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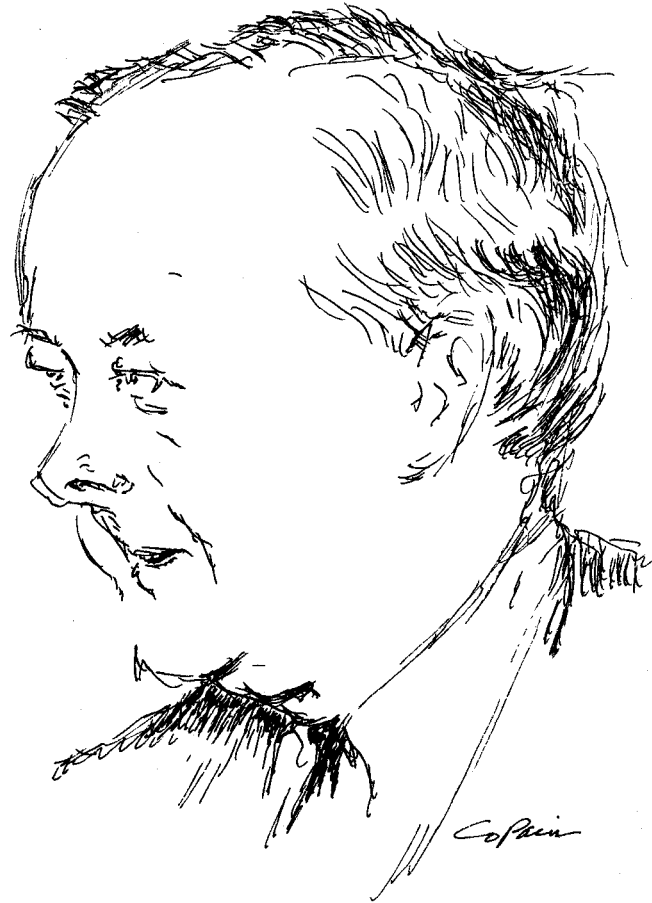
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WITCH-HUNTERS TRY TO DISRUPT OCTOBER 27 LONDON ANTIWAR MARCH

Alleged plots, anonymous phone calls, mysterious leaflets -- all the traditional tools of the witch-hunters' trade -- are being put to use by the British press in the hope of frightening people away from the massive demonstration against U.S. aggression in Vietnam to be held in London October 27. Wide play has been given to demands from right-wing Tories to ban the march or arrest its leaders.

The London Times, which has called editorially for banning the antiwar march, said October 15, "A leaflet threatening to disrupt London Underground railway stations on October 27, the day planned for an anti-Vietnam war demonstration, was being examined by police experts last night."

The leaflet, which was unsigned, "was sent anonymously to the Evening News yesterday, and the newspaper sent it to Scotland Yard. Detectives later interviewed a number of known extremist students living in London.

"Among stations mentioned on the leaflet were Green Park, Hyde Park, Strand, Piccadilly Circus, and Trafalgar Square. The leaflet also disclosed plans to alter signs on some platforms which would confuse passengers and cause chaos."

Not satisfied with causing "chaos," the mysterious authors of the leaflet have even more sinister aims in mind, according to the Times:

"The main reason for this disruption would be to divert police attention while violent activities were concentrated on other parts of London."

The Times was kind enough to add that a representative of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the organization that initiated the march, "said they knew nothing about the leaflet."

In the same article the Times reported that the Press Association had received an anonymous phone call by "a man speaking in an Irish accent" who allegedly warned them that the "new" Irish Republican Army would attack government buildings in London if an official inquiry were not held into the police attack on civil-rights marchers in Derry in Northern Ireland earlier this month. The Times intimated there might be some connection between this alleged "plot" and the October 27 demonstration: "The I.R.A. have said that 'in certain circumstances' they will use student demonstrations to achieve their aims."

The scare campaign was given another

boost October 13 when two fires broke out in the Imperial War Museum in South London. Police claimed that the fires had been set by gasoline bombs. Although no one knew why or by whom the fires had been started, the Guardian on October 15 tried to use the incident as ammunition against the antiwar movement:

"The fires occurring in a building commemorating war a fortnight before the massive Vietnam demonstration in London suggest that there might be some link."

As if on cue, another anonymous phone user, claiming to be a museum firebug, made "hot" copy for the press.

"Yesterday," the Guardian continued, "a young man made an anonymous telephone call to the Press Association. He said he was a member of a group of students responsible for the fire at the war museum. It had been started, he said, to give publicity to the Vietnam demonstration, and other buildings of significance to the State in Central London would be future targets." The Guardian didn't bother to call the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign for a denial before printing the inflammatory charges from such a dubious source. The unknown caller, however, seemed to have been concerned about the risk of innocent people being held responsible for his incendiary threats. He magnanimously volunteered the information that he had nothing to do with the National Socialist Movement or the Free Wales Army.

Meanwhile, Arthur Carr, a right-wing Tory, demanded that the march be banned because of an entirely different "plot" which he alone knew of. He attributed his information to "impeccable" but nameless sources. The London Evening News featured his charges in its October 15 issue, a remarkably busy day for "revelations" on this subject:

"I have impeccable sources of information," Carr claimed, "that three Britannia aircraft from Lloyd International Airways have been engaged on student flights from this country and Europe to Cuba for what is described as a six weeks' course."

"I also understand that these aircraft have been booked to bring students from parts of Europe to Stansted on October 25 -- two days before the London demonstration. I do not believe these six week courses in Cuba were to learn how to carry banners or to march properly. I believe they were intended to learn the techniques of insurrection and sabotage."

A spokesman for Lloyd International

Airways said that the only flights to Cuba his company had arranged were five "cultural flights" and that no flights were scheduled into Stansted on October 25.

As each paper raises the ante on its competitors, the plot stories escalate. Thus the "crime correspondent" of the Daily Telegraph writes October 16, "Police measures are being taken in London following a report that two leaders of the Irish Republican Army are in the capital for talks about attacks on Government buildings. A possible link with the demonstrations planned for Oct. 27 is not overlooked."

A new anonymous call, this time with a message from the "No. 2 Commandant of the IRA," announced attacks on government buildings "within 72 hours."

Not to be outdone, the October 16 Times announced that its news team had interviewed "a leading anarchist" who told them that as for "targets" during the demonstration, "thousands of possibilities have been mentioned." The "leading anarchist" discreetly mentioned only a few: "the Stock Exchange, the Bank of England, Downing Street, the telephone exchange..."

The Times also reported that Home Secretary Callaghan had drafted an order to be issued in the next few days banning foreign students from entering Britain to take part in the October 27 demonstration "if they have known records of violence." The Times added, "A list of students with convictions for violence has been compiled by Scotland Yard with the help of European governments."

The October 15 London Evening Standard featured calls by two Tory M.P.s demanding action against march organizers:

"Mr. Patrick Wall (Haltemprice) gave notice that he is to ask Mr. Callaghan, Home Secretary, what steps he is taking to control known agitators in view of the widespread incitement to violence now taking place in preparation for the occasion.

"And Mr. Tom Iremonger (Ilford North) announced that he is to seek leave to bring in a Private Member's Bill to amend the Public Order Act, 1936.

"The proposed change would provide for the identification, imprisonment and subsequent deportation of people other than British subjects and of alien militant agitators taking part in, or conspiring in the preparation of lawful public demonstrations." [Emphasis added.]

This vindictive proposal is aimed primarily at Tariq Ali, leader of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Last May Robert Mellish, minister of public build-

ing and works and London chairman of the Labour party, called for Tariq Ali's deportation to his native Pakistan for his role in the antiwar movement.

The intent of this campaign of hysteria and slander against the antiwar movement is clear. Its optimum goal is to have the march banned or to frighten away enough people to keep it small. Failing in both those aims, it is calculated to prepare "public opinion" for a violent police attack on the marchers.

The organizers of the demonstration have responded to the provocations of the press with calm declarations that they are not seeking a violent confrontation with police October 27. The October 15 Guardian, in a very small article, reported: "Mr. Tariq Ali, leader of the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, told a meeting of students in Newcastle yesterday that those taking part in the demonstration in London on October 27 were being instructed not to provoke the police...."

"There was likely to be some violence because of the hysteria that had been whipped up. He said: 'I am opposed to a futile punchup, but if we are attacked or some of our friends are attacked, we are not going to sit on the ground and let ourselves be carted off.'"

The October 27 demonstration has rallied broad support on the left in Britain. The October 27 Ad Hoc Committee, which is the official sponsor of the march, is an antiwar coalition containing many organizations. In addition to the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, which initiated the action, participants include the Young Communist League, Young Liberals, Stop-It Committee, Australians and New Zealanders Against the War, International Socialism, the International Marxist Group [affiliated to the Fourth International], Independent Labour party, Radical Students' Alliance, Revolutionary Students' Socialist Federation, and Plaid Cymru [Welsh Nationalist party].

The only significant organization on the left which is not taking part in the demonstration is the Socialist Labour League. An editorial in the October 8 issue of the SLL's official newspaper The Newsletter laid down the line: "This demonstration will be nothing more than a degradation of Marxist theory and its subversion to an unprincipled alliance.... We will, therefore, have nothing to do with this demonstration."

The SLL called on all those who agreed with its simon-pure sectarianism to participate in a conference to discuss trade-union questions the same weekend as the antiwar march. The conference is to be held in Birmingham, a respectably safe distance from the events in London.

## AMERICAN SOLDIERS JOIN ANTIWAR MARCH IN SAN FRANCISCO

More than 500 active-duty American servicemen from Northern California bases joined a massive march of 15,000 in San Francisco October 12 against the war in Vietnam. This was the first time that such a large group of GIs have taken part in a public demonstration against the war. Participants included men and women from army, navy and air force units, both enlisted personnel and some junior officers.

The military brass had attempted to prevent the historic march from taking place. GI organizers of the march were given transfer orders to get them out of the area on October 12, but a vigorous campaign in their defense forced the orders to be rescinded; and all were present. Several units were restricted to their bases. The Special Processing Detachment at the Presidio of San Francisco was given orders for special formations every two hours throughout the day. Many from this unit came anyway, joining the march late.

During the march and the rally that followed, plainclothes military police attempted to harass servicemen in the crowd; but demonstrators protected the antiwar GIs. An eyewitness account by George Johnson in the October 25 issue of the socialist weekly The Militant said:

"At one point three agents were chased into a San Francisco police station wagon, which they entered through the tailgate, and at another, two more agents were blocked when they tried to

question a GI. The GI, protected by the crowd, escaped in a student's car. A shore-patrol vehicle that had picked up a uniformed sailor was chased for a block."

At the rally in San Francisco's Civic Center, telegrams and letters of support were read from GIs in Vietnam and throughout the country. One message from an antiwar soldier in Vietnam said, "Hundreds of GIs I've talked to here agree with me....Let me know how I can help."

Jacques Micheud, an airman from Hamilton Air Force Base, told the crowd, "If we could get millions, I think we could stop the war in Vietnam or war anywhere else where they're going to kill innocent people. And I think GIs more and more are seeing this -- they don't want to keep on killing people."

David Kleinberg, a Vietnam veteran, described a mortar attack by the National Liberation Front on his camp at Cu Chi in which two of his friends were killed. He said, "When Burns stumbled out of that bunker into the arms of Larry Craig, he didn't mumble, 'those bastard Vietcong'; he didn't mumble, 'those bastard communists'....He mumbled only one thing over and over: 'that bastard Johnson, that bastard Johnson.'"

Lieutenant Hugh Smith, one of the GI organizers of the march, told the crowd, "For the first time in wartime, GIs have come out against national policy. GIs have entered into the fabric of American politics."

## MORE THAN 800,000 IN JAPANESE ANTIWAR PROTEST

Students and workers in Japan staged massive demonstrations October 21 protesting the war in Vietnam and the Japan-United States Security Treaty, and demanding the U.S. get out of Okinawa. The Japanese press estimated that 800,000 took part in the actions throughout the country.

The "International Antiwar Day" was planned to coincide with the October 27 march scheduled in London and the October 26 demonstration called by the Student Mobilization Committee in the U.S.

In Tokyo, riot police fought students in front of the headquarters of the Japanese Self-Defense Agency, at the Diet [parliament], and in the massive Shinjuku railroad station. A serious clash between students and police also took place in Osaka. More than 700 people were arrested

in the two cities and many were injured.

Arrested students were held under a rarely used "antiriot" law that was invoked for the first time in sixteen years. Shinjuku station, Tokyo's busiest, was closed overnight by the demonstration.

The Tokyo city government brought out 12,000 riot police to use against the demonstrators. The students used wooden sticks to defend themselves from the cops. The police were armed with clubs and metal shields, and used armored water cannons against the students. More than 6,000 demonstrators tried to march on the U.S. embassy but were stopped by police.

Many unions staged demonstrations during the day and several held one-hour work stoppages and shop rallies to denounce U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

A VICTORY FOR THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

Osaka

A massive nationwide one-hour strike, organized by public service workers the morning of October 8, followed that evening by antiwar demonstrations in all major cities, gave new impetus to the antiwar movement in Japan.

