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The New Course in Czechoslovakia

Toward Workers Councils?

KOSYGIN: Another Hungary?

**Dangerous Racist Trend
in Britain**

**MPI Convention Discusses
Puerto Rican Independence**



DUBCEK: In—for how long?

NOVOTNY: Out—definitively?

The Rebellion at Columbia University

JAPANESE STUDENTS RESPOND TO AMERICAN APPEAL FOR VIETNAM STRIKE

There was a large and militant response in Japan to the American appeal for an international student strike against the Vietnam war April 26. The April 27 Japan Times reported that classes were boycotted at sixteen universities. According to the Times, universities participating in the strike included Hokkaido, Kyoto, Kyushu, and a number of private schools.

No figures were given for the number of students boycotting classes, but police estimated those participating in rallies at 15,000. The Times said that there were "anti-war rallies and marches held in 64 places in 33 prefectures." Police arrested 129 students during the demonstrations.

The Japan Times described the demonstrations in Tokyo where 3,300 reportedly took part:

"One unidentified coed, believed to be a Waseda University student, was hospitalized with broken ribs and facial bruises.

"About 2,000 militant students of the Sampa Rengo (Three Faction Alliance) group of Zengakuren gathered at Meiji Park in the afternoon and marched toward

the Defense Agency at Ichigaya, Shinjuku Ward. Of this group, about 800 Shagakudo (Socialist Students' League) students charged into a cordon of riot police who had taken their positions at the Kitaooyama 1-chome intersection to block the students' march.

"The students...were turned back after a pitched battle lasting an hour."

Elsewhere in Tokyo more than 1,000 students assembled at Hibiya Park at 4 p.m. and marched to the U.S. embassy where they staged a sit-in that lasted until 6 p.m. when they were driven out by police.

A group of ninety Americans living in Japan also demonstrated against U.S. intervention in Vietnam April 26.

About half of them were women, coming from International Christian University, Sophia University, and Waseda University. Dr. Hallam Shorrocks, vice-dean of ICU, urged the group in an address to stand up for peace. "Shorrocks, a former U.S. Navy officer," said the Japan Times, "told the gathering that the American war efforts in Vietnam could not be justified from historical, legal, military, political, economic and moral standpoints."

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Paris 10, France. INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Copyright © 1968 by Intercontinental Press.

FRED HALSTEAD HAILS COURAGE OF GI DEMONSTRATORS

[The following is the transcript of the speech made by Fred Halstead, candidate of the Socialist Workers party for president of the United States, at the April 27 antiwar rally in San Francisco. Next to the one in New York, this was the biggest demonstration in the country. It was particularly significant because of the number of GI's on active duty who participated.]

[Among some of the sponsors, there was fear that the forthright SWP candidate might "lose" or "alienate" the crowd because of his revolutionary-socialist program.]

[As it turned out, Halstead's speech received the most enthusiastic reception of all those made. When he finished, the crowd of 30,000 persons gave him a standing ovation.]

* * *

Ed Farley, cochairman of the April 27 Committee: Our next speaker, a leader of the antiwar movement in New York City. He has been active in the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, active in the demonstration April 15 last year and in the October 21 demonstration at the Pentagon. At present, he is running for president on the Socialist Workers party ticket with Paul Boutelle. It is my pleasure to introduce Fred Halstead.

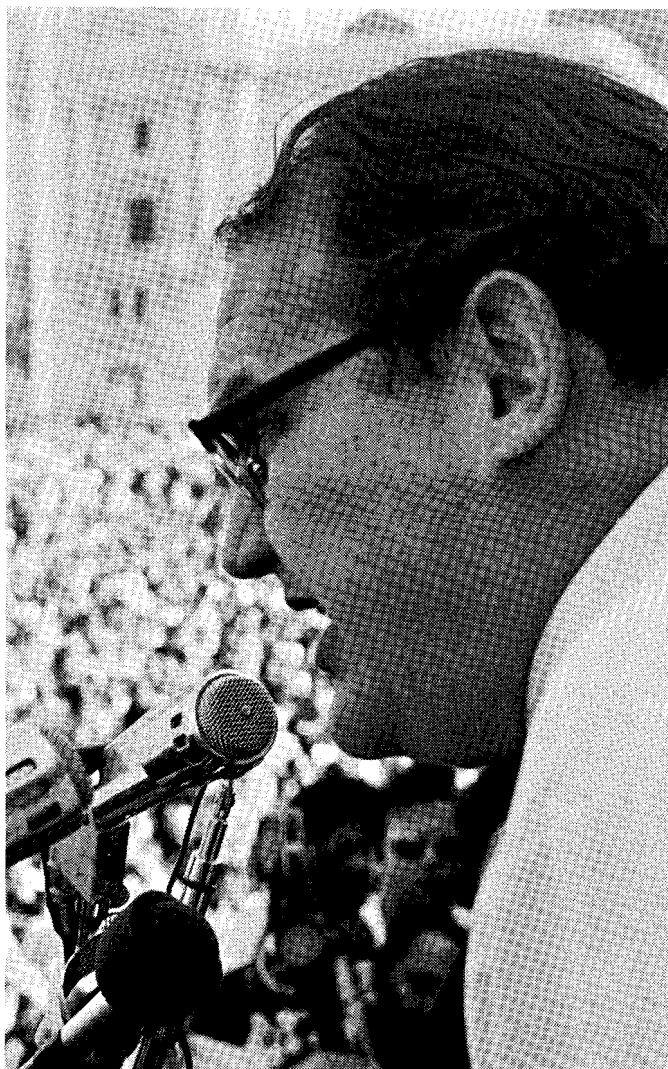
Halstead: Okay. You know Johnson announced his withdrawal from the race, and started making peace noises, and we have a proliferation now of so-called peace candidates. But the B-52's are still raining death on Vietnam. And now they are doing it close to the environs of Saigon.

There have been more than 700 GI's killed since Johnson made that statement, and who knows how many Vietnamese.

Now, we are told that we can't get out of there now, that we have to negotiate, and that we have to stay there because we've got to somehow shore up the Thieu-Ky regime so they can carry on the war themselves.

Well, let me read you a little item about that regime and the recent elections there: "The elections here were a loss of time and money. They were a joke. They have served to install a regime that has nothing in common with the people -- a useless, corrupt regime." End quote.

And that is a quote from Marshall Ky himself. That's right -- as it appeared



SWP PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

in a March 31 AP dispatch describing an interview in Stern magazine of West Germany.

Now, we're supposed to expend GI's lives to shore up that regime. Let me tell you that that's not exactly why they are expending GI's lives. They are being expended to save face for some cheap politicians who first got us in there because they were sending the American military around the world to defend Big Business. [Applause.]

And that's a very poor reason to lose 21,000 young men dead, and it's a very poor reason to kill all those Vietnamese. We don't own that country. And we never did. And we never will. And we shouldn't. [Cheers.] It doesn't belong to us. And the fighting over there is not in our interest and it has absolutely nothing to do with the defense of this coun-

try. Absolutely nothing. As a matter of fact, it's a big fat negative.

I happen to be a resident of New York City. And, frankly, while I support the Chinese revolution, I take a dim view of any H-bomb, even China's, that might be pointed at the city where I live. It's a personal matter. [Laughter.]

And when I see this government over there on China's borders, prodding her, insisting that China understand that the U.S. is her mortal enemy, then I wonder what a Chinese thinks. And I wonder if they don't feel some necessity and some justification for developing that ICBM and pointing it at New York City. [Applause.]

And I ask, what has that provocation got to do with my defense? Or the defense of you, or of the rest of the American people. And what has it got to do with the defense of the families of the GI's that are over there? Or with the defense of the GI's?

It has absolutely nothing. It is a negative as far as our defense is concerned.

Admiral True pointed out that in the past, this country did not have a tradition of a permanent draft. We have one now. When I was a child in the 1930's and someone suggested we have that -- occasionally somebody did -- you'd look at him like he was some kind of a nut.

We don't need that kind of thing to defend this country and we never did. The reason we have it now is because we're all over the world defending these private-profit interests and future investment possibilities. [Cheers.] Trying to put down other peoples' revolutions. And that isn't making it any safer for us.

You know, the people with white skin, like mine happens to be, are not a majority in this world. And what this government and what this ruling class is doing is not making it any safer for us.

Those people have got a right to make their revolutions after their own fashion. As we have done -- and, incidentally, will do -- in this country. [Cheers.]

They say if we don't stop communism over there, we'll have to stop it here. If we don't stop them over there, we'll have to stop 'em here. They'll be climbing up the beaches of Los Angeles. Who? The Vietnamese? [Cries of "No!"] The Chinese? [Cries of "No!"]

They've been growing in numbers, 10, these many years; and they still

don't have troops outside their own country. Unless you consider Tibet not to be part of China, and you'd have to argue that with Chiang Kai-shek as well as Mao. [Laughter.]

But we have ours all over the world. And that's wrong.

And it's not in our interest, and it's not in our defense, and it's an abuse of our young men facing the draft, and it's an abuse of our young GI's in the army, and the navy and the marines and the air force. [Wild cheers.] It's an abuse.

The other day, General Eisenhower wistfully said: "Where is the old courage? Where is the old patriotism? Where is the old honor?"

I'll tell you where it is. It's right here. [Wild cheers.] It's right here. It's right here. It's in Admiral True. That's where it is. And it's in these young kids out here. That's where it is. And it's in these GI's who came on this demonstration. That's courage! [Wild, prolonged applause and cheers.]

And it doesn't take any courage for a fat politician to stand up in Congress and say, "Let's support our GI's by sending more of them to die over there." Or by voting more money to kill more Vietnamese and endanger more GI's lives.

You want to support our GI's? Get them home; and get 'em home now! [Cheers.]

The antiwar movement supports the GI's -- the independent movements growing up outside of the corporate power structure, which gets rich off these wars, supports our GI's.

Get out and talk to the GI's. They listen. And they want to know that they've got people supporting them.

