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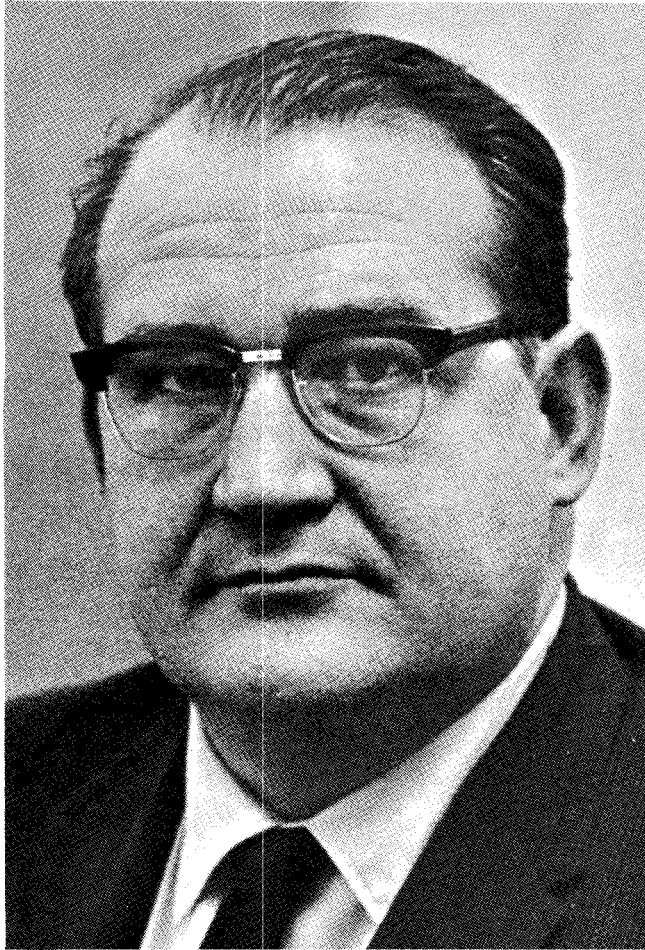
the Americas

Vol. 6, No. 37

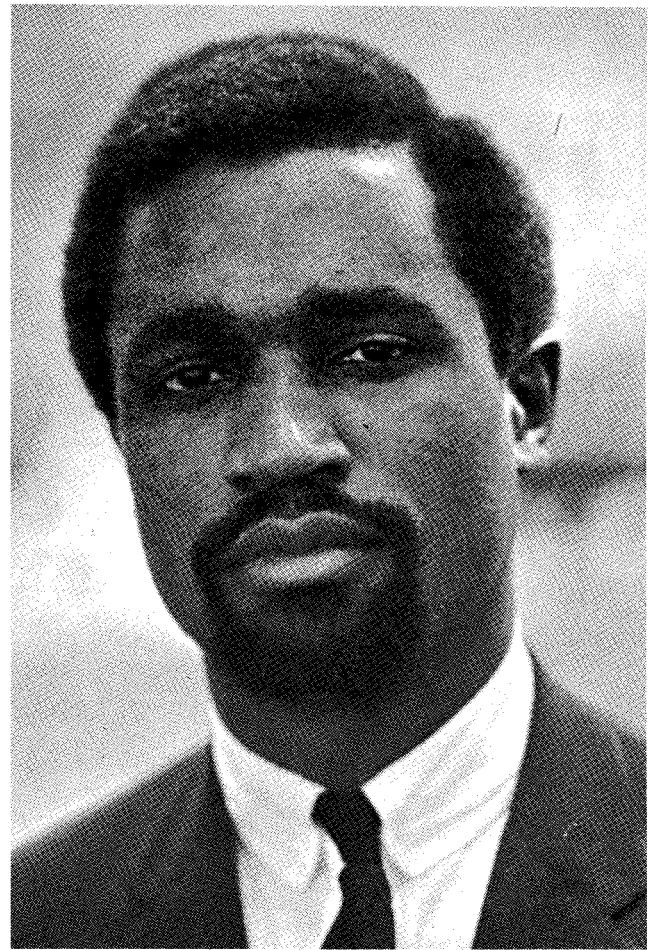
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November 4, 1968

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For President: FRED HALSTEAD



For Vice-President: PAUL BOUTELLE

Vote Socialist Workers!

Czechoslovakia:

**British CP Exposes
Kremlin's 'White Book'**

Mexico:

**The Student Rebellions
in Mexico and France**

Britain:

**Russell Answers
Bulgarian Ambassador**

"VOTE SOCIALIST WORKERS!"

By Les Evans

On November 5 American voters will go to the polls for the distasteful task of choosing between Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, and George C. Wallace, as major candidates for the next president of the United States.

A small minority, although a growing one, will refuse to support any of the capitalist politicians. Thousands of these people will cast their votes for the candidates of the Socialist Workers party, Fred Halstead for president, and Paul Boutelle for vice-president.

The real significance of the SWP campaign, however, will not lie in the vote it wins, which is not expected to be large. The socialist candidates do not have at their disposal the mass media, the millions of dollars available to the capitalist candidates -- or the capacity to check the counting of the ballots.

The SWP campaign scored a major achievement in the number of both black and white young people, moving in a radical direction, to whom it brought the ideas of revolutionary socialism. Even more important, this socialist election campaign has succeeded in winning significant numbers of youth to the socialist movement -- hundreds have joined the Young Socialist Alliance in the course of the election effort. Hundreds more are active workers for the socialist candidates through the Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle and Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle.

The two candidates have been on a virtually continuous speaking tour since the campaign was opened in September of 1967. They have crossed and recrossed the country, addressing college and high-school meetings and community groups in thirty-seven states, including all the states of the deep South. Audiences have ranged from 30 to 1,000 with average turn-outs of 200 to 300 at campus meetings.

In October 1967 Paul Boutelle made a tour of the South, speaking at black campuses and major Southern universities. This was the first time in a generation that a socialist had campaigned in this area and his tour was marked by attempts of school and state officials to prevent him from speaking. He was red-baited by Senator Strom Thurmond, a racist Nixon stalwart, a few days after speaking at Oklahoma University, and a free-speech fight was waged at Louisiana Southern University at Baton Rouge before Boutelle was able to speak.

In April Fred Halstead received a

standing ovation from 30,000 antiwar demonstrators in San Francisco.

Early in June, Paul Boutelle made a speaking tour of Britain and addressed a meeting at the Mutualité in Paris during the French revolt.

Halstead made a world political tour in August and September that included a visit to South Vietnam where he spoke to American GIs about his program. The two main slogans in the SWP campaign were "Bring the GI's home now" and "Black control of the black communities."

Boutelle was chairman of a workshop discussion on "The Black Nation" at the National Black Power Conference held in Philadelphia August 27-29. Nearly 5,000 black activists attended the conference. The SWP candidate was also the featured speaker at the Washington state nominating convention of the Black Panther party September 17.

Fred Halstead discussed the campaign during a brief stopover in New York October 25.

"During my first national tour a year ago," he said, "I was received with interest everywhere, but the focus of radical activity varied from place to place. In many places it was the McCarthy campaign, or the Peace and Freedom party. Elsewhere it was Students for a Democratic Society, or some local struggle. During my current tour I observed a general shift among campus radicals toward revolutionary socialism in which our movement is playing a significant and increasing role.

"It is a realistic possibility today to build a revolutionary socialist group on every college campus in the country -- and on virtually every army base.

"With the development of the massive struggles of the black community for local control of the schools, such as the struggle taking place in New York City, very serious attention is given to our ideas by black militants. And among white students our demand for black control of the black communities appears much less abstract than it did a year ago now that real battles are being waged for this demand."

When asked whether he thought the support for Wallace marked a shift to the right in American politics, the socialist candidate answered, "I'm convinced there is an increasing shift to the left. Wallace has succeeded in polarizing existing right-wing sentiment but his campaign does not indicate a general shift to the right. Cap-

italist candidates have shifted to the right, but what this does is to throw the electoral picture way out of kilter with what is happening in the nation as a whole, and that increases the explosiveness of the radicalization that is taking place.

"I found in my tours that I could get up in front of any audience and hold my own in a contest with any capitalist politician in any sector of the masses. This was not true during the witch-hunt. In a year of campaigning I was never heckled, no one ever tried to shout me off a platform. We found that we had many more opportunities to speak than we were able to take advantage of."

Some statistics of the SWP campaign show what has been accomplished. Despite discriminatory requirements aimed at keeping minority parties off the ballot, Halstead and Boutelle will appear on the ballot in nineteen states, up from eleven in the 1964 election.

This is no small feat. Election laws are different in each state. Most require a large number of signatures of registered voters on independent nominating petitions, usually with the provision that signers must not have voted in a primary election for any other party. In several states special conventions must be held.

Several other left-wing parties are also running candidates this year and they have found the legal obstacles to appearing on the ballot a major handicap.

The Communist party, which is running its first presidential slate since 1940, will be on the ballot in only two states, Minnesota and Washington.

The Peace and Freedom party, a non-socialist, reformist organization, will appear on the ballot in ten states. This is complicated by the fact that they were unable to agree on presidential or vice-presidential candidates. In Arizona, Iowa, Minnesota and Washington, the PFP ticket is headed by Eldridge Cleaver, militant Black Panther leader.

In Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and New York, the PFP presidential candidate will be black comedian Dick Gregory, a pacifist. In Michigan the party is running Larry Hochman, a local radical, for president. And in California, the PFP is running a slate of electors pledged to Cleaver, whose name has been taken off the ballot on the pretext that he is not thirty-five and therefore does not meet constitutional qualifications to run for the office of president.

Gregory is also running for president in Colorado on the ticket of the

"New" party, a group of Democratic party liberals who could not stomach the nomination of Humphrey.

The SWP is on the ballot in Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Vermont, Washington, and Wisconsin. The party also filed in Tennessee and Connecticut but was arbitrarily ruled off.

During the campaign an estimated 117,000 signatures were collected on nominating petitions by SWP supporters. In New York state, for example, it was necessary to collect 12,000 signatures, with a minimum in each of 61 counties, many of which have no large towns.

More than 1,500,000 pieces of literature were distributed throughout the country and to American GIs in Vietnam. This included 100,000 copies of a letter to GIs from Fred Halstead, as well as brochures containing the party's program, posters, leaflets, pamphlets, stickers, and three issues of the Afro-Americans for Halstead and Boutelle Newsletter.

The candidates have appeared on numerous radio and television programs -- not comparable, of course, to the amount of time received by the capitalist candidates -- and were heard by millions of people.

Halstead and Boutelle took part in a one-hour television debate with William Buckley, editor of the highly conservative National Review, that was widely circulated to local stations.

Halstead will appear on the nationally televised Joey Bishop show for forty-five minutes November 1 in prime evening time, and Boutelle will be on the same show November 4, the night before the election. This time was provided as a token enforcement of the "equal time" laws for coverage of election campaigns.

Most significant has been the support won by the socialist candidates among radical youth, most of whom are too young to vote. More than 3,000 people of all ages have signed cards endorsing the SWP campaign. Most of these are not "influential" people, but young activists, antiwar fighters and Afro-American youth.

The Young Socialists for Halstead and Boutelle is not a formal organization with officers and a national structure. It is a network of supporters who pass out literature, write articles for their local papers, and build meetings for the candidates or for SWP candidates for local office.

The campaign is not just a socialist educational offensive, however. It is a

campaign of revolutionary action, and SWP supporters around the country participate in and are the best builders of the movement against the war in Vietnam and other struggles. This combination of electoral and other forms of action has led to the growth of YSHB groups in many areas where there are not yet organized units of the Young Socialist Alliance or the Socialist Workers party.

Dozens of these new supporter groups exist in such places as Tallahassee, Florida; Albuquerque, New Mexico; Lexington, Kentucky; Manhattan, Kansas; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Reading, Pennsylvania, and similar cities.

The organization of black community groups around the fight for black control of the schools has given a new dimension to campaign activity.

The Young Socialist Alliance has scheduled a national convention in Chicago November 28-December 1, to which all supporters of the socialist candidates have been invited. There, postelection

perspectives will be discussed, particularly the continuation of revolutionary activities.

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers party and four-time presidential candidate on the party's ticket, summed up this election year with the comment, "The voice of revolutionary socialism has received the most widespread and receptive hearing ever in an SWP campaign."

"This campaign," he added, "has been more extensive in the major areas where we have traditionally campaigned and has reached into new areas and whole regions, making it a genuinely national campaign to an unparalleled degree. This experience reflects the breadth and the depth of the growing mass discontent with life under capitalism.

"These deeply significant features of the 1968 election year herald the development of new anticapitalist political trends that will make the decade of the 1970s crucial in the struggle for a socialist America."

POLICE BEGIN CRACKDOWN ON ABSTAINERS IN GREEK PLEBISCITE

The Papadopoulos dictatorship has announced it is "investigating" the 23 percent of the electorate who failed to vote in the rigged September 29 plebiscite on the new "constitution."

Former colonel Stylianos Pattakos, vice-president of the council of ministers, has ordered citizens who did not vote to write to the police, explaining

their reasons for abstaining.