More than 1,200,000 workers in the public schools (from primary to university level), train and bus service systems of big cities, and municipal or prefectural offices took part in the strike. They were demanding a wage increase as recommended by the National Personnel Authority last May. The strike was the largest in the four-year history of unified striking.

This strike had another meaning to the public service workers: it was a preliminary rally for the international antiwar demonstration scheduled for October 21.

More than ten thousand antiwar demonstrators gathered in major cities the evening of October 8. They were demanding the unconditional return of Okinawa to Japan and protesting the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty that has enabled the government to involve the nation in the imperialist invasion of Vietnam.

In Tokyo 3,500 students occupied

Shinjuku station, one of the biggest railway stations of the capital. Train service had to be stopped for an hour when the students sat down on the tracks, protesting the transport of fuel to U.S. army bases.

The police announced October 9 that nearly a thousand demonstrators had been injured in Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka. This included 718 police injured in the Shinjuku station in Tokyo.

In Osaka workers and students demonstrated in the big boulevards of the city, and were cheered by many spectators. Police here announced the next day that seventeen demonstrators had been wounded and fifteen arrested. More than two thousand took part in the demonstration.

There seems to be a general shift of sentiment to the left throughout the nation in reaction to the police violence. All signs are very promising for a big success in the international antiwar demonstration October 21.

The date for the October 8 protest was chosen as the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Yamazaki of Kyoto University. He was killed last year during the demonstration at Haneda International Airport against Premier Sato's visiting the U.S., and committing Japan to support the Vietnam war.

POLICE ATTACK CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Sharp clashes between police and demonstrating workers broke out in Derry city in Northern Ireland October 5. The police attacked a civil-rights march staged by the workers to protest the high rate of unemployment and the gerrymandered and rigged election system that virtually disfranchised Derry's Catholic majority. Control of the city government is in the hands of a strongly pro-British section of the Protestant minority.

Eamonn McCann, a leader of the demonstration and a correspondent of Intercontinental Press, wrote the following account October 6:

"As I write, Derry is a city under siege. Riot police patrol the fringes of the Catholic ghetto area in armoured cars. Barricades have been erected and Molotov cocktails, bricks and other improvised weapons are being used by the people. Police are making sporadic sorties into the area but, at this time, have not succeeded in establishing a foothold.

"This is the second day of violence in Derry. Yesterday afternoon police stopped a peaceful civil rights march with unexampled brutality. Men were beaten on the testicles. Water cannons drove people fleeing from the area back into the police lines.

"In Duke Street two double lines of police with batons drawn boxed in about a thousand people and, advancing simultaneously, commenced a sickening, systematic bludgeoning. An eighteen-year-old reporter, Martin Cowley, vainly displaying his press credentials, was repeatedly beaten to the ground by District Inspector Ross McGimpie.... One middle-aged man was seized by two policemen and flung bodily over a wall. He was found there later by Labour party officials. His leg was broken.

"Fighting spread to the centre of the city during the evening as police beat the people back into the Catholic ghetto. Houses were turned into casualty

centres as the injured were carried back from the barricades."

The Belfast police announced afterward that twenty-seven demonstrators had been arrested and that ninety-six had been injured. McCann testifies that the number of injured was much higher, many preferring to take first-aid treatment at home or in a casualty centre rather than risk arrest by going to a hospital. The police set the number of participants at 800, but this figure is also believed to be low.

McCann describes an incident that gives a good indication of the spirit of the protestors. When police stopped the march in Duke Street, the demonstrators held a meeting there in the street to decide what to do. When one speaker urged the crowd to disperse, he was greeted by shouts of "What about the Mexican students?" and "If Vietnam can take on the Yanks, we can take on that lot!"

The British press opened a witch-hunt against the civil-rights demonstrators. The October 7 London Times, for example, gave prominent display to a red-baiting statement by William Craig, minister of home affairs of Northern Ireland:

"Mr. Craig said the police had photographic evidence that prominent members of the I.R.A. [Irish Republican Army] were in the civil rights procession... He said he was satisfied that the majority opinion in the I.R.A. council was communist, and added: 'We are quite satisfied that a substantial amount of explosives was in the area and it might only be a matter of time until this sort of activity is renewed.'"

Writing from Derry the night before Craig's statement, Eamonn McCann noted similar charges that had appeared in Belfast papers:

"The desperate attempts of Unionist spokesmen to brand the civil rights movement as IRA-led are an attempt to eliminate the possibility of Protestant working-class support."

The real grievances of the civil-rights movement are over questions of class and national oppression, not religious belief. The October 7 London Times reports that unemployment in "Londonderry" [Derry] stands at 27 percent. The Times also describes the property qualifications required to vote:

"Northern Ireland's electoral system, with its business votes, angers the poorer Roman Catholic sections of the community who cannot vote unless they are ratepayers. Under this system, about 2,000 people in Londonderry alone cannot go to the polls [in a total population of

56,000]."

McCann adds that this system "gives the rich extra votes according to the ratable valuation of their property. Sir Basil McFarlane, for example, has twenty-six votes in a municipal election. I am a 25-year-old worker. I have none."

Another sore point with the civil-rights movement is the Northern Ireland Special Powers Act, which gives the police the right to arrest without warrant and intern indefinitely without trial.

McCann traces the first indication of the new radicalization to the formation of the Derry Housing Action Committee in February 1968. The Corporation [city government], controlled by the Tory-Unionist party, has built only fifteen houses during the past three years. The Housing Action Committee, McCann reports, contains Republicans, left-wing members of the local Labour party, Trotskyists and unaffiliated radicals.

The Action Committee began a campaign of civil disobedience. "It disrupted Corporation meetings and organised rent strikes. In June it blocked a main bus route for forty-eight hours with the caravan-home of a family of four. Landlords' homes were picketed, official ceremonies broken up. By August some twenty members had been in court for various offences." The committee publishes a newsletter called Reality.

The current radicalization was strengthened by a shift toward the left in the local Labour party. In addition, the local Republican Club, an illegal organization, came into the open with posters at housing demonstrations, defying the government ban.

Particularly significant, McCann writes, "is that there has been no Catholic versus Protestant confrontation...."

"The Protestant working class is passive at the moment. Since the police have sealed off the Catholic area, it has been impossible to get through to make appeals. However, Labour party and Young Socialist speakers at the barricades have denounced attempts by fringe hooligan elements to advance 'get the Protestants' as a slogan."

The pretext the police used for attacking the October 5 civil-rights march was a last-minute ban issued by minister of home affairs Craig. The restriction order was directed to Eamonn Melaugh, secretary of the Derry Housing Action Committee; Finbar O'Doherty, chairman of the ad-hoc organizing committee for the march; John Gallagher, chief marshal of the pa-

rade; and Eamonn McCann.

A sympathy demonstration for the Derry marchers was held in Dublin October 12. The London Sunday Times, which said there were 300 participants, described the action in its October 13 issue:

"Demonstrators protesting against alleged Protestant repression of Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland attacked police with petrol bombs and sticks outside

the British Embassy in Dublin last night.

"Then they marched away, throwing sticks and smashing the windows of several Government buildings and the Shelbourne Hotel, scene of a clash between police and civil rights demonstrators earlier this year.

"At least three policemen were reported injured and about 10 youths were arrested."

#### SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY HEADQUARTERS BOMBED IN LOS ANGELES

The Los Angeles, California, headquarters of the Socialist Workers party was bombed by right-wing terrorists October 16. The bomb, which went off in the stairway leading to the second story offices, was believed to have been set by counterrevolutionary Cubans.

There was extensive damage to the stairway, a hole was blown in the wall between the stairway and a store, a window and door were knocked out in the SWP headquarters, and an office in the headquarters was damaged. No one was injured, although there were ten people in the building at the time. The bombers left a sticker reading, "United Cuban Power."

Fred Halstead and Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president, issued a statement in New York City the following day denouncing the terrorist action.

"It was a deed nurtured by the violence-breeding policies of the government and the Democratic and Republican parties," the socialist candidates said. "The war of aggression Washington is waging in Vietnam and the bipartisan campaign against Cuba create a climate where right-wing groups and individuals are encouraged to carry on their own 'anticommunist' campaigns...."

"The terrorists hope to intimidate the antiwar, black power and revolutionary socialist movements by such nefarious acts, but they won't succeed. We are confident that all of our supporters across the country will react to this bombing by redoubling their efforts to build the antiwar and black liberation movements, and

the movement to abolish the capitalist system that causes such violence.

"The terrorists also hope to discourage our defense of the Cuban Revolution, but here too they have failed. We will intensify our campaign in support of Cuba."

At a press conference in Los Angeles October 17 Joel Britton, organizer of the Socialist Workers party in that city, said the bomb exploded while a discussion was taking place in the headquarters on solidarity actions with the students in Mexico. The conference was well attended by the press, radio and television. Britton protested the way police had handled the incident. One cop, he told reporters, had said, "Too bad the bomb wasn't twice as big."

By the time of the press conference statements of support had already been received from a number of figures in the antiwar and Mexican-American (Chicano) movements in Los Angeles. These included Irving Sarnoff, chairman of the Los Angeles Peace Action Council; Raul Ruiz, editor of Chicano Student; Robert Freeman, executive board member, Committee for the Defense of the Bill of Rights; Oscar Acosta, attorney for the "Chicano Thirteen"; and Michael McCabe of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the SWP, sent a message declaring that "the national membership of the Socialist Workers Party stands ready to give you every necessary aid in the continuing fight."

#### BARRIENTOS HAUNTED BY SPECTER OF GUEVARA

General Barrientos is a haunted man. On October 18 while revolutionists commemorated the first anniversary of Che Guevara's death, Barrientos issued an appeal to Bolivians to join him in fighting

new guerrillas active in the country. He said that "thanks to the work of Bolivian and foreign agitators, who are lavishly paid mercenaries," the guerrillas "create disorder and poverty in Bolivia."



MAJORITY OF IRAQI CP GIVE UP "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

An important development has taken place in the Communist movement of Iraq in recent months indicating a new radicalization under way in that Middle Eastern nation.

Earlier this year a split took place in the Iraqi Communist party in which a sizable group broke with the pro-Moscow leadership of the party over the question of the leadership's support to the reactionary Aref regime. The split to the left assumes particular importance in light of the double military coups d'état which took place July 17 and 30, placing in power an even more right-wing military dictatorship.

The new CP organization, led by Aziz Al-Haj, a left-wing member of the CP Central Committee before the split, has reportedly undertaken guerrilla warfare in the marshes of south Iraq. This may have been a factor in the decision of the military to stage the July 17 coup.

Eric Rouleau, writing from Bagdad in the October 9 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde, said that one of the leaders of the July 17 coup, Colonel Abdel Razzek Nayef, told reporters the day after Aref was deposed that the government had been "too feeble" to deliver a crushing blow to the guerrillas. Nayef was himself overthrown July 30 by his "close collaborator," General Ahmed Hassan El Bakr.

A statement issued in September by the Organising Committee of the Organisation of Arab Revolutionary Socialists Abroad gives some background to the split in the Iraqi CP.

"The recent developments in the Iraqi Communist party," they write, "and the emergence of Aziz Al-Haj's faction -- which seems to command the support of the majority of the rank and file of the party and its 'mass' organizations -- has been the result of a long fermentation process. This started on a very limited scale, originally around 1962-63 when it became clear that Kassem's regime was doomed and bound to fall.

"The official leadership of the CP had always identified the July 1958 revolution with the person of Kassem, supporting him fully and uncritically, even to the point of keeping silent about Kassem's massacres and the armed suppression of the Kurdish revolution, among many other issues. The CP failed to pursue an independent and revolutionary policy of its own."

When Kassem was overthrown in February 1963, the new Ba'ath regime began a slaughter of the left:

"Thousands of members of the CP and other independent leftists and militants lost their lives.

"At this time the first doubts as to the correctness of the policy of the leadership of the CP towards Kassem began to appear among the rank and file."

Aref's overthrow of the Ba'ath regime gave the CP bureaucrats an opportunity to renew the democratic illusions they had propagated under Kassem. The Aref government demagogically attacked the Ba'ath party for the mass slaughter and torture of political prisoners.

"This was followed," the Arab Revolutionary Socialists said, "by the 'nationalization measures' (through full compensation by the state to the owners) of some banks, textile factories, insurance companies, etc., coupled with the 'new' regime reestablishing some economic and commercial deals with the Soviet Union.... This led the Central Committee of the CP to label the regime as 'progressive' and stress the possibility of pushing it further to the 'left.'"

This pronouncement led to a sharp reaction among the CP membership:

"For the majority of the rank and file of the party this was the limit they could tolerate from the leadership. They felt deeply that nothing had seriously changed, that there was nothing new and positive in Aref's regime. Even the faces of the rulers were the same, except for a few who were no better, and the class nature of the regime was basically the same as the previous one."

Under pressure from the rank and file, the Central Committee was reorganized. Led by Aziz Al-Haj, a critical opposition appeared in the new Central Committee. "The official leadership, which represented the 'majority' and enjoyed the support of Moscow, started publicly to label the new opposition and its leader as 'traitors,' 'opportunists,' 'ultralefts,' 'sectarians,' etc."