And the way we're going to end this war: We don't have to wait till the election. And we shouldn't quit then either. But we don't even have to wait until then necessarily. If we stay in the streets and if the GI's keep coming on demonstrations. And if we get out and talk to them, and if we talk to the young men that are facing the draft. And if we keep building that pressure, then we can stop the war. Not by trusting some other liberal Democratic or Republican politician. [Applause, cheers.]

There is a precedent for this sort of thing. I was in the navy at the end of the second world war, and when it was over they put us in China. I had never heard of the civil war in China until I found myself involved in it. A slight oversight, I figured, on the part of my

government.

But there began a movement among GI's in the Pacific to get out of there. It was a massive movement. Thousands demonstrated -- in uniform, technically in time of war, and even in a shooting situation. That's right. And wrote letters, and petitions to all kinds of people back home, who went to Congress and to any official they could find and put on all kinds of pressure.

And it became very clear that the authorities were going to lose something a great deal more than what they expected to gain over there if they didn't pull us out. And they did pull us out.

Now, I'm not advocating that GI's do anything that's going to subject themselves to court-martial or anything like that. I'm just citing a historic precedent. [Laughter.]

Now, have a little confidence in yourselves. Take a look at this crowd. They haven't fooled anybody. The people are going to stay in the streets. The antiwar movement is going to continue to grow, and the pressure is going to continue to mount.

We're not going to go for any austerity program or "no strike" pledge for this war or for any other imperialist adventures around the world. [Applause.] We're going to keep the pressure on until they bring the GI's home, and until they

spend the billions of dollars being wasted on war over there over here where they are needed on these central cities. [Applause, cheers.]

Don't get fooled. Don't get sucked back into their structure. Stay independent. Stay in the streets. Build black power. [Cheers.] Build brown power. [Cheers.] Chicano power. [Mounting cheers.] Student power. High school student power. Independent political action. Labor power. [Cheers interrupt speech.]

I'd like to see some more labor unions out here next time. If you've got any friends in labor unions, talk to them. Tell 'em, Where are they? Why aren't there more of them out here?

Go into your own unions. Raise it on the floor. Don't take no for an answer. George Meany doesn't speak for you any more than Johnson does. [Wild cheers.]

Have a little confidence in yourselves. Have a little confidence in your kind. Yes, and have a little confidence in your country. Because your country isn't those big businesses. And it's not that white capitalist power structure. It's right out here. It's right out here. [Cheers.]

Keep building that independent power and we'll end this war and make this country a decent place to live in. And if that be revolution, make the most of it. [Prolonged wild cheers, standing ovation.]

ISRAELI COPS ATTACK ARAB WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION IN JERUSALEM

Israeli police in occupied Jerusalem attacked and brutally dispersed a peaceful demonstration by Arab women April 25. The women were protesting the decision of the Zionists to stage a massive military parade through the Arab sector of Jerusalem to mark the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel May 2. The parade was finally held in the face of a demand by the United Nations that it be cancelled.

James Feron, writing from Jerusalem in the April 26 New York Times, described the protest by the Arab women:

"The women, dressed in black and carrying placards, had intended to submit a petition against the parade to military Government officials in the former Jordanian sector.

"They had walked only a few hundred yards along Saladin Street, one of the busiest thoroughfares in the Arab sector, when they were stopped by policemen one block short of the military Govern-

ment headquarters.

"The police informed the women they were violating the law, since they had no permit for such a demonstration. Told to go home, the women shouted that the Arab sector was their home.

"The police then began to tear the placards and banners from the women and to push them from the street. The women resisted and within minutes the street was the scene of a shrieking melee.

"Sticks broken in the struggle were used as clubs. The fighting spread to the sidewalks and later to a side street, near the Ritz Hotel, when some of the marchers tried to regroup."

The Israelis arrested eleven women, including the wife of the former Jordanian governor of Jerusalem and their 23-year-old daughter. Two men were arrested merely for having "shouted encouragement from the sidewalk."

PALESTINE AND THE ARAB REVOLUTION

An Interview with Lotfallah Soliman

[The following interview, granted by Lotfallah Soliman to Guy Desolre, has been translated from the May 4 issue of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche.

[Lotfallah Soliman was in Brussels in March at a seminar on the Palestinian problem sponsored by the Arab Student Union. He also participated at the time in a discussion on the Arab revolution conducted by the Etudiants Arabes [Arab Students] and the Etudiants Socialistes [Socialist Students].

[A well-known Arab intellectual, Lotfallah Soliman began his political life in the International League Against Anti-Semitism in 1937. In 1946, he founded the Workers and Students Committee which participated in the struggle against the regime of King Farouk. Following the victory of the Algerian revolution over French imperialism in 1962, he worked in Algiers on the paper El Moudjahid. At present he lives in Paris where he writes for the magazine Trois Continents [Three Continents]. In a special issue of Les Temps Modernes dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict, he contributed an essay entitled "Le Transfer de Culpabilité." (Transfer of Guilt.)]

* * *

Question: Although you are Egyptian, you insist on speaking as an Arab militant. Why is that?

Answer: Never has the feeling of being Arab shown itself as strongly as since June 5. As a result of the June crisis, people from geographically distant places, who used to see questions in terms of their country's separate, parochial development, found themselves to be Arabs. Today they are discovering themselves to be Arabs.

For example, before June, Moroccan friends of mine spoke of Mehdi Ben Barka as a tricontinental hero, as a Third World martyr, a Moroccan martyr, but not as an Arab. Today this is no longer true. In Algeria, there used to be a lot of talk about "Algeria's special character." Today Algeria defines itself as Arab.

This consciousness, or rather this acquisition of consciousness, is becoming a reality today. I can cite examples of meetings in Paris, Aix-en-Provence, and elsewhere in France in which I have taken part. The participants in these meetings no longer felt themselves Egyptians, Yemenites, or Tunisians, etc...but Arabs, and they approached questions as Arabs.

People used to talk about "solidarity" with Palestine. Today that is a thing of the past! They can feel solidarity with the revolutionaries in Bolivia but the problem they feel in connection with Palestine is one of engaging in a fight. How can we be of use to El Fatah? That is how they pose the question.

Q: Why do you believe, Lotfallah Soliman, that this Arabism must be accepted?

A: I accept Arabism because I accept the objectives of the Arab revolution. There are classes in the Arab countries which live off the existing fragmentation, which want to maintain the status quo, and which profit from it. But, taken separately, our countries cannot be independent.

Q: You mentioned El Fatah. Could you tell me what this organization is?

A: El Fatah is the reversed initials* of "Palestinian Liberation Movement" [HTF in Arabic].

El Fatah and its paramilitary organization El Assifah were created well before the June 5 war with the aim of liberating occupied Palestine. As an organization, El Fatah arose around 1963-64. El Assifah began its activities toward the end of 1964 or the beginning of 1965. Initially, its objective was to prevent the Palestinian problem from being forgotten or from being used simply as a political pawn by various Arab countries.

The instructions which were given to the commandos told them never to attack the Jewish population or to attack it as little as possible. At the beginning, El Fatah worked by infiltration, since the Arab population had largely been driven from the Israeli-occupied territory.

Israel based itself on the principle that the Palestinian problem had been completely eliminated. Palestine was wiped off the map. It was replaced by Israel and Jordan, the latter being only an outgrowth of Transjordan, which moreover had itself been carved out of Palestine by a British decision. Having become refugees, the Palestinian Arabs were to be both absorbed and policed by

* Arabic is written from right to left and in general only the consonants are written.

the countries in which they took refuge.

This was the Israeli view; but it must be said that certain Arab countries took the same view of this problem. El Fatah was created precisely to remind both of them that a national community cannot be wiped off the map by a decision of alien authorities.

By reminding them of the existence of the Palestinian community, El Fatah found itself in conflict with these countries, so that it had not only to combat Israel and the Israeli view but also some if not all of the Arab countries and their view of the Palestine problem. And this was true up to June 5.

Before June 5, El Fatah lost more men to the Arab security forces than to the Israeli security forces. And even recently (this interview was given at the end of March), King Hussein of Jordan tried to act against El Fatah. He was not able to do so because, in the eyes of the Arab masses, El Fatah represents the will not to capitulate. King Hussein's own apparatus did not respond to his orders.

After two months and a new aggression, the whole world could see that dual power existed in Jordan. On Friday, March 22, it was the militants of El Fatah, armed and in uniform, who guarded the approaches to the Karameh camp and maintained security within it.

That same Friday, it was also the commandos of El Fatah who carried the coffins of the Karameh victims to Amman. The dignitaries of the Hashemite regime were obliged to follow the cortege; and, changing his mind after a few weeks interval, King Hussein found himself compelled to declare himself "the first of the Fedayeen."

Q: Has this also had repercussions in other Arab countries besides Jordan?

A: The development of the Arab resistance removed any inclinations toward compromise which might otherwise have appeared in the other neighboring countries and which did show up following the June war. More precisely, there was in my opinion a cause-and-effect relationship between the development of the resistance movement and the radicalization in the UAR and Syria.

In the case of Syria, it is a clear fact that the present governmental team, which constitutes a radical elite, was not completely representative of the society. It is apparent that there are pressure groups in Syrian society, the bourgeois and merchant classes, which, helped by the June defeat, had regained sufficient strength to challenge the

team in power. There is no doubt that the growth of the resistance caused these groups to lose ground. They can no longer offer any opposition except by wearing a false mask, by presenting themselves as more intransigent still; and this is the phenomenon which is occurring.

In Egypt, there is a possibility that if the resistance had not developed at the rate it has Nasser would have had to yield and the pro-American wing represented by Zachariah Mohieddine would not have been eliminated.

Q: Lotfallah Soliman, you are the author of an essay entitled "Transfer of Guilt," which deals with shifting onto the Arabs the responsibility for the Hitlerite genocide against the Jews.

This transfer of guilt is subjectively and even unconsciously at the root of the sympathy which Israel has enjoyed in Europe, including in progressive circles.

Do you think that Israel's present reprisals and its attacks on the refugees can open their eyes today, open their conscience?