In "questionable" cases, people will be required to produce medical certificates to justify their absence from the polls. All these documents, Pattakos said, will be examined by the prosecutor to determine against whom legal proceedings will be initiated.

THE PENTAGON REWARDS PAPADOPOULOS

The Johnson administration announced October 21 that it was resuming delivery of "major military equipment" to Greece, halted after the April 1967 coup. The readmission of the colonels to the Pentagon's military club was their payoff for conducting the electoral sham in September approving a new "constitution."

The New York Times was a little embarrassed at Johnson's timing. It would have been more discreet, the Times suggested in an October 23 editorial, to "delay another three months." The delay would "make the resumption, when it came, seem less of a reward to the colonels for the blatantly rigged referendum they staged for their new Constitution last month."

Such a reward, the Times said, not without justice, "will dismay Greek democrats and those allies who cling to the notion that the alliance exists to safe-

guard freedom and democracy; it will be widely regarded as Washington's definitive blessing for the junta, and it will confirm Greeks and others in their mistaken belief that the United States put the colonels in power in the first place."

The first of the renewed shipments to the Papadopoulos regime will include two minesweepers and twenty to thirty jet aircraft. The "embargo" never applied to spare parts, ammunition or light weapons.

Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, arguing for the renewal of shipments of heavy arms to the Papadopoulos dictatorship before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last May, said, "The obligations imposed on us by the NATO alliance are far more important than the kind of government they have in Greece or what we think of it."

A New Political Force

THE STUDENT REBELLIONS IN MEXICO AND FRANCE

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

Some comrades from the French communist action paper Rouge have asked me to write an article explaining the salient features of the student movement which began in Mexico July 26. I want to do this by comparing the Mexican movement with the student revolt in which they were involved in France. This is essential because the Mexican student movement owes much spiritually and politically to the great student upsurge in France last May.

The French "May revolution" decisively influenced the Mexican student vanguard groups. Both Marxist and non-Marxist student leaders at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM) [National Autonomous University of Mexico] as well as the Instituto Politécnico Nacional (IPN) [National Polytechnic Institute] could see in the light of the French experience what enormous importance students can have as the spokesmen of profound conflicts.

Of course, the students' role of spokesmen for popular struggles has been well known in Latin America for decades. But France showed these student leaders the highest form of this phenomenon. It showed them the extreme lengths which a student rebellion could lead to. It showed them in practice that a student rebellion can be the prelude to a socialist revolution.

The first thing that appears clearly when you analyze the Mexican student rebellion is its political character. The now forgotten origins of the crisis, which go back to July 23, lie in a common, ordinary student grievance. On that day, students from a preparatory school affiliated with the UNAM had a run-in with some students from Vocational Schools 2 and 5 affiliated to the IPN.

To this day the bourgeoisie and the government in Mexico have promoted an artificial division between the two most important bodies of students in the country, the UNAM and IPN students. This division reached the ridiculous extremes of football rivalries in the U.S. where the students of these schools viewed each other as real enemies, often going as far as full-scale mass battles. However, on July 23, an incident, unimportant in itself like many others, sparked a major conflict. What induced this qualitative leap was the brutal intervention of the police.

No institution in Mexico more faithfully reflects the corruption of the regime than the police. The police are hated and despised by everyone. And because of their brutality against the workers and the people, they are also feared. The attack of July 23 might have been no more than another in the constant police attacks, it might have been one more link in the constant chain of repression which goes to make up the day-to-day class struggle in capitalist society; but it turned out to be the last straw.

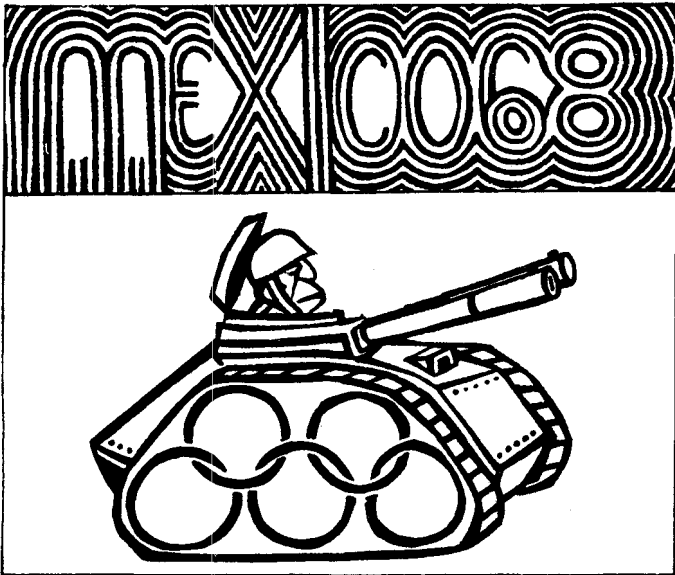
The granaderos [elite security troops], called to "restore order," ferociously assaulted the Polytechnic students who defended themselves with rocks and anything else they could get their hands on. Very soon the police began beating everyone who crossed their path whether they had anything to do with the original student brawl or not. What specifically aroused the student's ire was that even the teachers and students inside the vocational schools were attacked by the police.

On July 26 the IPN students forced the Federación Nacional de Estudiantes Técnicos (FNET) [National Federation of Technical Students] to call a protest demonstration. On that same day the Central Nacional de Estudiantes Democráticos [National Democratic Student Federation] had scheduled a celebration of this very symbolic date for the Latin-American revolution. This celebration involved primarily university students. The two demonstrations projected following completely different routes in order to avoid coming together.

The FNET was totally controlled by the government, its leaders were completely corrupt. It had dominated the IPN for twelve years since 1956 when the government occupied the IPN with troops to destroy a student movement that favored reorganizing the country's higher educational system. Its political and police control over the 75,000 IPN students prevented the development of any Marxist tendency in the Polytechnic schools through this entire period.

Only recently did FNET's monolithic control begin to loosen. In 1967, as a result of a conflict in the country's agricultural schools, FNET began to be outflanked politically by newly developing currents. The 1967 IPN strike in support of the agricultural schools began to slowly raise the political consciousness of the students.

Rank-and-file pressure forced the FNET to call the July 26 protest demonstra-



STICKER USED BY MEXICAN STUDENTS

tion if it did not want to be totally driven out of the IPN. Moreover the May rebellion in France had encouraged the revolutionary Marxist students in the UNAM and in the Polytechnic Institute to get together seriously for the first time to discuss forming a joint organization. The FNET began to be challenged from the left.

Against the wishes of the student rank and file, the FNET chose a route for the demonstration bypassing the center of the city, the Zócalo, the square where the National Palace is located. The more radical section of the demonstration broke off to head toward the center of the city where the other anti-imperialist demonstration in support of Cuba and Vietnam was being held.

The monitors of the IPN demonstration clearly expressed the FNET's anti-Communist character. Once they realized that their march was going to converge with the university demonstration they told those who wanted to join it: "We don't want to have anything to do with the Communists from the university."

Despite attempts to achieve a joint demonstration, the march which moved toward the Zócalo and was ferociously broken up there was composed primarily of IPN students. The clash resulted in several deaths which the government still refuses to acknowledge.

Immediately after this clash, the students joined ranks for the first time in their history and the FNET ceased to exist as a political force in the Polytechnic Institute. On July 26 the revolutionary power of the never-before-united Mexican students was unleashed for the first time.

In contrast to the French students, who had a united organization in the UNEF [Union Nationale des Etudiants de France -- National French Student Union], the Mexican students lacked a common organizational framework before July 26. On that date they began an eminently political struggle in the streets whose intensity forced them to form a united organization.

This factor explains another. The Mexican students went directly into the streets with political demands aimed at the overall system of repression in Mexico and not just against the conditions in the schools. The Mexican students took up a popular struggle for the democratic rights of the people. This was what the slogans "Release the Political Prisoners" and "Repeal the Unconstitutional Law Against 'Social Dissolution'" certainly meant to them. They took up a struggle for the Constitution violated by the government; they took up a revolutionary struggle to democratize the country.

When the French students began their struggle their objective was to transform the outmoded Napoleonic university. The dynamics of their struggle, however, enabled them bit by bit to become the forerunners of a mass mobilization which plunged the entire capitalist system into a crisis. The Mexican students began their struggles with the well-defined objective of changing the basic structure of the prevailing political system.

The University of Mexico (and to a lesser extent the Polytechnic Institute) had won considerable academic and administrative autonomy, to say nothing of the legal "autonomy" which the government violated on July 29 and September 18.

In contrast to the French students, the Mexican students at the UNAM enjoyed great political and academic freedom. In fact, one of the most important factors encouraging the government's repressive measures was the oasis-like character of UNAM in contrast to political life in the country at large which was exclusively controlled by the government and its official party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) [Institutional Revolutionary party].

The University, unlike the Polytechnic, has seen a proliferation of revolutionary left groups in recent years. Five years or so ago, the dominant tendency among the left students at UNAM was the Partido Comunista Mexicano (PCM) [Mexican Communist party].

But both international and domestic developments progressively undermined its influence in the university in a process similar to that suffered by the PCF [Parti Communiste Français -- French Communist party] in the French universities. But unlike in France, the decline of the Communist par-

ty in Mexico did not automatically result in a strengthening of the left communist currents. The systematic repression to which the revolutionary groups were subjected was the principal reason for the absence of a revolutionary communist group among the students.

A brief history of the repression since 1965 shows this clearly. In September 1965 an initial guerrilla nucleus in Chihuahua, including the Gámiz brothers and Professor Pablo Gómez, was butchered. In early 1966 the Posadista Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista) [Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) -- a tiny ultraleft group originating in 1962 when J. Posadas and his followers left the Fourth International] was suppressed. Eight of its members, including three Argentinians with Adolfo Gilly among them, were jailed. Later, in August of the same year, the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo [People's Revolutionary Movement] headed by Raúl Ugalde and Víctor Rico Galán was suppressed. In October, the military occupation of the University of Morelia produced another crop of political prisoners, this time students.

In 1967 also the revolutionary groups on the left suffered hard blows. At first it was again members of the Posadista group and University of Mexico students who were arrested. In the middle of the year, coinciding with the OLAS Conference in Havana, a politically heterogeneous group of fourteen persons was arrested with sensationalistic fanfare on the charge of attempting to "foment guerrilla warfare." At the end of the year another group of fourteen persons was jailed on the same charges. Of course, the imprisoned activists were mostly members of the revolutionary left groups and especially student members of these groups.

Previous student struggles had won respect for the right of revolutionary opposition to the government in the University within the limits of organizational and propaganda work by the revolutionary groups. An important milestone of this struggle undoubtedly was the 1966 movement. That year a strike broke out against the rector, Ignacio Chávez. Initially arising from wrangles among high government officials, once this movement extended to the students it became a weapon against the method of higher education.

A struggle was taken up for "university reform," whose aftermath was very important in establishing the new level from which the 1968 student movement started off. Everyone in the university world interpreted "university reform" in his own way. Everyone from the rector and the high authorities to the most radical group in the School of Philosophy and Letters or Political Science talked about "university reform." And of course these

two words were given very different meanings depending on who used them.

One thing, however, was more or less clear for large sectors of the students and that was that real university "reform" could not be realistically envisaged unless the surrounding society also underwent a profound change. The problem was not the structure of the university but of society.

The evolution in the Polytechnic was the most surprising. Starting from a much lower political level, the IPN students rapidly grasped the obligation of the students to espouse popular struggles. In action, they unquestionably took the lead of the movement. The unity among the students produced by the July 26 events immediately became a revolutionary force.

Another difference which directly determined the special development of the French student movement, setting it off from all the other student movements throughout the world and especially the Mexican movement, was the reaction of the working class. The French student movement forced the workers' Communist leadership to change its attitude toward the movement from one of hostility to one of reluctant support, mainly because once the student movement had shown its firmness and effectiveness, the workers themselves were anxious to support it.

In Mexico the working class is not led by a Communist party independent of the government and reflecting in a reformist way, as in France, the real interests of broad sectors of the proletariat in the arena of trade-union and economic struggles. The Mexican workers have no mass party, either revolutionary or reformist, to unite them. Their trade-union organization, the Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM) [Mexican Workers Federation], is led by a group of corrupt, gangster functionaries bound body and soul to the Mexican government and to the U.S. government which maintains permanent representatives in it.

These bureaucrats retain their places not only by gangster methods but even by bayonets, as in 1959 when the army intervened in the railroad strike. These characteristics of the Mexican workers movement have decisive importance for the development of the student movement.

A society such as we have in Mexico -- where the government controls the masses by corrupting the mass organizations, physically coercing any kind of popular movement, resorting to systematic illegal measures and police intimidation against any form of opposition not sanctioned by the regime -- must turn with increasing frequency to repression as the only means to maintain the political framework required for "normal" functioning of the system.

A firm, revolutionary mass student



STICKER. "Visitor: Would you like to get acquainted with Mexico? Visit the Jails."

opposition could not help but shake the Mexican political structure from top to bottom. The Mexican students constituted an "extraparliamentary" force like their French counterparts, but unlike them they exercised their opposition in the streets of a society which does not permit even a real "parliamentary" opposition.