This fight led to an open split in the Iraqi Communist party. The Arab Revolutionary Socialists continue:

"Although today each of the two factions claims to be the party itself, the fact is that Aziz Al-Haj's faction (i.e., the previous opposition) is the majority. He has four followers and supporters out of every seven members of the party. Even most of the CP-led organizations abroad (i.e., student organizations), including the one in the Soviet Union itself,



are with Al-Haj's faction."

The central issue in the split, according to the Organisation of Arab Revolutionary Socialists Abroad, was the question of armed struggle against the Aref regime:

"From the political and ideological point of view, the question of armed struggle constitutes the basic issue for which this new faction stands. Unlike the other, old-line faction, it no longer believes in the capability of the 'national bourgeoisie' to lead and achieve the democratic stage of the revolution....

"On the international level, Al-Haj's organization (although it still tries to win the support of Moscow against the other faction) believes in independence from Moscow and in 'neutrality' in the Sino-Soviet dispute.... This new group also has a lot of respect and admiration for the Cuban revolution and its leaders."

The Arab Revolutionary Socialists state their view of the new organization:

"From a revolutionary Marxist point of view, for a certain section of the official Communist (Stalinist) movement to believe in armed struggle and the revolutionary overthrow of a reactionary regime, and not in the 'legal' and 'peaceful' means of struggle and opposition, is definitely a healthy and positive development which must be welcomed and encour-

aged. Furthermore, this development in the Iraqi CP is in a certain manner unique.... for rarely has an official CP undergone a split on such a scale, or given birth from within to a relatively revolutionary tendency of such size and following.

"It is clear from its documents, that Al-Haj's organization.... tries correctly to combine the struggle of the peasant masses of the south with the Kurdish revolution in the north, at the same time emphasizing the role of the proletariat of the big cities as well as that of progressive elements in the armed forces, above all the rank-and-file soldiers."

The first guerrilla battles of Al-Haj's organization were carried out in May and June under the leadership of the newly formed Front for Popular Struggle. The Organisation of Arab Revolutionary Socialists Abroad declared:

"Finally, for our part, we welcome the emergence of the Front for Popular Struggle in Iraq and salute those of its militants who fell during the clashes of June 3, 1968, among whom was Khalid Zeki, an honest and serious comrade whom most of us knew personally."

Khalid Zeki was an Iraqi exile who lived in London for a number of years. At one time he was one of Bertrand Russell's secretaries. He returned secretly to Iraq earlier this year. He and eight other guerrillas were killed after a fourteen-hour battle with a force of 700 police.

#### MEXICAN STUDENTS STAND FIRM ON THREE CONDITIONS

[The following statement by the leadership of the Mexican student movement, the National Strike Committee (Consejo Nacional de Huelga -- CNH) was published as an ad in the Mexico City daily El Día of October 12. Most of the members of this body were arrested at the time of the October 2 massacre in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Mexico City. Some were killed. Those who escaped death or imprisonment are now being hunted by the police.

[The remaining members of the CNH took out this ad in order to answer the rumors which the notoriously venal Mexican capitalist press persistently spread, both before and after the massacre, that the CNH was ready to negotiate a settlement of the student conflict on the government's terms. This ad was submitted to all the major Mexico City dailies; only the liberal El Día published it.]

\* \* \*

The CNH finds itself compelled to

clarify its positions in view of the recent events and the statements by direct participants in the conflict.

1. We for our part have always maintained that the conflict must be solved through frank and direct dialogue with the representatives of the federal government.

2. We entered into preliminary discussions with emissaries from the federal government in an attempt to find ways to an understanding. We sought an understanding which would permit us, without sacrificing our political principles, to achieve the necessary preconditions for a public dialogue on the six points in our list of demands.

It must be pointed out here that compañeros Luis González de Alba, Gilberto Guevara Niebla, and Anselmo Muñoz were the first CNH representatives to meet with the honorable Jorge de la Vega Domínguez and Andrés Caso. These compañeros met with them on the morning of October 2, and were

arrested that afternoon at the exact moment the massacre in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas started. As a result these compañeros found themselves unable to continue the discussions.

3. In spite of the repressive atmosphere that prevailed, the discussions continued.

We declare that at the start and in an atmosphere of mutual respect, the students reiterated that three demands had to be met in order to open a public dialogue:

(1) Freedom for the political prisoners jailed because of this movement.

(2) Total and permanent cessation of police and military repression.

(3) Withdrawal of the army and police from the schools under their control.

4. From the moment these discussions became known to the public, a full-scale press campaign opened up, claiming that we were anxious to accept a settlement on the government's terms. This position would amount to capitulation from all points of view and we will never capitulate. We declare, so that no one may misjudge the firmness of our principles, that under no circumstances will we agree to discuss our demands until all those arrested because of the development of this movement are free.

5. We must repeat that if we sus-

ended the mass meetings and demonstrations in support of our demands it was essentially due to the violent repression which the government has unleashed and to which we cannot irresponsibly expose our ranks. But we emphatically state that we will make use of our freedom of expression and assembly and our right to demonstrate by whatever means we consider appropriate, because the Constitution grants us these rights.

6. Since the Consejo Nacional de Huelga seeks democratic objectives it cannot employ violence or issue appeals to violence. Therefore, it rejects responsibility for the response evoked by the government's violent repression. It considers that the government alone bears the responsibility for any such eventuality since it is blocking the pathways to a democratic resolution of the social conflict it is up against.

7. We have clearly and firmly declared our position in favor of, and our readiness for a dialogue. Now the next move is up to the government, if it has any desire to seek settlement of our demands.

8. We declare that the students will never cease to struggle to defend democratic freedoms in our country.

Consejo Nacional de Huelga

Roberto Escudero

Mexico, D.F.

October 11, 1968

#### OLYMPIC ATHLETES "SHOCKED AND HORRIFIED"

The press has blocked out news on the reaction of the athletes at the Olympic Games to the massacre at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. A lone October 4 Reuters dispatch from Mexico City went into the wastebaskets. Tana De Gamez reported it in her news broadcast over radio station WBAI in New York October 5.

"Many Olympic athletes were shocked and horrified by the bloodshed during violent clashes between troops and student demonstrators here," Reuters reported.

"The Olympics are not important enough for people to die for and I do not want to run on the blood of other people," said 24-year-old Italian hurdler Eddy Ottoz. "If students are being killed so that the games can be held, then I say the Olympics are not worth one human life."

Other comments by athletes reported by Reuters included the following:

Danish Oarsman John Erik Jensen said, "We can see that the police have too much power in Mexico." He pointed to the stark contrast between the living conditions of the athletes and of the Mexican workers as a source of future struggles: "They work in the Olympic Village during the day and then go back to their poor houses at night. Maybe they will say 'We can live better too' and there will be even bigger demonstrations."

The captain of the Pakistan hockey team, Tariq Aziz, said, "It is difficult to comment when we don't really know what happened. But if the demonstration was peaceful then the troops' action was butchery."

Ilona Gusenbauer, 21, the Austrian high-jump champion, said, "This is terrible. Before I came here I thought reports in the European press were exaggerated. We do not know the full extent of this, but I think all people might have a right

to demonstrate against old things. If demonstrations get out of hand they could use water to break them up. Shooting is awful."

Libyan army sergeant Mohammed Kalifa, a participant in the 400-meter hurdle, said, "We do not want anyone to get killed. We would like the students and

government to meet and discuss a solution to the unrest."

Mauricio Ventallo, a lawyer and member of the Spanish hockey team, said, "I do not understand the student problem here and so cannot comment on that angle but I cannot believe the police brutality ....was necessary."

#### "CONFESSIONS" EXTRACTED BY TORTURE, SAY MEXICAN STUDENTS

In an effort to cover up for their crimes in the October 2 massacre in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, the Mexican authorities have been torturing fantastic "confessions" out of a few of the thousands of students arrested at the time of the massacre.

Some of those from whom such "confessions" were wrung managed to get a disavowal into the Mexico City liberal daily El Día of October 18:

"We are not responsible for the bloody events of October 2 on the Plaza

de las Tres Culturas. The statements we have made up until now have been exacted from us by torture.

"The police fired pitilessly on the defenseless crowd attending the meeting. We did not offer the least resistance and we did not use fire arms."

Among the students signing this statement was Socrates Campos Lemus, who had made declarations implicating a number of prominent Mexican political personalities in a "plot" against the government.

#### BRAZILIAN STUDENT LEADERSHIP CAPTURED BY POLICE

Police in Brazil succeeded in seizing more than 1,000 students, including virtually the entire national leadership of the student movement, in a mass raid during the night of October 12. The cops dragged the students from their beds at an underground congress of the outlawed UNE [União Nacional dos Estudantes -- National Student Union] in the village of Ibiuna near São Paulo.

The police said that they were "forced" to kill and wound several students who resisted arrest. Netted in the government swoop were the three most prominent leaders of the UNE, Vladimir Palmeira, José Dirceu, and Luis Tavassos, along with six journalists who were covering the congress.

In the October 15 issue of Le Monde, special correspondent Irénée Guimaraes described the circumstances of the government's greatest success to date against the militant student movement.

Having succeeded twice before in holding underground congresses in direct defiance of the strong-arm regime, the students proclaimed months in advance in general terms when and where they were going to hold their congress.

Under the conditions of intensifying struggle in the country, Guimaraes considers that it was an extremely risky venture to give the government a chance

to catch a whole group of student leaders at once. Furthermore, in view of this gamble, the preparations for the congress seem to have been hasty and careless.

The purchase of unusual amounts of provisions in the little town of Ibiuna aroused suspicion among local merchants. They tipped off the police.

The full repercussions of the arrests on the student movement cannot yet be assessed. In a country ruled by a brutal dictatorship which has whipped up successive waves of reactionary terrorism, the jailed leaders are in grave danger.

In addition, the arrests came during a sharp factional struggle in the UNE over the complex and dangerous tasks facing the student movement.

Indications are, however, that the students are fighting back hard against the government's repression.

Since October 14, student demonstrations have been multiplying in Recife, Bahia, Brazilia, and Rio de Janeiro, with lightning street meetings and violent actions.

The students have declared that they will meet every government attack by carrying the struggle to a higher level, to the point of a general student strike and even "more extraordinary means."

Mexico City -- October 2

"I LAY ON THE GROUND WITH BLOOD POURING OUT..."

An Italian newspaperwoman who was gunned down by Mexican troops and police in the October 2 massacre at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas survived the shooting to denounce the action of the Mexican government as worse than Vietnam.

Oriana Fallaci, 40, was the woman who appeared in the widely circulated Associated Press photographs showing her with two men trapped on a balcony under fire from the troops. The two men with her were killed. She was shot in the back, the thigh and the knee.

The New York Post printed the AP photos October 3 with the following caption:

"These blurred photos taken in the heat of battle in Mexico City last night tell a stark drama of death. In top photo one man (at left) is slumped dead while man and woman plead over balcony for help. No help comes, and in middle photo woman has fallen dead. The man continues to cry for aid. None comes. In the bottom photo he, too, is dead."

Miss Fallaci, the only survivor on the balcony, in a return from the dead highly embarrassing to the Mexican government, told newsmen the next day, "I have covered the Vietnam war, but I have never seen anything similar to what happened last night."

An Associated Press dispatch from Mexico City reported the wounded newspaperwoman's description of her experience, but few papers seem to have printed it. It did appear in the October 4 Los Angeles Times.

"I was standing on a balcony overlooking the plaza," Oriana Fallaci told reporters from a hospital bed in Mexico City, "with some student leaders who were speaking to the crowd."

"Everything was quiet. I didn't expect any trouble. Suddenly a helicopter loomed over the building and dropped a flare. In a matter of seconds, police charged into the building, broke into the apartment and arrested all of us."

"I was brought forcefully down to the plaza. For the first time I saw the soldiers. There was wild shooting all

over the place. I even had the feeling soldiers and policemen were trading shots in the great confusion.

"I dashed for shelter. When I had almost made it, I felt a terrible pain in my back and my leg. I realized I was hit."

"I lay on the ground with blood pouring out of my body. Every time I tried to raise my head and call for help, a policeman was pointing his gun at me."

"It was a terrible, unbelievable thing."

Associated Press photographer Jesús Díaz, who took the dramatic pictures of the shooting of Oriana Fallaci, told the wire service how he managed to evade the attempts of the Mexican secret police to confiscate his film.

"The photographer was lying on a terrace of an apartment building," the AP dispatch said, "and saw people running to get away from machine-gun fire." Following is Díaz' account of what happened:

"Then I heard the lady scream and fall wounded. There was another burst of gunfire and two more persons fell to the ground, badly wounded."

"While I was lying down I loaded my camera and began to shoot, hiding my camera between my legs because secret police and soldiers were forbidding photographs and confiscating cameras and film."

"The woman was yelling for help. Then I saw that the two men beside her were dead and another body was lying nearby."

"Very carefully I took the roll out of my camera and stuck it inside my jacket. It turned out to be the only roll that was not taken away and confiscated by the secret police."

"Police held me and 40 others for more than an hour in a bedroom of one of the apartments during the gunfight. Finally a secret police friend of mine recognized me and let me go."

Díaz said four rolls of film were taken from him. He added that "police insulted, kicked and beat photographers from other countries as well as Mexicans."

ELENA GARRO REPORTED MISSING

Agence France-Presse reported October 9 that Elena Garro, a well-known Mexican writer, had been missing for two days.