A: Israel cannot attack the resistance of the commandos without attacking the population and without incurring the guilt of genocide. But this fact is not new. Israel and the Zionist movement in general were always by nature racist. The Zionist movement knew nothing of the Arabs' existence and when it discovered it, it realized that it could not live [except by getting rid of them] that it is a question of "them or us."

During what they call the "war of independence," the Zionists and the embryonic state of Israel consciously pursued a policy which could be termed genocide. But instead of committing cold-blooded murder like Hitler, they forced an exodus.

From the outset, Israel pursued a policy of liquidation; but instead of making the Palestinian Arabs into soap it made them into refugees. There is not a great deal of difference. Sociologically speaking, it is the same phenomenon, except that they kept 250,000 Arabs -- whose activities were kept under close surveillance to assure their harmlessness -- just as the Americans kept some Indians on reservations.

Today, the policy is the same but the situation is different because Israel has "inherited" Arab-occupied territories. In these circumstances, the resistance cannot but be a popular phenomenon. The only way to eradicate it is to attack the people. Thus, this genocide will continue.

In a few days, on April 10, we are

going to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the massacre of Deir Yassin, a Palestinian village where women, old people, and children were massacred along with able-bodied men. This Palestinian Oradour had the same objective as its historic predecessor in the rise of the term "genocide," forcing the people to flee by a few such small operations.

Q: Where will the struggle to liberate Palestine end? You know that in Europe this struggle has often been understood as a holy war to "drive the Jews into the sea." Certain statements by Palestinian leaders like Shukeiry have been quoted in this regard.

A: Many of us fought against Shukeiry. You know that today he no longer heads the Palestinian Liberation Organization. It is true that these threats had a very great psychological role. But this is primarily because they wanted this to be so. Such irresponsible statements have been made in every war. During the war against fascist Germany, Ilya Ehrenburg said, "The only good Germans are dead Germans." Yet this was by no means a reason to give up supporting the Soviet Union against the Nazis.

We are agreed that Palestine will belong to all those who want to live there and are willing to share the fate of the country as Palestinians. But there are few who accept this idea in Israel. The example of the "petits blancs" [poor whites] in Algeria shows that those who do will not be numerous.

Q: In your essay published in "Les Temps Modernes," you wrote before the June war that victory by the Arab revolutionaries was becoming POSSIBLE. You explained to me that you think that the June war and the Palestinian resistance can serve to speed this victory. But how do you conceive of the victory of the Arab revolution?

A: I must first define the objectives of the Arab revolution. I have an international view of the revolution, a conception which flows from an analysis of the present stage of capitalist development. The capitalist world market and the laws which govern it are a reality. These laws can only be combated and replaced on a world scale. Until these laws can be changed internationally, the immediate objective of revolutionaries and revolutions is to strengthen those international forces which seek to replace these laws.

On the basis of this analysis, then, I define the short- and intermediate-term objectives of revolutionaries in

the Arab countries not as building socialism -- an objective I consider impossible except on a worldwide basis -- but as strengthening those forces which in power or opposition seek to combat these laws. Thus, in the short- and mid-term, the objectives I attribute to the Arab revolution and to Arab revolutionaries are those of anti-imperialist struggle.

But when I say "anti-imperialist struggle," I am not indulging in metaphysical or moralistic phrases. Since imperialism is an economic, political, and social reality, we must define the imperialist interests in our region precisely and exactly and define ourselves in regard to these interests.

You must not simply verbally declare yourself anti-imperialist. You must combat the economic and political interests of imperialism in the region in practice. It is impossible to call yourself anti-imperialist and at the same time defend or plead neutrality toward the oil interests or the Arab groups or social classes which profit from these imperialist interests.

If the Arab feudalists and bourgeois layers could successfully lead the struggle against imperialism, I would be ready to consider them sincere and honest anti-imperialist forces. But they are incapable of this because their interests are bound up with those of the imperialists. Arab revolutionaries can combat imperialism effectively only by successfully struggling against the Arab allies of these interests.

Therefore, after defining the objectives of the Arab revolution, we can come back to the question of its nature and say that its characteristics will be: that it will be Arab, because it will be a popular revolution; it will be unifying, because it will be opposed to the classes which live off the present fragmentation; and it will be socialist, because in opposing imperialism and the interests linked to it, it will challenge the laws governing the capitalist system and the world market.

When I say that possibilities exist for the victory of the revolutionary forces in Egypt and Syria and in certain other Arab regions, this is precisely because in the historical development of the class struggle in these countries over the last twenty years the process of eliminating the Arab allies of the imperialist interests has been begun with a certain success. This success is still not complete, however, and that is why I have not spoken of victory but only of possible victory.

POLICE ATTACK APRIL 27 ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION IN TORONTO

Toronto

The demonstration here on April 27 in solidarity with the International Day of Protest was a big success -- despite divisions in the Toronto antiwar movement which came into the open with President Johnson's so-called peace bid.

About 1,000 people, mainly youth gathered at city hall and marched to the U.S. consulate. Their colorful banners read, "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now," "End Canadian Complicity," and "Vietnamese Self-Determination Is Not Negotiable."

At the consulate, police refused to let the demonstrators use the sound amplifier system or hold a rally. The cops rode their horses into the crowd, breaking it up and throwing confusion into the march. Their pretext was the phony claim that they were preventing a fight between the demonstrators and about forty prowar pickets on the sidewalk in front of the consulate (mostly emigrés from East Europe).

Nine antiwar demonstrators were arrested, most of them charged with "disturbing the peace."

Parade marshals quickly reassembled their forces, who then headed for Queen's Park, seat of the Ontario government. Here, their ranks swelled by now to almost 2,000, they conducted their rally.

The original plans for April 27 of the Spring Mobilization Committee, representing the thirty-one organizations sponsoring the march, called only for a march to the consulate. However, a couple of weeks before the demonstration, an ad hoc group of individuals from the old pre-Vietnam pacifist movement and the Communist party announced they would hold a "Sunshine Teach-in" at Queen's Park at the same time as the other demonstration.

While the SMC's protest was projected in a framework of solidarity with the international antiwar movement, around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U.S. and allied troops, and opposition to the Canadian government's complicity in the war, the "Sunshiners'" theme was "Encourage peace negotiations in Vietnam."

Their leaflet, which renamed the International Day of Protest the "Day of Pressure and Protest," said nothing about the criminal actions of American and Canadian governments in Vietnam. Instead, it even advocated the proposal that "Canada can have an important role (in a negotiated solution)...supervising the withdrawal

of foreign troops and the holding of national elections."

This splitting action reflected the unhappiness which the old "peace" movement and the CP have felt about the withdrawal slogan and the increasing fire which the movement has directed against Ottawa's role in the war.

Canada has continually covered up U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, while at the same time soliciting multi-million-dollar arms contracts for Canadian industry in the U.S. Johnson's latest "peace" maneuver gave the CP and its allies a new pretext to push their line of conciliation with imperialism and offer friendly advice to the Liberal government.

However, this attempted counter-demonstration did not succeed in diverting the main body of the movement, united behind the Spring Mobilization Committee, from the central action.

By carrying its demonstration from the consulate to Queen's Park to merge with the teach-in, which attracted a few hundred persons, the SMC showed its willingness to go more than halfway to achieve unity in order to build a mass movement against the war on the basis of a united, nonexclusionist perspective.

A different attempt to divert the demonstration from the themes of withdrawal and an end to government complicity came from a small group of adventurist elements, the "Canadians for the National Liberation Front." Their banners substituted the slogan, "Victory for the NLF." They marched at the rear of the demonstration, under their own banners.

The Sunshiners' first reaction to the SMC rally in the park was to try to drown its speakers out with their own sound system. However, confronted by the superior numbers, and serious, indignant spirit of the SMC rally, they were forced to relent, and SMC Executive Secretary Ken Warren, who also heads the Canadian Committee for the War Crimes Tribunal, was permitted to speak.

Other speakers at the united rally were Andrew Brewin, M.P., foreign affairs critic of the New Democratic party; David Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO); and a Vietnamese professor presently teaching in Canada. The latter summed up the majority feeling at the rally when he said the only "negotiations" which could be consistent with the Vietnamese peoples' right of self-determination would be the negotiation of complete U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam.

DANGEROUS RACIST TREND IN BRITAIN

By Peter Peterson

London

The events following the April 20 speech of Enoch Powell, a racist leader of the extreme right wing of the Tory party, show the danger in Britain of the emergence of organised ultraright tendencies with mass support.

The fact that up to 3,000 dockers came out on strike April 23 in support of Powell after the Conservative leadership had sacked him from his "shadow cabinet" post, proves that the virus of racialism has infected sections of the working class generally thought to be the most militant.

The strike of the dockers was by no means an isolated example. There were many other smaller actions. And the Smithfield Market porters -- another sector recognized for its militancy -- marched to the house of Commons April 24 led by an avowed fascist.

These events have shocked the left; and there is much talk of a repetition of the bitter experiences of the late twenties and early thirties.

However, the response of the left to the danger has been pitifully weak so far. A demonstration called by the Young Communist League on April 28, the Sunday following Powell's speech, which had been plugged every day by the Morning Star, the daily newspaper of the Communist party, attracted only 2,000 youth. Despite the large number of industrial militants in the Communist party there was not one single trade-union banner in the demonstration.

Part of the explanation for the lack of response lies in the political line put forward -- calling upon the Labour government to impeach Powell.

In fact, by concentrating their fire on Powell, the Communist party and other segments of the left are in a certain way covering up for Wilson. Without doubt the main responsibility for the growth of racialism in the British working class lies with Wilson, particularly because his government continually capitulates to racialism.

The last time Powell went on the warpath -- over the fact that Kenyan Asians could enter Britain without restriction because they had British passports -- the Wilson administration ended up adopting his policy. They pushed through a bill which specifically discrim-

inates against people of non-British origin.

The next major responsibility lies with the traditional left in Britain which abandoned the fight to reverse Labour's official racist policy. This disgraceful behaviour, which was just one facet of their general failure to fight Wilsonism, has meant that racialism has become the policy of the Labour party by default.

