



Xuan Thuy, head of Hanoi's delegation in Paris

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U.S. CONTINUES VIETNAM WAR AS DELEGATIONS MEET IN PARIS

The Saigon delegation, headed by Hitler's admirer Nguyen Cao Ky as "supreme adviser," finally arrived in Paris December 8 to participate in the Vietnam negotiations.

Ky announced upon landing that he thought the prospects for a favorable outcome were good. "I am an optimist," he explained; "an aviator has to be, even when the engine is failing."

It was widely speculated that Ky would seek to scuttle the talks or to drag them out until after the inauguration of Nixon, who, he hopes, will resume escalation of the war.

Thus he responded to a crowd of supporters who shouted "Free Hanoi!" on his arrival: "You speak of the liberation of Hanoi. I am ready."

Asked about the "misunderstandings" that had caused the delay in arrival of the Saigon delegation, Ky said they were due to his compatriots' lack of facility with the English language and to Harriman's "trouble with his ears." Averell Harriman, as chief American negotiator, has spoken for Johnson in the Paris preliminaries.

The conference was originally scheduled to begin November 6. Ky and Thieu boycotted the gathering, compelling the Johnson administration to postpone it. The Saigon puppets argued over such details as the sitting arrangements whether the delegations should sit at a two-sided table, and so on.

The American publicity experts are now trying to draw a veil over this chapter and charge Hanoi with responsibility for raising such questions.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam is represented by Xuan Thuy. The National Liberation Front sent a delegation headed by Madame Nguyen Thi Binh. She is a member of the NLF Central Committee and vice-president of the South Vietnam Women's Liberation Union. These two delegations represent the majority of the people of both North and South Vietnam.

The New York Times reported December 8 that "it seems that up to the last moment there was a scramble among members of the South Vietnamese regime to get on the special Air Vietnam jet plane" scheduled to go to Paris. The advance men "do not try to hide their delight at being in Paris..." Why they love gay Paree is no mystery. "The sojourn of the group will cost, according to unofficial estimates, as much as \$10,000 a day in rentals for offices, homes and limousines, living



MADAME NGUYEN THI BINH

allowances and entertainment funds."

Meanwhile in Vietnam, the war went on. The American military command sent forces ranging over the countryside in South Vietnam in murderous operations. This led to many American casualties as the local population sought to defend itself.

Some bombing of North Vietnam continued, too, despite the bombing "halt." These forays were "explained" by the Pentagon as merely part of the defense of manned planes flying "reconnaissance" over North Vietnam.

Such flights violate the sovereignty of North Vietnam. But Johnson agreed that "if fired upon" the spy planes could be protected with "suppressive fire," including rockets, cannon, and bombs. A high Pentagon official admitted that this could blow up the Paris talks, but he insisted that "we must run that risk."

THE REPORT ON THE POLICE RIOT AT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVENTION

The report of the National Commission on Violence, made public December 1, caused a sensation in the U.S. because it branded the attacks on peaceful demonstrators at the Democratic party convention in Chicago last August outrightly as "a police riot."

The report contained few surprises as to the facts. What was unusual was the readiness with which the 212-member study team headed by Chicago lawyer-businessman Daniel Taylor publicly blamed the Chicago police. This was a concession to the deep shock and outrage of millions of people who watched on television as police bloodied the heads of demonstrators, bystanders, and newsmen. The Walker report referred to "unrestrained and indiscriminate police violence on many occasions."

The incidents were too well known to risk a flat denial of what happened. Crude wardheelers like Mayor Daley tried such a tack, but no one took the Daley Report seriously when it declared, "The police spoke softly and dealt gently."

The Walker report, however, frankly admitted the weight that public exposure played in the investigators' concern over police brutality in Chicago and in future Chicagos. "And the next time the whole world will still be watching," their summary concluded.

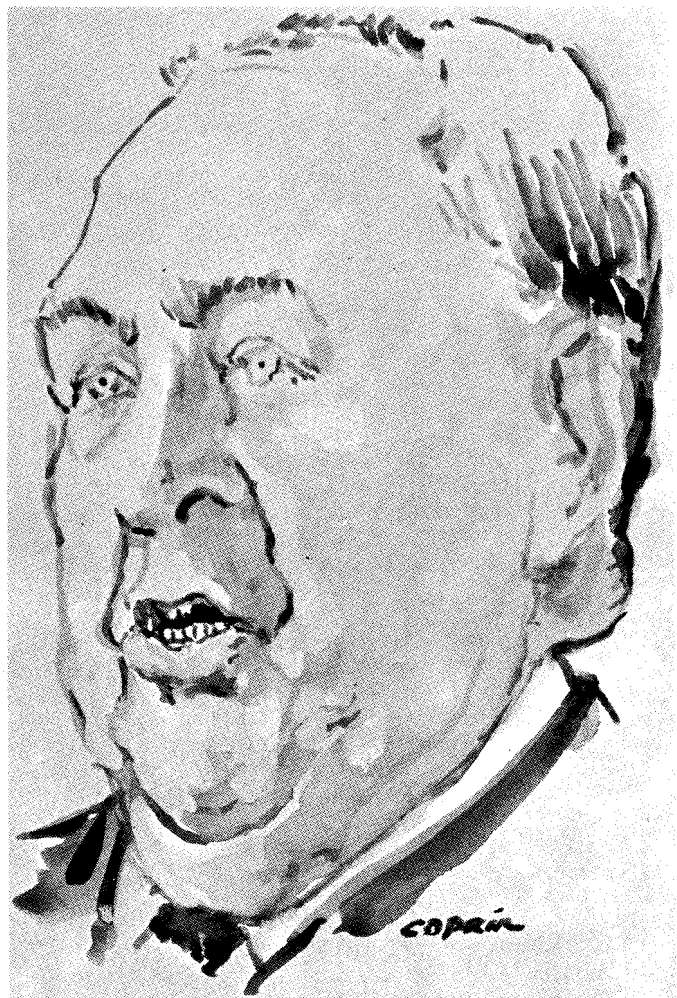
What the carefully documented report, and most of the press comment on it, assiduously avoids is fixing the ultimate responsibility for the police riot.