This explains the ferocious repression the student movement suffered on the night of July 29, three days after its start. After the students defeated the police, the government brought in the army, which violated the UNAM's autonomy with its now famous use of a bazooka* and arrested thousands of students. Lacking the political preparation of the French students, the Mexican students had to face up to a military repression which the French bourgeoisie did not dare resort to even in the worst moments of the revolutionary crisis of May.

The ferocity, savagery, and blindness of the repression which the bourgeoisie resorted to in Mexico shocked the entire world. This ferocity, however, was nothing new to the Mexican people. The Mexican bourgeoisie, which boasts so much of its "revolutionary" origins and which paints up the "reformist" Mexican system, exposed itself internationally in 1968.

But the Mexican people already knew the repressive character of this ruling class, which will stop at nothing. For example, what other Latin-American country has held a trade-union leader in jail

* To shoot down the door of a preparatory school affiliated to the university of Mexico.

for nine years for leading a strike? Demetrio Vallejo, imprisoned since 1959, was charged with "social dissolution" for calling a railroad strike. Where else have we seen massacres of peasants like the one in Acapulco in 1967, in which hundreds of copra plantation workers were machine-gunned by "trade-union leaders" in the pay of the government?

In what country have more universities been occupied by troops than in Mexico, where the University of Morelia was invaded in 1966, the University of Sonora in 1967, and the University of Mexico and the Polytechnic Institute in 1968? The government of President Díaz Ordaz brought the tendencies shaping up in the regime of the "reformist" president López Mateos to their culmination.

In colonial and semicolonial countries many social movements develop simply as a natural response to systematic repression. Of course, the 1968 student movement has been affected by a whole series of social and economic forces blocking the traditional bourgeois alternatives and forcing the bourgeoisie to resort more and more frequently to repressive methods. The most important of these are the country's declining economic growth and the mounting government debt, which have pinched off the resources devoted to "social necessities" like education.

But institutionalized repression is evoking a response. Although its objective is to silence rebel voices, its ultimate result is to make them more numerous, inasmuch as the repression exacerbates social tensions, makes them more intolerable. This is the experience of the last decades in Latin America. Repression can partially smother rebellion. However, since it does not eliminate the causes of popular discontent, it can only stimulate a more dynamic resurgence of the oppressed people's revolutionary desires later on.

The brutal repression visited on the student movement produced four mass demonstrations in August such as had never been seen before in Mexico City. The last one on August 27 brought out as many as 700,000. On that same day the military struck once more against the movement. As on the previous day, it only produced a new deepening of the movement which began to extend to sectors of the peasantry and the workers.

By September 13, the day of the silent demonstration, it was obvious to the whole country that the government had been politically and morally defeated by the popular movement led by the students. After almost two months of struggle and endless provocations, after confrontation with the army, after the sinister threats Díaz Ordaz made in his September 1 report, and after an unprecedented campaign against it in the press, on the day of the silent demonstra-

tion the movement emerged victorious and stronger and more popular than ever.

It was clear to the bourgeoisie that the students' victory was the fore-runner of other popular struggles, most particularly by the workers, which might overturn the system. This was why the bourgeoisie had to escalate its repression to a higher level. It was the outstanding victories of the student movement that brought the bourgeoisie to move to a higher level of repression.

By September 13 the student movement was already setting a bad example for the people of Mexico; it was stimulating a mobilization of the workers in Mexico City. The student movement, on its own, had already won. The entire student population was mobilized. As a purely student affair, the movement could go no further.

September 13 marked the turn of the movement from a student movement to a popular one. But the bourgeoisie could not allow this stage to proceed. At that moment it decided to send in the army to occupy the University of Mexico campus.

The bourgeoisie took great risks, but it would have run still greater ones if it let the student movement draw in the workers and peasants who had come to its aid.

There is a marked difference here between the Mexican and French student movements. In France, influenced by the Stalinist bureaucrats, the workers were generally distrustful of the students, "the future bourgeois." In Mexico, on the other hand, as is common in Latin America, the students are viewed as the most faithful standard-bearers of popular struggles. From the start, an overwhelming majority of the people were in sympathy with the students. Therefore, the attempted repression of the movement was answered by a deepening of the resistance.

The occupation of the university campus opened the most violent and decisive round in the conflict. From September 18 to September 25 all the areas of Mexico City near the educational centers were occupied by the army. The harsh reality of tanks and motorized units appeared before the eyes of the people of Mexico City, who were totally unaccustomed to such a display which they thought belonged to a remote epoch of the revolution.

Frequent clashes occurred between the army and the students, and the dead began to be counted in whole groups. The occupation of the university campus was counterproductive. It discredited the government and increased sympathy for the students. The students' reaction was pow-



STICKER. "Free the Political Prisoners. Jail those who repress the people."

erful enough to balk the repression; and the movement began to move into the phase of an open political offensive. It emerged from this test with fresh strength and with extraordinary prestige. Once again repression had failed.

The week of September 25 to October 2 was crucial. Far from intimidating the movement with its repressive measures, the government had made it tougher, more resolute, and more revolutionary. It had forced the more backward sectors to understand the urgent necessity of an organized alliance with the workers and peasants.

The Consejo Nacional de Huelga [National Strike Council],* the leading body of the movement, even succeeded in formulating a draft "Program for a Worker-Peasant-Student Alliance," which was in essence an embryonic program of transitional demands. But the severity of the repression prevented the CNH from bringing it into application.

The main objective of the savage repression of October 2 was to destroy in the bud the new stage of development opening up after all the government's previous repressive measures had failed. The mass murder which the government of President Díaz Ordaz committed in the Tlatelolco district was supposed to teach an unforgettable lesson. And this operation also aimed at capturing the main leaders of the Consejo Nacional de Huelga at any cost.

* The press abroad, in general, has translated "consejo" as "committee." The Mexican student leaders, however, chose the word "consejo" instead of "comité" as coming closer to the reality and to what they had in mind in organizing the movement.

It is obvious that the Tlatelolco massacre did not affect only the 20,000 students, workers, and people in general who were in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas that day. The social and political consequences of that bloody repression have been very great. The level of violence employed by the government terrified the people of Mexico City.

It was the harshest repression since the revolutionary period. Hundreds were killed and thousands wounded in the massacre in which the army fired point-blank at a peaceful and defenseless crowd. And all this occurred right in the center of the cosmopolitan city which was soon to be the scene of an event of worldwide prominence -- the nineteenth Olympic Games.

October 2 definitively concluded an entire period of Mexican history. A line of blood divides two historical stages. The student movement had already accomplished the major part of its task of politically arousing an entire people to the harsh social and political realities of the Mexican capitalist system.

The jails are packed with many more political prisoners. The movement has far from achieved the main point in its list of demands -- freedom for the political prisoners. However, the demonstration of the students' audacity, courage, and political clarity, constitutes an unquestionable victory which will have historical repercussions for the Mexican people.

The Mexican capitalist system has exposed itself and in disclosing its ugly repressive face to the entire people, it set in motion processes which will politicize and radicalize the working masses of the country. Under the conditions prevailing in Mexico, this amounts to as big a victory as winning the students' six demands. I think the bourgeoisie also feels this. For the first time, it has seen its power challenged.

The French student revolt was led by cadres trained in revolutionary Communist organizations, especially in the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire], and in the democratic framework of the Action Committees. The politically more advanced groups also had the UNEF as an arena for discussion and mobilizing the students.

The Mexican students had nothing like this. Of course, the most important leading cadres without exception had Marxist training. In most cases it was acquired in the PCM, of which a large number had been members, or in the various pro-Chinese, Guevarist, or Trotskyist groups on the revolutionary left. But the Mexican revolutionary students had not

succeeded in organizing a group similar to those in the French universities when the May crisis broke out.

This is the main reason why, although the influence was greatly weakened, the PCM has not been eliminated from student politics. In fact, it was the only organization that had a national student organization, the Consejo Nacional de Estudiantes Democráticos (CNED) [National Council of Democratic Students]. However, it was concentrated more in the high schools than in the universities and its influence lay in the outlying states and not in the Federal District.

When general assemblies in every school or college of the University of Mexico and the Polytechnic Institute called the strike, they elected Comités de Lucha [Struggle Committees] made up of the best-known and respected representatives of the students. These Comités de Lucha then elected two delegates each to a central committee which became the Consejo Nacional de Huelga, the movement's leading body and one of the most interesting organizations the Mexican masses have yet produced. From the start, this student "soviet" gave cohesion to the struggle, gaining a prestige and authority which made it the target of the capitalist repression.

In France the political tendencies directly confronted each other in the Comités d'Action [Action Committees] thrown up by the masses in their spontaneous revolt. But these committees did not form anything like the Consejo Nacional de Huelga, which in terms of the French movement would have been a sort of central Comité d'Action. There is no doubt that the discussion in the French Comités d'Action was on a higher Marxist political level than the discussion in the Consejo Nacional de Huelga. But there is no doubt either that the Mexican CNH played a centralizing and organizing political role that made it qualitatively superior to all the uncentralized French Comités d'Action from the standpoint of political action.

The CNH was the most important creation of the student movement, even though it was always hampered by the low political level of most of its members (whose political experience went back only to July 26!). Hours upon hours were wasted in sterile discussions on the most inconsequential topics. But the CNH was the crucible in which the revolutionary leadership of the most important mass mobilization in Mexico since the thirties was forged.

Democracy within the CNH was somewhat restricted as a result of the political inexperience of most of its members, who were anxious above all "to act, not talk." Every more or less experienced revolutionist knows what easy prey politically naïve activists are for clever opportunists. As a conse-



STICKER. "People, unite! Don't let them rule you with tanks and speeches."

quence, for the whole first phase of the movement ending in mid-August, the leaders who were most radical in action made a shortsighted alliance with those who were most opportunistic, who were totally uninterested in broadening the nature of the movement.

After August 27, the movement's imposing power forced its most conscious leaders to pay more attention to the admonishments of the left wing (represented by the humanities schools of the University) that the workers and peasants had to be drawn in on the basis of their own immediate demands.

The CNH won the allegiance of all the students; and the government lost the battle in this sector. But the experiences following August 27 showed that the CNH was the embryo of a counterpower to the government, at least in the Federal District.

The government office workers were brought out on August 28 in a mass demonstration for the government and against the students who were supposed to have desecrated the Mexican tricolor. Thousands of these workers, who are traditionally dyed-in-the-wool supporters of the regime, protested bitterly against being used against the students.

This demonstration against the "desecration" of the nation's flag turned out to be counterproductive for the government, because the students infiltrated it and turned it in their favor. The troops intervened and repressed the office workers. Immediately leaflets in support of the CNH began to circulate, signed by the government office workers themselves.

The most politically conscious workers -- those in the electrical workers, oil workers, and railroad workers unions -- began to come to the CNH in groups. Finally, the peasants around Mexico City began to come to the CNH. The most notable experience was in Topilejo, a small peasant and worker village near the University of Mexico campus. A dispute flared there with the bus lines. Several inhabitants were injured or killed in an accident. Knowing that in such cases the students had resorted to taking over buses to guarantee fair compensation, the peasants went to the students for help, which the students immediately gave.

This unity in action beginning to be forged between the students and the people won mounting prestige for the CNH. Conscious of its responsibility, the CNH tried to shape its strategy and tactics to accord with its new range of activity.

Ceasing to be purely student in character, the movement had to take into account the lower consciousness of the workers and peasants. The students continued to be the leading political force but they were no longer the only participants in the movement.

The silent demonstration and the demonstrations that followed it testified eloquently to the fact that the CNH leadership was politically mature enough to wage not only a student struggle but a popular struggle against the government.

The CNH called for a silent demonstration on September 13 to counter the claims that the students were primarily interested in merely shouting insults; and the committee banned red flags and pictures of Che to deprive the anti-Communist press of any arguments. Instead, Mexican flags (the Mexican flag is also tricolored) and pictures of the heroes of the war of independence, the reform, and the revolution abounded in this demonstration.

The ban on red flags and pictures of Che was not very popular with the students, above all those from the University of Mexico. But the political arguments for this measure won a majority. The CNH sought to become the representative of the nationwide interests of the broad working-class strata which were still politically very backward in comparison with the students. If the students wanted to be a real vanguard, they had to pay a certain price. And they accepted it.

The next demonstration organized by the CNH in its increasing powerful challenge to the government was the "people's fiestas" on the anniversary of Mexican independence, September 15. More than 100,000 persons took part in these fiestas on the University of Mexico campus and in various striking Polytechnic schools (including in the Tlatelolco district). There could hardly have been a

bigger turnout in the Zócalo, where Díaz Ordaz staged the official ceremonies.

But the CNH did not confine its activities to organizing mass demonstrations. During the times when these great demonstrations were not going on, the student movement used another method to approach the masses -- it set up political brigades. These groups were made up of from five to thirty students, depending on the circumstances. Their function was to "inform" the people as to the real course of events. This work succeeded in effectively countering the distortions of the bourgeois press. But the brigades step by step began to take up other tasks. Organizational brigades, medical brigades, peasant brigades (Topilejo and nearby towns) arose.