She was named in a "confession" by Socrates Campos Lemus as having been involved in a "plot" against the Díaz regime.

Mexico City -- October 2

"SOMETHING OUT OF A NIGHTMARE"

[The following account of the October 2 massacre in Tlatelolco appeared in a special (undated) issue of Por Qué?, an independent magazine published in Mexico City. The special 48-page issue of 300,000 copies, devoted entirely to the massacre, carries numerous photographs of the attack mounted by federal troops and the police as well as victims murdered by the government forces. A copy can be obtained by sending five pesos (US\$.50) to Por Qué?, Monterrey 70, Colonia Roma, Mexico 7, D.F., Mexico.

[The translation below is by Intercontinental Press.]

\* \* \*

It was something horrifying, something out of a nightmare. Flocks of hysterical small children, separated from their parents in the midst of the confu-



GUILTY. Luis Cueto Ramirez, Mexico City's chief of police. According to Gen. Garcia Barragan, Cueto asked that federal troops be sent to the Plaza de las Tres Culturas.

sion, ran wildly about, often right into the murderous guns which swept the crowd pitilessly. A group of these terrified children passed by the place where I had taken cover. Suddenly the head of one of them seemed to explode, perhaps struck by an expanding bullet and the little fellow thrashed around on the ground.

His companions fled but a child of about six, stupefied, who certainly had no idea of death, tried futilely to revive him. He shook the inert little body desperately, crying, "Beto, Beto, what's the matter with you?" His voice broke, becoming a hoarse murmur until it completely faded away. The two little bodies stretched out on the asphalt tightly clasped in an embrace.

When I was able to come out from behind cover neither of them was moving. Perhaps both of them were dead. This scene will remain indelibly imprinted on my mind. Probably my cowardice prevented me from saving the life of the second child by pulling him into the gutter. But bullets were whistling from everywhere and the instinct for self-preservation is a terribly egoistic thing.

It was a stupid massacre conceived by sick minds. What happened in Tlatelolco the evening of October 2, 1968, will go down as one of the blackest pages in our history. And History, with a capital "H," will condemn those who prepared this ambush against the people and those who carried it out.

Because, while obeying the orders of its superiors, the army acted with extreme savagery. If it had been a war, if the troops sent against the people had been the troops of an enemy country, they could not have acted in a more inhumane way. In wars soldiers shoot at equals, who are also armed and are foreigners, enemies. In Tlatelolco they massacred men, women -- many of them pregnant -- and children, who besides being unarmed were their fellow countrymen, as Mexican as the grim butchers who turned on them.

It was an operation painstakingly planned with all the resources of military science. The previous Friday another student meeting was held in the same place which was not attacked and which came off without incident. This reassured the people, and they fell into the trap.

Everything was calculated in detail. The police agents who mixed in with the crowd put white gloves on their left hands when the massacre began so as to be able to identify each other. The army took up

positions, arms ready, at the strategic spots where the victims of this vicious ambush would have to try to find a way out. Helicopters hovered over the Plaza de las Tres Culturas and when they saw that the enormous mousetrap was ready to spring they dropped green flares followed by red ones.

This was the signal they were waiting for to close the jaws of the trap. Several shots into the air came from the roofs and windows surrounding the Plaza de las Tres Culturas; then the troops attacked.

While those who began the shooting were on the roofs and balconies, the soldiers did not aim their fire there but opened fire on the crowd gathered in front of the Chihuahua building.

The peaceful meeting on the previous Friday made the people and the students believe that there would be no more repression of meetings protesting the failure to solve the student question. So there were hundreds of women with small children in the Plaza de la Tres Culturas who had come to protest the jailing of their sons in the previous repressions.

The first volleys fired by the soldiers opened great holes in the crowd. Bodies fell like wheat before the scythe. Thousands of persons tried to flee in different directions, but every path was blocked by troops, who fired on the crowd, forcing it to turn back and run in other directions only to come again under the barrels of rifles and machine guns.

(The next day the press said that "snipers" in the buildings around the Plaza de las Tres Culturas fired at both the soldiers and the people who had gathered at the meeting. This is false. The shots from the windows and roofs were fired into the air only. And those who fired them -- police agents -- hid and did not reappear. The most elementary logic would indicate that if it had been students or their supporters firing from the buildings they would have fired on the enemy, the soldiers and police.

(The press also reported that General José Hernández Toledo, who led the army attack "was shot in the chest," when he called on those present at the meeting to disperse and it was when he fell wounded that the troops opened fire. It was reported that General Hernández Toledo "suffered a wound, a bullet penetrating his thorax." But El Universal published a picture, taken that midnight, of one of its editors talking to the general, who looked in fine fettle with his thorax bandaged. This was an incredible example of vitality and imperviousness to bullets which unfortunately those who fell in clusters



GUILTY. Gen. Marcelino García Barragán, secretary of national defense. After the massacre, he said: "I take full responsibility....Freedom will continue to rule."

on the Plaza de las Tres Culturas did not share.)

Those who took cover from the bullets, crouching between the automobiles near the buildings that make up the Ciudad Tlatelolco, witnessed the incredibly sadistic way the soldiers acted after the crowd was already in full flight. One of them told this story:

"Driven back from every direction, the people tried to find shelter in the

hands and armed with pistols and machine guns, they moved about firing at will.

The maneuver of having these agents mix with the crowd before the troops attacked was part of the meticulously prepared plan. One of the first victims as the massacre started was a girl student, who had been speaking at the meeting. Several agents had taken up positions around her. As soon as the flares were launched and the army began its attack, they put on their white gloves and gunned her down.

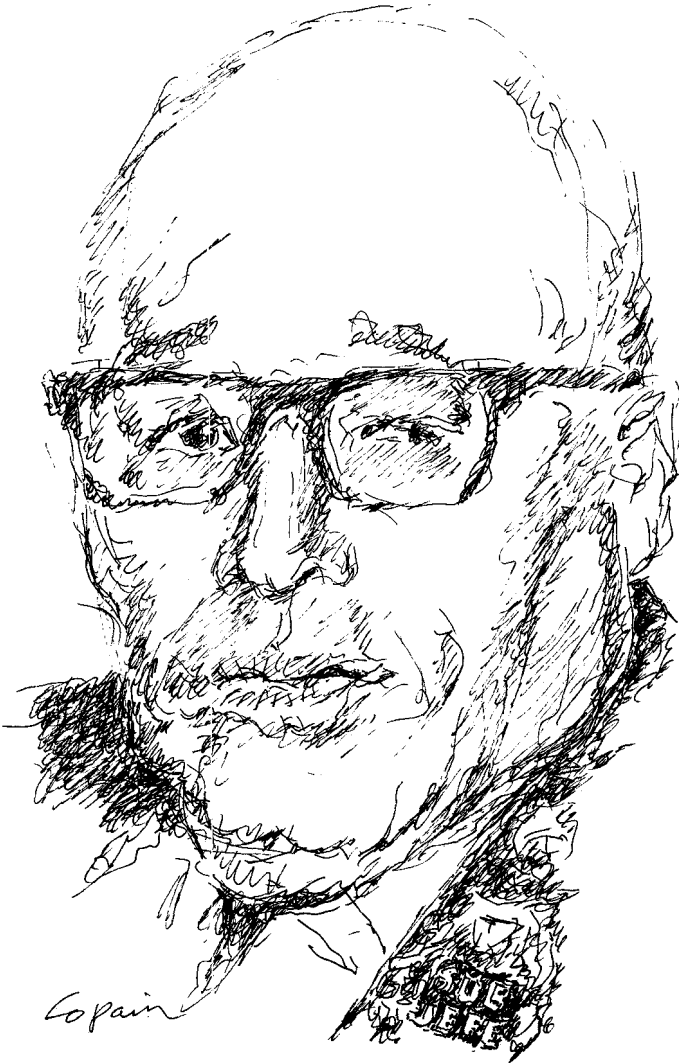
The same thing happened to other students who had been marked. They did not have the slightest chance to escape. (Those who cold-bloodedly plotted these crimes must have understood that some personalities gain stature in prison but that the dead are dead and everyone tends to forget about them. The two cases of Demetrio Vallejo and Rubén Jaramillo are quite eloquent in this regard.)

It is said that a corporal was killed and "many" soldiers were wounded among the attackers. Here, lack of imagination on the part of those who plotted this attack against the people is evident. Because if the "agitators" had long-range weapons and machine guns "of Russian and Czechoslovak manufacture," as the press was told, how is it possible that there were so few casualties among the troops?

Soldiers are made out of flesh and blood. Bullets penetrate them also. Isn't it more likely that this dead corporal and the "many" wounded were victims of their own companions, who in many cases fired on the crowd from three opposing directions?

The fact that at the Alemán University in Coyoacán the police uncovered two Guatemalans and one Mexican who had an "arsenal" of one automatic rifle gives a good measure for the claims about the weapons the "agitators" are supposed to have had. There have been no disturbances around Coyoacán and yet the police nose was keen enough to track this down. But in Tlatelolco, which had been surrounded for days by granaderos [military security police], which was zealously guarded by secret police, in some strange way Russian and Czech military equipment was gotten in without anyone having an inkling of it.

Parading its incredible contempt for the people of Mexico, the daily press took for good coin the statements of Fernando M. Garza, the director of press and public relations of the office of the president. He declared in the press conference with foreign correspondents and local journalists that by 1:00 a.m. of October 3, the total casualties amounted



GUILTY. Gen. Raúl Mendiola Cerecero. Second in command under Police Chief Cueto. Took command in the plaza after Gen. José Hernández Toledo was hit in the "thorax."

buildings. But hundreds bunched up against every door, pushing and shoving and trampling one another. The people crowded on one of the stairways in the ISSSTE building. Close to the majority had reached the first flight of stairs when two soldiers arrived with automatic rifles and mercilessly opened fire. All those between the ground floor and the first curve in the staircase were mowed down on the spot. Blood bathed the sidewalk and trickled into the street. The soldiers kept firing until no one moved."

That seemed to be the order that the soldiers had gotten -- shoot everything that moves. They were assisted in this criminal work by agents of the Policía Judicial [Judicial Police], the Procuraduría General de la República [Department of Justice], and the Dirección Federal de Seguridad [Federal Security Division], of all the police forces. Duly identified by white gloves on their left



to "about twenty deaths, seventy-five wounded, and four hundred arrests" and that the army had "taken care of the center of agitation which created the problem."

There must have been over a hundred bodies stretched out in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas alone. Besides this, many others were scattered grotesquely along the stairways of the buildings surrounding the square where the meeting was held. There were dead on the roofs as well, because in its effort to see that no one got away alive, the military strategists included helicopters in their plans. After sweeping the roofs with bullets, their crews fired some machine-gun volleys into the people fleeing the Plaza de las Tres Culturas.

By 9:00 p.m. both the Red Cross hospital and the Rubén Leñero hospital in La Verde were surrounded by cordons of police. At the same time the chief of staff of the Defense Department ordered the Red Cross to suspend its emergency service. Army trucks and ambulances then took charge of picking up the bodies scattered over the Plaza de las Tres Culturas.

Where did they take them? There are no reports that the army units took the bodies to the third precinct in whose jurisdiction the massacre took place. Did these bodies go to rest in a common grave, in some crematorium? The truth about the number of victims may never be known.

By the time this issue of Por Qué? reaches the stands, many of our readers will undoubtedly have noticed the "disappearance" of some friend or relative. In hundreds of homes in the capital, people will keep on waiting anxiously for a brother, a son, a father, mother, or a sister who has disappeared. They will keep up their faint hopes that their relative is in some jail or in the immense prison camp into which Military Encampment No. 1 has been transformed, and not in some dark unknown ditch or converted into ashes.

This anxiety over "missing" loved ones can already be felt as I write this report. Thousands of residents of the capital are going the rounds of the precinct stations, the hospitals, and the precinct morgues in a dreary, tragic pilgrimage spurred on only by a dying hope.

The explanation given for suspending the Red Cross emergency service and cordoning off the hospitals was that "it was necessary to prevent intruders from entering the emergency wards and in order to be able to question the wounded." Remarkable diligence, this interrogating people who, having been wounded by high-caliber arms, would not be able to talk for days, if they survived at all.



GUILTY. Alfonso Corona del Rosal, governor of Mexico City. Said to have ordered a "crackdown" on the students to assure "peace" in capital during Olympic Games.

It seems more reasonable to suppose that the reason for this action was to get rid of the bodies in order to keep down public indignation. It is more reasonable to assume that it was done to contain the people's outrage at this vile action which no real Mexican can excuse.

If, as the president's press and public relations director Fernando M. Garza says, this well-planned operation had "taken care of the center of agitation which caused the problem," what reason, what excuse can there be for the soldiers' firing on the crowd gathered in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas?

It is said that all the members of the Consejo Nacional de Huelga [National Strike Committee -- the student leadership] were arrested. They were on the fourth floor of the Chihuahua building. All that the many plainclothes police in the crowd had to do was station themselves at the entrances, guns in hand, during the brief time it took the troops to get there

from where they were stationed. No one could escape.

