en el gobierno, que fue muy erosionada por la intervención de Johnson y Nixon en la guerra civil vietnamita y por el escándalo de Watergate.

Este objetivo se reflejó en la opinión que expresó Carl Hathaway, vicepresidente en jefe del Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., de que "hay una estabilidad y una normalidad enormes en la actual situación. Después de todo, esta es una transición ordenada de la sede del poder, a través del proceso democrático, y difícilmente se puede encontrar razón para aterrorizarse" (*Wall Street Journal*, 4 de noviembre).

Pero aún está por verse si Carter puede

restaurar la confianza que minaron sus predecesores.

La Campaña de Carter y Por Qué Salió Electo

El programa que presentó Carter en su campaña no era substancialmente diferente del de Ford. Cada uno insistió en que él mantendría el más poderoso aparato militar. Los dos hombres estaban en contra del derecho de las mujeres al aborto. Los dos estaban a favor de la pena de muerte. Y ninguno prometió nuevas iniciativas en lo referente a los derechos de los negros. En cuanto a la ayuda para las víctimas de la crisis económica, Carter recortó sus promesas originales.

Pero Carter fue electo en base a un programa distinto del que presentó en su campaña. En su intento por encontrar alguna diferencia entre los dos candidatos y a causa de su descontento por cómo están las cosas bajo la administración de Ford, las personas de bajos ingresos se fijaron en las vagas promesas de Carter sobre un cambio y en su insistencia de que creará "empleos para todos los norteamericanos."

Carter fue elegido para que cree empleos y acabe con los cortes en los presupuestos de los programas sociales.

Las estadísticas sobre cómo votó la gente, demuestran que el punto económico fue dominante para decidir las elecciones. Una encuesta de la NBC encontró que 87% de quienes votaron por Carter dijeron que lo hicieron por el punto de los empleos. Una encuesta del sistema de noticias de la CBS encontró que solamente un grupo de ingresos—los miembros de familias que ganan más de 20,000 dólares al año—votaron mayoritariamente por Ford (62%). En cambio, 62% de las familias que ganan menos de 8,000 dólares anuales votaron por Carter.

El voto del grupo que gana entre 12,000 y 20,000 dólares anuales se dividió por la mitad entre Carter y Ford, mientras que 57% de la categoría de los que ganan entre 8,000 y 12,000 dólares al año votaron por Carter.

Los trabajadores norteamericanos trataron de avanzar sus propios intereses dentro de la trampa del sistema bipartidista capitalista. Esto se ve aún más claramente si se analizan por separado el voto de los negros y el de los obreros sindicalizados.

Carter hizo un fuerte llamado para conseguir los votos de los trabajadores sindicalizados en el discurso que dio al

aceptar la nominación del Partido Demócrata. "Nuestro partido," dijo, "se construyó en las fábricas del viejo Lower East Side, en las oscuras fábricas textiles de Nueva Hampshire, en los hornos ardientes de las fábricas de acero de Illinois, en las minas de carbón de Pennsylvania, en las paupérrimas granjas de las llanuras costeras del sur y en las ilimitadas fronteras de los Estados Unidos."

Burocracia Sindical Apoya a Carter

La burocracia sindical apoyó totalmente a Carter, lanzando lo que el reportero del *New York Times* Warren Weaver llamó "la campaña más grande, más cara, mejor organizada y más sofisticada que hayan realizado jamás los sindicatos para apoyar a un candidato presidencial."

Los sindicatos distribuyeron más de 80 millones de folletos y volantes apoyando a Carter en la lucha por la Casa Blanca. Se ordenó a los delegados y a los funcionarios sindicales que presionaran a los miembros de sus locales durante las horas del almuerzo y en el trabajo. Los periódicos sindicales funcionaron como volantes de la campaña de Carter-Mondale.

"¡Protejan sus Trabajos! Voten por Carter-Mondale," llamaba en su último número anterior a las elecciones el *AFL-CIO News* de Michigan.

"¡NECESITAMOS A CARTER!" decía el titular del *Public Employees Press* de Nueva York. Aparecía en grandes caracteres una cita del dirigente del sindicato de empleados públicos, Victor Gotbaum: "Los trabajadores de la ciudad tienen mucho en juego; se están jugando los trabajos, las pensiones y el futuro de nuestra ciudad."

La campaña de los jerarcas sindicales a favor de Carter tuvo éxito porque en las bases había el sentimiento de que se necesitaba un cambio. La NBC calculó que 64% de los obreros sindicalizados votaron por Carter, y la CBS calculó que fue un 62%.

Sin los votos de los trabajadores sindicalizados Carter no hubiera ganado. El apoyo de los sindicatos determinó la pequeña diferencia que dio la victoria a Carter en Pennsylvania y Nueva York, por ejemplo. Si hubiera perdido en uno de estos dos estados, hubiera perdido las elecciones. En Ohio, otro estado industrial clave, también ganó Carter gracias al apoyo de los sindicatos.

Fue una demostración convincente del poder político potencial del movimiento sindical norteamericano—y de cómo ese poder sigue atado al servicio del Partido Demócrata, y no al servicio de un partido laborista independiente que es tan necesario.