The actions are pictured as due to individual policemen who defied the orders of even their immediate superiors. The Walker report barely hints at the truth when it notes that Mayor Daley's "widely disseminated 'shoot to kill arsonists and shoot to maim looters' order undoubtedly had an effect."

Daley's April 15 order to execute "arsonists" on the spot was rightly taken by his cops as a license to "get" anyone they regarded as disruptive of "law and order."

Officials are now looking for a scapegoat as low on the ladder of authority as possible, preferably a few individual policemen. But the police violence was not an isolated outburst. It was repeated day after day in full view of the television cameras for nearly a week. If Daley was opposed to what the cops were doing he would have called them off.

But Daley himself is not an independent force. As the political boss of the Democratic party in Chicago he is



MAYOR RICHARD J. "SHOOT-TO-KILL" DALEY

part of a much larger structure. A prime function of the police crackdown in the first place was to secure the nomination of Hubert Humphrey in face of opposition from dissident Democrats who feared that a candidate so closely associated with Johnson and the war in Vietnam could not win. The police violence on the streets was tied in with the authoritarian way the convention at the Chicago Amphitheater was run. There Daley swaggered in the aisles, mocking delegates and shouting "Go home!" to those protesting the police action.

Afterwards Hubert Humphrey told the press, "Quit pretending that Mayor Daley did anything that was wrong."

Humphrey had good reason not to blame his friend Daley. After all, the real decisions at the convention were not made by the Chicago mayor. It was reported on television during the sessions that the president himself was carefully stage-managing everything by telephone from his Texas ranch.

MEXICAN STUDENTS END STRIKE, PROJECT NEW ACTIONS

Striking students in all schools of the University of Mexico, except the law school, voted December 3 to return to classes the following day. Representatives of the student strike leadership, the Consejo Nacional de Huelga [National Strike Council], now renamed the Consejo Nacional de Lucha (CNL) [National Struggle Council], declared that the struggle would continue in another form.

The perspectives for the phase of battle now opening were explained by the CNL at a meeting of 5,000 high-school and university students at the Zacatenco Polytechnic School on December 5. The CNL speakers called for reorganization of the strike movement into struggle committees as the basis of a broad independent student movement, which in turn would draw the workers, peasants, and other popular sectors into an all-inclusive democratic struggle.

For the immediate future, the CNL projected a mass demonstration whose date is to be decided by the students.

Also on December 5, under the old name, the CNH published a manifesto to the nation in El Dia in which it explained the reasons for bringing the strike to a close, outlined the accomplishments of the student movement, and assessed the new situation facing it.

It was considered necessary to return to classes, the manifesto said, in view of the very real danger that the Diaz regime would smash the democratic structures in Mexico's schools and thus destroy the most important organizational centers of the broad popular and democratic movement initiated by the students.

The manifesto defined the student movement as essentially a people's movement arising within the context of the struggle for the economic, social, and political liberation of the Mexican masses.

"The student movement expressed... demands...involving a profound critique of the bases of the political, economic, and social system in which we live...." It "can be assessed as an expression of the people's discontent and latent protest against the injustice they face."

The manifesto declared that the student movement had welcomed participation of "all currents struggling to increase democracy in our country, all currents struggling for the application of the Constitution and a society in which all our fellow men would be able to express themselves and develop themselves fully as men and citizens. It is in this explicit ultimate demand that our movement

stands on common ground with the call of student movements in other countries for a society in which man will be fully realized now and in the future."

Although it had been unable to win its demands in the strike, the CNH listed the following as concrete successes: winning wide public debate on Article 145 of the Penal Code (which defines "social dissolution" as a crime); forcing the government to recognize the CNH as the real representative of the students; forcing withdrawal of the troops from the university and the other occupied schools; defending the University of Mexico against the plans of a sector of the government to destroy this institution.

In addition, the manifesto stressed, the student movement had set a process going that was far more important than the immediate gains. It had aroused broad sectors of the population to take a critical look at the Mexican reality and to struggle for a solution to its evils. It had shown that it was possible to organize the masses outside the corrupt official organizations. It had proved the organizational capacity and political militancy of the students, their capacity to educate and organize the people to fight for basic changes.

Owing to its impact on the political climate in Mexico, the manifesto said, the student movement must now be transformed into something much broader.

"To be effective this organization can no longer rely on the students alone. It must also and above all depend on all the productive sectors of our society, those which by their work dominate and transform nature both in the cities and in the countryside."

The CNH ended its assessment of the struggle it had led with an expression of confidence in the ultimate victory of the movement that had risen in the course of battle. It renewed its challenge to the corrupt, pro-imperialist Diaz regime.

"The Mexican government must realize clearly that in view of its systematically closing all democratic channels, it cannot expect the people to remain eternally passive and submissive. It must realize that its attitude toward the demands which the people are about to raise will be the fundamental factor determining the road they will take to achieve real democracy. But no matter what road is taken, every Mexican struggling for democracy will act with the responsibility history demands of him.

"WE WILL WIN!"

BLACK YOUTH CONFERENCE CONDEMNS RACISM OF ENOCH POWELL

A black youth conference of some 1,500 persons, held in Birmingham, England, condemned Enoch Powell December 1 for his racist proposals. The Conservative Parliamentary leader has been pressing for creation of a government ministry to deport African, Asian, and West Indian immigrants.