But no. What they probably intended was to "teach a lesson" not only to the students but also to the mothers who were getting quite belligerent. The day before in the Chamber of Deputies they had shouted horrible things against the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional -- Institutional Revolutionary party -- the government party] and the government when the sergeant at arms ordered the session adjourned in the face of shouts from the women calling on them to discuss the student problem and the government's excesses.

More than 300 tanks, assault cars, jeeps and military trucks and 10,000 soldiers participated in "Operation Tlatelolco." Those who plotted this attack against the people with such military precision will certainly get some gold braid out of it. There were less than 5,000 persons gathered in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. Thus the soldiers, together with the numerous plainclothes police and the hundreds of granaderos who also took an active part, were three against one.

If we take into consideration that about half of those attending the meeting were women and children, we realize that the meeting could have been broken up through the arrest of all those present by simply overpowering them bodily.

Undoubtedly some students were carrying guns, although I have pointed out that the shots from the buildings were not aimed at the troops but into the air. But even if they were armed with pistols, who could have gotten in with a rifle or a machine gun? The entire sector had been surrounded for days before by granaderos and the buildings were being watched by plainclothesmen. But it is unlikely that the students used their pistols. Everyone knows how afraid the people are of the army. As soon as the olive-green uniforms appear everybody feels like running.

This, however, did not prevent the press from "reporting" the next day that "the agitators even used a high-caliber machine gun mounted on a tripod against the troops." Wouldn't a lot of soldiers have been killed if a high-caliber machine gun had been trained on those advancing in closed ranks?

The papers also published a picture of a man "carrying an enormous ax" -- which in the photo looked more like a kitchen utensil -- who "tried to attack the troops." This was certainly a desperate gesture by a citizen, who tried, like many others burning with indignation at the sight of this inhuman massacre, to attack the troops with his bare hands.



GUILTY. President Díaz, Mexico's criminal No. 1. Federal troops could not have been deployed at Tlatelolco without specific authorization from Díaz as top commander.

The army's arsenal was tested on the Chihuahua building. The machine guns in the turrets of the tanks and armored vehicles vomited gunfire indiscriminately. Obviously this building was inhabited by peaceful bystanders who had nothing to do with the meeting. To kill a presumed sniper, all those in reach of the bullets and shells of "the guardian of our institutions" were murdered in the most cowardly way.

Ah, but the splendid General José Hernández Toledo, for whom medals and gold braid certainly lie in store, declared pompously, "We didn't use high-powered weapons." True, the tanks didn't use their cannon, although there are traces of bazooka shells on the Chihuahua building. The air force was not used either, though perhaps four or five bombs dropped by airplanes on the Plaza de las

Tres Culturas would have done a quicker and more efficient job than the soldiers did.

Once the massacre was over, the time came for the "mop-up job." The soldiers carried out this operation to perfection, literally storming the buildings around the Plaza de las Tres Culturas. They were hunting for "agitators," of course, but they grabbed up everything of value to be found in the apartments. And some times they destroyed what they could not carry off. The prisoners were transported in military trucks but some of the trucks were certainly used to carry off the booty.

At this very moment many families of "humble fighting men," must be watching television, eating from silver plates, and using fine table linen. Those who did not participate in "Operation Tlatelolco" undoubtedly hope that the army high command is preparing another massacre of Mexicans so that they can make up for a bad year.

The heroic generals Cristóforo Masón and Raúl Mendiola Cerecero, who were left at the head of the attacking troops after General José Hernández Toledo received his "grave wound" in the chest, a bullet "penetrating his thorax" -- but which did not prevent him from chatting easily three hours later -- took every possible precaution with the dangerous members of the Consejo Nacional de Huelga who were captured in this glorious operation. For a starter they were totally stripped and then manacled.

Then the "mop-up job" continued, which consisted in breaking down the doors of all the apartments with gun butts, arresting the inhabitants, and letting the soldiers load up with everything that struck their fancy.

Hundreds of prisoners were lined up against the wall of the church of Santiago Tlatelolco with their hands behind their heads. In previous clashes with the students, the soldiers kept their hands off the youths they captured and the granaderos were the ones who covered themselves with blood, beating those who were already more than subdued. But that was not what happened this time. The soldiers beat men, women, and youths with their rifle butts to their heart's content and the police helped out, whipping people with their pistols.

Almost no one escaped unharmed. Even reporters were struck by rifle butts and one was stabbed by a bayonet. The photographers got theirs too and several had their cameras smashed. The army, which had "come out of the ranks of the people," was at the height of its glory. The soldiers were omnipotent, dealing out the

greatest injury they could to defenseless people. Not one tried to defend himself because that would have meant instant death.

The Italian writer and journalist Oriana Fallaci from the magazine L'Europeo was wounded twice on the fourth floor of the Chihuahua building. She cried out desperately, "An ambulance, please, an ambulance, for mercy's sake an ambulance!" But she kept on losing blood for almost an hour because the chief of staff of the Defense Department by this time had already ordered suspension of the Red Cross emergency service.

And besides being wounded, her purse was stolen. This act is a shame to any real Mexican and will certainly bring discredit on our country abroad. Maybe some "fighting man" is wondering right now what the lira is worth, if our fellow journalist did not have time to change her money.

As I pointed out from the start, this whole maneuver was minutely planned by fiendish and perverse minds. The Olympic Battalion, made up of hand-picked elements from the Guardias Presidenciales [Presidential Guards], had the job of attacking stores in the Ciudad Tlatelolco area, undoubtedly in order to blame this vandalism on the "extremist agitators."

The members of the Olympic Battalion loaded up with everything that caught their fancy and destroyed everything else. What perverse reasons did they have for dealing this way with the property of modest merchants who had nothing to do with either the students or the government? It is understandable that the soldiers stole what suited them but why did they destroy the rest? Only the plotters of "Operation Tlatelolco" can answer these questions.

The next morning, thousands of prisoners were being taken off in military trucks. Some reporters speak of "a thousand arrested," and others put the figure still lower. But since there were about 5,000 people in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas at the time our glorious national army began its assault and about 200 were killed and 500 wounded, those arrested total thousands. Because the residents of the surrounding buildings, many of them in their underwear, were taken by entire families and herded to the military trucks. Probably not more than a hundred managed to escape the scene of the attack safely and then only by a miracle. Because when the green flares were fired ("shoot into the air"), followed up by the red ones ("attack, heroic and valiant soldiers"), absolutely every exit from Ciudad Tlatelolco was covered by troops.

"I take full responsibility," "Mar-

shal" Marcelino García Barragán, the secretary of defense, told journalists urgently summoned to his office. Later he added, perhaps to provide comic relief for the massacre: "Freedom will continue to rule."

Moreover, "Marshal" García Barragán called on parents "to keep a rein on their student sons and don't let them be used by agitators." What is not clear is why, if he really thinks that these youth are "victims of agitators," he did not send his troops against the rascally agitators instead of ordering them to murder not only students but defenseless mothers and children. (By some strange chance a large percentage of the mothers who went to the tragic meeting in Ciudad Tlatelolco were pregnant. Unable to run, they offered the soldiers their best target. Furthermore, many of them brought small children with them, who, finding themselves left alone, ran about in flocks, sobbing hysterically.)

García Barragán, who took full responsibility, said that he sent the army because "the police asked for it." This is an incredible story because the secretary of defense cannot conceivably be unaware that in peacetime -- although he and his soldiers think that we are at war -- only the president can order the army in and not some cop.

But the people have drawn their own conclusions. They know who is responsible for this horrendous and stupid massacre, which is unquestionably the worst to ever occur in Mexico City in peacetime. The government has taken an irremediable step. Now no solution is possible to the student conflict. Futile and trivial at the start, this struggle grew, thanks to the ineptitude of those who could have resolved it in time, until it has reached the point of becoming a torment and worry for millions of Mexicans. And it will also have negative effects abroad.

(Many foreign journalists who came to Mexico for the Olympic Games were in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas when the soldiers attacked. Besides the wounds suffered by the Italian writer Oriana Fallaci, as I write this, two Japanese and two German reporters are still "missing.")

And, speaking of journalists, the venality and the filthy corruption that prevails on the so-called "big press" is beyond belief. Of course, the daily papers cover up the theft of public funds which produces a flock of millionaires every six years,\* the outrages committed

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\* The length of the president's term of office in Mexico.

by the local bosses, and the perversion of democracy that reigns in Mexico. But at the time of an attack as cowardly as the one in Ciudad Tlatelolco, which brought sorrow to so many homes, it was a sacred duty to report the facts honestly and attempt at least some kind of defense of the victims -- if the economic backing on which these papers depend permitted no more.

The press in Mexico long ago abandoned its calling. But in a case like this one, it was duty bound to get up off its belly and take sides with those who were unjustly and cravenly machine-gunned.

I was outraged when I read the capital's big dailies on Thursday, October 3. There was so much distortion and prevarication in their "news" that the editors of the most servile captive daily almost reached the point of mutiny -- until they remembered that their most sensitive organ is the stomach.

And what about the editorial pages, the in-depth commentary? In the face of the tragedy in thousands of homes in the capital mourning their dead or missing loved ones, our astute commentators talked about the dollar, the Pope's last encyclical, Vietnam, the appointment of new judges, the classical poets, and a thousand stupid things.

History will judge those responsible for the massacre of Ciudad Tlatelolco. Those who have converted arrogance and force into official norms in government will not escape its judgment. But the mercenary press, which in exchange for a few monetary gains, turned its back on the people, will not escape the judgment of history either. And I do not mean the lackeys who perform the job of venal journalists. They are already judged and condemned. I mean those who entitled themselves captains of the press, those who think they can boast of the title of professional writer, who are dishonored by their involvement in the conspiracy of silence around this crime against their country.

The profession's greatest teacher said: "A journalist is not one who works on a newspaper or owns one. A journalist is one who seeks the truth and publishes it, even at the cost of his honor, his fortune, or his life."

\* \* \*

With this objective report of what happened on Wednesday, October 2, 1968, in Ciudad Tlatelolco, Por Qué?, with all due modesty, feels that it is fulfilling a task which should be that of all those in Mexico who call themselves journalists.

A SECRET UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND MOSCOW?

[The following letter to the editor appeared in the October 9 issue of the London Times under the title, "BALKAN DANGERS." The signers are prominent members of the International War Crimes Tribunal.

[On one point we would express a difference. The statement speaks of the "identity of interests between the rulers of United States capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union." In our opinion, if the relationship is probed to the bottom it will be discovered that while the rulers of U.S. capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union do have a common interest in maintaining the status quo against the advance of the world socialist revolution, the "identity" of interests ends there.

[American imperialism is driven by its economic interests to expand at the expense of all other systems, including weaker sectors of its own system. The Soviet economic system, qualitatively different from capitalism, is under no such compulsion. Thus its posture at bottom is defensive as against the aggressive character of U.S. capitalism.

[Whatever deals may be made with the imperialists, the Soviet bureaucracy is capable -- if it feels that the fate of the economic system in which it is rooted has been placed at stake -- of shifting abruptly and opposing imperialism. This is one of the lessons that should be drawn from the 1939-41 period.

[When Stalin made a pact with Hitler, this was taken by many people as evidence that the interests of the rulers of German imperialism and the Soviet bureaucracy were identical. However, the seeming identity turned out to be a surface phenomenon.

[The bureaucracy relied on diplomacy and unwarranted concessions of various kinds to ward off the threat of German invasion. Such means only encouraged Hitler and helped him in his preparations for the next stage. In the resulting show-down, the bureaucracy put up a desperate resistance which finally enabled the Soviet Union to survive and drive out the invading imperialist armies. The bureaucracy's way of defending the country was, of course, extraordinarily costly to the Soviet people and to the peoples of the entire world.

[The current leaders of the USSR, Stalin's heirs, are continuing the policy of "peaceful coexistence" with world imperialism which proved so disastrous in relation to Germany. They seek to meet the threat posed by Washington's war prep-

arations with means similar to those used at the time of the pact with Hitler.

[The deep-lying contradiction between the Soviet system and world capitalism should be borne in mind, however. It explains much in the attitudes and actions of the Soviet bureaucracy that otherwise defy rational explanation.]

\* \* \*

Sir. -- We write to call attention to a series of recent events which have not been grasped sufficiently in the world.

The Albanian Government withdrew from the Warsaw Pact on September 13 and on September 21 dispatched a formal Note to the Bulgarian Government protesting the sudden and large concentration there of Soviet troops. These troops threaten the territorial integrity and independence of Albania, it was stated.

This formal step of a sovereign state is particularly significant, as Soviet troops can reach Albania only through Yugoslavia. Simultaneously, Prime Minister Zhivkov's visit to Moscow and the hurried visit to Sofia of the Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact, Marshal Jabukovsky, have been followed up by an official statement of the Soviet Union and of Bulgaria revealing plans "for measures to safeguard socialism in this part of the world".

Ever since the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a new series of attacks on the independence of Yugoslavia, combined with territorial claims, have appeared in the Bulgarian press. The statement: "the turn of other countries will come", has been given prominent mention and the occupation of Macedonia is not inconceivable.

The Bulgarian Deputy Minister of Defence, General Slavčo Trnski, stated in an article in the Otečestveni Front on September 24: "Our army is small in numbers, but this did not prevent us from being a faithful ally of the Soviet army. Hand in hand with them we are now in the Czechoslovakian Socialist Republic to put out the fire caused by the counter-revolution. Tomorrow, we shall be directed again to other places where it will be necessary to put down the counter-revolution".