'We Shall Overcome'

El voto de los negros a favor de Carter fue incluso más impresionante que el de los trabajadores sindicalizados. La NBC calculó que 92% de los negros que votaron lo hicieron a favor de Carter, mientras la CBS pone la cifra en 83%. El Center for Joint Political Studies [Centro de Estudios Políticos Conjuntos], un grupo que tiene su sede en Washington y que estudia los modelos de votación de los negros, informó que Carter obtuvo el 93% de los votos de los negros.

Igual que con los trabajadores sindicalizados, Carter trató desde el principio de ganarse a los negros y a los hispanos. Cuando se cerró la convención nacional del Partido Demócrata, Carter, Mondale y otros plumíferos de ese partido se tomaron de la mano con Coretta Scott King, viuda de Martin Luther King, Jr.; Andrew Young, diputado negro y anteriormente activista en la lucha por los derechos civiles; César Chávez, presidente del United Farm Workers [sindicato de trabajadores agrícolas]; y otros. Todos juntos cantaron 'We Shall Overcome' [triumfaremos], canción que se hizo famosa en el movimiento por los derechos civiles.

Teniendo que padecer una tasa de desempleo dos veces mayor que la de los blancos, los negros respondieron aún más a las promesas de Carter sobre la economía. Lo que es más, los cortes en el presupuesto gubernamental que afectan todo, desde guarderías infantiles y almuerzos escolares hasta la seguridad social y el entrenamiento para trabajos, han golpeado más duramente a las minorías oprimidas. Finalmente, la competencia de Ford contra Ronald Reagan por el voto de los racistas durante las elecciones primarias republicanas también lo desprestigió ante los negros.

Al no ver alternativa, los miembros de las minorías nacionales oprimidas que fueron a las urnas, apoyaron a Carter—y su voto, como el de los trabajadores sindicalizados, fue esencial para el triunfo de Carter.

En Pennsylvania, por ejemplo, Carter ganó por solamente 123,000 votos. Tan sólo los negros de Philadelphia le dieron 178,000 votos.

En Ohio, donde Carter ganó por únicamente 7,500 votos, el Diputado Louis Stokes de Cleveland señaló que "ese margen se puede atribuir a la gran cantidad de votos de los negros que obtuvo en [mi] distrito."

El voto masivo que obtuvo Carter en las áreas predominantemente chicanas del sur

de Texas le dio la ventaja de 2% que obtuvo en ese estado.

A nivel nacional, solamente 48% de los votantes blancos apoyaron a Carter. *De hecho, incluso en el lugar de origen de Carter en el sur, la mayoría de los votantes blancos apoyaron a Ford. Carter ganó 54% del voto total en el sur y triunfó en todos los estados sureños, con excepción de Virginia, gracias al voto de los negros.*

Hay que señalar este punto. A pesar de que varios comentaristas han afirmado que Carter reconstruyó la coalición del Partido Demócrata forjada por Franklin D. Roosevelt en los años treinta, las elecciones de 1976 demostraron contundentemente que la coalición de Roosevelt está muerta.

La coalición se basaba en los votos de los trabajadores blancos y los negros del norte, y en la maquinaria de los supremacistas blancos del sur. La mayoría de los negros del sur no podía votar durante los años treinta y cuarenta.

Cuando la vieja maquinaria de los supremacistas blancos comenzó a derrumbarse en la década del sesenta, ante el impacto del movimiento de derechos civiles, el Partido Demócrata se escindió en el sur. El ala que defendía a Dixie [la concepción racista del sur] y que había sido la dominante en los días de la coalición de Roosevelt, estaba representada por George Wallace. En 1968, cuando Wallace se presentó a las elecciones bajo la nominación del American Independent Party [Partido Americano Independiente], corriendo contra Nixon y contra el candidato del Partido Demócrata Hubert Humphrey, obtuvo 13.5% del voto total.

Los diez millones de votos que obtuvo Wallace estaban concentrados en el sur, donde ganó los estados de Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana y Mississippi. En Carolina del Norte, Carolina del Sur y Tennessee perdió ante Nixon, pero obtuvo más votos que Humphrey.

En 1972, los residuos del movimiento de Wallace, sin Wallace, obtuvieron poco más de un millón de votos. Este año obtuvieron solamente 168,000 votos.

Por lo tanto, en la arena electoral, la campaña de 1976 marcó la derrota de los segregacionistas furibundos. El voto de los reaccionarios, de los racistas, no podía ir sino a Ford o a Carter. El mismo Wallace estaba entre los que cantaron "We Shall Overcome" en el escenario de la convención del Partido Demócrata.

El colapso del movimiento de Wallace y su reabsorción al sistema bipartidista, reflejan una realidad económica cambiante—especialmente la urbanización e industrialización del sur, y el cambio que se ha operado entre los negros, que han pasado a ser obreros industriales en vez de trabajadores agrícolas y aparceros. También es resultado de los triunfos que ha obtenido el movimiento de liberación de los negros en los últimos veinte años.

Ya no es realista el objetivo reaccionario

1. La American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) es la más grande central sindical de Estados Unidos.

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de hacer que los negros retrocedan a la situación en que se encontraban antes del movimiento masivo por los derechos civiles. Ese objetivo solamente se podría alcanzar con la victoria de un movimiento fascista masivo.