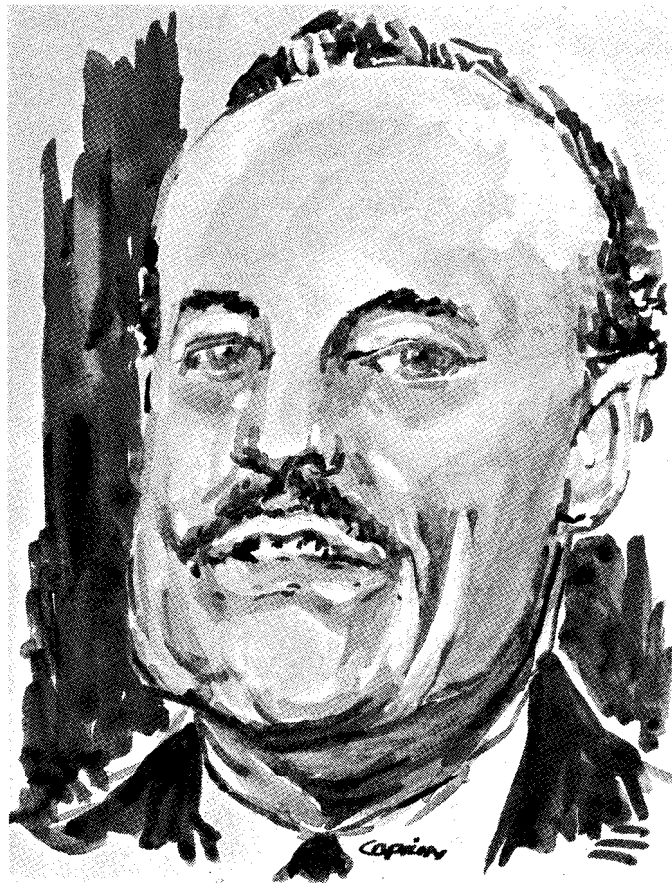
Tariq Ali, a Pakistani and leader of recent militant antiwar demonstrations in Britain, addressed the gathering.

"Racism in this country is not represented solely by Mr. Enoch Powell," he said. "He is getting up and saying what most of those people in Parliament believe in private."

Besides the blatant racism of Enoch Powell, Tariq Ali called attention to the "subtle paternal racism of Harold Wilson and Edward Heath."

One of the main institutions preserving and fostering racist attitudes in Britain, said Tariq Ali, is the school system.

On November 24, a group of fifty demonstrators, organized by the Young Communist League, marched in front of Enoch Powell's house. When he came to the door they presented him with a three-foot scroll denouncing him for his "evil ideas."



BRITISH RACIST SPOKESMAN

BULGARIAN AUTHORITIES PERSECUTE GREEK EXILES

[Following the seizure of power by the military junta in Athens on April 21, 1967, the Greek Communist party split into two, perhaps three, factions in a bitter dispute over responsibility for the policies that had helped pave the way for the coup d'état. The faction headed by Koligiannis, which had Moscow's backing, expelled the faction led by Partsalidis. (See Intercontinental Press, November 18, p. 1,010.)

[The letter below, published in the October-November issue of the Greek resistance paper Antistase, reports the way the Bulgarian government has been treating leading figures among the opponents of Koligiannis living in exile there.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Dear Comrades:

By its pernicious capitulationist

and treacherous line, the Koligiannis clique paved the way for the fascist junta and cast our people into new trials and bloody sacrifices. Now, bankrupt and isolated and blinded by its hatred and animosity, it is escalating its persecution of the political refugees who support Marxism.

The overwhelming majority of the political refugees, expressing themselves in various ways, have protested and condemned this persecution. But, with the complicity of the Bulgarian state and party authorities, the revisionist Koligiannis clique has committed another crime here in the People's Republic of Bulgaria against the honorable fighters of the Ethnike Antistasis [National Resistance] and the glorious DSE.

On July 18-20, at the order of the Bulgarian national police authorities, the local police in a series of cities summoned comrades Kostos Ntelios, Khristos Zakharpoulos, Lakis Koukoutsis, Dionysios Giannaris, Theodosios Ntoulgeris, Leuth-

erios Nikolaidis, and others whose names we still do not know. They ordered these comrades to leave Bulgaria by July 25 and go to some other country -- except the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, and Rumania. They informed our comrades that if they did not obey this order, administrative measures would be taken. Some were threatened with forcible deportation to Greece if they did not leave Bulgarian soil.

When some of our persecuted comrades asked the representative of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Bulgaria, who handles Greek refugee affairs, if he would go so far as to hand us over to the junta, he replied cynically: "Yes, it will even come to that."

And A. Ampatielos* did not lag behind him in cynicism and shamelessness. When the wives of our exiled comrades asked him to protest these persecutions, he answered: "It is of no importance if they expel about fifteen out of 8,000 political refugees."

Without any evidence they accused our comrades of insulting the Bulgarian

* The foreign representative of the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras (Union of the Democratic Left), the CP-dominated electoral front], who appears to support the Partsalidis faction in the divided Greek CP.

state and party authorities. Despite our comrades' insistence, they refused to give them a written expulsion order. They also decreed expulsion of our comrades Nikos Tsolakidis, Georgios Anagnostos, and others, who were exiled in March 1967.

All the comrades involved refused to comply with this order. As soon as the brief time they were given elapsed, the police arrested them and exiled them in various isolated, remote, and almost uninhabited villages in Bulgaria where they cannot find work or even buy food if they have money. It should be noted that some of our exiled comrades are invalids suffering from serious chronic illnesses whose lives have been placed in danger.

We denounce this abominable crime before all the exiled Greek fighters who live in the socialist countries, before all Greeks living abroad, and before the entire Greek people. We call on them to raise their voices to demand the immediate release of all our comrades.

Stop all the persecution of political refugees. Stop the outside interference in the internal affairs of the KKE [Kommounistiko Koma tes Ellados -- Communist party of Greece].

Assured of your help, we thank you in advance.

August 1, 1968

95 SOVIET INTELLECTUALS DEMAND FREEDOM FOR PAVEL LITVINOV AND LARISA DANIEL

Ninety-five Soviet intellectuals, including the well-known author Viktor P. Nekrasov, sent a letter to the Supreme Soviet December 1 protesting the trial of Pavel Litvinov and Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel for having demonstrated against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Copies of the letter were sent to Izvestia and to Sovetskaya Rossiya, the paper of the Russian Republic. The letter said:

"Citizens, members of the Supreme Soviet. We do not talk about the flagrant violations of trial procedure committed in court and during the pretrial investigation. We talk about something more important -- civil rights guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution that have been violated, freedom of speech and freedom of demonstration. Your duty is to defend those freedoms. That is why we address ourselves to you and ask you to play your part -- to insist that the verdict be rescinded and the proceedings expunged from the record in view of the fact that no crime has been committed."