The brigades were nuclei in which hundreds, thousands of students found the concrete political education they needed in order to understand clearly what the Marxist vanguard groups had been telling them for years -- that great social movements of workers and peasants were shaping up in Mexico because the revolution had failed, because it did not give power to the masses of workers in the countryside and in the cities.

Thousands of students were able to strengthen their ties with the workers, learn the problems of the working-class neighborhoods. They discovered a whole world -- a world in which they were received fraternally, in which they were listened to and met with respect and which looked to them for political orientation and education. Immediately the students rose above their narrow interests to become the spokesmen of the historical objectives of the broad Mexican masses.

Thus, we come to one of the most notable differences between the French and Mexican student experiences, a difference which arises essentially from the different contexts represented by the imperialist system in France and the distorted and dependent form of capitalism that exists in Mexico.

At the climactic point in their struggle the students who participated in the May rebellion openly adopted a revolutionary socialist position. The red flags in their demonstrations were the symbolic expression of their program -- socialism in France. Although many of them did not understand at the beginning, nor as yet, that the universities cannot be substantially changed until the system as a whole is changed, in May they were objectively supporting a revolutionary socialist transformation of the system.

Of course, a large section of the French students, trained in revolutionary

Communist politics, are fully conscious of the nature of the problem. In any case, the revolutionary character of the French student actions was fully expressed both in the content and forms of the struggle.

In Mexico something very different happened. The student struggle quickly ran up against a military repression which could not be defeated without the support of other sectors of the population. The level of consciousness of the Mexican people, the experience of its previous struggles, and the bourgeoisie's monolithic political monopoly clearly indicated the democratic level of the people's struggle.

The Mexican revolution has far from accomplished the democratic tasks. Today, Mexico is on the verge of a new gigantic struggle for the elementary rights of the people. When the revolution of 1910 failed and stopped at the point of a bourgeois liberal regime (with some populist tinges as in the period of President Cárdenas), the people's gains were trampled under foot and sabotaged by the new bourgeoisie which sprang up in the footsteps of the revolutionaries.

In 1968, the Mexican working people find themselves facing a situation essentially like that of 1910 -- although now the development of the productive forces is on a much higher level that will permit a real resolution of the uncompleted bourgeois democratic tasks.

The influence and dominance of imperialism is far from eliminated. Mexico is completely tied to U.S. imperialism, bound economically, politically, and culturally to the imperialist forces.

Far from giving the land to those who work it, the Mexican revolution of 1910 created a new landlord system in which 3 percent of the landowners own 87 percent of the arable, privately held land (leaving out the "ejidos," the communal farms).

Far from solving the problem of the Indians on the margin of capitalist society, today 10 percent of the population (almost five million "Mexicans"!) are as illiterate and poverty-stricken as they were in 1910.

As for the workers, democratic tasks as elementary as the basic freeing of the trade unions from government control are yet to be achieved. The right to strike is far from respected. The working class has no political representation. The official party controls the working class through the CTM and other unions with gangster methods.

As in 1910, the president is a virtual "constitutional" dictator. The deputies and senators are under his thumb. The judges follow his will blindly so that all those jailed for political opposition have



STICKER. "A government of HORDES of thieves and DAYS of misery." [The words "hordas" and "días" have the same sound as the president's name, Díaz Ordaz.]

to wait years in prison before being tried and sentenced.

This is the case with Raúl Ugalde, Víctor Rico Galán, and their companions. Although they have been held in prison since 1966, they have yet to be sentenced; and their trial is endlessly postponed and postponed.

The cops are all-powerful. Far from checking into the charges against political prisoners, the judges always take the "word" of the cops as sufficient evidence to lock them up. Mexico is still a barbarous country despite the tourist image it wants to sell to the world.

Since the Mexican democratic revolution occurred during an epoch of capitalist growth, it could not triumph with the weak Mexican bourgeoisie of 1910 as the leading class. Today, with a stronger national bourgeoisie, Mexico needs a democratic revolution directed against the vital positions of this same national bourgeoisie that has closely allied itself with U.S. imperialism.

This is the difference between Mexico and France. In Mexico the democratic tasks still have to be achieved, although we are in the middle of the twentieth century. But it is clear that these democratic reforms can only come through a profoundly revolutionary struggle.

The great Marxist teachers of the twentieth century, the Bolsheviks, taught us that in the age of imperialism it is essentially revolutionary socialists who fight for democracy. In an age when the bourgeoisie internationally is abandoning

the best historical traditions of its class, the proletariat must defend the bourgeois democratic conquests.

But, of course, the revolutionary force of the working class cannot be confined to holding up a system which its own creators are abandoning. In struggling for democracy, the working class and its allies are paving the road for socialist struggle. In this epoch struggle for democracy cannot be realistically conceived except in conjunction with socialist struggle.

The students of Mexico had to struggle for the democratic gains represented by the Constitution of 1917, which has been systematically violated by the government. But their democratic struggle was a revolutionary one. It was a struggle in the streets in which they demanded democracy and did not plead for it.

The Mexican people responded to this call. It could not be otherwise. In the process of mobilizing and deepening mass action, the students little by little understood that a victory for democracy would be a tremendous blow to the capitalist system. They understood that the bourgeois system could not tolerate democracy. They understood the fundamental weakness of a system that could not stand up against the student thrust. They understood that the students on their own shook the system. And the conclusion drawn by great sectors of the population on October 2 was that "if we want democracy in Mexico, we will have to overthrow this system and create another."

The masses' objective need for greater democracy in the political life of the country will inevitably engender a process pointing toward the socialist transformation of Mexican society. In order to facilitate the development of this struggle, it will be necessary to provide the masses with two-edged slogans which raise democratic objectives while preparing a transition at the same time to a new socialist system. In short, the Mexican masses need a transitional program suited to their specific problems in 1968.

Finally, what are the short-range perspectives? No crystal ball is required to forecast a strengthening of the more reactionary militarist tendencies. This would bring Mexico into the current that has been apparent in Latin America since 1964 -- spreading military dictatorship.

Most recently the military coups in Peru and Panama have evidenced this tendency. Many wonder whether these last two coups d'état presage a new Latin-American "Nasserism," a kind of "neo-Peronism." The only evidence for this is the expropriation of the Peruvian oil resources which Belandé sold to foreign companies.

But the most superficial examination



STICKER. "Get rid of CUETO and his ORDAZ. Long live the students!" [Cueto is Mexico City's chief of police. Ordaz is pronounced like "hordas" -- hordes.]

of what "Nasserism" means enables us to exclude such an alternative in Latin America. The primary characteristic of Egyptian Nasserism has been the support Nasser enjoyed among large sectors of the masses, a support won not only by demagoguery but by a real (although obviously limited) anti-imperialist posture, as was demonstrated in 1956 and to a lesser extent in 1967.

Because of their oligarchic origins and close ties with the Pentagon, the Latin-American military officers will never be able to assume a real anti-imperialist posture like Nasser. Of course, they seek popular support through maneuvers such as the Peruvian officers' recent measure.

A series of factors explain the Peruvian officers' momentary audacity. Belaúnde was discredited precisely because of his scandalous deals with the oil companies. The imperialist patrons of the officers were divided on both foreign (Vietnam) and domestic (elections) policy, which gave the Peruvian "gorillas" a greater margin for maneuver and demagoguery, etc.

But the deeper tendencies point to a hardening of the military governments and repression against the reformist and revolutionary desires of the peoples of Latin America, whether in Brazil or Guatemala, Argentina or Panama, Bolivia or Colombia...

The reformist or bourgeois liberal alternative must also be excluded as a real possibility. Both international and domestic circumstances stand in the way

of an opening in the political arena for new Goularts, Belaúndes, Freis, Leonis, Llerases, Paz Estenssoros, etc. In any case, these regimes always pave the way for "gorilla" governments.

In the face of the grim outlook of an institutionalized repression on the continent, the only real hope is the triumph of the revolutionary struggle.

In 1968, for the first time in ten years, Latin America saw an upsurge of urban masses. The cities are beginning to catch up with the lead taken by the peasants. This fact presages great developments. The students' struggle in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Mexico has shaken all the capitalist structures on the continent. And this struggle is a prelude to the mobilization of other urban sectors, especially the workers.

Latin America is experiencing a radical turn and with nothing halfway about it. This is the time of José Martí's and Che Guevara's furnaces.* It is Camilo Torres' "zero hour." The most conscious vanguard of the Latin-American peoples, the students, have understood this. According to Vladimir Palmeira, the twenty-three-year-old leader of the Brazilian União Nacional dos Estudantes [National Student Union], the student movement in his country is struggling against the military dictatorship, seeking "a people's regime like the Cuban one." The Mexican students agree with their Brazilian compañero -- "a people's regime like the Cuban one..."

* "It is the time of the furnaces and it is only necessary to see the glow," was the quotation from the Cuban revolutionary poet José Martí which Che Guevara used to begin his letter to Tricontinental magazine.



BRITAIN'S BIGGEST ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATION

The October 27 demonstration in London against the war in Vietnam exceeded all the previous ones in size by far. The Ad Hoc Committee which sponsored the march estimated that around 100,000 persons participated. The press, which had campaigned in virulent fashion for weeks against the demonstration, conceded that 50,000 turned out.

The massive march testified in the most emphatic way to the deep dissatisfaction in the country over Wilson's support of the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

A wide range of slogans was carried by the demonstrators, who were of varied background and political tendency. However, the key slogans included demands for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, for opposition to U.S. imperialism, and for victory to the National Liberation Front.

The number of police mobilized by the government was said by the press to be the largest anyone could remember in

London. They appeared to have been given instructions, however, to avoid scenes that might be reminiscent of the pattern followed by Mayor Daley's police in Chicago during the Democratic convention.

Nonetheless, violence flared when some of the demonstrators, under the influence of Maoist elements, sought to create incidents at the U.S. embassy. The Ad Hoc Committee aimed at avoiding violence, centering the protest action against the Wilson administration rather than the U.S. embassy.

The capitalist press had predicted possible bloodshed in the weeks preceding the march. Their purpose was to frighten people away, get the demonstration banned, or justify police violence if the march actually came off.

The huge size of the turnout gave this witch-hunt campaign a fitting reply and assured that the demonstration would be a peaceful one in the main, as its organizers had projected it.

QUEBEC STUDENTS STAGE MASSIVE SCHOOL OCCUPATION

Montréal

More than 5,000 people marched here October 21 in solidarity with the two-week student occupation of seventeen schools throughout Québec. The heart of the movement was the French-language junior colleges, the Collèges d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel [CEGEP's], eleven of which were taken over by students.

The students were protesting inadequate facilities in the technical sections of the CEGEP's, and the restricted opportunities for university entrance. Due in part to the lack of equipment available in technical courses, 70 percent of CEGEP's students take the university preparatory course. Only 30 percent of this number will be admitted to Montréal's only French-language university.

The occupation began October 8 at CEGEP Lionel Groulx when a student assembly voted 508 to 313 to take over the school. The movement rapidly spread throughout the province.

At Lionel Groulx, students and some of the school employees barricaded the doors, took over the operation of the cafeteria, cleaning the school, and general administrative tasks. All classes were canceled and workshops were set up

to discuss school reform and other questions.

At Université Laval, fifty students occupied the administration offices, and at Université d'Ottawa 400 students walked out of classes and then occupied the social science school.

At the Ecole des Beaux Arts, a French-language art college that joined the CEGEP's action, the administration was dismissed. Committees were set up to operate the cafeteria, the switchboard, and defense from outside attack. An art cooperative was established to design and print posters that were distributed to other schools.

At Mont Lasalle high school the occupation was ended only by an invasion of the police. Support actions were organized at all three English-language universities in Montréal.

The Union Générale des Etudiants Québécois [UGEQ -- General Union of Québec Students], the overall student government of the CEGEP's, published several issues of a city-wide occupation newspaper and called for the mass march October 21.

Assemblies at most of the CEGEP's voted to end the occupation after the big October 21 demonstration.

SYMPATHY FOR CZECHOSLOVAKS VERBOTEN IN EAST GERMANY

Walter Ulbricht is cracking down heavily on East German students who have protested his government's participation in the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Courts in East Berlin sentenced a number of youths to two-year prison terms October 24 and 25 for having distributed leaflets with the slogan "Long live Czechoslovakia!" Most of the defendants were children of high-ranking Communist party officials.

Spontaneous protests against the invasion occurred throughout East Germany. In Erfurt and Gotha several hundred youths demonstrated in the streets August 22 and 23. Several were arrested.

More than 100 young persons are reportedly being held after engaging in protest actions in East Berlin, Dresden, Frankfurt An Der Oder and Juterbog.

The results of the first wave of secret political trials were made public October 25. Thomas Brasch, son of the country's deputy minister of cultural affairs, Horst Brasch, was sentenced to two years and three months in prison.

Sandra Weigel, the niece of Bertolt Brecht, received a two-year prison term. Her aunt, Helene Weigel, Brecht's widow, is director of the world-famous Berliner Ensemble.

Erika Berthold, daughter of Professor Lothar Berthold, the director of East Berlin's Institute for Marxism-Leninism, was given a suspended sentence of one year and ten months.