La necesidad de la clase dominante norteamericana de tener una relación de colaboración de clases con los dirigentes negros reformistas, se reflejó en el curso de la campaña presidencial en incidentes como las rápidas disculpas que dio Carter por su declaración aberrante sobre la "pureza étnica" y la renuncia del Secretario de Agricultura Earl Butz tras de darse a la publicidad un chiste racista que hizo.

El mismo Carter empezó en 1976, en las elecciones primarias, como el candidato designado por la maquinaria del Partido Demócrata para bloquear a Wallace. Incluso Wallace ha estado tratando de demostrar que ha cambiado de opinión sobre el problema racial. Recientemente ordenó que la bandera confederada de los esclavistas fuera izada abajo, y no arriba, de la bandera de los Estados Unidos en el palacio de gobierno del Estado de Alabama. También aprobó el perdón para uno de los acusados negros en el infame caso de Scottsboro.²

Desde luego, el cambio de posición sobre este punto es sólo relativo. En general, tanto Carter como Ford trataron de aparentar en sus campañas que los negros no existen. Evitaron discutir el problema del racismo en la sociedad norteamericana. Ahora Carter está hablando de incluir negros en su gabinete; pero aparte de esos posibles gestos, continuará básicamente con la misma política económica y social que origina el racismo y que impulsa a las fuerzas ultraderechistas.

En este contexto, es interesante señalar que en las elecciones de 1976 hubo un estancamiento en el número de negros que fueron electos funcionarios. Esto es distinto de 1974, cuando se eligió a las cámaras de diputados estatales del sur al mayor número de negros desde la reconstrucción posterior a la Guerra Civil.

La campaña de 1976 fue también muy diferente de las de 1968 y 1972, cuando la "estrategia sureña" de Nixon se basaba en ganar el sur atrayendo el voto de los racistas. Ahora la clase dominante se tiene que preocupar mucho más por mantener a los negros dentro del sistema bipartidista a causa de la crisis económica y de la crisis general de confianza hacia los partidos Demócrata y Republicano. También, una campaña de "ley y orden" no hubiera quedado muy bien después de Watergate.

2. Un caso famoso de la lucha por los derechos civiles en los años treinta. Se trataba de nueve jóvenes negros que fueron injustificadamente acusados de violar a una blanca en Alabama. Se perdonó al último sobreviviente, que había escapado de la cárcel.

Watergate y toda la telaraña de los crímenes del gobierno que estaban vinculados a él fue otro de los puntos que estuvieron subyacentes en las elecciones. Los demócratas y republicanos le dieron la vuelta evitando discutir estos problemas. Lanzaron dos candidatos que no estaban involucrados en Watergate y que enfatizaban su propia honestidad. La mayoría de la gente no veía ninguna diferencia entre Ford y Carter en lo referente a Watergate.

Eugene McCarthy sí se presentó como un reformador en contra de los dos partidos capitalistas, a los que acusó correctamente de ser responsables de los ataques del gobierno contra los derechos democráticos. Pero McCarthy no ofrecía ninguna solución para los problemas económicos que preocupaban al electorado, y en su campaña tendió a restarles importancia. En general, a causa de su compromiso con la política capitalista, la campaña de McCarthy no ayudó en nada a abrir un camino para el avance de las masas.

Los republicanos esperaban que McCarthy le quitara votos a Carter, y por eso estuvieron a favor de que apareciera en la boleta electoral en varios estados. McCarthy logró obtener 650,000 votos, 1% del total, y realmente evitó que Carter ganara en cuatro estados.

Otro punto que evitaron los candidatos del sistema bipartidista fue el de los derechos de las mujeres. Ni Ford ni Carter tenían mucho que decir al respecto, aparte de sus reiteradas declaraciones en contra del derecho de las mujeres al aborto. Donde los votantes tuvieron una oportunidad de expresar sus puntos de vista sobre el problema de los derechos de la mujer, salieron masivamente en su defensa.

En Colorado y Massachusetts se realizaron referéndums sobre una enmienda constitucional que dé derechos iguales a las mujeres [Equal Rights Amendment—ERA], y en ambos estados los electores apoyaron a ERA en una proporción de tres contra dos.

Es particularmente importante el hecho de que en Massachusetts ERA se redactó de tal manera que incluía una prohibición contra la discriminación por razones de raza así como por razones de sexo. Boston ha sido escenario de una de las batallas más duras que se han visto en este país sobre el problema del transporte escolar obligatorio para que los niños negros puedan asistir a escuelas ubicadas en los barrios blancos.

Los partidos Demócrata y Republicano lanzaron muy pocas mujeres como candidatas, de la misma manera que hicieron con los negros. El número de mujeres que ocupan puestos de elección popular siguió siendo prácticamente el mismo, aunque en las elecciones de 1974 había aumentado alrededor de 27%.

Además del papel de los negros y los sindicatos en la victoria de Carter, el factor más importante fue probablemente la

crisis de las ciudades. La CBS calculó que 60% de los votantes de las ciudades que tienen más de 500,000 habitantes votaron a favor de Carter.

'Ford a Nueva York: Que se Muera'

Los problemas a que se enfrentan los pobres de las ciudades, desde luego, se intercalan con la discriminación racial y con la situación general de la economía. Un titular que apareció el año pasado en el *Daily News* de Nueva York resumía la actitud de Ford al respecto: "Ford a la ciudad: que se muera."