Nekrasov, 57, has been a member of

the Communist party since 1944. He received a Stalin prize in 1947 for his novel, In the Trenches of Stalingrad.

Litvinov and Larisa Daniel, along with Konstantin Babitsky, are in prison in Moscow awaiting deportation to places of exile. Two others who took part in the brief demonstration in Red Square were sentenced to terms in labor camps in the trial which concluded October 11.

According to press reports, Pavel Litvinov must serve his five-year exile either in the Krasnoyarsk territory in eastern Siberia, or in the Arkhangelsk district, the northernmost part of the European Soviet Union. Larisa Daniel has apparently not been told her place of exile. Her husband, imprisoned writer Yuli Daniel, is serving his third year at hard labor and is reportedly in poor health.

Other signers of the protest letter included Igor Kavsha, a film actor who has often played the role of Karl Marx, and Mariya Yudinna, a pianist.

UNION CONGRESS CONSIDERS CHILE'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT

By José Valdés

Santiago de Chile

NOVEMBER 30 -- The Fifth National Congress of the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores de Chile -- United Labor Federation of Chile] was held November 20-24. It was attended by 2,950 delegates from labor, peasant, and white-collar unions.

The delegates met in the context of a national situation dominated by economic decline and an upsurge of the labor, peasant, and student movements.

The economic decline, which began in 1967, sharpened in 1968. The income from copper -- Chile's principal export which provides 66% of the country's foreign exchange -- dropped by \$10,000,000, since copper production has not risen and

the price has stayed at \$.48 a pound and is tending to decline because of the perspective of peace in Vietnam. The economic growth rate, which was 5.9% in 1966, has dropped to 2%. Industrial production, which had grown at a rate of 7.5% annually in the period 1957-1966, showed an increase of only 2.2% in 1968, less than the growth in the basic needs of the population.

The drought which afflicted the country this year aggravated the situation. The government will have to spend \$200,000,000 on importing foodstuffs -- \$80,000,000 more than last year. The lack of water also resulted in a decrease in electric power. As a result, the consumption of steel and cement dropped.

So far this year, inflation verges on 30%, which contrasts with the 10% provided for in the plans of the Christian Democratic government.

Layoffs have increased both in the cities and the countryside. But the unemployment statistics do not take into account underemployment and the fact that some factories are working one day less a week and sometimes even four hours less a day.

The government has tried to mitigate this situation by contracting foreign loans. Last month the U.S. granted \$110,000,000, France \$40,000,000.

Overall, however, we cannot speak of a general economic crisis of extreme gravity, nor do I seek to depict the Chilean economic situation as catastrophic. What I want to show is that the 1965-66 economic peak has passed, that stagnation and subsequently an ever more acute weakening in the economy has set in, and that the outlook is for a sharpening economic decline.

Since the end of 1967, the labor, peasant and student movements have been on the rise. Manifestations of this included the general strike of November 28, 1967, the prolonged and militant strikes of the teachers, the postal and telegraph workers, and some textile factories and foundries, etc. The rising tempo of the Chilean workers movement is part of the general process of reviving urban struggles in Latin America (Uruguay, Mexico, Brazil), which have put the guerrilla struggles in a new context.

The ascent of the workers movement in Chile can lead to a prerevolutionary situation. The workers are at least ready to struggle to restore what they have



CHAMPIONS "TRADE-UNION PARALLELISM"

lost through inflation.

Thus, the Fifth National Congress of the CUT came at a propitious time to plan a united struggle of all the workers in both the public and private sectors. However, the Communist party union bureaucrats, in collusion with their Christian Democrat and Radical party counterparts, avoided making any declarations tending in that direction.

In spite of all its weaknesses, the CUT congress consolidated trade-union unity and was a defeat for the Frei government. Ever since it came to power, this government has been trying to divide the workers movement through the formula of "trade-union parallelism," meaning the existence of several union federations, several metal workers or textile workers unions, etc., and even several unions within the same plant.

The defeat of the government and its "trade-union parallelism" was so crushing that even the Christian Democratic workers, peasants, and white-collar workers attended the CUT congress. An important resolution was passed at the CUT congress to avert trade-union fragmentation and fight for united industrial unions.

In Commission No. 1, which considered the report of the CUT National Board, the Socialist and MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria -- Movement of the Revolutionary Left] delegates managed to win rejection of the reformist report presented by the outgoing leadership of CUT presided over by Luis Figueroa of the CP. The delegates who criticized this report published a "brief which in its general lines argued for the integration of CUT into the revolutionary movement." (El Mercurio, November 25, 1968.) However, the brief was rejected at the plenary session by a majority made up of CP delegates.

In Commission No. 5 (on "Structural Changes"), the "noncapitalist road of development" was discussed. The CP included this point in the congress call to gain the support of the Christian Democrats, the authors of this new terminology, whose objective is to obscure the struggle for socialism and set the stage for a popular front in Chile. One might wonder what kind of "noncapitalist" regime there is that is not socialist.

Some months ago, the CP began a campaign to achieve a bloc with the Radicals and "left" Christian Democrats for the 1970 presidential elections. This campaign reached its height in recent weeks with J. Chonchol's resignation from his government post in the Corporación de Reforma Agraria [Agrarian Reform Corporation]. Chonchol, who was the one who pushed the agrarian reform the hardest

and was the target of the strongest attacks from the landlords, became the leader of the "rebel" wing of the Christian Democracy.

A crisis has begun in the government party. There is a "right" wing which supports Frei, a "centrist" wing lead by Tomic (who aspires to become Frei's successor), and the "rebels," who are seeking a turn to the "left," in the form of an alliance with FRAP [Frente Revolucionario de Acción Popular -- Revolutionary Front of People's Action -- an alliance of the Communist, Socialist and Radical parties]. The CP is favorable to such an alliance but there are strong pro-Castroist sectors in the Socialist party which oppose this new version of the popular front.