Inge Rosita Hunziger, 18, who is the daughter of a sculptress, was sentenced to two years and three months in prison.

Two others known to have been tried are the teen-age sons of Professor Robert Havemann, the physicist, who was expelled from the Communist party and fired from his teaching job at the University in East Berlin four years ago for criticizing the Ulbricht regime.

Frank Havemann, 19, and Florin Havemann, 17, are accused of putting leaflets protesting the invasion into parked cars in East Berlin. "Frank is also charged with having written the name of Dubček on house walls," their father told reporters. "I fail to see how that can be a crime since everybody knows that Alexander Dubček is the party secretary of a friendly Communist state."

Professor Havemann has been called to testify in the trial of his sons. The October 22 issue of the Paris daily Le



"ULBRICHT JA! DUBCEK NEIN..."

Monde said four agents of the secret police accompanied by a public prosecutor had entered Havemann's home and seized a large number of books and manuscripts.

In addition to leaflets and demonstrations, signs have begun to appear on walls in various cities. In Frankfurt An Der Oder one wall bore the inscription, "Up With Dubček -- Down With Ulbricht." In Juterbog someone wrote, "Dubček Ja, Ulbricht Nein."

Despite threats by the bureaucrats, it is also reported that many older Communists have refused to sign official petitions condemning the Czechoslovak reforms.

BEHIND THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF PIERRE MULELE

[The following article has been translated by Intercontinental Press from the October 19 issue of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche.]

* * *

Inadmissible, the arbitrary and hasty way in which the former leader of the Simbas was tried and executed.

Inadmissible the way in which he was tricked and arrested.

Inadmissible and even beyond comprehension when it is recalled that last year General Mobutu had to proclaim Lumumba a "national hero," and Mulele is considered to be Lumumba's political heir.

A government which thus disavows its word can only weaken itself, can only become more fearful of the force which compelled it to disavow its word, which manipulates it like a puppet.

This breach of honor and of the law is one more humiliation inflicted on Africa by the secret services of imperialism.

Mulele belonged to the generation of "nationalists" who fought to win and uphold the independence of the Congo. This generation was featured by its lack of ideological training and its petty-bourgeois conduct.

Mulele's attitude did not surprise the genuine revolutionists of the Congo. In fact, in the Kwilu maquis itself, Mulele had been supplanted as head of the movement by a younger, more intransigent, more knowledgeable leadership. Mulele was practically compelled to give up his leadership of the maquis. His "regionalist," traditionalist, and narrowly Lumumbist conceptions constituted a brake which held back the development of the Kwilu revolutionary movement. His leaving was thus promising for the future development of the revolutionary movement in the Kwilu.

It is not right to destroy someone who has been defeated, but it must be recognized that Mulele's leaving for Brazzaville was a defeat and his turning toward the Mobutu regime amounted to surrender. Even a betrayal, because Mulele declared that he was prepared to support Mobutu's policies.

In according guarantees to Mulele to convince him to return to Kinshasa, Bomboko was acting in complete agreement with Mobutu. It was with Mobutu's approval and even on his orders that Bomboko returned from Morocco (where he had gone



GEN. JOSEPH D. MOBUTU

with Mobutu) to Kinshasa. He was given the mission of going to Brazzaville in order to negotiate with Mulele and get him to return.

What was back of this? The imperialist powers (Belgium, the United States), having worked out a number of agreements with the Mobutu regime, have been pressing for a policy of so-called "national reconciliation."

They are afraid that the day Mobutu loses power their agreements might be denounced. Thus they have tried to pressure the current regime into setting up pseudo-democratic institutions (in which all the "tendencies" would be represented) so that the agreements that have been reached would seem to be the obligation of the entire country. Thus it was that Adoula was asked to again set up the Radeco [Rassemblement des Démocrates Congolais] as the second party authorized by the Constitution.

Thus it was that Munongo was released. Thus it was that Mulele was authorized to return to Kinshasa.

Mobutu, on returning from Morocco, countermanded Bomboko's promises, put Mulele on trial and condemned him. The absurdity of this is that he thus loses the benefits of the policy of appeasement which he has followed for a time. He could not have acted as he really wished.

The Binza group now in power (and which in practice has never left it since 1960) is no longer monolithic. Along

with the Binza group in the true sense of the term (Mobutu, Bomboko, etc.), there is what could be called the Djelo-Binza group composed of Nendaka, Zamundu and General Malila (who serves as minister of defense). And it was the Djelo-Binza group, General Malila in particular, who compelled Mobutu to shift on this.

Thus at the beginning of October, Kinshasa Congo was close to experiencing another military coup d'état by way of pointing up the contradictions within the proimperialist oligarchy now holding power.

FRENCH INTELLECTUALS SEND PROTEST TO DIAZ ORDAZ

[The following is the text of a telegram sent to President Díaz Ordaz, as published in the October 23 issue of the Mexico City weekly Siempre! The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Dozens of deaths, hundreds of wounded, thousands of students jailed -- such is the tragic balance of the events in Mexico.

We solemnly ask the Mexican government to condemn the bloody police and mil-

itary provocation, to resume the dialogue as demanded by the students, and not destroy forever the image of the country of Hidalgo, of Juárez and of the Revolution of which you say you are the heir.

Simone de Beauvoir, Jean Cassou, Vercors, Jean-Paul Sartre, Claude Roy, Léo Matarasso, Jean-Luc Godard, Matta, Marc Saint-Saens, the professors: André Kastler (Nobel Prize), Laurent Schwartz, Vidal-Naquet, Pierre Samuel, François Bruhat.

Paris, October 6, 1968

DIAZ ORDAZ REPRESSION DENOUNCED BY THE POUM

[In a statement issued October 6, the Executive Committee of the POUM (Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista -- Workers Party of Marxist Unification) denounced the efforts of the Díaz Ordaz government to repress the Mexican student movement. The text of the statement is as follows.]

* * *

The Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista of Spain (POUM) denounces the barbarous repression unleashed by the government of President Díaz Ordaz against the university and working-class youth of Mexico on the eve of the inauguration of the Olympic Games.

The horrible slaughter at the Pla-

za de las Tres Culturas, the occupation of the university centers by the armed forces, the mass arrests of students and youth workers, have pleased the Francoite oppressors and all the forces of reaction. It constitutes a very grave precedent today when students throughout the world are rebelling against all forms of reaction and oppression.

We Spanish revolutionary socialists, united with the people of Mexico through bonds that no one can break, express our fraternal solidarity with the victims of the repression. We demand the release of all the prisoners and respect for democratic and university rights. In doing this we are sure that we are voicing the deepest sentiments of the Spanish university youth and the Spanish workers.

MODERN GOLIATH REMEMBERS A LESSON FROM HISTORY

Paris police have laid asphalt on miles of streets in the Latin Quarter to deny students easy access to cobblestones. Still, the flics have learned not to dis-

count student ingenuity. In preparation for fresh unrest, they bought a new truck mounted with water cannon. It is also equipped with "stone-proof" windows.

A CURIOUS DEFENSE OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT

[The following is the full text of a letter to the New York Times from Jorge Castaneda, ambassador and chief director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Díaz Ordaz government. The letter, which defends the massacre of Mexican students in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, was dated October 11 and appeared in the October 21 issue of the Times.

[Castaneda's statement indicates that the regime itself finds it difficult to justify the murderous attack on the student demonstrators. In fact, the chief director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirms by his own eyewitness account some important points in the versions given by students and reporters. He admits, for example, that shooting broke out "instantly" after a flare was fired from a helicopter.

[Castaneda's major "proof" that the army did not stage a deliberate massacre is no defense of the government at all. He merely claims that most of the students ran fast enough to escape before the first wave of soldiers entered the plaza. Finally, Castaneda admits that he has been unable to "explain some pertinent facts."

[Admitting, in effect, that even the government has to concede that something was wrong with the whole business, he concludes by urging an "investigation." The "investigation" he has in mind, we may assume, would be carried out by the Mexican government. Since when can murderers be counted on to return an impartial verdict on their own crimes?]

* * *

The story by Paul L. Montgomery in The Times of Oct. 4 regarding the violent clashes between Mexican students and the army on the night of Oct. 2 in my view gives a false impression of the events.

According to his version "a thousand federal soldiers fired rifles and machine guns at what had been a peaceful student rally in the plaza of a housing project...."

I will not attempt to explain or interpret what happened, but merely to rectify one question of fact regarding

the moment and circumstances in which the army opened fire. I witnessed the events from my office in the sixteenth floor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, on the southern edge of the Plaza of Three Cultures and overlooking the whole area.

The rally had, in effect, been peaceful. The army trucks and armored cars appeared at about 6:10 P.M. in San Juan de Letrán Avenue, at the western edge of the area. Soldiers leaped from the trucks and moved across the Aztec ruins toward the Plaza. At that moment a green flare fired from a helicopter descended over the area. Instantly heavy shooting broke out on the eastern side of the Plaza.

From my clear and vivid recollection, shared by several colleagues and assistants, the firing started from a fourth floor balcony of the Chihuahua Building, on the eastern end of the Plaza, behind the rally's podium. I could not tell in which direction the first shots were fired. It has been widely reported that they were fired at plainclothes policemen who attempted to reach the balcony from inside the building in order to capture the members of the National Strike Committee. This I did not witness.

But I did see clearly what is an essential element in the picture: As soon as the shooting started, the students dispersed very swiftly toward the open sides of the Plaza. When the first wave of soldiers reached the Plaza proper (that is, the paved part of the Plaza beyond the Aztec ruins), perhaps seven or eight seconds after the balconies of the Chihuahua Building, the Plaza was totally empty. It is therefore patently false that the army charged and fired at a given signal against the students assembled in the Plaza. Unfortunately, this story has only served to add fuel to the fire.

I am painfully aware that this account of the events does not explain some pertinent facts, nor does it answer certain decisive "whys." Thus it is not advanced to justify or to blame anyone.

There will have to be a thorough investigation, not only of the events of that tragic night but of their immediate and remote causes.

WALUJO SENTENCED TO DEATH IN INDONESIA

A military tribunal in Semarang, central Java, condemned a leading member of the Indonesian Communist party [PKI] to death October 14. Walujo, also known

as Muljono, was a member of the political bureau of the PKI at the time of the coup in 1965. He was accused of recruiting the then chief of the air force to the PKI.

THE MYSTERIOUS "CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERS" WHO APPEALED FOR SOVIET TROOPS

In the two months since the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Kremlin has been very silent about its original claim that "Czechoslovak leaders" had requested the intervention. The names of these leaders have never been made public by the Warsaw Pact countries, leading to a widespread belief that they were fictional characters who could not be produced.

In recent weeks, however, there have been a few reports that a group of Czechs did indeed sign an invitation for the invasion, although the description of them as leaders appears to have been exaggerated.

Eric Bourne, writing from Prague in the September 23 issue of the Christian Science Monitor, said the appeal "...bore the signatures of nine men -- all of them far from being leaders of the nation. They were, in fact, discredited supporters of the former Novotny regime; none, since the January reform movement, were considered of political significance."

Bourne attributed his report to "inside information," presumably from Czechoslovak Communist party sources. The Monitor correspondent said the nine men had visited Moscow a week before the invasion. On the eve of the intervention they reportedly met in Prague in the office of Karel Hoffmann, chief of the Central Board of Communications.

Hoffmann is an old-line Stalinist and was minister of culture and information under Novotny. He was dismissed as minister early this year.

"With Mr. Hoffmann," Bourne wrote, "were his former deputy minister, Bohus Chnoupek, Pavel Auersperg, Stalinist and onetime party ideologist and still a member of the central committee, Miroslav Sulek, and Milos Marko, then chief editor and director general respectively of CTK (the official Czech news agency) and radio, and others."

Hoffmann and his collaborators planned to use their positions in the communications media to broadcast the appeal abroad. According to Bourne the transmission was stopped by the news agency and radio staffs.

"Mr. Hoffmann figured in another piece of duplicity on that fateful night. The party presidium sent a communiqué to the radio station announcing the 11 p.m. invasion, with instructions that it be put on the air immediately.

"Mr. Hoffmann tried to stop it by

ordering the transmitters to be closed down. But a government supporter in the radio station informed Josef Smrkovsky, one of the presidium's leading reformers, who ordered the lines restored just in time for the communiqué to be broadcast before the usual 2 a.m. closing-down time.

"Messrs. Hoffmann, Sulek and Marko have all since been dismissed."

Several of these men were reportedly present when Alexander Dubček, Josef Smrkovský and Frantisek Kriegel were arrested. One of them is said to have told Dubček and the others, "We are taking you under protection in the name of the revolutionary workers and peasants' government of Alois Indra."

Indra was a member of the presidium of the Central Committee, and is an unreconstructed Stalinist.

A number of the collaborators are said to have taken refuge in the Soviet embassy after the sharp resistance of the Czech people made it impossible for the Kremlin to set up a puppet government.

A more recent report indicates that the Czech masses are deeply angered at the collaborators. In the October 22 issue of Rudé Pravo, official organ of the Czechoslovak CP, the editors published a letter from the Havirov City Council demanding that Drahomir Kolder, a pro-Moscow party official and former member of the presidium, be recalled immediately from the National Assembly.