La crisis económica de la Ciudad de Nueva York ha producido decenas de miles de despidos; el cierre de hospitales, bibliotecas y escuelas; y menos servicios sociales, incluso de recolección de basura y de bomberos. Pero la situación de Nueva York no es única.

Como advirtió *Business Week* en un editorial de su número del 12 de julio: "... los problemas de la Ciudad de Nueva York son heraldos de un problema más amplio. Toda ciudad importante de Estados Unidos enfrentará serios problemas económicos en los próximos tres o cinco años."

Al día siguiente de que Carter fue electo, el Alcalde de Nueva York Abraham Beame, también del Partido Demócrata, sacó una copia del titular "Ford a la ciudad," que había sido utilizado como volante durante la campaña por la organización de Carter en Nueva York. Beame rompió el volante ante las cámaras de televisión que filmaban la escena. "Les diré una cosa," dijo. "Esto no va a pasar con Carter."

Esto nos lleva al problema de las perspectivas del gobierno de Carter.

Un editorial del número del 15 de noviembre de *Business Week* dio precisamente en el blanco. "Una de las primeras cosas que Carter debe aprender como presidente," decía, "es que no podrá cumplir las promesas internas que hizo, que son muchas, mientras la economía internacional esté fuera de control."

Sería realmente sorprendente que Carter no hiciera gestos ante el electorado que le dio la victoria. Sabe que si quiere ser reelecto tendrá que ganar una vez más los votos de los negros, los sindicatos, los chicanos y los puertorriqueños, y de los habitantes de las grandes ciudades.

Pero la amplitud de las concesiones que estará dispuesto a hacer el gobierno de Carter está determinada por los problemas generales de la economía capitalista mundial. El hecho es que la recuperación económica en Europa, incluso más que en los Estados Unidos, ha decaído. Los regímenes imperialistas están peleándose para ver quién obtiene la mayor tajada del mercado mundial, que se ha ido reduciendo. En esta situación son inevitables los intentos por mantener bajos los salarios y las condiciones de vida. La única alternativa sería que los capitalistas pagaran las

consecuencias, en lugar de los trabajadores, y Carter no va a hacer eso, a menos que la clase capitalista en su conjunto decida que es necesario un curso así a causa de la resistencia masiva de la clase obrera y sus aliados.

Leonard Silk resumió lo que espera Wall Street en un artículo que apareció en el número del 28 de octubre del *New York Times*. Aunque Carter ha estado hablando de estimular la economía para crear más empleos, Silk señalaba: "En el terreno de la política monetaria, Arthur F. Burns seguirá siendo presidente del Federal Reserve Board [Buro Federal de Reservas], y es muy poco probable que se realicen tantos cambios en la composición del buró o del Federal Open Market Committee [Comité Federal del Mercado Abierto], que es el organismo clave para la toma de decisiones, para que haya mucha diferencia."

Carter también ha hablado de reinstaurar controles salariales como los que ocasionaron una profunda caída de los salarios reales durante el gobierno de Nixon. "El Sr. Carter y sus consejeros han hecho claro que, como lo puso Walter W. Heller, 'mantendrían y desencadenarían' el Council on Wage and Price Stability [Consejo sobre la Estabilidad de Salarios y Precios], que ha sido subestimado durante el gobierno de Ford."

Silk termina diciendo: "Muchos hombres de negocios e inversionistas de la bolsa de valores parecen estar preparados para aparentar que les molesta la posible victoria de Carter. Sin embargo, como dijo un ejecutivo de una compañía: 'Los hombres de negocios prefieren presidentes republicanos, pero gruñen mientras llevan al banco sus grandes ganancias bajo gobiernos demócratas.'"

¿Manera Cortés de Decir 'Muérete'?

¿Qué hay de cierto en la confianza que tiene el Alcalde Beame de que lo que ha estado pasando en la Ciudad de Nueva York "no va a pasar con Carter"?

"La campaña de Carter en la Ciudad de Nueva York pone a los dos candidatos como el día y la noche," comentaban el 25 de octubre los editores del *Wall Street Journal*. "Pero más allá de la diferencia en la retórica y de los buenos deseos del Ayuntamiento, no vemos razón para esto. Lo más probable es que cuando Nueva York regrese a Washington en enero para solicitar más ayuda, recibirá la misma recepción sin importar quién esté en la presidencia."

Quizá Carter acepte prolongar el plazo en que deben hacerse los cortes al presupuesto de la Ciudad de Nueva York, pero está completamente de acuerdo con Ford en que hay que hacer los cortes. Hay muchos motivos para creer que Carter, también, dirá a los millones de personas que dependen de los servicios de la ciudad que se mueran. Sin embargo, como señala-

ron los editores del *Wall Street Journal*, probablemente lo haga con otra retórica.

Pero los miles de personas que votaron a favor de Carter no votaron por la retórica. Votaron a favor de un cambio en sus



FORD

vidas; trataron de encontrar una salida a la depresión por medio del voto, de encontrar una salida a la crisis económica que nunca ha terminado para los desempleados, para quienes están resintiéndose los cortes en el presupuesto y para quienes temen que se produzcan nuevos despidos.