Participating for the first time in a CUT congress, the MIR managed to get some delegates seated in spite of the obstacles put up by the trade-union bureaucracy. On the night the CUT congress opened, some MIR leaders -- including Patricio Figueroa -- and a health workers union delegate to the congress (Norman Gamboa) were arrested by the Policía de Investigaciones [Investigation Police -- the political police].

They were arrested while transporting MIR literature for the CUT congress. This seizure of the team responsible for orienting and directing the MIR delegates to Congress led the arrested leaders' lawyer, Jaime Faivovich, to say that it would not be surprising if the union bureaucrats had betrayed the MIR leaders to the police.

On November 24 elections were held to the Directiva Nacional [National Board] of the CUT. Each delegate cast a vote equal to the number of union members he represented. The result was the following: CP, 134,250 votes; Socialist party, 63,818; Christian Democrats, 40,165; Radical party, 23,825; Unión Socialista Popular [People's Socialist Union], 11,511; and the MIR, 4,667.

This outcome showed that the CP had strengthened its control of the organized workers movement; that Socialist strength had decreased, although not by much; and that the Radicals and Christian Democrats had held their own, although the Christian Democrats could have registered more weight by bringing in their peasant and white-collar unions. But the results also showed that for the first time the MIR had emerged as a national force in the workers and peasants movement, although still a weak one, and thus shattered the myth that the MIR is only a student group.

The Fifth Congress of the CUT did not decide on a plan of struggle. However, at the end of this year and early in 1969

the unions will initiate a struggle for wage and salary increases. And the militancy of these struggles may lead to new land and factory occupations.

The traditional parties of the left are seeking to divert this rise in the struggle of the masses into electoral channels, because there are parliamentary elections in March 1969 and presidential elections in 1970. On the other hand, it is not excluded that the Partido Nacional [National party -- the party of the right] and the bourgeoisie will try to halt the upsurge of the masses by a military coup or a palace revolution. The bourgeois, pro-imperialist daily papers are openly pressuring the government to take a "hard line" with the workers movement and to use repressive measures against the MIR.

The immediate task of the Chilean revolutionary Marxists is to combine methods of clandestine struggle with participation in the present struggles of the masses of workers and peasants. The revolutionary Marxists must advance this upturn in the workers struggle through a "unified list of nationwide demands" which will bring together the workers, peasants, and white-collar employees in both the public and private sectors in a united struggle.

If the crisis of the traditional left parties accelerates, if the revolutionary left emerges strengthened from this process, Chile will be no exception in Latin America with regard to initiation of the process of armed struggle.

STUDENT ELECTIONS IN CHILE SHOW SHIFT TO THE LEFT

Santiago de Chile

The returns in the November elections for the FECH [Federación de Estudiantes de Chile -- Student Federation of Chile] in Santiago were as follows:

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
Christian Democrats	6,191	5,633
Communist party	3,412	3,177
Socialist party and MIR	1,965	
Socialist party		1,687
MIR		1,260
National party (rightist)	944	1,533
Radical party	1,136	710

These returns show that Christian Democratic strength in the student movement is continuing to decline slightly. The CP lost votes and a representative. The same holds true for the Radical party [petty-bourgeois liberals].

The most notable feature was the advance of the MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria -- Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the SP. Together in 1967 they got 1,965 votes. Running separately this year, they gained almost a thousand votes. For the first time, the MIR won representation in the leadership of the FECH. From 465 votes in 1966, the MIR tripled its vote in only two years. And this despite the fact that about 300 MIR votes were stolen from the ballot boxes. A survey shows that the MIR won an absolute majority in the departments of sociology and psychology. In the Medical Center, the SP and MIR won a majority.

The favorable vote for the MIR is a result of the radicalization of the students and workers in the country. It is also a tribute to the MIR's activity in the struggle for university reforms,

its work in support of socialist Cuba, the Latin-American guerrillas and Che Guevara, and the active solidarity which the members of MIR and the SP extended to the peasants who occupied land on the rural estates. These students fought street battles against the police who repressed the peasants of the Fundo San Miguel [San Miguel Estate] last summer.

The returns in the elections for the Federación de Estudiantes de Concepción [FEC] were as follows:

	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>
MIR and SP	1,270	1,309
Christian Democrats	1,060	1,188
Radical party	527	411
Communist party	257	343
National party		327

A MIR member, Compañero Nelson Gutiérrez, was elected chairman of the FEC. Three members of the MIR, one Socialist, three Christian Democrats, and one Radical were elected to the Council. The Communists failed to elect anyone.

Thus the MIR, which won 744 votes in 1966, managed for the second time -- together with the Socialists who got 320 votes this year -- to displace the Christian Democrats from the leadership of the student movement in Concepción, the second largest industrial city in Chile.

The MIR's rise in the student movement was also reflected in other provinces, such as Valparaíso, Nuble, Temuco, Antofagasta, Coquimbo, etc. Besides its successes among the university students, the MIR also won important victories among the high-school, afternoon, and night students.

From Czechoslovakia

THE PRAGUE CLUB'S PROGRAM FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

[The following document is of special interest for what it shows about the nature of the opposition currents in Czechoslovakia which so alarmed the Kremlin and led the Soviet bureaucracy to decide to invade and occupy the country. After reading it, one can better appreciate why Moscow made reestablishment and maintenance of the censorship in Czechoslovakia one of its main preoccupations. The talk in Czechoslovakia about socialist democracy, not to mention the actions in that direction, constituted a deadly political danger to the parasitic bureaucratic caste in the Soviet Union, as one can judge from items like this. If a program such as is expressed in the document were to gain the ascendancy in Czechoslovakia, it could not be confined to that country. It would leap the frontiers into the other workers states, above all, the Soviet Union, giving tremendous impulsion to the forces there which are already challenging the bureaucracy's monopoly of political power and demanding a return to the socialist democracy of Lenin's time.