We cannot at this point state whether these threats will materialize, but the signs are ominous. Equally, information from other parts of the world disturbs us and corroborates American reports from leading newspapers. They speak blatantly of the extension of spheres of influence agreements between the rulers

of the two super-powers.

We have reason to believe, on the basis of prima facie evidence, that the United States and the Soviet Union are enacting an understanding which involves the reciprocal support for the crimes of each in its agreed "sphere of influence." This is at the expense of the independence and self-determination of other nations, from Europe to Vietnam. The secret diplomacy of the rulers of the United States and of the Soviet Union threatens the liberty and sovereignty of men everywhere. It is essential that this identity of interests between the rulers of United States capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union should be fully understood and opposed in the service of truth.

As four men who are devoted to socialism and who have publicly denounced and fought the crimes of United States imperialism in Vietnam, we call upon socialists and communists to repudiate the threat to socialism posed by the Bismarck-

ian acts of the Soviet leadership. Its secret dealings are with those who commit genocide in Vietnam and elsewhere. We do not forget that it was the Soviet Union under Lenin which repudiated the secret diplomacy of spheres of influence in 1917, and which insisted upon the right to self-determination of all peoples, including their own.

The Soviet leaders, by their acts and their policy, repudiate the ideas of Lenin, of socialist internationalism and, thereby, sustain imperialism itself.

Yours faithfully,

BERTRAND RUSSELL  
JEAN-PAUL SARTRE  
VLADIMIR DEDIJER  
LAURENT SCHWARTZ

3 Shavers Place, Haymarket

Oct. 7.

IN MEMORY OF THE 7,000 WORKERS AND STUDENTS OF KRAGUJEVAC

[Bertrand Russell made the following statement in commemoration of the 7,000 workers and students of Kragujevac, Yugoslavia, who were murdered under the Nazi occupation on October 21, 1941.]

\* \* \*

The occupation of Europe and, particularly, the Balkan countries by Nazism provided the occasion for one of the most stirring demonstrations of human courage in European history. The will of large numbers of people in Europe to resist at any cost the brutality of Nazi rule was nowhere more boldly carried out than in Yugoslavia. The partisan resistance in Yugoslavia was a symbol to anti-fascists everywhere. In the leadership of this anti-fascist struggle were people who had in their minds a vision of a just society which would end exploitation and privileged rule, of which Nazism was the most barbaric expression. The use of brutal force to suppress the right of self-determination is a central feature of fascist rule. It reveals inability to preserve power except by imposing authority through cruel killing and elaborate violence. It is precisely because capitalism must force people to be colonial subjects, or to exploit their labour, that men who resist Nazism embrace socialism and its vision of liberty and equality. Liberty and equality are inconceivable without control by the people who have been oppressed by the older order. Control must not be a formal abstraction. This is why socialism is impossible to imagine without total democratic control guaranteed

by councils of workers, peasants and students. Unless the workers control the factories, the students the universities, and the peasants the countryside, and unless all three groups determine social decisions through councils which they can remove at will, socialism will be disgraced and damaged. Socialism without democracy leads to rapacious and arbitrary rule by cynical and privileged bureaucrats.

This is why workers' control and workers' councils are the essence of socialist freedom and without this freedom socialism will become an empty promise, concealing the power and privilege of cynical and cruel men. Yugoslavia has had to struggle against the false socialists who despise democracy and self-determination, just as she had to struggle against the Nazi occupation. This struggle is heroic in equal measure. It is revealing that it was necessary to wage it against both the Soviet bureaucratic leadership and the German fascists. It is not correct to equate the German fascists and the Soviet bureaucratic leadership. However, each group imposed arbitrary rule at the expense of democratic liberty.

The 7,000 workers and students murdered in cold blood by Nazi troops 27 years ago died before machine guns, crying out slogans of freedom and urging people to fight on to the end. With what vision did they die? They could not have died so heroically and even happily, if they did not believe that their struggle was for the liberation of men and for a



social system which would make that liberation a part of the experience of people permanently and a basic characteristic of the new society. Unarmed people cried out for freedom before machine guns. Such resistance has been seen wherever hunger for freedom has inspired men to great courage. It has been seen in the extraordinary struggles of the peoples of Vietnam. It has been seen in Algeria. It is seen today in Czechoslovakia and in Mexico. When thousands and even millions of people become conscious of the possibility of a new society without either exploitation and privilege or arbitrary rule, a material power will be generated by this consciousness which no brutal force can crush. No matter how fanatically the brutal men of Washington who control the labour and resources of hungry people throughout the world try to impose their rule by mass murder, they will continue to meet the resistance of millions until their arbitrary rule is crushed.

No matter how hard the brutal rulers of the Soviet Union try to protect their privilege by meeting demands for democracy with force and bloodshed, they will continue to encounter the resistance of workers and students. These self-appointed leaders will be thrown, in time, from their usurped positions and their be-

trayal of socialism will be ended the way the partisans of Yugoslavia ended Nazi occupation. They are not leaders of socialism, they are besmirchers of it. They are not men of liberation, they are betrayers of it. They are not opponents of imperialism, they are collaborators with it and they are not entitled to speak of socialism; they must be removed in the name of socialism. This struggle for workers' control, for socialism with freedom, for self-determination, for the liberation of oppressed people, for the smashing of bureaucratic privilege and hypocrisy will indisputably win the hearts of millions of human beings throughout the world. No one who remembers the dignity of the workers and students of Kragujevac should doubt this. It is idle to honour the martyrs of Kragujevac unless we make the cause for which they died a living struggle today against the heirs of Nazi brutality: in Vietnam and in Czechoslovakia. The people of Yugoslavia will face again such tests but they will not face them alone. This I profoundly believe to be the historic meaning of the sacrifice of 7,000 Yugoslav citizens on October 21, 1941.

I greet you in the conviction that that struggle was part of a process of liberation for mankind which has only seen its earliest beginning.

#### MOSCOW REPLIES TO RUSSELL, SARTRE, SCHWARTZ, AND DEDIJER

[The following item by I. Petrov appeared in the October 16 issue of the Moscow weekly Literaturnaya Gazeta under the title, "Who Benefits?" It is in reply to a letter to the editor of the London Times, reprinted in full in this issue of Intercontinental Press. (See p. 932.)

[The translation of Petrov's article is by Intercontinental Press.]

\* \* \*

Last week the London Times published a letter signed by Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, and Laurent Schwartz.

Let us take note that the Times is by no means inclined to publish everything that comes in the "mail." And this letter was unquestionably published because it corresponded with the aims of the people who set the political line for this English bourgeois journal. And this line is violently anti-Soviet.

The authors of this letter fell for the provocative bait put out by Tirana. Their letter rehashes the rumors, officially denied, about a concentration of Soviet troops in Bulgaria and adds a

snide insinuation about "a threat" to Yugoslavia.

This alone would already be more than enough to win the approval of the editors of the Times. But the authors of the letter go further. Citing unspecified "reports in leading American newspapers," they write about a division into "spheres of influence," about "cooperation" and "secret deals" between the Soviet Union and...American imperialism. Outrageous, but not unfamiliar, expressions. Not one fact, not one proof, because the facts to back up these slanderous accusations against the Soviet Union simply do not exist in the real world. And the same words...the very words, as if translated from the language of the Peking leaders who have been screaming for a long time about an "outright conspiracy" between the Soviet Union and the United States of America (!).

Following right behind the Hsinhua News Agency, right behind Chou En-lai, who has delivered tirades of this sort more than once in recent weeks, Russell, Sartre, and the others are in fact calling for a build up of a united front of anti-Communist forces against the Soviet Union.



The letter of Russell, Sartre, and the others drew our attention not only because to a certain extent it exceeds even the limits of the present exercises in slander in the Western press but also because we see under it the signatures of men who enjoy worldwide prominence. I refer to Sartre and Russell, who, in their assessment of the events taking place in the world, have succumbed to the torrent of slanders and inventions poured out by the anti-Soviet propaganda machine.

Of course, even before this, Jean-Paul Sartre has startled us more than once by his astonishing inconsistency, by his changing and often contradictory sympathies and views. But taking up the propaganda refrains of the Chinese extremists, whose maliciousness is rivaled only by their senselessness -- that, we confess, we had not expected from Jean-

Paul Sartre.

As for Bertrand Russell, he unfortunately has been signing various "open letters" with a light-mindedness more befitting a movie star handing out autographs than a scholar. One might legitimately ask whether the venerable philosopher reads what he signs.

The letter in the Times is somewhat less transparent because it puts up a camouflage of pledges of devotion to the ideas of socialism. But in order not to fall into slander, would it have been too much for the writers, before they published their letter, to have considered Qui Prodest? Who benefits? Who benefits from this statement? Whose anti-Soviet bias fully corresponds to the provocative positions of the Maoist group in China and the interests of the imperialist states headed by the USA?

#### From Czechoslovakia

#### A LITERARNI LISTY EDITORIAL

[The following editorial by Milan Kundera, entitled "The Great and The Small," was printed on the front page of Literární Listy August 1. Prominently featured in the leading Czech weekly, it represented a courageous defiance of the Kremlin bureaucrats. At the time it startled even experienced foreign observers. (See Intercontinental Press, October 21, p. 897.)

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

\* \* \*

On the first afternoon of the Fourth Writers Congress, Pavel Kohout began to read the letter by Solzhenitsyn in which this great heir of Tolstoy describes the tragic fate of Soviet literature under Stalinism and neo-Stalinism. At that moment Jiří Hendrych,\* who was sitting up front on the podium, turned purple, put on his jacket over his white shirt, decorated with suspenders, and stumbled toward the back of the podium where Procházka, Lustig, and I were sitting. And saying these words which still stand out in my memory, "You have all betrayed, you have all betrayed," he left the meeting.

Our ideological elders had already gotten used to tolerating a little unorthodoxy from us, had learned to close their ears a bit when in the interests of

their own peace of mind they did not want to hear something. But here a power was mentioned of which they stood in terror, whose ears they could not stop up as they did their own. Thus, the first collision, one that shook the writers congress from its opening and then set off a chain of further conflicts, was a collision against the Soviet barrier.

At that time reading Solzhenitsyn's letter in front of five hundred people in a closed hall (really just reporting on a document we were incapable of suppressing) was condemned as inadmissible interference in the affairs of the Soviet Union.

A year later millions of people throughout the entire world could read an official document in which the Soviet leaders and their faithful followers gave our state leadership precise instructions as to what they must do and how they must govern.

A comparison of these two situations testifies eloquently to the kind of equality that lies behind the words "friendship," "affection," "brotherhood," and "eternal" loyalty. Because of this, the use of the lofty old expression "among equals" bothers me. Our relationship to the Soviet Union has never been like that. It is not so even today when our government has struck out on its own path with admirable courage.

In fact, just try to imagine the reverse of the present situation. Let us imagine the unimaginable case of our government sending Moscow a note protesting

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\* A major figure in the Stalinist Novotny leadership.

Soviet legal procedures, the harsh prosecutions of students and intellectuals, the sterility of Soviet Marxism, or the threat of neo-Stalinism. Let us try to imagine our government arguing (as Moscow argues against us) that these are by no means purely Soviet affairs but that they brought discredit on the entire international Communist movement and that in its own vital interests it insisted that these conditions be remedied.

Can it be imagined that the Soviet leaders would react to such a note as we have? That they would explain and defend their policy at length? That they would even admit failure in this or that respect? That they would invite our district council members, farmers, and tourists to come and see with their own eyes what kind of democracy they have in the Soviet Union? That they would assure us in every sentence of their unflinching affection? That they would invite us to discuss all these questions and be delighted to be allowed to meet with us on their own territory and not on ours?

This may seem an absurd picture. But that just shows that not only has our relationship never been one of equality but we cannot even imagine such a relationship. Only outrageous inequality can arouse us. Decorously concealed inequality has gotten into our marrow and seems usual and normal.

By this example I have no intention whatever of blaming our political leaders for their patient attitude in the face of threats, or their calm tone and energetic search for an understanding. In today's conditions their inexhaustible forbearance is a weapon which exposes the aggressive, arrogant, and uncompromising attitude on the other side. But while this reasonableness is an effective and appropriate weapon, it is not a weapon used against an equal, but one used by the small against the great, of the victim against the attacker.

What an enormous effort our small state, surrounded by the affectionate eyes of our allies' cannon, would have to make to achieve full equality! The habits of twenty years on both sides cannot be effaced in a day. It is not possible either to change our national character, which in recent centuries unfortunately has rather lost its acute sense of independence and freedom. And our national character, besides its magnificent traditions of free thought, has its dreary Austrian traditions of obedience and accommodation also.

Nevertheless, national character is formed and transformed in the tempests of history, and this difficult and dramatic year will once again answer the ques-



LITERARNI LISTY published the above cartoon by Hadák in its issue of August 1. Aimed at Ulbricht of the German Democratic Republic, it proved to be prophetic. It bore the caption: "Liberté, Egalité, Freundschaft!"

tion of who we are, what we are, and what fate we deserve. Our peoples are faced with a constant possibility that their lives will become mere existence, that they will have to endure a harsh, alien and constrained fate, that from a free and cherished ally of a great power they will become a mere thing in its hands, that they will be condemned to a position of insignificance and servility in the world and sooner or later perish.