Carter tampoco tiene mucho tiempo antes de que la gente empiece a exigir resultados. El reportero del *New York Times* James M. Naughton resumió el sentimiento general en un artículo aparecido el 4 de noviembre: "Frente a la disyuntiva de tener que escoger entre un presidente accidental, cuya acción más audaz fue perdonar al expresidente Richard M. Nixon, y un gobernador de Georgia que aún no ha sido reelecto y a quien sus oponentes acusan de ser inconstante y mañoso, los votantes, en realidad, parecen estar esperando para juzgar, como diciendo que aún hay que ganarse su confianza, con hechos y no con declaraciones."

La amplitud de la confianza en Carter—o la falta de ella—se reflejó en una encuesta de la NBC realizada el día de las elecciones. Solamente 40% de los que fueron entrevistados al salir de las urnas dijeron que confiaban en que Carter haría lo correcto la mayor parte de las veces, y solamente 30% escogieron las palabras "un hombre honesto" para describirlo. Nadie siente que Carter sea un salvador. Simplemente creen que ofrece una oportunidad mejor que Ford para sacar al país de la crisis económica.

¿Qué probabilidades existen de que Carter cumpla? En este aspecto, hay que comparar su situación con la de Lyndon Johnson, que hizo su campaña en 1964 en torno a la consigna de la "Gran Sociedad." Cuando Johnson ocupó la presidencia, la industria en expansión estaba creando empleos, la inflación no era un problema imperante y los salarios reales iban en aumento. Actualmente, las compañías norteamericanas siguen despidiendo trabajadores, los salarios reales siguen siendo más bajos que en 1965, y es una preocupación constante la amenaza de una nueva baja económica y de una alta tasa de inflación.

Lo que es más, Carter tiene menos excusas políticas que sus predecesores.

Tiene una mayoría demócrata de 62 contra 38 en el Senado y de 290 contra 145 en la Cámara de Diputados. Treinta y siete de los cincuenta gobernadores de los estados de la Unión Americana son demócratas.

* * *

Las elecciones presidenciales de 1976 mostraron dos hechos fundamentales de la política norteamericana. Primero, los trabajadores y las nacionalidades oprimidas siguen atadas al sistema capitalista bipartidista. Las masas aún no rompen con el Partido Demócrata. Pero, al mismo tiempo, el pueblo de los Estados Unidos está cada vez más inquieto dentro de los marcos del sistema bipartidista. Está cada vez más impaciente y descontento con las alternativas que éste ofrece.

Desde este punto de vista, es importante señalar que aunque aparentemente no aumentó apreciablemente el voto a favor de los socialistas este año—en parte porque muchos votos de protesta fueron emitidos a favor de McCarthy—la idea de una alternativa a los partidos Demócrata y Republicano ha empezado a tener una audiencia más grande que nunca. El hecho de que Michael Harrington, el más conocido dirigente socialdemócrata de Estados Unidos y que apoyó a Carter, considerara necesario tener un debate sobre este tema con el candidato presidencial del Socialist Workers Party Peter Camejo justo antes de las elecciones, fue una muestra del creciente sentimiento que hay a favor de una alternativa mejor que los eternos dos partidos capitalistas.

La presión contra el sistema bipartidista también se reflejó en la discusión de este problema en los principales diarios, como el *New York Times* y el *Washington Post*, y en revistas como *New Republic*. La clase dominante, desde luego, no está dispuesta a abandonar un sistema que le ha servido tan bien durante más de cien años, pero entre capas más amplias de la población, se va volviendo más atractiva la idea de algo superior.

Finalmente, hay que enfatizar una vez más que la minorías oprimidas y el

movimiento obrero norteamericano esperan que, por haber votado como lo hicieron, tendrán derecho a que la próxima administración les cumpla. Para tratar de ser relecto en 1980, Carter quizá intentará

consolidar su posición haciendo algunas concesiones. Pero su margen de maniobra es sumamente restringido. Lo que es aún más importante, no puede resolver los problemas fundamentales que las masas

esperan que resolverá.

A la luz de todos estos factores, se puede predecir con seguridad que los próximos cuatro años no van a ser fáciles para Carter ni para la clase que representa. □

El SWP en las Elecciones Norteamericanas

Campaña que Es Motivo de Orgullo para Todos los Trotskistas

Por Michael Baumann

[La siguiente es una traducción del artículo "A Campaign Trotskyists Everywhere Can Be Proud Of," que apareció en el número del 15 de noviembre de nuestra revista. La traducción es de *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

"Después de haber visto a su candidato en el programa llamado 'Tomorrow' [Mañana], me convencí de que sus ideas son las únicas cuerdas que he oído en lo que respecta a la 'política'. . . . Tengo diecinueve años y quiero trabajar, pero no he encontrado empleo en ningún lado. Ahora, después de oír a su candidato, sé por qué."—*Chicago, Illinois*.

"Por favor, envíenme información sobre el Socialist Workers Party [Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—SWP]. Los dos partidos principales me revuelven el estómago."—*Pensacola, Florida*.

"Acabo de ver a su candidato presidencial, Peter Camejo, en el programa 'Tomorrow.' Puedo decir honestamente que es la primera vez que un 'político' (si le debo llamar así) discute los problemas que son de verdadera importancia para el pueblo norteamericano."—*New Brunswick, New Jersey*.