[The document was prepared by members of the Prague Club, a left Communist grouping, for presentation to the Czechoslovak Communist party congress scheduled to open last September 9. Because of the Soviet invasion, the document was, of course, never published in Czechoslovakia. A copy, however, was given to a visiting member of the editorial board of Was Tun (What Is to Be Done?), the publication of a group in the West German SDS (Sozialistische Deutscher Studentenbund -- Socialist German Student Union), and Was Tun printed it in its August-September issue.

[The translation into English is by Intercontinental Press.]

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The frequent reproaches against the so-called ultraleft are aimed at the activists who have formed the Prague Club. This association of the Marxist-Leninist left was constituted as proposed in a call published May 11 in Rudé Právo. The Prague Club has set itself the goal of publishing its view for the first time. Zbyněk Fišer was asked to draw up a draft after a preliminary discussion. The final version is the collective product of the Prague Club. After the new law on freedom of association is passed, those taking part in formulating this document, and those who have accepted it as the basis of their political activity, project forming a union of the left. This plan has already evoked a sympathetic response throughout the republic.

This document was written to be sent to the delegates to the next party congress. It is the product of the collective work of fifty citizens of Prague, 80 percent of whom are party members.

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Socialism is the product of the revolutionary victory of the working class and its allies. It cannot be achieved without such a victory. It cannot arise through a gradual overcoming of capitalism. The transition to socialism is possible only along the road of revolution and through the means called for by the conditions of each country. Even after the victory of the socialist revolution, class lines, class analysis, and the question of class loyalty cannot be neglected or denied. This implies partisanship for the interests of the revolutionary class and the revolutionary movement. Without such partisanship based on Marxist analysis, an originally revolutionary movement will lose its revolutionary content and a workers party will cease to be an instrument of revolutionary class struggle. Its progress toward communism will come to a halt. A hundred years of history in the workers movement have shown us this unequivocally.

Socialism does not mean that a classless society has already been achieved. It is not free from conflicts. Contradictions exist among the people which are not socially conditioned, which are the result of the dialectical relationships in the division of labor (it should be noted here that this division of labor cannot be abolished today). Alongside these, socially conditioned contradictions can arise. However, the false theory that the class struggle sharpens in the phase of building socialism must not be confused with scientific Marxist analysis, which shows that the class struggle continues even while socialism is being built, primarily because the world revolution has not yet been completed and imperialism defeated.

In the socialist phase, when private ownership of the means of production has already been abolished, the class struggle no longer operates at the basic level, but at the superstructural level, and there most of all in the sphere of ideology. In the economic infrastructure that develops after the revolutionary conquest of power, where there is no longer any private ownership of the means of production, conditions are not automatically established which would preclude



NOVOTNY -- COULDN'T KEEP THE LID DOWN

the reappearance of the special problems and expressions of the class struggle. The epoch of socialism is characterized by the subsistence of many remnants of the old class society within the context of the development of new laws pointing toward a classless society.

This is the natural result of the fact that in the socialist phase the economic infrastructure of society is not yet sufficiently developed to permit distribution of the social product according to need rather than according to work. From this follows the necessity -- primarily, the economic necessity -- of maintaining constraints to compel people to work, of maintaining the division of labor, and an organizational structure that assures continuation of production, although along with the old norms of distributing the social product. The state

and its organs die away as the economic base develops toward creating the conditions for communism, and as the danger of foreign intervention fades.

Under these conditions, when formal nationalized ownership -- which is really only state ownership -- takes the place of socialist ownership under the control of the actual producers, the preconditions are created for a perversion of the system. Those social groups commanding the nationalized means of production -- the party bureaucracy, and possibly the economic-technocratic plant managers and the top layer of the intelligentsia -- can move away from the concrete interests and social goals of the producers and finally turn against them as manipulators, monopolistic employers, and social managers.

By this course, these social groupings mock the principles of socialist democracy and more or less consciously direct the development of social organization toward reestablishment of a class structure where the fundamental social contradictions of class society would reappear.

Thus, during the entire socialist phase there is constant danger that class relationships will be reestablished in society. Under certain conditions, this danger can mount abruptly. It can be countered only by maintaining a class perspective. Forgetting this criterion, or denying its primary importance, ideologically disarms socialist society, the workers and their revolutionary party. And after a certain time the results of this can become disastrous.

If we want to forestall the threat of a reestablishment of class relationships, which exists throughout the socialist stage, then we must logically follow Marx's conception that socialism means permanent revolution. Marx greatly emphasized the point that in distinction to all previous revolutions, the proletarian socialist revolution is inherently a permanent revolution, a process which cannot stop at any definite level where someone declares from above that the revolution is ended. If socialism is not understood and pursued in the form of such a process, as a continually self-revolutionizing process, then that means that its specific law has not been respected, that it will be distorted, and finally perverted. It is equally important for the practical development of socialism to set short-term goals -- in harmony with the end goal -- to be achieved and controlled directly by the masses of the people.

Marx stressed the idea that it was inevitable that the socialist revolution would continue for several generations because it was impossible to achieve a

classless society with the burden of ideological, moral, and cultural patterns, with the habits and prejudices formed and "cultivated" over thousands of years and imbedded in the consciousness of men in the present class society.

Marx stressed the fundamental necessity of carrying on an ideological struggle during the socialist phase. Otherwise, the working class and the whole of socialist society would remain ideologically, morally, and culturally at the bourgeois level. Neglecting these lessons drawn by Marx would help to revive the worst forms of the old bourgeois mentality. According to these attitudes man is a manipulated and consuming being, a view that corresponds to the social development goals of the current bourgeois ideologues. But in reality this being represents only a caricature of man who, in relation to himself, society, and nature, is profoundly dehumanized.