More than 34,000 citizens in the coal-mining town had signed a recall petition demanding Kolder be barred from the National Assembly.

The October 23 New York Times carried a report from Czechoslovakia by Tad Szulc that said Kolder "...was one of the three men picked by the Russians to form a new leadership the day after the invasion and the arrest and deportation of Mr. Dubcek and his liberal associates.

"The move failed because the overwhelming majority of the Communist party refused to go along with this maneuver....

"Subsequently, the Dubcek-controlled Central Committee refused to reelect Mr. Kolder to the ruling Presidium and he has been exiled as an economic advisor to the Czechoslovak embassy in Bulgaria."

On October 4 Kolder sent a letter to Rudé Pravo charging that the 34,000 people signed the recall petition due to "mass psychosis."

RICHMOND'S FINDINGS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA CHALLENGE GUS HALL'S STAND

[A major struggle has broken out in the Communist Party of the United States of America over the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The CPUSA is one of the few Communist parties to officially and uncritically endorse the Soviet action. The national CP newspaper, the Daily World, published in New York, has backed this view with a steady stream of attacks on the Dubček regime.

[The opposition is organized around the CP's West Coast weekly, the People's World, published in San Francisco.

[The editor of the paper, Al Richmond, a member of the National Committee of the CP, went to Czechoslovakia on a fact-finding visit. On October 12, the People's World began a series of on-the-spot reports sent by Richmond from Prague. The first one created a national sensation. Based on interviews, it refutes the Kremlin's attempts to justify the invasion and directly contradicts the version of the events in Czechoslovakia offered by the Daily World in New York.

[Richmond's articles, of which two have now been published, create a difficult problem for the national leadership headed by Gus Hall in view of its efforts to stifle opposition to its line of rubber-stamping the Kremlin's efforts to crush the struggle for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia.

[In the name of "discipline," the Gus Hall leadership has even attempted a crackdown on the dissidents. At a meeting of the party's National Committee August 31-September 2, a motion was passed censuring several CP leaders for making public statements critical of the Soviet action. These included Dorothy Healy, Southern California chairman of the CP, and Gil Green, a member of the National Committee and a leader of the New York organization.

[Al Richmond's articles, offering fresh material strongly substantiating the criticisms leveled by the dissidents, thus constitute an open public challenge to Gus Hall's version of what happened in Czechoslovakia.

[The following excerpts are from the first two articles in Richmond's series. The titles appeared in the original.]

* * *

How Workers Rallied to Dubcek
[People's World, October 12.]

Crossing the frontier on the

Vienna-Brno bus en route to the Brno Industrial Fair was uneventful....Only in the farm villages were there signs that departed from the pastoral serenity. On walls and fences, inscribed by an infinite variety of hands, were the names "Dubcek-Svoboda."

Frequently there were telltale marks where inscriptions had been erased or obliterated because they might give offense to the five Warsaw Pact powers whose troops entered the country on the night of Aug. 20-21. It is easier, as I learned later, to obliterate things from stone walls than to erase them from the hearts and minds of people.

The inscriptions and erasures, evident everywhere throughout the country, are symptomatic of the two most conspicuous traits of the Czechoslovak peoples in these times. The first reflects their incredible national unity and the second a rare political maturity.

In Prague I learned that public opinion polls, which were instituted during the post-January reform period, are continuing, but their results are not published to avoid friction with the other Warsaw Pact powers.

The latest poll (late September) showed 96% of the people behind Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist party.

I did not encounter any of the dissident 4% although I met a wide cross-section of people and one thing I always tried to ascertain was their attitude toward Dubcek....

[At the Brno Industrial Fair] I was assured that at least 90% of the workers actively supported the Dubcek leadership....

Most Czechoslovaks I met felt they had known a historic moment of greatness between March, when Antonin Novotny was deposed as President, and late August, and once again in the last 10 days of August after the foreign troops moved in.

One worker for a Communist party organizational journal said to me, "For six months we had more democracy than any other country on earth...."

Another Communist told me about a friend of his, a veteran Communist who had fought in Spain, had worked in the anti-Nazi underground, had been imprisoned in Mauthausen concentration camp.

This veteran Communist said, "Those six months -- they are the real meaning of

my whole life...."

Certainly every Communist I met acknowledged that mistakes were made during those six months, that negative phenomena cropped up. There was a consensus that a deep, thoughtful analysis of their experience is required. And yet most of them talked of those six months with great exultation, like men and women who had seen a vision of what life -- socialist life, and this they underscored -- could be like.

The last 10 days of August are something else. Everyone has his own story of how he became aware that foreign troops had entered the country....But the reactions were strikingly similar.

First shock and disbelief, then pain, then anger. With the shock came terrible uncertainty. This was compounded when the country's ranking leaders -- except for President Svoboda -- were abducted to unknown destinations....

The so-called illegal radio and press (making allowances for some extremes in such unprecedented circumstances) played a pivotal role in helping the Czechoslovak peoples find their bearings in a situation that easily could have led to tragic catastrophe and much bloodshed.

I speak of so-called illegality because responsible agencies have since said that only the constituted Czechoslovak authorities may judge what is or is not legal in their country, and in their judgment the activities of these mass information media were legal.

I heard tapes of what was broadcast over the legal -- if clandestine -- radio....What came over again and again was one warning, couched in a variety of forms: do not be provoked. With such warnings came information about what was going on in the country....

In a time of shock and uncertainty, when the wildest rumors could be circulated and the wildest provocations attempted, the radio gave the people a sense of cohesion and confidence....

In a different sense the now-invalidated 14th Congress of the Communist party fulfilled a similar function. In the extraordinary circumstances of its convocation -- just one day after the troops moved in -- the congress had neither the time nor the atmosphere for a deliberative assembly....The big thing it did do cannot truly be invalidated. It is now history.

To understand the historic accomplishment of the congress it is necessary to bear in mind the situation -- the traumatic

shock of it, the terrible uncertainty, the swift decapitation of the party and the country (at that time, it still was not known where Dubcek and his comrades had been taken or what had happened to them).

In these circumstances the congress served, first of all, as a mobilization of the Communist cadre....It is impossible to calculate just how much the congress did to reinforce the prestige and authority of the party, to strengthen popular confidence in the party's capacity to lead the Czechoslovak nations through the most difficult trials....

I had an opportunity to visit the site of the congress, one of the 22 plants in the giant CKD industrial complex that employs a total of 30,000 workers. I will report on the visit in a later dispatch. For the present it is worth emphasizing that the congress was held in a factory, shielded by the 3,000 workers employed in this unit of the CKD complex, with the People's Militia standing guard as Soviet tanks and other military vehicles rumbled by, presumably searching for the congress site....

Factories became the party's headquarters as its offices were taken over by foreign troops.

Among the first buildings entered into and closed by the troops in Prague, for example, was the party's Central Committee building.

A similar pattern was followed in other towns and cities. As a rule, factories and mines (in Kladno) became the operative nerve centers of the party organism.

It was to such facts that Dubcek referred in a radio-TV address on Sept. 14.

"If anyone still had doubts," he said, "as to what the situation was like with regard to our working class, then it is now plain. Our workers defended and continue to defend our path of socialist development which the party elaborated in the post-January period...."

As a matter of fact, it is among the workers that I found the greatest feeling of strength, and some measure of self-confidence. Among the students there is considerable confusion and emotion....

Among the workers there is a greater sense of stability. It is a stability based on support for the Dubcek leadership and the new socialist course charted since January. And among the workers the feeling of national solidarity and unity is certainly no less than it is among other sectors of the population.

Chats With Factory Workers in Prague
[People's World, October 19]

The machinist said that in his opinion "these recent events" greatly reinforced the support for the Communist party and the leadership by the whole people.

"Before," he said, "they sympathized -- now they actively support...."

Frantisek Veverka is a man of 34, who began his vocational apprenticeship in this unit of the CKD industrial complex at age 15 and joined the Communist party at 25.

The plant, which produces heavy electrical machinery, is one of the largest of CKD's 22 units and employs 3,000 workers. Of these 900 to 1,000 are Communist party members.

This plant had been the site of the since-invalidated 14th (Extraordinary) Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist party....The four men from the plant, seated at the table, all tried to talk at once to relate what happened there....

The senior Communist at the table was Jiri Beran, a short, intense man of 45....He joined the Communist party in 1940 at age 17 and that same year was seized by the Nazis and confined in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

Now he serves full time on the plant trade union insurance committee. He has been on this job since March, not enough time to erase from his hands the marks of 23 years of machine labor in this plant.

"In this factory," Beran said, "90% of the workers are behind Dubcek."

What about the other 10%?

"They are 'conservatives'." (A political label used loosely in Czechoslovakia to denote persons who balked at the post-January reforms).

Are there no "rightists"?

"Only a handful."

Inevitably the conversation drifted toward the issue of counter-revolution.

"Personally," Beran said, "as a Communist party member, I do not have any information to know why some people thought there would be counter-revolution here."

"There were problems. In solving them there were many clashes of opinion...."

There were also, he said, extremist organizations, naming Club K-231 and the Club of Non-Party Activists (KAN).

He elaborated on K-231, which was supposed to be composed of people unjustly persecuted in the 1950's, during "the cult of the personality" period, as he put it.

He thought there were some honest people in the club, including co-workers in this CKD plant, and also dishonest people, including agents of foreign intelligence who were justly convicted....

Josef Rosel, the trade union secretary, had to leave and he wished to state his "personal view" before he went....

"The Communist party was not in danger of losing its power....No one in the party intended that Czechoslovakia should split from the Socialist bloc. It should remain, but working in a more independent way, and not under the old system. No one in this factory took a stand to split Czechoslovakia from the socialist bloc."

Jaroslav Zelenka, 34 year old locksmith, a worker in the plant since 1950 and a Communist since 1953, said that friendship with the Soviet Union was not the creation of the "conservative" Communists.

"It is traditional in CzechoslovakiaOnly in the last 20 years the distortions caused some anti-Soviet feeling."

As to the 14th Congress (and the preparations for it) Zelenka agreed with a point made by Beran, but with a different emphasis.

Both agreed that the political meaning of the 14th Congress would be rejection of "conservative" and "rightist" forces.

Zelenka, however, referred to the fears that "rightist" forces would take over, fears that, in his opinion, were unfounded.

Beran, on the other hand, placed his emphasis on the fight against "conservative" tendencies, which, he said, "made it easier for rightist forces to come in."

"These conservative forces were the danger," he insisted....

If the CKD plant is marked in contemporary Czechoslovak history as the site of the nullified 14th party congress, the Praga Automobile Factory (Auto-Praga), just down the street, has another distinction. It is the plant that attracted world attention last July 30 when Pravda splashed a letter with 99 signatures that seemed like an invitation for Soviet troops to stay on Czechoslovak soil.

When I came to Auto-Praga I asked if it would be possible to speak with signers of the famous letter. Miroslav Kuthan, chief project engineer, said he did not know, that the workers might not want to talk to a journalist, but that he would try.

After a brief wait Pelcl Stanislav, an engineer with an executive post in production management, turned up....

He explained the origins of the letter. At the beginning of June, after Warsaw Pact maneuvers were concluded on Czechoslovak soil, Soviet troops lingered on. A rather intensive campaign then developed in the press, over radio and TV, for the Soviet troops to leave. Some Auto-Praga workers, he said, resented this campaign in the mass media.

A group (two or three, he thought) wrote the letter and solicited signatures. No, he replied to a question, the letter was not circulated among the 4,000 workers in the plant. Signature solicitation was selective -- only among those people who were believed to be in sympathy with the letter's contents....

He himself was not an author of the letter, Stanislav said, only a signer....the letter was not given its big splash in Pravda until July 30, just as Czechoslovak leaders were negotiating with their Soviet counterparts in Cierna, and national feeling was intense in Czechoslovakia because no one knew how the talks would turn out.

The reaction among the 4,000 Auto-Praga workers must have been stormy, although Stanislav said he could not talk about this personally, because he was on vacation when the letter was published.

RUSSELL, SARTRE SCORED BY BULGARIA'S AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE

[The following is the text of a letter from Professor Topentcharov, Bulgaria's ambassador to France, which was sent by him to the editor of Le Monde, appearing there October 23.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Under the heading "Correspondence," the October 17 Le Monde published an Open Letter calling in question Bulgaria's policy of peace in the Balkans. Among the signers are to be noted the names of Messrs. Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre.* The letter speaks of a "concen-

A meeting of all the workers resolved that the letter's signers be stripped of all political and economic leadership functions.

The Communist party leadership attempted to persuade the workers to change their decision and not to impose economic sanctions.

Josef Smrkovsky, chairman of the National Assembly and a member of the party's presidium, and Cestmir Cisar, a Central Committee secretary, came to factory meetings to make personal appeals. They expressed disagreement with the action of the 99 but argued that this was no cause for economic reprisals.

The upshot was that all the signators -- except two -- retained their economic positions. The two exceptions were a department manager and a plant security chief.