* * *

Estos son extractos de algunas de las 3,705 cartas que recibió el Socialist Workers Party tras una sola de las presentaciones de su candidato presidencial, Peter Camejo, en un programa televisado por una emisora nacional—a la 1:30 a.m., el 14 de octubre.

De los autores de las cartas, 999 se han suscrito a *The Militant*. Donaron un total de 3,589 dólares a la campaña socialista.

Este ejemplo muestra el interés que ha surgido entre quienes escucharon a Camejo y Willie Mae Reid, la candidata vicepresidencial del SWP.

A pesar de las enormes dificultades económicas y de los problemas para obtener acceso a la televisión, la radio y la prensa, los seguidores del SWP lograron dar a conocer el programa y los candidatos del partido a millones de norteamericanos.



CAMEJO

A través de una campaña intensa en más de veinticinco estados, Peter Camejo y Willie Mae Reid plantearon la alternativa socialista a los problemas más urgentes de los trabajadores norteamericanos.

Para que los trabajadores cuenten con una voz política independiente, llamaron a la clase obrera a romper con los partidos capitalistas gemelos y a construir su propio partido de masas basado en los sindicatos. Para acabar con el desempleo y la erosión de los salarios reales a causa de la inflación, propusieron una escala móvil de salarios y horas de trabajo, y la distribución del trabajo que se necesita realizar entre todos los que buscan empleo, sin reducción del salario.

Como medida inmediata, llamaron a que se imponga un programa masivo de empleos en el gobierno federal, que se financiaría eliminando el presupuesto militar.

Exigieron la igualdad de derechos y

oportunidades para las mujeres, los negros, chicanos, puertorriqueños, indígenas y todos los oprimidos.

Solidarizándose con la lucha de las mujeres, los dos socialistas hicieron una vigorosa campaña por el derecho al aborto y por la aprobación de una enmienda constitucional que eliminaría cualquier respaldo legal a la discriminación a causa del sexo. Esta enmienda recibe el nombre de Equal Rights Amendment [Enmienda de Igualdad de Derechos—ERA].

Para contrarrestar los ataques contra el nivel de vida de los trabajadores, exigieron el cese de los cortes al presupuesto de servicios sociales y defendieron el derecho de todas las personas a tener vivienda, educación y atención médica de buena calidad.

Desde diciembre de 1974, mucho tiempo antes que sus contrincantes burgueses, el Socialist Workers Party anunció su planilla electoral y empezó a preparar una movilización nacional para superar el primer obstáculo: ganar el derecho a estar en la boleta electoral.

Si bien los candidatos demócratas y republicanos quedan automáticamente en la boleta, cada uno de los cincuenta estados establece arbitrariamente sus propios requisitos que tienen que cumplir los partidos de oposición para que se certifique que son suficientemente "serios" para tener el derecho oficial de aparecer en la boleta electoral. Para cumplir estas restricciones antidemocráticas se necesita realizar un gran esfuerzo organizativo, que muchas veces supera los alcances de los grupos políticos disidentes, lo que en la práctica equivale a privarlos de sus derechos civiles.

En California, para citar un ejemplo, quienes apoyaron la planilla del SWP se vieron obligados a reunirse, en un periodo de unos cuantos meses, la firma de 300,000 votantes registrados para que sus candidatos estatales y nacionales aparecieran en la boleta.

El hecho de que el SWP haya logrado superar estos obstáculos es un indicador de la creciente influencia del partido. En 1968, los candidatos presidenciales del SWP lograron quedar en la boleta electoral en diecinueve estados. En 1972, la cifra aumentó a veinticuatro. Este año el SWP

estuvo en la boleta en veintiocho estados, que agrupan al 72% de la población en edad de votar. En total, quienes apoyaron la campaña del SWP consiguieron la firma de 600,000 norteamericanos que consideraron que el SWP tiene el derecho a estar en la boleta electoral y a que sean escuchados sus puntos de vista.

Las probabilidades a que tuvo que enfrentarse el SWP quedan ilustradas por el hecho de que Ford y Carter gastaron un total de 70 millones de dólares en propaganda para sus campañas (de los cuales 51 millones provenían del erario público, fondos que fueron negados al SWP y a todos los demás partidos anticapitalistas). El SWP, en cambio, realizó toda su campaña de veintidós meses con un presupuesto de aproximadamente 140,000 dólares.

¿Cómo se logró montar una campaña efectiva con fondos relativamente limitados?

Lo más importante fue que la gente estaba abierta para escuchar las ideas socialistas, pues los trabajadores norteamericanos están buscando una salida al estancamiento económico. Esto se reflejó en la acogida que tuvo el "Acta de Derechos del Pueblo Trabajador." En el curso de la campaña, quienes apoyan al SWP distribuyeron más de un millón de copias, en inglés y en español, de esta declaración programática, así como alrededor de un millón más de publicaciones de la campaña.

Se puede comparar esta cifra con las 350,000 copias de la plataforma socialista que se distribuyeron en la campaña presidencial de 1972 y las 108,000 copias distribuidas en 1968.

Otro factor fueron los titulares de primera plana que informaban sobre la demanda legal del SWP y la Young Socialist Alliance [Alianza de la Juventud Socialista—YSA] contra los ataques del FBI y la CIA.