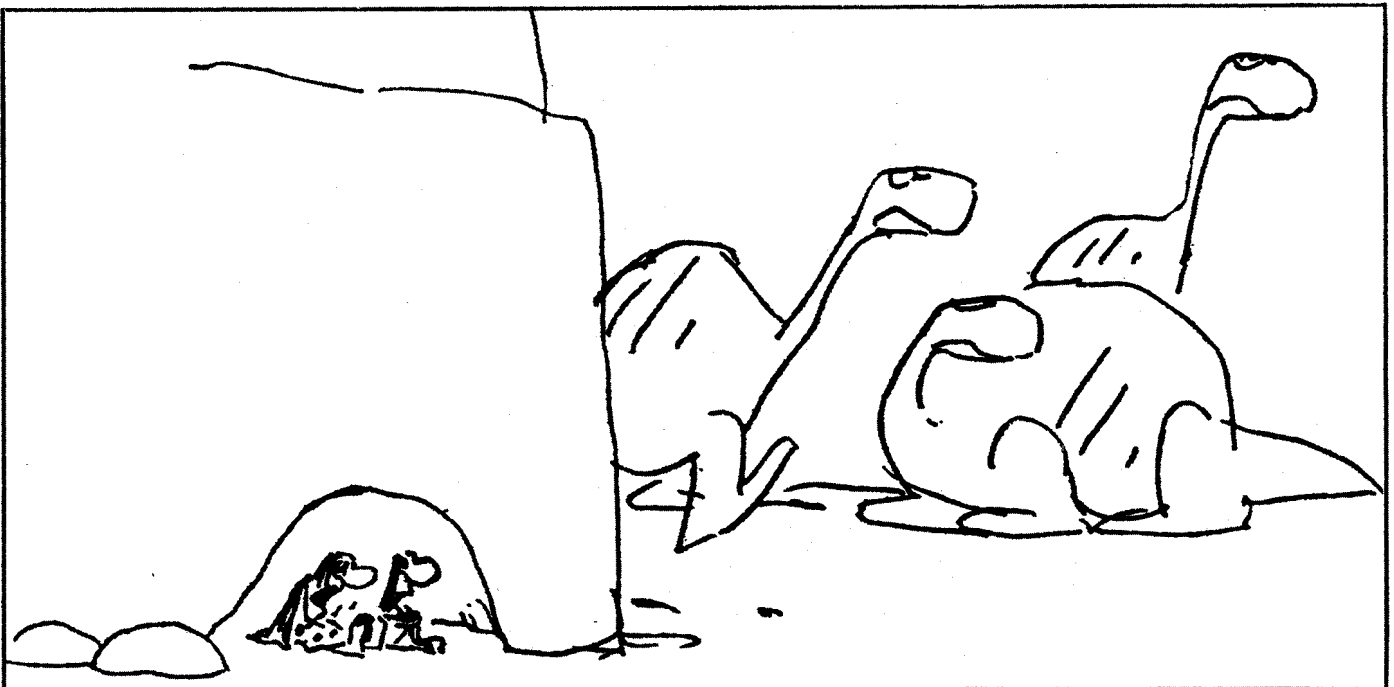
One of the fundamental tasks of the socialist system is to guarantee, along with a constantly rising standard of living, a continual lifting of the ideological, moral, and cultural levels and a continual increase in revolutionary activity as the basis of the life style of socialist man. If the totally consumption-oriented man becomes a mass phenomenon in the socialist phase, that is not the result of inadequate education or the incapacity of the masses to learn. It is proof that the system has ceased to operate according to socialist principles, that the leadership is neglecting the so-

cialist system's fundamental tasks in regard to the individual and that it is on a dangerous road to a new class division. For the totally consumer-oriented man has been artificially produced by advanced industrialized class society. He has been created so that he will raise no democratic demands, so that he will actually be incapable of raising such demands.

The period of the upsurge in the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia followed a situation in which -- under Novotny's leadership -- the revolutionary process had slowly ground to a halt. A state and party bureaucracy developed whose often dictatorial and illegal methods of leadership made application of the norms of socialist democracy impossible and led to a deep-going deformation of the socialist character of our society. In practice all participation by the broad popular masses in the development of the society -- either in the political or economic field -- was made impossible. Furthermore, all chance for activity or initiative, which are the most important guarantees for the realization of socialist democracy, were denied them. In practice all such attempts were systematically stamped out.

Finally, the deformation of the socialist bases of our society became manifest in all areas of public life. Socialism was increasingly replaced by the characteristic features of state bureaucratic exploitation.

The beginning of the process of



"These monsters are going to die out."
This cartoon appeared in the October 8 issue of Dikobraz [Porcupine], the Prague satirical magazine. Should it have been

censored as "counterrevolutionary"? Or would that have been an admission that the Stalinist bureaucracy does resemble a certain long-extinct order of reptiles?

socialist restoration which came in the January days expressed the most important demands of our workers. And it is natural that this restoration has the full support of all who adhere to revolutionary and creative Marxism. In this process, we must fight for a restoration of the socialist character of our society and for enduring guarantees of the democratic and humanistic content of our socialism so that it can develop into a communist society.

If we carefully analyze the situation of the forces presently dominant in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, we cannot fail to perceive the existence of a great danger. Hidden under the surface of the renaissance and behind the mask of democratization is the possibility that without the masses being aware of it, the old power group in the state and party bureaucracy will be replaced by a social layer which already bears the typical features of a social class.

A new class could easily result from a combination of the most flexible elements in the old state and party bureaucracy -- either the so-called progressives or the conservatives -- with the strongest group of the economic-technical managers and the intellectuals under the sway of the liberal anti-Novotny opposition, whether or not they are party members. Such a development, the harmfulness of which is absolutely clear, would be no exception in modern history nor without historical precedent.

This danger must not be underestimated. Because the problem of straightening out our public affairs has not been clearly posed as a problem of rousing the masses and especially the working class to activity. The process of the rebirth and the first steps toward socialist democracy has begun with reforms from above and not appeals for mass activity.

It will be said that more activity on the part of the workers is desired. So far this has gone no further than words. In reality, all initiative and activity by the working population, especially the working class, to put the process of democratization and the fate of socialist society in the hands of the revolutionary masses is still being suppressed by the most diverse methods. It was and is necessary for the working class to recover its revolutionary outlook, its revolutionary self-confidence, and its consciousness of its revolutionary role in society. In such a situation, the natural result of curbing the workers' initiative and activity is that small groups with a strong influence over public opinion and an interest in diluting the socialist character of our society have usurped the place of the working class.