How did he feel about the letter in the light of subsequent events, I asked Stanislav. He stood by it....

He added that he did not agree with use of the letter to justify subsequent entrance of the troops into Czechoslovakia.

Some of the 99 have -- since August 21 -- drafted and signed an appeal for withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and delivered it to the Soviet Embassy.

Stanislav did not know how many of them signed this most recent appeal. Nor did Kuthan, but on the basis of his knowledge of the people involved, he ventured an estimate that most of them were now for withdrawal of the troops.

tration of Soviet troops in Bulgaria," of "Bulgarian territorial claims," as well as of a heightened "military threat," the imminence of which is shown by diplomatic moves.

I can easily imagine the effect produced by this document, for if I were a reader following Balkan affairs from a distance, I myself would have found sufficient in the letter to become alarmed. I thus feel that it is my duty not to maintain a reserve which, under the circumstances,

the London Times. The text was printed in Intercontinental Press, October 28, p. 932. Moscow replied via one "I. Petrov" in Liternaya Gazeta. This was translated by Intercontinental Press and can be found on p. 934 of the October 28 issue.

* The letter referred to also appeared in

could be interpreted as acquiescence, but to offer some testimony and establish the facts.

The alarmist reports echoed by the authors of the "letter" go back to the last ten days of August. Before "threats" against Albania and Yugoslavia were talked about, several news agencies reported that Bulgarian troops were moving in the direction of Rumania. I was spending the last day of my vacation in the company of 600 of your compatriots in a French tourist village of the Club Européen, located on the shore of the Black Sea close to the Rumanian border. It was August 30. Reading the reports about the concentration of troops at the very place we were staying, we had a good laugh. The next day, in Paris, we had another laugh, when I met several personalities, including the ambassador of Rumania (the fact was reported by France-Soir September 2). Denied by the Bulgarian government, refuted by the facts, the rumors of the month of August ended abruptly, and the same thing happened afterward with those of September. However, I am no longer smiling today. The "letter" of October 17 offers evidence that the speculations are continuing despite the refutations and denials.

Stating that they are unable to decide "whether these threats will material-

ize," the authors of the open letter appear to disclaim their responsibility. They proceed by declining to express an opinion -- by offering phrases from an article torn out of context and communiqués from certain agencies refuted long ago (see Le Monde of September 30).

It is obvious that the authors of the open letter are unaware of the denials and the genuine eyewitness accounts. For example, in the period referred to in the open letter, the western border of Bulgaria was crossed by 45,000 French tourists, who did not even need a visa. They saw a calm Bulgaria, without the rattling of arms, a people busy with creative labor. Thus, 45,000 witnesses, French tourists, are able to confirm this and not the imaginary "assertions" for which there is not the least evidence.

This is all the more so because it does not involve an isolated position. Because it is entirely in conformity with the spirit of the numerous peace initiatives of the Bulgarian government, the happy effect of which can be felt in the Balkans.

I would have liked the open letter, Mr. Editor, to have served the same cause. Unfortunately, without judging the intentions of its authors, it is necessary to recognize that it did not contribute to appeasement of the situation.

BULGARIA'S AMBASSADOR TO BRITAIN DENOUNCES RUSSELL, SARTRE

[The following is the text of a letter from Bulgaria's ambassador to Britain which was sent to the editor of the London Times and published in that newspaper on October 20 under the title, "BULGARIA'S POLICY IN BALKANS." It offers comment on a letter from Bertrand Russell, Jean-Paul Sartre, Vladimir Dedijer, and Laurent Schwartz, which was published in the Times of October 9. (See Intercontinental Press, October 28, p. 932.)

[The letter by Russell, Sartre, Dedijer, and Schwartz also struck sparks in Moscow where it was taken up by one "I. Petrov" in Literaturnaya Gazeta. (See Intercontinental Press, October 28, p. 934, for a translation.)

[Bulgaria's ambassador to France likewise took up the letter in a missive to Le Monde. (See p. 968 of this issue of Intercontinental Press.)

[By coincidence, Petrov's article appeared in the October 16 issue of Literaturnaya Gazeta; the letter of the Bulgarian ambassador to Britain was dated October 16; and the letter of the Bulgarian ambassador to France was printed in

the October 17 issue of Le Monde (which appears on the newsstands in the later afternoon preceding the official date of publication). Another intriguing coincidence is that none of these authors uses the word "Czechoslovakia" although the letter they attempted to answer was written in the light of the invasion of that country by troops of the Warsaw Pact governments under Moscow's command. There are those of course who will scoff at this being pure coincidence and who will insist that the Russian and Bulgarian responses to the letter signed by the four prominent members of the International War Crimes Tribunal actually represented a joint literary effort.

* * *

Sir, -- It was with indignation that I read the letter signed by Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre and others (October 9), headed "Balkan Dangers". Referring to certain selected facts and ignoring official and other documents, these gentlemen advance arbitrary hypotheses and draw conclusions which have nothing in common with the real situation in the Balkans at the present moment.

For any politically informed person it must be quite clear that the allegations of the four signatories, who profess to be "devoted socialists", are merely slanders against the peace-loving policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union.

Let us examine the facts. First, the formal withdrawal of Albania from the Warsaw Pact has in no way altered the existing situation in the area, since, as everybody knows, Albania had, to all practical purposes, long ceased to be a member of the Pact. Secondly, in referring to the Albanian Note about the concentration of Soviet troops in Bulgaria, the authors accept this malicious assertion at face value, and "omit" to take note that the Bulgarian Government has categorically repudiated this fabrication from start to finish.

All readers of your paper were informed of this repudiation by your Vienna Correspondent only two days before the publication of the letter. The territory of our country is not very extensive and any troop movements would have been noticed by the thousands of foreigners who are, and will continue to be, in our country as tourists, etc., including many Britons.

For my part, I would like to add that quite recently Bulgaria demobilized her current regular intake of conscripts at the usual time -- something that no state would do, were it contemplating an attack. Thirdly, in presenting the political intrigue about "the concentration of troops" and "the plan for an attack on Albania" as a genuine fact, the authors feel obliged to explain the tactical implications of the "forthcoming military operation" to the "Socialists and Communists" to whom they appeal in their letter, and state that this could only happen through Yugoslav territory and would probably involve the occupation of Macedonia.

Here they have become the exponents of the worn-out lie that Bulgaria has territorial claims on Yugoslavia. Unfortunately this fabrication has also recently gained currency inside Yugoslavia itself. It has also been accepted in those Nato circles which are eager to stir up trouble in the Balkans, where, during recent years, a more cordial atmosphere has prevailed, helped in no small measure by the peace-loving and constructive policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Clearly the inspirers and authors of these slanders have been guided by the unfortunate maxim that if a lie is repeated often enough it will be accepted as the truth. Precisely because of the intensified slander campaign on this question my Government recently (September 28, 1968)

in a Bulgarian Telegraph Agency announcement, rejected as totally unfounded all accusations about territorial claims, and declared that Socialist Bulgaria has not, and never has had, any territorial claims against any country.

This position has more than once found reflection in Communist Party, governmental and international documents in which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has clearly and explicitly accepted the inviolability of the frontiers established after the Second World War. The Government of Bulgaria is determined to adhere to this policy, and will continue to make every effort to improve relations between the Balkan countries, including our relations with Yugoslavia, and to strengthen peace and security in the Balkans. Bulgaria's policy for good-neighborly relations between the Balkan countries is not based on temporary expediency but emanates from the humane and peace-loving character of the socialist system in our country. This policy was yet once again confirmed in a special declaration made by our Parliament at a session held a few days ago.

As I write this letter, I cannot but express my indignation at the temerity of the authors in equating the United States of America and American imperialism, whose criminal war against the Vietnamese people has outraged the conscience of all progressive mankind, with the Soviet Union, which has given immense aid to the Vietnamese people, and which is restraining the predatory ambitions of American imperialism and reactionary circles in all parts of the world -- from Vietnam to the Middle East and the heart of Europe.

I am convinced that my indignation is shared by the whole Bulgarian people, who see the U.S.S.R. as a real bulwark of peace and progress and as a sincere friend and ally.

The signatories refer to the recent visit of Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, to Moscow and that of Marshal Yakubovsky, Commander in Chief of the Warsaw Pact, to Sofia. I would like to point out that, in pursuance of our policy of close cooperation with the Soviet Union, such mutual visits are perfectly normal and natural. But, by concealing and misrepresenting the facts concerning these meetings, the authors of the letter have drawn the opposite conclusions. They have, for example, selected for quotation out of context a few words from the communiqué issued after Todor Zhivkov's recent visit to Moscow and they omit to mention that the main points of the communiqué referred to matters of economic cooperation, the supply of goods and raw materials vital to the Bulgarian economy during 1969-70 and during our next five-year economic plan 1971-75, the supply of various types of equipment and technical aid, the construction in Bulgaria of a num-

ber of factories for chemical products, consumer goods, etc.

In conclusion, I would like to express my regret that men like Lord Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre should have put their signatures to a document containing inaccurate facts and arbitrary statements and conclusions which can only mislead public opinion and further the ends of

those who want to rekindle the cold war.

Yours faithfully,

PETER VOUTOV, Ambassador.

Embassy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, 12 Queen's Gate Gardens, S.W. 7, Oct. 16.

BERTRAND RUSSELL ANSWERS AMBASSADOR VOUTOV

[The following letter to the editor was published in the October 22 London Times under the title, "BULGARIA AND BALKANS." It is in reply to a letter from the Bulgarian ambassador which was published in the Times of October 20.

[Russell does not refer to a similar attack from the Bulgarian ambassador to France which was published in Le Monde, but his reply seems sufficient to handle that thrust as well.]

* * *

Sir, -- It is some reassurance to have from the Bulgarian Ambassador (October 19) the categorical denial that his Government is planning any further aggres-

sion. Your readers may remember that for a month before the invasion of Czechoslovakia I tried in vain to obtain such a denial from Mr. Kosygin.

The Ambassador's references to "the peace-loving policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union" need no comment from me two months after the occupation of Czechoslovakia and 19 years after the publication of Nineteen-Eighty four.

Yours faithfully,

BERTRAND RUSSELL

Plas Penrhyn, Penrhyndeudraeth, Merioneth, Oct. 20.

BULGARIAN TROOPS BEGIN LEAVING CZECHOSLOVAKIA

According to reports from Prague, the Bulgarian government began withdrawing its troops from Czechoslovakia on October 24.

General Ivan G. Pavlovsky, the Russian commander of the Warsaw Pact troops occupying Czechoslovakia, sent a letter to the Bulgarian officers commending them for "their high morale, their combat qualities, their political maturity, their courage and their firmness in

carrying out their international duty..."

No official information has been released yet on how many Soviet troops have been ordered to stay indefinitely in Czechoslovakia. Persistent rumors put the figure at 100,000.

They are already displacing Czechoslovak troops in their barracks for the winter, according to the press.

CZECHOSLOVAKS NOT TURNING WEST, NORWEGIAN OBSERVER REPORTS

One of the main arguments advanced by the Kremlin to justify its invasion of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is that the anti-Stalinists there wanted to "neutralize" the country and reach an understanding with the West.

It might have been feared that since the Moscow bureaucrats appealed to the interests of the "socialist alliance" and the "worldwide anti-imperialist front" as an excuse to occupy Czechoslovakia and to attempt to crush the struggle for de-

mocracy under socialism there, many Czechoslovaks might view neutrality or support from the West as their only hope for independence and freedom.

However, Olav Rytter, the leader of the Norwegian campaign against NATO, who was in Prague when the Warsaw Pact troops marched in and who spoke a few days later over the underground radio station there, reports that the mood of the Czechoslovaks remains strongly in favor of socialism.

In an interview published in the September 2 issue of the Norwegian socialist paper Orientering, Rytter said that the young intellectuals sparking the resistance had told him: "Our real allies are the opposition movements in Poland, Hungary, the Ukraine, Greece, Spain -- and the National Liberation Front of

South Vietnam."

Rytter also told Orientering that in Prague it was widely believed that the Kremlin knew, before the invasion was launched, what the reaction in Washington would be.

CZECHOSLOVAK STEEL WORKERS PROTEST DISTORTIONS IN SOVIET PRESS

Four hundred workers at the steel plants in Kladno, Czechoslovakia, have sent a letter to the Soviet embassy protesting the "distorted manner" in which the situation in Czechoslovakia is being presented to the Soviet public.

The letter was quoted by Agence France-Presse October 15 as saying, among other things:

"We ask you to allow Soviet reporters and soldiers to come and visit our plant to learn for themselves the opinions and views of the Czechoslovak workers. An inquiry of this kind ought to be decisive in determining their attitude toward Czechoslovakia."

The Kladno workers sent a similar letter to the embassies of the other Warsaw Pact countries.

Another letter, written by the workers at the giant CKD complex in Prague, was published in Prace, the trade-union paper. The CKD workers declared: "We cannot remain silent" about the disappearance from the political scene of several leaders, who were victims of "various pressures."

"It might be," the letter said, "that one day we will learn that comrades Svoboda, Dubček, Cernik, Smrkovský and the others have resigned. But they have, and will continue to have, our fullest confidence."