The reception given Powell's speech may be explained by the anxieties felt by millions of workers over their jobs, living standards, housing conditions and general standard of living. Because the official left has failed to fight on these issues, they see no alternative to Wilson; therefore, when somebody speaks out in a firm, clear voice there is a response. The dockers said to themselves: "At last someone has spoken out about what was worrying us."

It is tragic that no one who is an acknowledged leader of the traditional left has spoken out in clear and precise terms about launching a struggle against the Labour government's wage policies. Even Hugh Scanlon, among the best of the trade-union leaders, was careful to say that the "alternative to Wilson is a Tory government" when making an otherwise quite militant speech at the conference of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering and Foundry Workers.

Because the traditional left has failed, the duty of responding to the dangerous situation has been placed upon the shoulders of small groups of Marxists.

One such grouping, which formerly published The Week, distributed the following leaflet in the name of its new monthly journal, International:

"Enoch Powell's racist speech in Birmingham last week-end and the subsequent support for his policies, are symptoms of the total rottenness, corruption and instability of British capitalism in its present economic impasse.

"Race prejudice is carefully nurtured by the British ruling class, just barely under the surface of 'respectable' society, to be exploded into epidemic proportions when the capitalist system is faced with difficulties, such as exist now.

"The response to Powell's speech -- especially among dockers -- should be

regarded by all socialists with alarm: it is the first time in decades that the reactionary wing of the ruling class has won the support of an organised section of the working class, even if only temporarily.

"These developments should be a warning to those 'left' M.P.s who have justified their restraint in fighting Wilson with the argument that they did not wish to see him replaced by the Tories. Because of the traditional left's passivity, the workers see no alternative to Wilson. In the general contempt that is developing for the Parliamentary game, it is inevitable that right-wingers, such as Powell will seek to win support for their reactionary and racist ideas. Their very decisiveness attracts.

"For the right-wing Tories, the field is open. In order to counter them, it is absolutely essential that trade unionists and socialists make no compromise whatsoever to prejudice and reactionary moods. The left must make the maximum effort to mobilise support outside Parliament to isolate the racists and render them ineffective. Mass demonstrations -- all over the country -- are very important in this.

"All socialists should declare as a first priority their defence of the immigrant community against right-wing attacks. This means open condemnation of racials, especially those in the working-class movement. It can be expected that the racist propaganda of today will be followed by rightist hooliganism against the immigrants tomorrow. Socialists should support those immigrants who create their own organs of struggle and defence -- they should reject that propaganda coming from some 'lefts' that Black Power equals white racism. If it is necessary to crack a few heads to ensure the proper defence of the immigrants, then it must be done.

"Already frightening comparisons are being made with Germany during the rise of fascism. The conclusions are obvious: Britain's coloured immigrants can serve the same function for the British

ruling class as did the Jews for the German capitalist class. There is nothing these people love better than a scapegoat with which to divide and destroy the trade unions. They are particularly apt to do this as we appear to be on the eve of mass struggles against the wage freeze and other policies of the Government (for instance, in engineering).

"Full responsibility for this ugly upsurge rests with the Wilson Government. Because it has rejected socialist options, it is forced to attack the working class. It has reduced the standard of living of the workers without making any attack on the bosses. It has capitulated time and time again to the racials' pressure. The last example being when it gave in on the question of the Kenyan Asians. By doing this it both legalised and made official racialism. It is entirely to blame if dockers and others follow in the wake. If its record is anything to go by we can expect it to give in again under the pressure generated by Powell's speech.

"United front committees should be established in every town. These should be non-exclusive and reflect the growing unity of action on such matters as Vietnam (witness: V.S.C.)."

The sponsors of the leaflet played a key part in launching the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign [VSC] which has scored resounding successes in mobilizing the anti-war movement in Britain. They are confident that a united front against the growth of racialism can be built.

What is needed is a clear-cut militant policy (not one which calls upon the state machine to do a job that must be done by the workers themselves), unity with and support for the Black Power movements which are now growing, and a non-exclusive but dynamic organisation which will direct itself towards the organised working class.

Just now the various left groups are propagandising the idea, rather than launching an organisation. That such an organisation will emerge there can be no doubt.

HUGE MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION IN JAPAN

An estimated 6,000,000 workers participated in the May Day celebration in Japan, turning out in 1,093 different towns and cities.

In Tokyo, the estimated crowd was 200,000 persons. In the Kyushu and Yamaguchi prefectural districts, the figure was 800,000 participants. Some of the main slogans dealt with the rising cost

of living, but opposition to the war in Vietnam was also a prominent theme.

The highlight at the Tokyo rally was three representatives from North Vietnam. They were enthusiastically welcomed by the huge crowd when they were introduced by Chairman Toshikatsu Horii of the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo).

VIETNAM SOLIDARITY CONVENTION HELD IN BOMBAY

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

Former Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon told a "Vietnam Solidarity Convention" held in Bombay April 12 that the American troops must be immediately and unconditionally pulled out of Vietnam as the basis of any settlement of the Vietnam war.

Referring to the offer made by President Johnson to negotiate "peace" with Hanoi, Menon said that it was the result of the growing antiwar movement in the United States led by intellectuals, students and black freedom fighters. He, however, doubted that the Johnson administration was sincere about the peace move.

The convention, sponsored by the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee, was attended by more than 600 delegates. R.K. Khadilkar, deputy speaker of the Lok Sabha presided.

Mr. Menon, who summed up the deliberations, branded American imperialism as the aggressor in Vietnam.

He paid glowing tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, assassinated by a white racist in the U.S., and said that there was an essential link between the civil-rights movement of the Afro-Americans, the international movement against the Vietnam war and the freedom struggles of the colonial people.

In his remarks as chairman, Mr. Khadilkar admitted that Indian opinion towards the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese had been inhibited by the "hate China" propaganda. He called on the intellectuals to shed their apathy and to identify themselves with the heroic Vietnamese people. Specifying the National Liberation Front as the only representative body that could speak on behalf of the South Vietnamese, he said that the programme of the NLF could not be characterized as "Communist," since its immediate objective was national independence. He said that the people of Vietnam should be allowed to determine their own future free from outside intervention.

Mr. Khadilkar said that both Hanoi and the NLF had agreed to come to the negotiation table because of their confidence that if the talks failed victory would be won on the battlefield. He was of the view that a victory of the Vietnamese would have a healthy impact on international politics.

He strongly criticised intellectu-

als in India like the Swatantra party leader M.R. Masani, who defend the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

R.K. Karanjia, editor of the weekly Blitz and one of the Indian journalists who visited Vietnam last year, said that the heroic guerrilla fighters of Vietnam in struggling for their own freedom were defending the freedom of Asia and the entire world.

The war in Vietnam, he added, had created serious dissension among the American people, and further escalation of the war was bound to provoke a civil war in the U.S. itself.

Karanjia said that the Vietnamese guerrillas did not require armies from other countries to fight on their behalf, but they needed arms, medicine and medical aid. He urged the convention to raise an initial fund of rupees one lakh [100,000 rupees = US\$13,210] to send medical supplies and other material aid to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

S.G. Sardesai, a leader of the Communist party of India, called upon all democratic and anti-imperialist forces to forge a common front to support the Vietnamese people.

Alfred Nzo, an exiled African leader from South Africa, said that the Vietnamese had inspired the enslaved people of South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique to create their own Vietnams in the struggle against colonial and racial oppressors.

The convention adopted a resolution moved by S.B. Kolpe, a prominent journalist and leader of the Socialist Workers party of India, condemning the "brutal and premeditated" murder of the black community leader Dr. Martin Luther King by a white racist. The resolution paid tribute to Dr. King as a "crusader for peace and human rights."

Another resolution adopted by the convention, expressed solidarity with the freedom struggles of the peoples of South Africa, Rhodesia and the African territories held by Portugal.

The resolution also condemned the execution of five nationalists by the Smith regime in Rhodesia.

Other speakers included Vithal Choudhuri, Prof. M.W. Pradhan, Miss Kapila Khandwala (former president of the Indian National Women's Federation), Yeshwant Chawan, Vinayak Bhawe and C.M. Trivedi

The convention unanimously adopted a declaration moved by Prof. M.V. Pradhan, a representative of the Praja Socialist party, saluting "the heroic people of Vietnam" and expressing "firm confidence that the people of Vietnam will achieve final victory over invading marauders."

The declaration said that there is "no other way of settling the Vietnam war except on the basis of the joint proposals advanced by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the programme of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam."

The convention demanded "an immediate and unconditional stop to the barbarous bombing of Vietnam and all other military action against it" and said that "all U.S. and satellite troops must summarily quit South Vietnam."

The convention urged recognition of the NLF "as the authentic and accredited representative of the South Vietnamese people."

It further condemned the government of India for sending "so-called medical aid and other goods" to the marauders of South Vietnam.

It also urged the government to give up its "dubious role" as chairman of the International Control Commission and "declare unequivocally that any continued occupation of Vietnam or any other area of South-East Asia by U.S. troops is a threat to the freedom of all people of Asia including India."

A mass rally was held at Napoo Gardens, Matunga, in the evening to explain the decisions of the convention. Miss Kapila Khandwala presided.

V.K. Krishna Menon, who was the principal speaker, appealed to the youth of India to come forward to face the challenge posed by colonial exploitation and racial exploitation and racial oppressors by identifying themselves with the Vietnamese liberation war. He also warned the

youth against the upsurge of racialism of a sinister variety under the garb of communalism, regionalism or linguism in the Indian context.

Prof. M.V. Pradhan announced on behalf of the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee that a mass demonstration in front of the U.S. consulate in Bombay was planned for April 26 to protest against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. That date was chosen so as to synchronise the action with the demonstrations planned throughout the world. (The date was later postponed in view of the nationwide strike of the newspaper employees that commenced April 23.)

Among the other speakers at the rally were Maindy Maimang, a South African black leader, Hans Bhugra, a newly elected municipal councilor of Bombay City, Pushpa Mehta of the Revolutionary Socialist party, S.B.Kolpe and Shyam Goswami.

The Hindi poet, Magnu Indori, recited special ballads composed by him on the Vietnam war. Two documentary films on Vietnam were shown at the end of the meeting.