Por ejemplo, cuando el SWP y la YSA exigieron el 4 de septiembre los nombres y expedientes de diecinueve infiltrados del FBI en el movimiento trotskista, esta noticia ocupó los titulares de los periódicos de casi todas las ciudades del país. Artículos de primera plana sobre este desarrollo particular aparecieron en periódicos desde Portland, Oregón, hasta Washington, D.C.

A través del papel que ha jugado al denunciar los crímenes de la policía política norteamericana, el SWP ha ganado un amplio reconocimiento como uno de los principales participantes en la lucha por preservar los derechos democráticos. Este reconocimiento se ha visto reforzado por la publicidad que ha recibido la demanda legal que presentó el SWP contra el carácter antidemocrático de los tres debates presidenciales. El SWP exigió que Camejo y otros candidatos recibieran el mismo tiempo para explicar sus puntos de vista.

Los medios de información controlados por los capitalistas desatendieron la mayor parte de las actividades y declaraciones del SWP. Esto hizo que fuera particularmente importante la distribución del semanario de la campaña, *The Militant*. Durante la campaña presidencial, más de un millón seiscientos mil copias de ese periódico fueron enviadas por correo a los suscriptores o vendidas en las calles.

De esta manera, los seguidores o posibles seguidores del SWP se enteraron de la gira de Camejo a España, donde habló ante miles de personas para exigir la libertad de los presos políticos; de la gira de Willie Mae Reid a Australia y Nueva Zelandia, donde saludó a activistas de la lucha por la liberación de los negros y de los maoríes; de la visita que hizo Camejo a Andrés Figueroa Cordero en la cárcel (Cordero es un nacionalista puertorriqueño y uno de los más antiguos presos políticos de América); y de la visita de Reid a Gary Tyler, un joven negro que está condenado muerte en Louisiana por un crimen que no cometió.

The Militant también informó sobre las actividades y las campañas de más de setenta candidatos del SWP que se presentaron en elecciones locales y estatales en todo el país. Junto con la campaña nacional, estas campañas fueron parte integral del trabajo diario del SWP, pues los candidatos fueron los voceros más efectivos que tuvo el partido para plantear sus perspectivas para la lucha.

Se lograron muchos triunfos, particularmente en el terreno de ganar el apoyo de personas destacadas, de dirigentes de luchas sociales y de sindicatos.

Entre los que hicieron declaraciones públicas apoyando la campaña de Camejo y Reid estuvieron Philip y Daniel Berrigan, activistas contra la guerra de Vietnam; Robert F. Williams, luchador por los derechos civiles; el Premio Nobel Salvador Luria; el director de cine Emile de Antonio; Ralph Schoenman, exdirector de la Fundación Bertrand Russell para la Paz; José Angel Gutiérrez y Mario Compeán, dirigentes chicanos; y Beverly Stewart, copresidente de un local de la National Organization for Women [Organización Nacional de Mujeres—NOW] en Pittsburgh.

Entre los grupos que llamaron a votar por los candidatos del SWP para presidente y vicepresidente estuvieron el Partido de La Raza Unida en Nuevo México, que también organizó actos públicos para Camejo; y Spark, el grupo norteamericano que está asociado con el grupo trotskista francés Lutte Ouvrière.

En algunas ciudades, ciertos sindicatos apoyaron a los candidatos locales. Steve Beumer, candidato del SWP para el comité escolar de Detroit, recibió el apoyo unánime del Local 26 del Amalgamated Transit Union [sindicato de trabajadores del transporte]. Este local representa a 1,400 conductores de autobuses de Detroit, 90% de los cuales son negros.

En San Francisco, tres candidatos del SWP para el comité de supervisores de la ciudad recibieron el apoyo de una rama del Local 535 del Social Services Union [sindicato de trabajadores de servicios sociales]. Roland Sheppard, candidato del SWP para alcalde de San Francisco, fue invitado a hablar ante el San Francisco Building Trades Council [consejo de la construcción de San Francisco], ante dos locales del sindicato de carpinteros, un local del sindicato de empleados de tiendas, y ante su propio local del sindicato de pintores.

En Nueva York, la candidata del SWP al Senado, Marcia Gallo, recibió un apoyo muy poco común a través de una declaración de once mujeres del equipo del semanario liberal *Village Voice*. La declaración, publicada en la columna de cartas de ese periódico el 1 de noviembre, polemizaba con la declaración de apoyo que dio al candidato republicano uno de los principales columnistas del *Voice*. Decían que tampoco podían votar por el candidato demócrata, y anunciaban su intención de votar a favor de Gallo por su firme apoyo a los derechos de las mujeres.

En la izquierda de los Estados Unidos, el reconocimiento que habían ganado los trotskistas en luchas anteriores los colocó en una situación favorable para aprovechar estas nuevas oportunidades. El impacto acumulativo de la participación del SWP en las principales luchas sociales de los años sesenta y setenta permitieron que el partido ganara nuevas fuerzas a sus filas, nuevos aliados y un respeto cada vez mayor.

Esto se reflejó en el fortalecimiento del partido, que estableció cuarenta y cinco nuevas ramas en el curso de la campaña. A su vez, cada una de estas nuevas ramas se convirtió en centro de la actividad de la campaña, permitiendo que el partido llegara a nuevos sectores de la población.