YEVTUSHENKO HARASSED FOR PROTESTING INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Yevgeny Yevtushenko is being harassed for protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. A dramatic version of his poem Bratsk Power Station, scheduled for a Moscow theater October 10, was canceled without explanation. After some protest, the drama opened on October 19, but may again be dropped.

The 35-year-old poet sent a telegram to Brezhnev and Kosygin August 22 denouncing the invasion as a "tragic mistake." His message has not been published in the Soviet Union and appeared in the West only on September 20.

Yevtushenko said in the telegram, "I don't know how to sleep. I don't know how to continue living. All I know is that I have a moral duty to express to you the feelings that overpower me."

"I am deeply convinced that our action in Czechoslovakia is a tragic mistake and a bitter blow to Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship and the world Communist movement."

On another occasion Yevtushenko said of his poem-play, "At Bratsk I

thought not only of the heroic labors of the builders of the power station, but of all the sons and daughters of Russia who have given their lives in the battle for the realization of the highest ideals of humanity....I wished to remind our contemporaries of their duty to keep sacred and to keep alive the tradition of the revolution, with all their labors and all their lives."

The Kremlin bureaucrats, it would seem, have far less lofty thoughts.

Yevtushenko once summarized the plight of the Soviet intellectual under Stalin in his tribute to the Russian poet Mayakovsky, who committed suicide in 1930:

"Would he have surrendered to what he hated? Would he have glumly stepped aside, kept silent, gritting his teeth from a distance, when somewhere in the night, in black marias, Bolsheviks were taken for execution? I don't believe it! Being dead he has become 'the best and most talented' -- alive he would have been declared an enemy of the people."

BRITISH CP PAPER EXPOSES UNTRUTHS IN KREMLIN'S CZECHOSLOVAK "WHITE BOOK"

[The article below, by J.R. Campbell, appeared in the October 10 issue of the Morning Star, the official publication of the British Communist party, under the title, "Questions on a White Book." Campbell's study is of special interest as an exposure of a blatant piece of propoganda put out by the Kremlin to justify its invasion of Czechoslovakia, and as further evidence that the British Communist party is still committed to the position of deploring the Soviet intervention.]

* * *

This White Book, On Events in Czechoslovakia,* is an industrious compilation of materials relating to the activity of various Czech agencies, radio and television services and the Press in the period roughly from the beginning of this year until after the signing of the Moscow protocol on August 27.

Its basic aim is to show that these activities were the surface manifestations of an immense counter-revolutionary movement that was moving to the seizure of power from the legitimate Czechoslovak Government, and which was only frustrated by the prompt intervention of the armies of the five Warsaw Pact States.

That being the theme, there is a curious reluctance to identify the role of the legitimate Czechoslovak Government, which the armies were allegedly seeking to defend, during the period between the intervention on August 21 and the signing of the Moscow protocol on August 27.

One would never gather from this brochure that detachments of these armies had, on entering the country, made for the headquarters of the Communist Party and Government, and had arrested most of the prominent leaders available, who were in Russian custody during these lost days.

The result is that certain of the activities undertaken on behalf of the legitimate Government, such as the setting up of clandestine radio stations, are described as if they were undertaken by "counter-revolutionaries" against the Government.

It surely is a strange idea to cite the existence of clandestine stations which were operating on behalf of the legitimate Czechoslovak Government as proof of a massive counter-revolution

against that Government!

The White Book then refers to a massive armed organisation of counter-revolutionaries against the Czechoslovak Government.

"The late issue of the Sunday Times of Britain on August 27 featured an interview with one of the leaders of the Czechoslovak underground.

"According to this traitor, in the alarm-filled August days the counter-revolutionary underground in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic 'totalled about 40,000 men armed with automatic weapons'."

This is a definite enough statement. Did the White Book check on this statement of the Sunday Times to see if any corroborative evidence can be found for it, or for the subsequent claim that such weapons were supplied from West Germany?

This would certainly, if found to be true, justify publishing this so-called fact throughout the world. The story as found in the Sunday Times of August 25 (not 27) is, however, quite otherwise.

In the Sunday Times account the person described as a traitor of the counter-revolutionary underground in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is depicted actually as a member of the Czech forces supporting the legitimate Government.

"They had at least 40,000 members and were receiving aid from the 100,000-strong national militia. All are armed with Russian or Polish-made automatic weapons," he told the Sunday Times.

"We managed to get 1,095 delegates to the 14th extraordinary meeting of the Czechoslovak Communist Party within 24 hours, which would have been an extensive operation even in peace-time conditions."

I am not vouching for the correctness of this story, but it is an entirely different one from that published in the White Book. It contains nothing about traitors (to the legitimate Czechoslovak Government) armed with weapons supplied from West Germany. The Sunday Times story has either been distorted or misunderstood.

The White Book claims that during the holiday season quite a number of American agents pretending to be tourists entered Czechoslovakia. This is far from impossible.

The White Book produces the following statement: "According to the State Department the number of US tourists in Czechoslovakia stayed around 1,500. By Au-

* "On events in Czechoslovakia. Facts, documents, Press reports and eye-witness accounts." Press Group of Soviet Journalists, Moscow, 1968.

gust 21, 1968, the number had grown to 3,000, most of whom, as the US papers themselves reported, were employees of the Central Intelligence Agency."

It would, of course, help immensely if the White Book could give the names of the US papers which reported that many of the US tourists who were entering Czechoslovakia were employees of the CIA.

It would help readers of the White Book to judge the accuracy of a specimen assertion that it makes. What US newspapers were kind enough to give the world this propaganda titbit about the CIA?

A great part of the White Book is occupied by quotations from certain papers, the main burden of which is criticism of the Communist Party. Such quotations covering periods of several months can create an impression of an enormous movement.

No less than three separate quotations appear on pages 14, 20 and 40 from an article in Literarni Listy by A.J. Liehm which create the impression that the leading role of the Party is being opposed by him.

I hold no particular brief for A. J. Liehm, who is certainly an excitable writer, but he does no such thing. After saying that some of the arguments in favour of the leading role are in the light of history "not good arguments and they do not inspire confidence" A.J. Liehm says in this same article:

"But there are other arguments, more relevant, more political, more truthful. First of all, the Communist Party still has the power in its hands, just as it had before January. It depends to a great extent on the Party and its internal development whether we shall have an orderly and gradual democratisation.

"The Communist Party is not going to surrender this power to anyone. Some

there might be who imagine that it would be possible to wrest away this power by force. What nonsense! At that moment the Czechoslovak experiment in democratic Socialism would be drowned in blood and the country thrown back ten or more years.

"One look at the map is enough to see how the world hangs together. Anyone who does not see this, or does not know this, is either a fool or a traitor. We have already said this in the first argument.

"There is yet another one which is contained in the resolution of the central committee: 'The Party is the chief guarantor of good relations between Czechoslovakia and the other Socialist countries.' We know that this is true and that without these good relations there could be no democratic development here either."

This is sufficient to show that the Liehm article does not bear out the charges of the Soviet journalists.

It would be interesting to estimate to what extent the political ferment began to flow in the direction of the Communist Party after the publication of its Action Programme in April.

The White Book gives estimates of the alleged revival of the old Czechoslovak Social Democracy as part of the counter-revolutionary developments, but surely some estimate should be made of the success being achieved by the Communist Party before the intervention as a result of the popularisation of the Action Programme. Otherwise you get the impression of a growing weakening of the Communist Party and the Communist youth which is simply not borne out by the facts.

It was not a counter-revolution, but the Communist Party that was growing before the end of August. Everything up to and including the subsequent solidarity of leaders and people has confirmed this.

ITALIAN CP CONDEMNNS HARSH SENTENCES PASSED AGAINST MOSCOW DEMONSTRATORS

The sentences handed down by a Moscow court October 11 against Pavel Litvinov, Larissa Daniel, Konstantin Babitsky, Vladimir Dremlyuga, and Vadim Delone, for demonstrating against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, have been strongly condemned by the Italian Communist party.

L'Unità, the official party organ, said: "The harsh sentences passed by a Soviet court against the organizers of a

demonstration on Czechoslovakia must, in our opinion, be judged as a grave matter."

L'Unità observed: "After this grave sentence, as after other analogous judicial episodes, we are forced to again declare that the problem of the effective realization of socialist democracy and guarantees that it be applied in the judicial field is in fact posed in a sharp way fifty years after the October Revolution."

SWISS CP CONTINUES TO CONDEMN SOVIET INTERVENTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Parti Suisse du Travail [Swiss Workers party -- the Communist party] continues to oppose the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia and to demand that the troops be withdrawn.

A recent issue of the party's newspaper, Voix Ouvrière [Workers Voice], noted that the Soviet government is insisting on the "normalization" of the situation after the invasion and while the troops remain.

"The development of the situation since August 21 seems to indicate that the 'socialist camp' reserves the right to define the meaning of the term 'normalization.' This claim is all the more debatable since it appears more and more that the term 'socialist camp' in the final analysis refers only to the Soviet Union itself and the four other countries that participated in the military occupa-

tion of Czechoslovakia."

The Swiss Communist paper observed that the Communist and workers parties of the capitalist and underdeveloped countries seemed excluded from the outset from any participation in the decision-making; and that this also applied to China, Cuba, Rumania and Yugoslavia, all of whom nevertheless are "socialist" states. This disturbs Voix Ouvrière.

"The road toward 'normalization,' continued the journal, "lies through a serious analysis of the conditions that made possible successive violations of socialist democracy and engendered a bureaucracy which, by definition, is opposed to moving forward and by this fact betrays the Marxist options. Consequently to talk about 'normalization' for Czechoslovakia is meaningless."

A "HEMISPHERIC" ANTIWAR CONFERENCE OF DUBIOUS VALUE

By Ross Dowson

Toronto

Originally slated for early October, the Hemispheric Conference to End the Vietnam War will take place in Montréal November 28-December 1.

The call, addressed to all who "speak French, English or Spanish and wish to end the war in Vietnam," proposes that the United States stop the bombing of North Vietnam and open negotiations with the National Liberation Front. These negotiations, it is suggested, should be aimed at the withdrawal of not only U.S. but "other foreign troops."

The call states that the conference will act in a spirit that includes "the eloquent appeals of the Secretary-General of the UN and His Holiness the Pope."

Thus the conference has in advance identified itself with the demand for "negotiations" in contradiction to the popular demand for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops.

With its "respectable" proposals, the Hemispheric Conference has succeeded in putting together an extensive list of sponsors. These include Salvador Allende, president of the Chilean Senate; the poet Pablo Neruda; Cheddi Jagan of Guyana; Representative Julian Bond of Georgia; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Rabbi Feinberg; Québec M.P. Francois Aquin; and several prominent members of Canada's New Democratic

party.

For a "Hemispheric Conference" there are some notable omissions in the list. Perhaps most important, there is no representation whatsoever from Cuba -- governmental, cultural, or otherwise. There is no representation from any revolutionary organization in Latin America. And, not least, there is no one from Vietnam, either from the National Liberation Front or from Hanoi.

The conference organizers have systematically excluded from planning meetings representatives of leading antiwar organizations in Montréal and Toronto -- presumably because these organizations have led the fight for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity in the war.

A planning meeting held July 27 refused to seat an observer from the Montréal Voix du Québec Sur le Vietnam. Joe Young, executive secretary of the Toronto Vietnam Mobilization Committee, was also informed that he could not participate in any of the preparatory meetings. Both of these organizations, the leading antiwar committees in their cities, are strongly identified with the demand for immediate U.S. withdrawal.

The organizers of the conference have said they expect 2,000 people to attend, but this may be dubious. One sponsor who was earlier given top billing has

withdrawn his support. Gerard Rancourt, executive vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress, recommended in an official communiqué to all CLC affiliates August 3 that they "abstain from participating" in the conference.

In a letter a month later he outlined certain circumstances around the July 27 conference preparatory meeting that caused him to withdraw his sponsorship. Leading Canadian and U.S. personalities whose names had been used to build the meeting failed to put in an appearance. There was no explanation of their absence. The financing of the project,

Rancourt said, was extremely nebulous. He saw little planning or preparations that would ensure its success.

While there is an element of red-baiting in Rancourt's comments, there would appear to be considerable truth in his observations. This suggests the conference will be nowhere near as large as its organizers have proclaimed. More important, it is highly doubtful that the Hemispheric Conference will be a success from a political point of view. It is difficult to see how it will advance the cause of the antiwar movement on this continent.

AMSTERDAM POLICE CLUB MARCHERS SOLIDARIZING WITH MEXICAN STUDENTS

Some 4,000 young people protesting the sentencing of students who had occupied the Mexican embassy, battled po-

lice for five hours in the heart of Amsterdam October 24. The police refused to disclose the number injured or arrested.

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INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

P. O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station,

New York, N. Y. 10010



EDITOR: Joseph Hansen. CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, George Novack. TRANSLATIONS: Gerry Foley, George Saunders. BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen. Published each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July; not published in August. TO SUBSCRIBE: For 26 issues send \$7.50 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N. Y. 10010. Write for rates on airmail. PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-

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