For a small nation the question of its existence or nonexistence is always open. Its sovereignty is constantly to be won, a constant striving and struggle. Only a people which passionately wants to be itself, to live in its own way, only a heroic people for whom only its own way of life is truly life, deserves to live and be, and only such a nation will survive.

THE COUP IN PANAMA -- A SPLIT IN THE OLIGARCHY?

More than a week after the October 12 coup in Panama, the military junta that overthrew President Arnulfo Arias is still jittery. Colonel José M. Pinilla and Colonel Bolivar Urrutia are maintaining a 9 p.m. curfew in Panama City. National guard patrols operate numerous checkpoints where civilian cars are stopped and searched for weapons. One guardsman was killed by machine-gun fire from a passing car October 13 and another was killed by a sniper.

There is widespread anger at the military coup staged by the national guard colonels. But there is no indication that Arias, a millionaire coffee grower, will succeed in rallying enough support to regain office. On fundamental issues such as continued U.S. control of the Panama Canal and occupation of the Canal Zone, Arias and the colonels who ousted him are in agreement. They differ only on how to justify to the Panamanian masses the continued exploitation of the country by American imperialism.

The influential U.S. business daily, the Wall Street Journal, which is in position to know, ascribed the coup to a split in the oligarchy. An article by James C. Tanner in the October 18 issue said: "Just as this S-shaped land is split physically by the 10-mile-wide, 50-mile-long Panama Canal Zone, its oligarchy -- the dozen wealthy families who traditionally are the 'king makers' of Panamanian politics -- is bitterly divided."

The Wall Street Journal explained to its select readership why they should consider it their business to be concerned about what happens in the internal politics of Panama:

"Uncle Sam has more at stake in Panama than the canal connecting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It has key military bases there and has pumped \$65 million in the past four years into the Panamanian economy (not counting the \$1.9 million annual royalty paid Panama -- and other economic benefits estimated at \$150 million a year -- for Canal Zone purchases and salaries).

"Panama also, till recently at least, was a model of how the Alliance for Progress can work. Dr. Arias' predecessor, Marco A. Robles, successfully promulgated tax reforms that are a key part of the Alliance for Progress objectives ....What's more, Panama is a sort of 'picture window' of U.S.-Latin relations...."

Washington has demonstrated in this "model" how the Alliance for Progress can work, and just what kind of relations U.S. imperialism is interested in

with Latin-American nations. The U.S. State Department has intervened openly or covertly in Panamanian politics many times to make or break politicians and presidents. Central to the imperialist intervention has been the desire to maintain unquestioned control over the canal. This has been a key issue in Panamanian politics since the country was wrenched away from Colombia in a phony revolution backed up by American marines in 1903. The Wall Street Journal testified:

"It's easy to convince Panamanians that the U.S. is robbing them. The contrast is there for all to see between the hygienic splendor of the U.S.-controlled Canal Zone and the squalid rickety slum dwellings along the narrow, dirty streets on its borders. And Panamanians are well aware, too, of the high revenue of the canal: 14,000 ships pass through it each year."

In 1964 twenty-one Panamanians were brutally killed by U.S. troops during demonstrations against continued American rule over the Canal Zone. At that time President Johnson negotiated a series of secret treaties with President Robles. While never ratified, the treaties were published in both countries. The first provided for a formal U.S. admission that it had no "perpetual" claim to the Canal Zone. The second, however, as the Wall Street Journal put it, "dealt realistically with the need for U.S. forces to remain in Panama to protect the waterway." This produced a storm of protest.

The resulting exposure of Robles as a compliant front man for Johnson turned even the oligarchy against him. "It's no secret," the Wall Street Journal said, "that several of Panama's wealthier families pitched in with Dr. Arias to engineer the impeachment, later overruled by the supreme court, of Mr. Robles." (Robles was impeached by supporters of Arias' Panamenista party in the national assembly in April. Although the impeachment was reversed in the courts, Robles did not run in the presidential election May 12. Arias easily defeated the nonentity backed by the former regime and was inaugurated October 1, twelve days before being overthrown.)

From Washington's standpoint Arias was attractive as a presidential candidate. His reputation of being rather "anti-American" facilitated his task of watching over Wall Street's interests.

President twice before, Arias was deposed both times. His "anti-Americanism" dates from his 1941 impeachment for reputed pro-Nazi sympathies. The Wall Street Journal added, "...the U.S. was believed

to have been a factor in his ouster."

Washington was prepared for a reconciliation with its former opponent when he appeared to be useful. "It's believed in Panama," the Wall Street Journal said, "that Dr. Arias drew discreet U.S. backing in this year's elections."

Arias was the first choice of the imperialists, but when his rivals in the oligarchy succeeded in dumping him, the State Department quickly switched sides. Arias is now in exile in the Canal Zone. His hosts have warned him against appealing to the Panamanian people against the military dictatorship on "humanitarian"

grounds. The October 19 New York Times described U.S. officials as "eager" to see the former president go somewhere else.

As for the junta, it has other problems. The government has a larger than usual budgetary deficit. Tax collections are expected to substantially decrease in the immediate future owing to a business decline in the last quarter. In a bid to keep the working class out of action, the colonels declared a freeze on low rents and prices of necessities. But fundamentally they are relying on repression. This is shown by their curfew, military checkpoints, and press, radio and television censorship.

#### REBELLION AMONG GERMAN CP YOUTH OVER INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Among the disputes now seething in the Communist movement over the Kremlin's invasion of Czechoslovakia, one of the sharpest is in the West German CP. Noted for its subservience to Moscow, the leadership supported the occupation.

But in the party's youth organization, a different attitude prevails. The junior bureaucrats of the SDAJ [Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend -- Socialist German Worker Youth], ran into difficulty in trying to impose this line on the rank and file.

In the Mannheim local of the SDAJ, anti-Stalinist members ousted their pro-Moscow leadership and denounced the Kremlin intervention in a press release August 27. "The USSR's military intervention in Czechoslovakia was a confession of political weakness. The bureaucrats of the sclerotic socialism of the Soviet Union find themselves unable to recognize historical forces, to say nothing of giving them concrete political expression. Hereafter the party apparatus will define socialism and the apparatus has no intention of achieving socialism by involving the working class in politics."

In a further press release on August 28, the new leaders described the fight over the invasion issue:

"The Mannheim SDAJ discussed this problem [Czechoslovakia] at a special membership meeting. We must note that the majority of the leadership and a minority of the membership tried to justify the intervention with threadbare and contradictory arguments. Thus they stood in opposition to the majority of the members. When the attached resolution was submitted to a vote, the spokesmen favoring the intervention left the hall. The resolution was accepted."

The worsted young bureaucrats, how-

ever, appealed to their elders to save the situation for them. At the next membership meeting on September 2, the anti-Stalinist majority found themselves physically barred from their hall by aged Stalinist stalwarts equipped with hastily issued SDAJ membership cards.

After dragging out opponents who succeeded in getting into the meeting, the pro-Moscow "youth" proceeded to expel twelve members of the anti-Stalinist fraction.

The legal leadership explained what had happened in a press release on the same day: "Since most of the SDAJ members could not get into the hall, there were twice as many adults there as youth...The rejection of open as well as rational discussion reached the point of physical violence. Critical SDAJ members who succeeded in getting into the hall were driven out. The CP'ers did not shrink from calling in the police against the locked out SDAJ members..."

"Thus they showed that when they cannot impose their position with arguments, they will seek to do so not only by maneuvers but by physical force.

"The overwhelming majority of the SDAJ members stand by their legally elected leaders."

The expulsions decreed by the rump meeting in Mannheim were upheld by the national leadership of the SDAJ.

But the Mannheim group is carrying its fight further, calling for a special congress of the SDAJ. It has established ties with strong anti-Stalinist groupings in most of the other SDAJ locals and is publishing a monthly opposition bulletin, Rote SDAJ Opposition [The SDAJ Red Opposition].

ARE GREEK TROOPS GOING TO VIETNAM?

Greece's dictator George Papadopoulos is planning to send troops to Vietnam, according to the October 10 Le Monde. The Paris daily attributed the report to Athènes-Presses libres, a weekly information bulletin also published in Paris.

The general staff of the Greek army is said to have decided February 8 to prepare a special brigade [about 1,500 men] to join U.S. forces in their war against the people of Vietnam.

Athènes-Presses libres reported that commanders of major units of the Greek army received orders February 12 to proceed secretly in the selection of commissioned and noncommissioned officers and soldiers for the special brigade.

Le Monde said that "at present no information has been received from official or semi-official sources to confirm the departure of this special Greek unit for Southeast Asia."

Athènes-Presses libres said no explanation for the decision had been given by Greek commanders except "the obligations flowing from alliances."

One explanation may be that Washington is interested in drawing on the expertise of the Greek generals in carrying out elections for the benefit of the U.S. command in Vietnam, which faces similar problems. A well-placed hint from Johnson that American military aid to the Athens dictatorship depended on reciprocity in Southeast Asia might be expected to have achieved some response.

The advantages from Washington's standpoint would be considerable. Up to now not a single European government has dared to publicly commit troops to aid the U.S. war in Vietnam. Furthermore the Greek generals' skill in producing a 91 percent "yes" vote for their proposed constitution September 29 must have been greatly envied by the Thieu regime in Saigon, which made a rather embarrassing showing last year.

How Papadopoulos achieved his results is quite illuminating. The 91 percent figure is of those voting. Nearly 23 percent of the electorate defied com-

pulsory voting laws and demonstratively abstained. Of those voting, "no" votes in the Athens-Peiraeus area were 22.7 percent despite intimidation by polling officials.

What swung the "election" was the overwhelming "yes" vote in the countryside -- only 3.6 percent voted "no."

A report in the October 2 London Guardian describes what took place in the rural areas:

"The official voting procedure was as follows: after presenting his identity card and voting book to the returning officer the voter was given an envelope and 'Yes' and 'No' ballot sheets. He then went behind a screen and put one of the sheets into the envelope, came out from behind the screen, and dropped his envelope into the ballot box....

"Things were quite different in the village where I spent last Sunday. Bludgeoned by 18 months of pro-regime propaganda and terrified of possible consequences if they voted 'No,' most of the villagers entered the polling station, picked up a 'Yes' ballot sheet and, without bothering to go behind the screen, put it into the envelope and dropped it into the ballot box. Just in case anybody was fool enough to pick up a 'No' ballot sheet or, worse, to go behind the screen, there were a couple of selected villagers ready to record their names for the benefit of the local police chief.

"In a nearby village the recording officer presented each voter with an envelope and a 'Yes' paper. Anyone perverse enough to want to vote 'No' had to go to another part of the room to get the appropriate black lettered ballot sheet.

"The irregularities in the part of the country I was in were comparatively mild. In two western Greek villages Right-wing extremists got into the polling stations and burnt all the 'No' ballot papers. In several villages there was no screen in the voting place so that not even a fiction of secrecy was maintained."

No doubt the U.S. high command and the Greek generals will work together well in bringing "democracy" to Vietnam.

CIRO TRUJILLO CASTAÑO REPORTED KILLED IN COLOMBIA

The Colombia army claimed on October 7 that it had killed Ciro Trujillo Castaño, an important guerrilla leader, during a skirmish in Aquitania. "Captain Ciro" began his career as a guerrilla

fighter in 1962 under the famous "Tiro Fijo" [Sure-shot] Manuel Marulanda. He carried out many successful raids on military patrols as well as kidnappings of rich landowners to finance the guerrillas.

SOME ADVICE TO TARIQ ALI

By Joseph Hansen

The Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, the organization to be credited for taking the initiative in projecting and preparing the October 27 antiwar demonstration in London, has been singled out for singularly vicious red-baiting in the capitalist press. The police, Scotland Yard, and ultrarightist provocateurs have collaborated in this, seeking to provide "evidence" for the charge that the VSC is seeking to precipitate "violence."

Thus Scotland Yard raided the headquarters of the Black Dwarf, the newspaper edited by Tariq Ali, one of the main figures in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. After ransacking the place, they found a diagram and instructions crudely scribbled in crayon on a wall telling how to make a Molotov cocktail. This was given sensational treatment in the press.

The most recent sensations consist of an anonymous leaflet giving "instructions" on carrying out violent actions on October 27, and anonymous "information" that the fire in the Imperial War Museum was deliberately set to provide advance "publicity" for the October 27 march.

The purpose of this red-baiting is all too clear. Besides trying to frighten people into staying away, the guardians of "law and order" are seeking to provide a pretext for either banning the demonstration or for using police violence against it.

This is not all that the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign has had to contend with in its efforts to bring together the maximum forces in a demonstration of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and opposition to Harold Wilson's policy of aiding and abetting the U.S. imperialist aggression in Vietnam.

A group in the ultraleft fringe -- the Socialist Labour League -- has been conducting its own campaign against the October 27 march, against the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign, and specifically against Tariq Ali.