Credit for taking the initiative in setting up the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee goes to the Socialist Workers party in Bombay. Although the major left parties, including the two Communist parties, did not cooperate enthusiastically at first, the committee has gathered momentum in recent months.

K. Ramachandran, a leading member of the SWP, has been its convener.

The committee has held several mass meetings in Bombay in support of the Vietnam freedom fighters. On October 19, 1967, it staged a demonstration in front of the U.S. consulate in Bombay.

The address of the committee is as follows: Solidarity with Vietnam Committee, Khandelwal Bhavan, 166 D.N. Road, Bombay 1, India.

KREMLIN REPORTED CONSIDERING MILITARY INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Paris daily Le Monde of May 5 reports that Gen. Aleksei A. Yepishev, head of the political administration of the Soviet armed forces, said at a meeting of the Political Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union held April 23, that it was not excluded that a group of "loyal Communists" in Czechoslovakia would address an appeal to the Soviet Union and the "other socialist countries," appealing for help "to save socialism" in their country. "In that

event," the Soviet general continued, "the Soviet army is ready to do its duty."

At the same meeting, Leonid Brezhnev gave a "very pessimistic" report on the situation in Czechoslovakia, describing Dubcek as a "prisoner" of "reactionary and anti-Communist" elements.

Le Monde said that similar views, including the possibility of military intervention, were being voiced in Bulgaria.

MPI DELEGATES DISCUSS PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE STRUGGLE

By Richard Garza

Some 4,000 Puerto Ricans attended the closing session of the Seventh Convention of the MPI [Movimiento Pro Independencia] at Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, April 28. Although the delegates were to vote on the new draft program, the session was opened to the public.

It was the high point of three days of activities which began with a demonstration at the University of Puerto Rico April 26 sponsored by ten university organizations and sixty professors as part of the worldwide response to the call of the Student Mobilization Committee in New York to protest U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The student demonstration drew 1,200 students in spite of the threat to arrest twenty-five student leaders on charges going back to September. Police cars patrolled the area and there was some tension as the students, including those with warrants against them, went on with the business of distributing leaflets and cruising in their sound truck appealing to students in the high schools to join in the strike and to protest compulsory military service in the U.S. armed services.

When the rally began on schedule, the police cars were nowhere in sight; and the students and professors took over the directing of traffic on Ponce De Leon Avenue in front of the university. It was clear that the effort of the colonial government to intimidate the students had failed.

That evening the MPI convention opened at the public hall of the Lawyers College in Miramar. The convention was dedicated to José Rafael (Fefel) Varona, a young militant who died last March 25 from wounds received during a U.S. bombing foray in North Vietnam. Varona was there as part of a delegation of the Continental Organization of Latin-American Students.

Among the 600 or so attending the session (400 full and alternate delegates and close sympathizers) were some of the students who were expecting arrest. Professor Francisco Manrique Cabrera, general director of the movement, traced its evolution from the time it was founded, nine days after the triumph of the Cuban revolution in January, 1959. He greeted the representatives of the left-wing press from the U.S. and expressed the hope that they would report what they could see at first hand of the tragedy of colonialism in Puerto Rico.

The publications represented included The Student Mobilizer, Liberation, Monthly Review, The Militant, Young Socialist, The Worker, Workers World, Tri-Continental Information Center Bulletin, and the Guardian.

Professor Cabrera pointed out that the problems of Puerto Rico and the United States are rooted in "the imperialist establishment." He scored the use of police spies on the campus of the University of Puerto Rico. In an ironic remark directed at those favoring the inclusion of Puerto Rico in the U.S. federal system as a state, he said: "Statehood no longer represents security, since the Americans are coming to the island, fleeing from the riots of the black people fighting for their liberation."

Professor Ramón Arbona, who had chaired the student rally that morning, read greetings to the convention from all over the world.

One of the messages was from Cheddi Jagan, former prime minister of Guyana and leader of the People's Progressive party. Mr. Jagan explained that he was not able to attend the convention because the U.S. government had denied him a visa.

Among the messages to the convention was one from the Zimbabwe government-in-exile from the Ian Smith dictatorship.

Greetings from the Communist party of Cuba were also read.

Norman Pietri, foreign affairs secretary of the MPI, analyzed the international scene. On the struggle for freedom, he said: "We could wait with folded arms for the corpse of imperialism to pass by, but all peoples must free themselves."

"U.S. imperialism," he said, "is out to isolate the MPI, but can't." When he mentioned the MPI's support of the OLAS [Organization of Latin-American Solidarity] and OSPAL [Organization of the Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America], and the MPI's agreement with its line of armed struggle, the audience indicated its approval with cheers and applause.

Next morning the delegates proceeded with the deliberations in three workshops. The three chairmen were César Andreu Iglesias (program), Lorenzo Pifeiro Rivera (resolutions), and Pedro Baiges Chapel (organization).

The high level of the discussion

and the democratic atmosphere bore out the contention of the MPI leadership that it was forging a cadre and a collective leadership capable of leading the struggle for independence.

The line of the program is indicated by the following: "We are anti-imperialist and anticolonialist....We propose that a new society be built on a national and international scale. We desire a society in which there is no exploitation of man by man and international relations under which no people oppresses another people....The independence of Puerto Rico will come about as a result of the struggle in the island over concrete issues that affect the people, for example the recent giveaway of the island's copper deposits, the fight of the workers against the Yankee corporations and monopolies in conjunction with the...triumph of the revolutions for national liberation in Latin America in particular and of the world anti-imperialist front in general. The MPI rejects the notion that U.S. imperialism will grant independence because of the benefits the U.S. would derive from it. Independence would benefit the masses of Americans and the black people of the U.S., but the U.S. Congress is run for the benefit of the corporations and monopolies which benefit from colonial exploitation.

"The crisis of colonialism is part of the internal crisis of imperialism. The consequences of the war in Vietnam, the devaluation of the pound sterling and its effect on the dollar, the sharpening of racial conflict as a result of the rebellion of the black people are factors in the crisis."

On the United Nations, the program states: "The U.N. serves as an important forum for the struggles of the people but cannot substitute for the struggle itself."

On Marxism: "The theories of Marxism-Leninism constitute the richest arsenal in the history of modern revolutions. By that we mean that for the good of the struggle for independence and in order to see the world more clearly it is necessary to train ourselves in the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism without implying that we are Marxist-Leninist, nor that the leaders or members of the MPI identify themselves fully with Marxism-Leninism. The doctrine of Marxism-Leninism stripped of all dogmatism and factionalism will aid in forming the theory of the independence struggle in Puerto Rico."

After a spirited debate on whether the present policy of rejecting electoral action could become transformed into a principle, Juan Mari Bras, secretary general of the organization, explained the

strategic nature of the rejection of electoral politics and added that in their experience the electoral process had always served to stabilize the colonial regime. He expressed his confidence that if a change ever had to be made that the ranks of the MPI would prove capable of adapting their program to the living reality.

In the workshop on resolutions, many drafts were discussed. The first one outlined the importance of linking up the one hundredth anniversary of the first armed uprising for independence in Puerto Rico in Lares on September 23, 1868, with the present struggle for independence.

Resolutions expressed solidarity with Vietnam and with Cuba, with the Sixto Alvelo Committee for the defense of the youths who have rejected induction into the U.S. armed forces and the Blanca Canales Committee for the release of the Nationalists held in prison since 1954.

The resolution on the struggle in the U.S. took jubilant note of the actions of the black people and their meaning for Puerto Rico. In 1967 the MPI welcomed Stokely Carmichael to Puerto Rico, and the MPI joined with the leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in signing a statement on mutual cooperation. The current resolution pledged the MPI to seek allies among the Puerto Ricans in the U.S. for the black struggle.

The panel on organization reported on steps to tighten the structure of the MPI and to establish two categories of adherence to the organization: "militant" and "sympathizer." Each delegate to the Seventh Convention represented fifteen militants or sympathizers.

On Sunday, General Secretary Juan Mari Bras spoke for more than an hour. The large crowd gave his remarks an enthusiastic reception. Last-minute sabotage by the broadcasting companies prevented his speech from being broadcast.

Mari Bras explained how the movement and its militants were being harassed by the colonial government on their jobs and followed about in their activities. He also scored the threatened arrest of the student leaders, many of them members of the MPI and delegates to the convention.

He explained that on Friday they had obtained an agreement from the district attorney and the judge to hold the warrants until Monday morning when the students would voluntarily turn themselves into custody accompanied by their attorneys. He made it clear that the MPI would fight to retain its legal position but that if the government should abrogate civil liberties in Puerto Rico then the

MPI was prepared to carry on a clandestine struggle.

After the speech, the reports of the workshops were read to the delegates and sympathizers and discussed and voted on. A proposal from the floor to support the group currently engaged in acts of sabotage against U.S. companies was defeated on the ground that no one knew who they were and that they might possibly be CIA provocateurs.

Near the end of the deliberations, a delegation of striking telephone workers marched into the stadium. They were invited to take the floor and present their case. The spokesman of the delegation told how they had been fired from their jobs in the midst of contract talks because they had taken off a day granted in the old contract, the birthday of Hos-

tos, one of the heroes of the liberation movement against the Spaniards. He asked for the support of the MPI in their struggle against the telephone company and was greeted with an ovation from the audience.

On Monday, April 29, eighteen of the students appeared in court; others were out of the country pursuing their studies. Bail was set at \$2,000 each and was raised right then and there by MPI sympathizers, who put up their businesses and homes as bond.

One of the lawyers for the students pointed out that the charges of conspiracy, incitement to riot, arson in the first and second degree, and destruction of private property could lead to fifteen years imprisonment for the student leaders.

SHARP CLASH WITH GUERRILLAS REPORTED IN VENEZUELA

Increased guerrilla activity, including a sharp clash between a detachment of the National Liberation Armed Forces [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional -- FALN] and government troops has been reported in Venezuela.

Following new guerrilla actions, such as sabotage of a Standard Oil pipeline, the Leoni government announced that on April 17 its troops may have killed Luben Petkoff.