El partido también ha crecido en otros sentidos, como señaló un viejo miembro del SWP en una entrevista con *The Militant*, realizada en el congreso partidario de agosto.

Oscar Coover, militante de mucho tiempo, señaló la experiencia que han ganado cada año los nuevos miembros del SWP en las nuevas situaciones—sindicatos, organizaciones de las comunidades y grupos de mujeres. "En los congresos anteriores," dijo, "la experiencia de muchos de los oradores se limitaba al movimiento contra la guerra. Este año—conforme se abren nuevas oportunidades—las experiencias son ya mucho más amplias.

"Como revolucionarios, nuestros miembros son completos en el mejor sentido de la palabra. Tienen una profunda comprensión de la historia y son ricos en experiencias de lucha."

En las elecciones de 1976, fueron estos atributos los que ayudaron a que la campaña del SWP sea motivo de orgullo para todo el movimiento trotskista. □

FROM OUR READERS

C.E.R. of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, writes: "Readers of *Intercontinental Press* will be interested to know that 'We Almost Lost Detroit,' reviewed in the March 1, 1976 *IP*, is available in paperback at U.S.\$1.95 from Ballantine Books, 201 East 50th Street, New York, NY 10022.

"The book is a factual and quite frankly frightening account of a near-disaster at an atomic energy plant just 30 miles from the fifth largest city in the United States [Detroit, Michigan].

"It seems ludicrous that the ruling class spends so much on deadly sources of energy such as nuclear power while doing next to nothing about developing solar and wind energy. I hope that *IP* will analyze this situation in a future issue."

F.F. of Jersey City, New Jersey, comments on David Frankel's article "Behind the Vote for Carter," which appeared in our November 15 issue:

"It was an excellent job of explaining how the elections reflect the political situation in the United States today, and how the deepening discontent of the American people tried to find some expression in choosing between the Republican and Democratic nonentities.

"The treatment of the 'solid South' vote for Carter was especially useful. In reality, as Frankel showed, the vote was another indication of the difficulties the ruling class and the government are going to face in trying to roll back the gains of the Black struggle. If the full weight of the supporters of civil rights and Black liberation is brought to bear, they can't succeed."

In a letter to Gerry Foley concerning his article "French CP Leader Scores Kremlin's Treatment of Dissidents," in our November 8 issue, D.F. of Toronto, Canada writes:

"In your otherwise excellent and informative article on the French CP's attend-

ance at the Paris protest against political repression, there is, I think, a small error of fact. In the box accompanying the article, Charles Tillon is described as a 'veteran of the sailors' revolt in the French fleet sent to the Black Sea to support the forces fighting the Red Army in the Russian civil war.'

"Isn't that a reference to André Marty, not Charles Tillon?"

We are grateful to D.F. for clarifying Tillon's role in the sailors' rebellions against French intervention in the Russian civil war. He points out that Tillon was imprisoned for trying to lead a demonstration of sailors to demand that they be returned home, when their ship was in the Adriatic. This action was in response to the news of the mutiny in the Black Sea, led by André Marty.

H.S., Tokyo, writes to express appreciation for the volumes of *Intercontinental Press* 1967 through 1972 ordered and received.

"Everything is in quite good order," he says, "even a small crack is not to be found.

"Those issues are really valuable for me because I'm going to collect the whole and continuous publications concerning the F.I. and the SWP."

In another letter from Tokyo, a reader informs us that "Judy White's recent article on repression in Argentina has been translated into Japanese, and will be printed in *Sekai Kakumei*."

The article referred to, "Mario Roberto Santucho Murdered by Junta," appeared in our August 2 issue.

J.W.E. and S.W.E. of Berkeley, California, sent this note with their renewal subscription:

"I.P. is the *only* news analysis that we

trust to be accurate and at the same time politically *CORRECT*."

Complaints about the Postal Service are becoming more varied.

For instance, a letter we sent by airmail to Costa Rica on April 23, 1976, was returned to the United States in "May 1976." But the letter wasn't returned to our office until early November. On the back of the envelope was this notice:

"Found in supposedly empty equipment—mailbag repair center & depository, Nov 1 1976, Edgewater, N.J. 07020."

And then there's the "mangler"—the \$950 million national Bulk Mail System, a network of 21 automated parcel processing plants throughout the country—that is destroying 75 million parcels a year. According to the manager of claims, inquiries, and undeliverable mail at the General Post Office in New York City, the "mangler" is "an attempt by the Post Office to modernize . . . and become a part of the 20th century."

A notice mailed in Los Angeles, California, on August 7, 1976, suggesting among other things that we "VOTE 'NO' on the police tax override in November! Not a dollar for police expansion in Elysian Park!" was received by us on November 10. So how could we get to Los Angeles in time to vote on November 2? That's one for the postal authorities to answer.

Delay in delivery sometimes invokes picturesque language as you can see from the letter sent us by D.G. of Cambridge, Massachusetts:

"Sorry to keep harassing you, but I haven't got an *IP* since the 9/27 issue!—is it me—or you—or the goddamn fucking P.O.?"

On the other hand D.G. of Ithaca, New York, seems to be getting a case of nerves: "I can't stand it. The U.S. Post Office keeps sending my sub 3 weeks late."

Then there's the eloquent comment of Parker's "Wizard of Id" shown below. □

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Parker/New York Post