No attention need be paid this pop-gun echo to the heavy artillery of the capitalist press were it not for the fact that in relation to their opponents in the labor movement, the leaders of the Socialist Labour League do not always confine themselves to purely verbalistic excesses. Those who know the SLL well, took particular note of the following sentence in an article by Cliff Slaughter, an authoritative voice of the central leader Gerry Healy, in the August 31 Newsletter:

"It's time Tariq Ali was told to shut his mouth."

This was not merely a display of ugly subjectivism. In the same paragraph Slaughter said of Ali: "He is deliberately used by the capitalist press to build up in the working class a picture of what is supposed to exist anywhere to the left of the Communist Party." In other words, Slaughter charges Ali with being utilized by the capitalist press.

Slaughter continues in the next paragraph:

"Political playboys are an expensive joke so far as the real Marxist movement is concerned. At critical times like the invasion of Czechoslovakia they become the spearhead of all the middle-class 'democratic' rubbish around the left, which is never so united as in their opposition to the Soviet Union and to Trotskyism." By "Trotskyism," Slaughter means the sectarian views of Healy.

A "political playboy," an "expensive joke," a "spearhead" of middle-class democratic rubbish, a convenience for the capitalist press -- in Healy's school no alternative exists. It's time -- high time -- Tariq Ali was told to "shut his mouth." But who is to tell him? And by what means is he to be made to shut his mouth?

A precedent exists by which to judge what Slaughter has in mind.

In June, 1966, the Socialist Workers party published a pamphlet in New York, Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International. This consisted principally of letters written by Healy and some of his followers providing irrefutable evidence of the kind of regime that exists in the SLL and the Stalinist methods employed by its leaders.

The pamphlet, sold by adherents of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in Britain, enjoyed lively sales.

The Central Committee of the SLL responded by issuing an official statement, printed in the August 20, 1966, Newsletter, denouncing the pamphlet.

Among other things, the committee said that the Socialist Workers party had "capitulated to imperialism," had "sold out the anti-war movement," and had come to play the role of "finger-men for the State Department." The pamphlet was a "provocation" that "constitutes a com-

plete and irreversible departure even from revisionism."

The statement carried the following threat: "We shall not hesitate to deal appropriately with the handful of United Secretariat agents who hawk it around the cynical fake-left in England."

Healy himself further motivated this in an article published in the November 5, 1966, Newsletter. The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, he said, "now emerges as the 'left cover' for bureaucracy and imperialism." The Socialist Workers party, he declared, "is initiating a sly stage-by-stage orientation towards the Democratic Party itself." Accusing the Socialist Workers party of adapting to Stalinism, he issued a declaration of war: "Any revisionist tendencies which in one form or another adapt themselves politically to the Stalinists are, in our opinion, mortal enemies."

A case of apoplexy? It soon turned out that more was involved.

On November 17, not two weeks after Healy's article was printed, Ernest Tate, today a prominent figure in the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign together with Tariq Ali, was selling the famous pamphlet on the sidewalk in front of Caxton Hall where the Socialist Labour League had scheduled a public meeting. He was subjected to some heckling by members of the SLL but he paid no attention to them.

Suddenly Gerry Healy appeared at the door. As if they had been given a signal, six or seven members of the SLL attacked Tate in gang fashion.

"My literature was knocked from my hands," Tate testified. "I was punched and thrown to the ground, my glasses were smashed, and as I lay on the ground I was kicked repeatedly in the groin and stomach."

The victim of the SLL punch-up boys had to be hospitalized.

The sequel was, if possible, even more scandalous than this reversion to the methods used by the Stalinists in Britain in the early thirties.

Healy was named specifically by Ernest Tate in an open letter to the radical press describing what had happened. Healy's response to this was to resort at once to the bourgeois courts. He sought to do still further damage to the victim of a beating at the hands of members of the SLL by making him the target of a libel suit based on a technicality (the difficulty of proving to the satisfaction of a bourgeois court that Healy's signal was actually intended to start a punch-up). Healy indicated that he was exploring

utilizing the courts of the class enemy to bar further sales of the pamphlet.

The Socialist Leader and Peace News, rather than fight a shyster lawsuit, met Healy's demand for ten guineas and a retraction for the "crime" of having published Tate's letter. "We have been informed," they said in formal statements, "that Mr. Healy asked a steward to clear the pavement in front of the entrance of the Hall so that passengers alighting from coaches would not be delayed in getting to the meeting; that he did nothing to prevent Mr. Tate or anyone else from selling literature; and that others were selling literature at each side of the entrance without interference." The two publications, in the form demanded by bourgeois law, said they "sincerely apologise to Mr. Healy for having published the suggestion that he employs violence or seeks to curtail freedom of expression."

Ernest Tate, standing firmly on the principles of revolutionary socialism, countered efforts to have a capitalist court decide on the merits of the case. Tate sought instead to have a working-class tribunal weigh the evidence. This, naturally, met with no response from Healy, a firm adherent to the justice of Her Majesty the Queen.

The tone adopted by the SLL in its current campaign against Tariq Ali and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign is reminiscent of the tone employed against Ernest Tate before he was beaten. Thus Cliff Slaughter's attack did not pass unnoticed.

The International Marxist Group, to which both Ernest Tate and Tariq Ali belong, issued a leaflet September 6 replying to the slanders. [See Intercontinental Press, September 23, p. 794.] Noting Slaughter's sentence, "It's time Tariq Ali was told to shut his mouth," the authors of the leaflet observed that this "leaves a very nasty taste that we are sure most workers would not find pleasant. In other words it smacks of a Stalinist attitude towards political opponents."

This was put about as mildly as it could be, in view of the SLL's record.

Cliff Slaughter's answer, "The Newsletter draws blood," in the October 8 issue of the SLL's official organ, may have been intended to allay the apprehensions he had aroused. If so, he had better try again. His tone remains the same. Thus he tells his audience that the International Marxist Group is "squealing" and "we in the Socialist Labour League are going to make them squeal still more."

It is pointless to take up Slaughter's arguments, spread over an entire



page in the second of two articles on the subject. They are devoid of the slightest interest, designed as they are merely to "prove" Healy's thesis that the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the Socialist Workers party, and their co-thinkers internationally (all of whom he labels as "Pabloites") have "capitulated" to "imperialism" and the "Stalinist bureaucracy." We will follow Slaughter only on the matter of concern -- shutting Tariq Ali's mouth.

"But we are criticized especially," says Slaughter, "for saying (August 31), 'It's time Tariq Ali was told to shut his mouth'. This, says the leaflet, 'leaves a very nasty taste that we are sure most workers would not find pleasant. In other words it smacks of a Stalinist attitude towards political opponents'.

"Let us put the record straight, and reply to this snide attack."

Here is how Slaughter puts the record straight:

"Everybody in the labour movement knows that we have always fought for the right of all tendencies to be heard. We tell Jordan, Tate and the Pabloites of the 'International Marxist Group' straight that, while we will always defend their right to speak against repressions from the capitalist state or the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy, we do not forget that they the Pabloites, joined with the 'state capitalists' to help Transport House to suppress 'Keep Left' and the Young Socialists."

Everybody in the labour movement knows! The truth is that everybody in the labour movement knows just the contrary. For instance, the facts about the beating of Ernest Tate and Healy's rushing to the capitalist courts are well known in the British labour movement. The stifling, undemocratic regime in the SLL, proved by the documents in the pamphlet Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International, is just as well known to everybody in the labour movement. Everybody in the labour movement has likewise known for years that the charge repeated in the last part of Slaughter's paragraph is a slander. So much for Slaughter's sophistry in the way he appeals to the record. Yes, sophistry.

Our red professor, who unfortunately still exhibits traces of his years of training in the Stalinist movement, continues:

"We say categorically, we did not propose or encourage any suppression of Tariq Ali or anyone else."

Does he not protest too much? The facts in the case of Ernest Tate speak categorically otherwise.

But what then did Slaughter intend to propose or encourage by pointing to Tariq Ali in the invidious way he did and commenting, "It's time Tariq Ali was told to shut his mouth"?

He did not indicate it then; now he has suddenly decided what he meant: "And we offer again [!] some advice to those close to Tariq Ali; tell him to shut up for a while and read and think before he opens his mouth."

In short, Slaughter, motivated by benevolent intentions, was only suggesting to the International Marxist Group that they would do well to imitate what is practiced every day inside the Socialist Labour League. There, under a tinpot despot, a monolithic regime dismisses democracy as so much rubbish. People are told to shut up, or else...

Slaughter's disinterested advice to Tariq Ali's friends hardly squares with the Healyite thesis that these friends are nothing but tools of "imperialism" and the "Stalinist bureaucracy" -- "mortal enemies" as Healy put it just twelve days before Ernest Tate was beaten by an SLL punch-up squad. Since when has Slaughter come to the position that the SLL should offer friendly advice to "mortal enemies"?

Slaughter has not changed his views as to the nature of Tariq Ali's friends. After his lame explanation about what he really meant by saying, "It's time Tariq Ali was told to shut his mouth," he repeats: "The Pabloites are ideological representatives of the middle class subservient to imperialism."

Lest anyone still mistake his real views because of his backing water on proposing or encouraging that Tariq Ali should be induced to shut his mouth, he reiterates: "Their role in diverting people from the road of Marxist leadership and revolution is their major role, and it is for this that we do principally attack them." (Emphasis in original.)

With diversionists, subservient to imperialism and blocking the road of Marxist leadership and revolution, isn't it permissible to put up a small smoke screen if they happen to have been alerted by something you proposed or encouraged a bit too obviously?

Our advice to Tariq Ali is to remain on guard, particularly if he happens to be on the pavement in front of a meeting of the SLL where either Healy or Slaughter are featured as speakers.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SALUTES SOVIET DEMONSTRATORS

[The following statement was issued October 13 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

The Fourth International salutes the Soviet citizens Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Daniel, Vladimir Delone, Konstantin Babitsky, and Vladimir Dremlyuga. It salutes these Soviet citizens, who were given harsh sentences of exile and prison for their attempt to demonstrate in Red Square on August 25 against the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Fourth International denounces the bureaucratic court of "justice" which compounded its subservience to the regime by a ridiculous pretense that this case had nothing to do with politics and that the years of exile and prison it meted out were for obstructing traffic in the streets of Moscow.

The attempted demonstration of August 25 is an important step forward in the revival of political life in the Soviet Union. This was not a demonstration like previous ones in which Soviet citizens protested sanctions against writers.

It was no longer just the bureaucracy's cultural policy that was challenged. This demonstration challenged one of the regime's most important moves, a premeditated action against a popular upsurge seeking to establish socialist democracy in a workers state.

It was this bureaucratic crime that the demonstration in Red Square stigmatized. This demonstration will reverberate in the consciousness of a growing number of Soviet citizens. And this is particularly true for the young soldiers, who, assured that they were being mobilized against counterrevolutionaries, were sent to suppress a people on the march toward socialist democracy.

While the "judges" in Moscow are still subservient to the Kremlin, the "defendants" are no longer broken types such as were once put on trial. They are a vanguard of citizens expressing the deepest aspirations of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Fourth International calls on all revolutionary militants and all workers to demand that the Soviet authorities release Pavel Litvinov and his comrades at once and without any conditions.

PRO-MOSCOW MINORITY FAILS TO REVERSE STAND OF SWEDISH CP ON CZECH EVENTS

The Swedish Communist party, which has been considered one of the most "liberal" Communist parties in the world and perhaps the most sensitive to the new youth radicalization, appears also to be one of the parties most torn by divisions over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The party's minority, hard-line Stalinist wing around the paper Norrskensflamme, opened a public attack on the liberal Hermansson leadership -- which condemned the Soviet action -- before the Swedish general elections September 16. The paper now seems ready to take advantage of the party's severe defeat in the elections to further its factional drive.

It was apparently encouraged in this course by the Kremlin leadership, which printed a translation of a Norrskensflamme attack on Hermansson in its foreign news weekly Za Rubezhom of September 27.

The article starts by blaming the electoral defeat on ideological confusion stemming from the leadership's "anti-Soviet" stance. However, it expanded this attack to include the Swedish party's en-

tire political course since the Twentieth Congress, which it pointed to as the source of all the party's woes.

"Never has there been such ideological chaos in the party as there is now. Never before has there been such a leadership in our party whose majority has pressed a political course on the party culminating in a petty-bourgeois adventurist policy. Never before have the ultralefts and right revisionists had such an opportunity to disseminate their views in the party..."

"Those who suppose that the weakness in the party leadership arose over the crisis in Czechoslovakia are falling into an error. Since the Twentieth Party Congress the petty-bourgeois influence in the leadership has risen at a mounting tempo. Before now some comrades supposed that this created the danger of a right revisionist development. But practice has shown that the party leadership's deviation from the principled positions of Marxism-Leninism has also opened up the way to an ultraleft adventurist policy."

The Norrskensflamme article ended its assault on a note in the style of the

"good old days" of Stalin before the Twentieth Congress. "We have every right to demand that the leadership, which has so clearly demonstrated its political incompetence, resign and confess before a special party congress that it acted immaturely in this situation." Despite

these rather categorical charges and demands, however, Le Monde reported October 2 that a Central Committee plenum on October 1, including the editor-in-chief of Norrskenflamme, voted unanimously to approve the leadership's line condemning the Kremlin invasion of Czechoslovakia.

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