According to Leoni's minister of defense, General Florencio Gómez, Petkoff, one of the principal FALN leaders along with Douglas Bravo, was presumed dead in a clash with a guerrilla force of eighteen in the Yaracuy mountains 250 miles west of Caracas. Gómez claimed that five guerrillas -- one of whom appeared to be Petkoff, although he was not positively identified -- were killed while attempting to escape a government encircling operation and seek refuge in the mountains of the state of Falcón to the west.

Hundreds of specially trained coun-

terinsurgency troops supported by bombers and helicopters were employed in this campaign, Gómez said. He admitted also that U.S. "Green Berets" had played a role in the government action.

Since the approaching elections will be a key test both for the pro-imperialist regime and those forces of the left -- chiefly the Communist party -- which have committed themselves to the electoral road despite the prevailing repression, the guerrilla actions take on special importance.

The report of Luben Petkoff's death is particularly significant in this context, since his brother Teodor is a member of the right-wing Communist party central committee which has been denounced by Fidel Castro for betraying the Venezuelan revolution. In fact, one of the more prominent pieces of CP proelectoral propaganda consists of an open letter by Teodor to Luben denouncing the guerrilla struggle as a hopeless adventure and calling on him to give up the fight.

BRAZILIAN WORKERS STRIKE IN DEFIANCE OF MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

Fifteen thousand workers in Brazil added their weight to that of student demonstrators by staging a nine-day strike at the end of April in defiance of the military regime.

The strike began April 16 when two metal plants went out at Belo Horizonte, 200 miles north of Rio de Janeiro. Soon nineteen factories had joined the strike.

The workers demanded a 50 percent increase in the minimum wage to offset skyrocketing inflation. The military government, which had authorized a 23 percent increase, quickly produced another 10 percent. Troops were brought out after workers voted unanimously to reject the offer. They returned to the job on April 25 under threat of arrest and trial by court-martial.

THE DUBCEK REGIME AND THE DEMOCRATIZATION MOVEMENT IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

By George Novack

Czechoslovakia provides the most striking case of the uneven development of the de-Stalinization processes in the Soviet bloc. This country, which remained in a deep freeze when mass revolts boiled up in Poland and Hungary in 1956, has now, twelve years later, begun to heave from the pressure of the workers seeking proletarian democracy.

The internal changes attending the "spring revolution" are still in full swing. Since deposing Novotny, the Dubcek regime has installed new men at the top of the party apparatus, the government, the army, the intellectual organizations and the trade unions. There is a new presidium, the real ruling body of the party and the country, a new president, prime minister and cabinet, a new defense minister, a new minister of the interior. Hundreds of high-ranking officials have been dismissed and replaced by people more in accord with the changing times.

Along with the recasting of the party and government hierarchy, the central committee has finally unveiled the long-awaited action program of the party which the contending factions in the leadership have been hotly debating for many months. The original draft has been heavily amended and the final text obviously represents a compromise among the different tendencies.

The proposed platform is a victory for the liberalizers. It contains numerous reforms directed against the girders of the monolithic police state which has held Czechoslovakians in a straitjacket for almost two decades. First of all, it reduces the powers of the secret police by a strict severance of its state security from its public security functions. The document declares that the sole purpose of the state security organs is to protect the country against hostile acts from enemy centers abroad.

"Every citizen who has not been culpable in this respect," it says, "must know with certainty that his political convictions and opinions, his personal beliefs and activities cannot be the object of attention to the bodies of the state security service. The party declares clearly that this apparatus should not be directed and used to solve internal political questions and controversies in socialist society."

The program also demands legal guarantees of the freedom of movement of citizens, especially for trips and even long-term sojourns abroad. It warns against the danger of "too great a concen-

tration of decision-taking in the party" and attributes "the immediate cause of past shortcomings to the fact that "there was an exceptional status of individuals, primarily of Comrade Antonin Novotny."

The program endorses the New Economic Model, promises to work out more equitable arrangements for the status of the Slovaks in the federated republic, and heralds the drafting of a new constitution to give legal rights to the satellite political parties and probably more power to the parliament. It calls for more explicit safeguards for freedom of speech, press, radio and television and the abolition of preliminary censorship.

The section on foreign relations stresses the sovereignty and equality of Czechoslovakia while maintaining "alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries."

The new set of twenty-eight cabinet ministers named by Dubcek are pledged to carry out these proposed measures of democratization and economic reform. The appointment of Josef Pavel, who was a purge victim and spent several years in jail on frame-up charges, betokens that the curb on the powers of the secret police will not remain a dead letter.

The moves taken to clarify the mysterious circumstances of the death of Jan Masaryk are likewise designed to bar any recurrence of the police state practices of the past. His body was found on March 8, 1948, in the courtyard of the foreign ministry he headed, and rumors have circulated for twenty years that he met with foul play.

On April 16 the CP party newspaper Rude Pravo suggested that "Beria's gorrillas" were guilty of his murder and expressed the hope that "our Soviet friends" would aid in the inquiry. The trade-union paper Prace went further and implied that Stalin's agents also had a hand in the bloody frame-ups of party secretary Rudolf Slansky and other prominent officials in the early 1950's.

The sweeping policy changes have not, however, sufficed to satisfy the most thoroughgoing proponents of reform either in the party or the country. While the announced program calls for laws to abolish prior news censorship, it speaks of determining "when a state body can forbid propagation of certain information." Though it calls for freedom of speech for minority opinion, it stipulates that this must be "in the framework of socialist laws." The more liberal ele-

ments fear that, with a conservative shift in the situation, such restrictive clauses can, as in the Soviet Union today, provide legal pretexts for punitive and arbitrary actions by the authorities. The program also disappoints some because it makes no provision for opposition parties.

Dubcek's personnel replacements have likewise aroused criticism. The advocates of economic reforms are incensed because Ota Sik, the architect of the New Economic Model, was denied a place on the presidium. Oldrich Cernik, the long-time chairman of the State Planning Commission, who has been elevated as premier, is not a liberal. Still less pleasing was the designation of Ludovik Svoboda to the presidency. This was regarded as an unwarranted sop to the Kremlin to whom the general is persona grata because he commanded troops that served in the Russian Army during World War II.

The day after the party leaders nominated Svoboda on March 28, thousands of students conducted street rallies in Prague in support of their own candidate, Cestmir Cisar, a liberal intellectual who was until recently ambassador to Rumania. About one thousand marched to the party headquarters in protest against the central committee's choice and demanded to speak with Dubcek. He was quickly summoned from home and, although it was past midnight, appeared before them in the street.

During the ensuing dialogue with Dubcek, one student asked: "What are the guarantees that the old days will not be back?"

Dubcek answered: "You yourselves are that guarantee. You, the young. Can the old days come back at all? There is only one path and that is forward."

This astonishing confrontation between the first secretary of the CP and the Communist youth demonstrates their suspension of confidence in the good faith of the new regime, their determination to keep the democratization drive in high gear, and prevent it from being sabotaged. It also indicates the power of the pressures which are overcoming resistances in the party and government and pushing the Dubcek leadership faster and farther than many of its members prefer to go.

These mass pressures from below are generating serious differences within the party presidium which is the nerve center of power. The more combative liberalizers calculate that they can depend only upon three of its eleven members. These are Josef Spacek, who has replaced the detested Hendrych as head of the party's ideological section; Joseph Smrkov-

sky, chairman of the National Assembly; and Frantisek Kriegel, leader of the National Front, the organization comprising the CP and the satellite parties. The other eight belong either to the center group headed by Dubcek or to the conservative wing.

The main issue in contention between the left wing and the moderate bloc revolves around the convening of an extraordinary party congress. While the reforms are being put into effect, the old 110-member central committee remains intact with Novotny and his henchmen still on it. This important body can be renewed only by a party congress.

The more consistent liberalizers are urging Dubcek to strike while the iron is hot. He has been unwilling to do more than advance the date of holding the next regular congress from the last to the first of next year. By mobilizing rank-and-file support and public opinion, the liberalizers still hope to prevail upon the first secretary to yield to their demand for a prompt special congress which can complete the cleanup of the Old Guard. But the controversy is unsettled.

This is only one instance of Dubcek's waverings. Although he has to take into account the irresistible sentiments for pressing democratization further, he is reluctant to lean fully upon the rank and file. His team of technocrats wants to set bureaucratic limits to the pace and scope of the changes made.

In a front-page interview in Rude Pravo, the party newspaper, on April 11 he cautioned that discipline must be invoked to prevent the country's experiment in democracy from falling into anarchy. Earlier, on April 1, in a keynote speech to the central committee, he had warned against wholesale condemnation of the past and declared that "the leadership role of the party must not be weakened."

The Soviet leaders are displaying more and more uneasiness about the new course in Czechoslovakia. While Pravda applauded Dubcek's assertion that the CP could not surrender its dominant position, it refused to inform its readers about Prague's democratic innovations. The Kremlin has reason to fear the impact these can have upon its own dissident intellectuals. They have been calling for many of the same reforms such as the abolition of censorship, freeing jailed critics of the regime, lifting restrictions on travel and, above all, strict adherence to the rule of law. "Respect your own constitution" is one of the key demands they have been addressing to the Soviet authorities.

Friction between Prague and Moscow over the Kremlin's conniving with the

Novotny gang is increasing. At a meeting between the party chief and Soviet Ambassador Chervonenko, Dubcek is reported to have expressed his "surprise and indignation" at continued meetings between Mr. Chervonenko and Novotny. He threatened to delay the departure of his own ambassador to Moscow if such close contacts did not cease.

Having torn away from the police dictatorship of the past two decades, Czechoslovakia is presently the arena of openly contesting social forces and political tendencies both within the ruling party and the country at large. The movement of the masses and the bulk of the Communist intellectuals is directed toward the establishment of a socialist democracy. Other forces within the country and abroad are hopeful that the processes now in motion will lead to the revival of a bourgeois parliamentary democracy like that of the Masaryk-Benes era and a return to free enterprise in the economic domain.

All the Western capitals from Bonn to Rome are watchfully waiting to see what moves the new government will take in their direction. Behind them are the diplomats in Washington who are far less interested in the extent of the democratization than in an eventual reorientation of Prague's foreign policy.

Peter Grose, New York Times correspondent in the U.S. capital, reported on April 13 that a reexamination of issues between Prague and Washington has been carried out in the State Department over the past month through consultations between officials responsible for East European affairs and Jacob Beam, U.S. ambassador to Czechoslovakia who has returned on leave. The prevailing view, he says, is not to take any conciliatory step at this time which "could embarrass the new liberal-minded leaders in Czechoslovakia, who might be vulnerable to charges of currying favor with American imperialism."

Despite their provisional noncommittal attitude, the U.S. policy makers would like to see Dubcek become another Tito or at least a Czechoslovakian Ceausescu, who would be less dependent upon Moscow's favors and thereby more susceptible to the economic and diplomatic blandishments of Washington.

While the domestic political developments hold the spotlight, the regime faces grave economic problems. The misapplication of the economic reforms introduced at the beginning of 1967 has prevented both the realization of any substantial benefits from the new economic policy and the elimination of the stagnation and malpractices bound up with the old system of bureaucratic centralization.

The economy suffers from inflation, unemployment, inefficiency, insufficient consumer goods, a slowdown in industrial investment and a drop in exports to the capitalist countries. Although housing is extremely bad, there was a decline in housing construction in 1967.

In an article entitled "Prague's Revolution Within the Revolution" in the March 31 New York Times Magazine, Harry Schwartz cites two complaints which illustrate the widespread discontent with economic conditions.

The first was voiced by a worker over television: "Why is the Czech crown worth so little and foreign currency so much? Why are our prices so high and our wages so low? Why are all the best goods our country produces sold only in the Tuzex stores for foreign currency and not for Czech crowns?"

The second came from an economist. "Why should anyone buy our machine tools if they are less productive and cost more than similar machines that can be bought in Western Europe?" he asked.

While the reform measures hold the promise of more flexibility in operating the economy, they contain perils as well as potential benefits for the health of the workers state. The stress on greater independence for enterprises, the profit incentive, bonuses for managers and rationalization and reductions of the work force can give rise to considerable unemployment and growing inequalities of income. Even the freedom of travel promised in the new program will enable Czechoslovak workers to migrate abroad in search of jobs in the labor markets of Western Europe where, like Yugoslav, Greek, Spanish and Italian workers, they will become the objects of superexploitation by capitalist corporations as well as a valuable source of convertible currency for the hard-pressed Czech economy.

Workers have been frankly told that carrying out the reforms would exact sacrifices from them and that "a portion of the working people" would temporarily suffer.

The best method of coping with such problems would be to combine workers democracy in industry and political life with flexible central planning. An indispensable first step along that line is regaining the independence of the trade unions from the state. The new trade-union leaders have already served notice that they intend to have their organizations fulfill their paramount role of defending the interests of the workers vis-a-vis the government authorities. The idea of workers councils is likely to be raised in turn.

At the end of March the first strike in many years took place when workers at an electrical-appliance factory in Pisek walked out in complaint against the management and did not return until the manager signed a resolution to reform.

In mid-April workers struck briefly at a rubber and plastics plant in Ost-rava; and on April 25 the airport workers were reported to have threatened a nationwide strike May 6 against "poor working

conditions in the last ten years."

The workers, infused with renewed political energy, are the decisive social force in this highly industrialized workers state. The relations between them and the heterogeneous reformist bureaucracy splitting at the seams will determine the next phase of the ongoing struggle for a genuine socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

FOR A GOVERNMENT OF WORKERS COUNCILS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

[The following statement was issued April 18 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International. This is the World Party of Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International salutes the students, intellectuals, and workers of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic who for months have been the driving force in a powerful movement for socialist democracy in their country. We salute the initiative of the students, who by going into the streets in support of their immediate demands and to protest the brutalities of the police, have considerably speeded the process of differentiation within the Czechoslovak Communist party. We salute the intellectuals who have called for creative freedom in the arts and culture, as well as freedom of the press and criticism. For currents respecting the socialist constitution and collective ownership of the means of production, these freedoms must be a basic right in all countries which have abolished capitalism. We salute the workers' efforts to eliminate the trade-union bureaucracy and elect their own union leaders in the plants and industrial divisions.

We salute the "March for Vietnam" and the actions in support of the students in West Berlin and West Germany which the Czechoslovak students have organized in recent weeks and their solidarity with the Polish students and intellectuals; these clearly differentiate them from their false "friends" both in the bourgeois press and public opinion in the West as well as in the pro-Moscow parties and open the way for a renewal of the internationalist spirit.

Czechoslovakia Is Ripe for Genuine Socialist Democracy

Of all the states which have abolished capitalism, Czechoslovakia is, along with the German Democratic Republic, the one whose social makeup is most favor-

able to socialism. The peasantry constitutes only a small minority of the working population; the proletariat represents the great majority of the people and has a long-established class tradition and consciousness. The remnants of the bourgeois order are weak, scattered, and demoralized.

Of course, in this industrialized country the Stalinist attempt to impose a dictatorship, not of the proletariat but of the bureaucracy -- with the help of infamous procedures such as terror, witch-hunt trials, the imprisonment of oppositionists, brutal suppression of all the workers and students' demands, manipulation of the state apparatus by means of corruption and farcical elections -- has profoundly discredited Marxism-Leninism among important sectors of the youth and even of the workers. But resolute action by a vanguard determined to fight for socialist democracy has begun to change this situation.

The defeats which American imperialism has suffered in Vietnam and the upset in the capitalist world's temporary economic stability increase the chances of a rebirth in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic of revolutionary-internationalist communism firmly based on socialist democracy. In the months and weeks to come, the workers and the youth will quickly relearn that real Marxism-Leninism has nothing in common with the repellent caricature that the Novotnys and Lenarts have made of it. They will rapidly go to the sources, above all to Marx and Lenin themselves, to re-discover the true and profound meaning of socialist revolution.

Objectively and subjectively, Czechoslovakia is becoming ripe for the creation of a real socialist democracy which could exercise a profound influence on the evolution of all the workers states and give a powerful impetus to the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles in the West.

It would be illusory, however, to think that such a socialist democracy will

be established automatically; that it could be produced by the struggle of cliques within the bureaucracy; that it could be definitively secured against its foreign and domestic enemies by mere petty reforms in the system of government in force in the country since February 1948.

The Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky, who was Lenin's closest collaborator in the victory of the October revolution, and who held high the banner of Leninism and of Soviet democracy in the darkest years of Stalinist reaction, warns in the most urgent way against such illusions.

Consolidating socialist democracy -- which has nothing to do with bourgeois democracy -- means preserving the positive conquests of 1948: collective ownership of the means of production and exchange, economic planning, and the state monopoly of foreign trade. If any impairment of these conquests is permitted, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic would be in danger of reverting step by step back under the sway of international capital. The Czechoslovak workers would again be in danger of working to enrich the trusts of the Ruhr, Wall Street, Paris, and the City of London.

To consolidate socialist democracy by no means signifies giving back part of the power to the representatives of the old bourgeoisie and the bourgeois parties which remain firmly opposed to the country's socialist economic structure.

But the consolidation of socialist democracy does mean allowing freedom of criticism, press, organization as well as the freedom to demonstrate for all tendencies and parties which stand within the framework of the socialist constitution -- all those parties and tendencies whose program defends the socialized mode of production and which cannot be charged before the courts, on the basis of written law, with acts of collusion with the domestic or foreign counterrevolution.

The consolidation of socialist democracy means above all assuring direct exercise of power by the working people. This means putting into practice the program which Lenin formulated in State and Revolution and giving all power to a congress of workers councils (soviets) elected in all the plants in the country.

Only a government of a firmly soviet character will rally the great majority of the people around the workers state; only this will constitute an insuperable barrier to any counterrevolutionary attempt from within or without.

The Dangers Threatening
the Birth of Socialist Democracy
in Czechoslovakia

The Czechoslovak counterrevolution is extremely weak, and the international situation is hardly favorable to reenforcing it. A counterrevolutionary danger could, however, develop from the disappointment of the immense hopes which have arisen today in the Czechoslovak people -- if the movement for socialist democracy does not broaden and spread, if it does not move from the stage of reforms to that of profound revolutionary transformations in the state and the superstructure as a whole, but is stifled and crushed in embryo.

The Soviet bureaucracy's direct representatives in Czechoslovakia, the men of Novotny and the Kremlin, understand this perfectly. Their aim is to arouse skepticism and distrust for socialist democracy in the popular sectors, to seek a justification, even in entirely isolated phenomena, for an intervention and the crushing of the mass movement. The maneuvers which the Soviet army carried out on the borders of Czechoslovakia are an eloquent warning on this score.

The Soviet bureaucracy fears the contagion which could result for the toiling masses of the other workers states, above all Poland, East Germany, and the USSR itself, from an avowal or a triumph of socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. The veritable panic in face of the Soviet nonconformist intellectuals reflected in Brezhnev's speeches in Moscow and the deliberations at the recent plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union can hardly be explained by the extent or strength yet attained by the movement for soviet democracy in the USSR. This movement today is still embryonic and weak. Such a reaction, however, can be explained perfectly by the Kremlin's fear of a full-scale snowballing movement, above all after the 1956 experience and the Sino-Soviet conflict, in the rest of what only yesterday was still its "camp."

Today, the Soviet bureaucracy has already lost its control over one-half of the countries which have abolished capitalism: the People's Republic of China, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Korea, Cuba, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Albania. This development, of course, has not always been uniformly favorable. Alongside authentically revolutionary forces like those in power today in Vietnam and Cuba -- or forces which have introduced certain reforms historically favorable to socialist democracy -- not a few forces that are regressive or favorable to compromises with imperialism have manifested themselves in the above-mentioned countries.

But the Kremlin's representatives lie, and lie deliberately, in claiming

that this disintegration of their authoritarian control over all the anticapitalist and anti-imperialist forces in the world is weakening them vis-à-vis imperialism. The example of Cuba and Vietnam -- two countries whose leaders do not accept Moscow's ideological and political ukases and which did not participate in the recent Budapest conference -- clearly show the contrary. What weakens the vigor of the revolutionary forces vis-à-vis imperialism above all is the lack of a worldwide anti-imperialist strategy; and the greatest responsibility for this lack is borne by the Soviet bureaucracy with its policy of "peaceful coexistence" and defense of the status quo. It is weakened as well by the narrow egoistic nationalism of a number of bureaucracies in power in the workers states, which prevents the creation of a real firmly revolutionary anti-imperialist united front against the Yankee aggression in Vietnam.

It is this whole international context which explains why the Kremlin so fears the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia and why it is getting ready to halt and stifle this liberation movement with all the means at its command. And among such means, a favorite weapon is the attempt to turn the workers against the students and intellectuals who have set the present reform movement in motion. The Czechoslovak vanguard on the fighting front for socialist democracy must recognize the realities on which this maneuver is based and find the means for countering it in time.

For Democratically Centralized Workers Self-management

The workers have little sympathy for Novotny and the clique of profiteers who helped him run the country by systematically stifling all expression of the workers' will for such a long time. But at the same time they distrust the technocrats who are preparing to take the reins of the economy as a consequence of the "economic reforms" advocated by Ota Sik.

Both the Novotny clique's spokesmen and the Kremlin's agents, and the representatives of the "liberal" technocratic tendency present things as if the Czechoslovak workers had no alternative but to choose between a hypercentralized and bureaucratic kind of socialist economic management and return to the "market economy," rebaptised "socialist" for the occasion. The Novotny clique is sabotaging this "market economy" because it wants at any price to return to bureaucratic centralization. And the foes of this system, sincere or not, say that there is no alternative but "the market economy."

In reality, the workers are at-

tracted by neither of these two models. In the first case, they know that what they can expect is a poor standard of living, scarce and shoddy consumers goods and few or no rights in the plants. In the second case, they correctly fear (as the example of Yugoslavia proves) the return of unemployment, high prices, and increasing social inequality. Furthermore, the economic reforms extolled by the present leadership threaten to increase the powers of the plant managers, including the power to fire workers and reserve the bulk of the anticipated bonuses for the professional personnel.

But the solution does not lie in a choice between these two evils. A movement whose object is to institute a real socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia can and must completely overturn the system of bureaucratic and conservative management established in the Stalin era. But it can and must do this basing itself on the initiative and power of the producers, the workers, rather than by seeking management by a highly privileged technocracy.

The real solution to Czechoslovakia's economic problems, a solution firmly on the path of socialist democracy, is election of workers councils in all the plants; exercise by these councils of the supreme economic power in the plants, including the hiring and firing of plant managers and management personnel; sharing by the factory collectives in the results obtained not through competition on the market but by a systematic striving to reduce production costs; guaranteed full employment for all workers; the formulation of the plans through free debate by a congress of workers councils with the right to modify any drafts drawn up by the plants which are contrary to the collective interests of the Czechoslovak working masses; subordination of the planning authority to this congress, a large majority of whose delegates must be workers earning no more than a skilled worker's wages, so as to prevent it from being manipulated by the technocrats; the launching of a vast movement of inspection and accounting by the rank-and-file workers of the economy's stocks and reserves; a guarantee that the workers' living standards will increase proportionally with the increase in the national income; and, on the basis of all these transformations, the launching of a vast movement of working-class initiative and creative enthusiasm.

For the Rebirth of Leninism, of Genuine Revolutionary Marxism

The Czechoslovak masses struggling for socialist democracy have instinctively understood that their victory cannot be assured if the people do not completely wipe out all of the crimes and injustices

which have stained Czechoslovakia's recent past. Revolutionary peoples have a good memory. That is why it is right and proper to shed full light on the Slansky trial and all the injustices against worker militants committed since 1948 (including by Slansky himself). That is why it is right and proper to rehabilitate all of the victims of the Stalinist terror. That is why particular importance must be attached to rehabilitating revolutionary militants like Kalandra who criticized the regime from the left; the present rulers are much less in a hurry to rehabilitate such militants than they are to concern themselves with representatives of the liberal bourgeoisie.

The struggle for socialist democracy in the context of a society which has abolished capitalism, combined with a revolutionary and internationalist orientation, also has a long tradition. The Czechoslovak masses will only be able to fight effectively for their progressive aims if they thoroughly relearn the lessons of the past. The youth, above all, who are hungry for knowledge and truth and who reject the official fables, myths, and lies, seek to return to the revolutionary and internationalist tradition of a regenerated communism.

They must demand reproduction of and free access to all the historic documents of the Czechoslovak Communist party. Not only all of Lenin's works must be published and widely studied but also the works of Trotsky, the author of the manifestos adopted by the first four congresses of the Communist International; of Rosa Luxemburg, the first to raise the standard of revolutionary and democratic

socialism in central Europe before the first world war; of Zinoviev and Bukharin, the first two chairmen of the Communist International; of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara, the symbols of today's revolutionary spirit in the semicolonial countries. No work of Marxist or socialist inspiration must fall under a ban. As the great Soviet atomic scientist Kapitzsa said, the younger generation must relearn the art of polemics from its grandfathers who made the October revolution. And these grandfathers recognized no censorship of theoretical and political works inspired by Marxism.

The essential elements of the action program which the Fourth International proposes to the Czechoslovak working masses are: a soviet-type political regime; democratically centralized workers self-management in the economic sphere; freedom of organization, of the press, of assembly for all tendencies in the workers movement; critical examination of the ideological legacy of the great thinkers and great currents of thought in the international communist movement; full light on the trials and repressions of the Stalin era; the right of self-determination for all nationalities and the establishment of a genuinely federal statute; solidarity with the Polish and Soviet students, intellectuals, and workers who are struggling for socialist democracy in their respective countries; and active solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution and all the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist movements in progress throughout the world. By adopting this program and resolutely mobilizing behind it, they will make the socialist democracy which they seek to win invincible.

THE REBELLION AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

By Dick Roberts

"Dear Grayson" may not sound like a typical slogan in a strike struggle -- even in one on a university campus. But it is one of the most popular slogans in the giant student-faculty strike at Columbia University in New York. And it gives a good sense of the mood and direction of this massive protest against American academic policies.

Grayson Kirk is the influential president of Columbia University. He sits on the board of directors of some of the country's most powerful monopolies, including the Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Socony Mobil Oil Co. and International Business Machines (IBM).

For seven days, from April 23 to early in the morning of April 30, Kirk's official suite at the university was oc-

cupied by rebelling students. While there, they photographed his entire secret files; and since April 30, when they were brutally removed from the buildings by a police surprise attack, the students have been flooding the Columbia campus with copies of Kirk's private mail.

These letters, to and from other directors of corporations, top ranking military men and important politicians, give a glimpse of the inner workings of the ruling capitalist class. And for the first time in American history, protest of university policies is directed at the real powers that be.

This revolt began as a demonstration against two Columbia University projects: the university's participation in the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA);

and its construction of a gymnasium in a park in the neighboring Harlem ghetto. The revolt over these issues symbolizes the twin thrusts of the radical American youth movement: against imperialist war and racism.

IDA was founded in 1955 as an academic "clearing house" for Pentagon research. It has taken part in planning military projects ranging from missile programs to guerrilla counterinsurgency. The gym project, also begun in the 1950's, has been a major point of contention between Harlem residents and the university's real estate agency.

For many months, however, the radical students spearheading the fight against IDA (led by the Students for a Democratic Society -- SDS) were unable to gain decisive backing among other students and faculty members. Protests, picketing and petitions had been met with closed doors in the administration and reprisals against SDS leaders.

On April 23 and 24, these students seized five university buildings and held them for a week. Originally numbering several hundred, the "Communards" numbered close to 1,000 by the day of the violent police attack. In addition, they were supported by other students and faculty members who formed lines around the buildings to help repel the cops.

The bloody battle, from 2:30 to 5:30 a.m. the morning of April 30, entirely changed the situation. Support for the SDS demands deepened to include the majority of students and nearly 500 junior and senior faculty members. A general strike against the university was called, and on May 6, when the university partially reopened classes, the strike was 90 percent effective.

One measure of the depth of student and faculty support for the strike is the method of strike organization. On Wednesday night, May 1, the day following the police attack, about 1,300 students gathered to plan a strike steering committee.

After some hours of debate and discussion, they adopted the formula that steering committee members would be elected on the basis of one delegate per 70 members of any organization. It sounded peculiar on the face of it, because there were very few organizations on campus with anywhere near 70 members.

In two days, the campus was completely transformed. Strike committee organizations were built on every level of

the university: undergraduates formed according to their majors -- English, mathematics, etc.; graduate students, according to their departments, including the Law School and the Business School; and faculty members split according to seniority.

These delegates joined delegates that had been elected in the occupied buildings by the "Communards." Other steering committee representatives were drawn from previously existing student organizations.

The result was a broadly based steering committee, presently of about seventy delegates, representing the majority of students.

In the course of this organization, the main aims of the strike have escalated. To the original SDS demands opposing IDA and the gym, and asking amnesty for all demonstrators, has been added the demand of "structural reform" of the university.

As a precondition for any negotiations with the administration, the strike steering committee demands amnesty for all who engaged in the struggle and its own inclusion as a participant in university reform. The dynamics of the strike struggle is toward the establishment of the steering committee as a permanent representative of "student power" in the determination of academic policies.

Further, the steering committee has refused to negotiate until a consensus on university reform has been reached with the participating students. Hundreds of leaflets are circulating the campus, with numerous different suggestions for change. It is evident the discussion proposed by the steering committee will not be a short one and it will raise questions of deep concern to students and teachers throughout the country.

For the time being, Kirk's answer to the massive strike against his administration has been to attempt to close down the school until the conclusion of the spring term at the end of May. Many university departments are making arrangements for a "pass-fail" system on grades, freeing the students from further work and final exams.

This policy is supposed to dampen the struggle, leaving the students no classes to strike. Up until now, however, it has had just the opposite effect: It has given the school body time to organize a struggle and that is exactly what the students have been doing.