If in the coming period, one social

strata with all the characteristics of a class comes to power behind the backs of the people, then we will not really have attained socialist democracy but merely a liberal pseudo democracy, which could be no real democracy. And this would have very far-reaching political and social consequences. It is only an apparent paradox that many of today's liberals and progressives would offer no resistance to the outcome of such a democratization process -- unless the workers intervened.

It is obvious, moreover, that even the best state-capitalist conception in the economic field could only conceal liquidation of the economic principles of socialism. For when state capitalism takes over the means of production -- no matter in what form -- even without turning them over to the private sector, it applies capitalist principles both in domestic and foreign trade.

* * *

Thus, if socialist democracy is to be achieved and the socialist revolution deepened, it is essential that the party again become a revolutionary instrument of workers' struggle. The party must again take the lead in the revolutionary process. It is imperative that it free itself from all the mistakes and perversions of the past and create effective guarantees that such corruption and other possible deformations will not be repeated. For these reasons we demand:

I.

(1) Consistent renewal and preservation of party democracy. Out with the false spokesmen of the working class! No key positions for careerists! Full support to the representatives of the working class critically chosen by the workers. Careful consideration of the problem of replacing functionaries and elected representatives according to a system of rotation and according to the duration of their functions.

(2) To prevent party democracy from remaining purely verbal, the following effective guarantees must be incorporated in the party statutes:

(a) Reduction of the party's organizational structure to the optimum form of only two organizational levels -- the cells and the party center.

(b) Substantial strengthening of the role and importance of the cells so they can really have a decisive influence in determining the party's overall policy.

(c) That paid functionaries have an obligation to devote themselves not to

just administrative tasks but also to studies for the benefit of the party. Public and detailed accountability of the party apparatus.

(d) It must not only be permitted, it must be expressly stated in the party statutes that it is necessary for active rank-and-file members, above all in the big industrial and agricultural enterprises, to be in direct contact with each other so that they can compare their experiences and coordinate their activity -- and in the quickest and most direct way, without having to take any detour through the apparatus.

(3) If these demands are met, freedom of criticism for the rank and file and the right to form opinion groupings are assured. But above and beyond this, freedom of tendencies must be expressly set down in the party statutes, as well as the right of minorities to criticize majority decisions, with all that this entails.

(4) Publication of a national Communist daily which would be the organ of the rank and file in the big industrial and agricultural enterprises, and which must be complementary to the daily published by the Central Committee. The Marxist left inside the party must be able to publish its own political and cultural periodical.

II.

In order to assure democracy for the entire society it is essential to create self-management organs of the producers. These bodies must meet the following specifications:

(1) They must not be simply organs of economic self-management or consultative organs of the factory managements.

(2) They must, much more than this, express the property relations between the means of production and those who work with them, because this is the essential prerequisite for socialism. Therefore, the producers must also control the product of their labor and determine its social use so it will be used in accordance with the interests of socialist society -- that is, completely opposite to the form and manner in which the labor product is socially used in reactionary or nonsocialist systems.

As a first step, the initiative must be taken to create self-management organs in which the revolutionary representatives of the workers assume decisive influence. Secondly, the workers must form self-management organs corresponding to their respective conditions. And in the creation of these organs it should

not be forgotten that they have a decisive and leading role to play. Thirdly, in order to assure that the workers in self-managed enterprises will have an effective voice not only on questions within their plants but also on general questions concerning the entire society, the right to strike as well as the possibility for creating strike funds must be guaranteed. It would be best for the unions, which in the present renaissance can again become the defenders of the workers' interests, to create these funds. If the unions cannot win the workers' confidence, then these funds must be collected by other means.

Fourthly, the separate self-management organs must be able to federate with the aim of forming a central self-management council. This council must be a permanent organ and as such it must work in partnership with the government and other central institutions not only in economic questions but in all questions of general importance.

Socialism on an advanced level must be understood as a system of social self-management by the producers. And the self-management organs must be seen as the first step in the creation of such a system, which must later replace the state in all its functions. However, it is obvious that the self-management organs by themselves are not sufficient to represent the interests of the working class unless social power is in the hands of a genuinely revolutionary party. Otherwise, these bodies would be nothing but powerless instruments in the hands of the economic and technical managements.

III.

The role of the National Front must be strengthened in the present structure of the life of our society. In principle the National Front must be open to all organizations and groupings which adhere to the program of building socialism. The National Front must offer all organizations the opportunity to make their views accessible to a broad public. From a comparison of various views, citizens can democratically choose those solutions which are best for building socialism.

The National Front should also assure that the means of communication such as the radio and television are truly democratic in character to prevent them from expressing the views of only one group or a number of privileged groups.

The chief task of the National Front is to guarantee freedom of the press, opinion, and assembly for all the socialist forces in our society.

IV.

We demand that the party clearly state that the new system of economic management is only a first step on the road to the restoration and deepening of the socialist character of our economy. We demand that the party clearly declare that it will open up a broad discussion both inside and outside the party on the questions of future development. Such a discussion would create the basis for the development of a truly scientific Marxist-Leninist conception of economic development in the phase of transition from socialism to communism.

V.

In order for the party to fulfill its role as the workers' revolutionary organ of struggle and to build an advanced socialist society, it must strictly observe all the principles of proletarian internationalism. It must consciously join in the ranks of the international revolutionary movement, contribute actively to uniting the international Communist

movement, and support the Marxist-Leninist left within this movement. The party must make it possible for all its members and all the citizens of the country to take part in a comprehensive, public discussion of the development of the international revolutionary movement since 1956 and, beyond this, of the history of the workers movement since 1917.

To restore confidence in the party among its members, the citizens of our country, and above all the youth, it is essential to provide serious and full reporting of the real situation in the revolutionary movement today. Above all we must have full information on matters about which we have had no objective news but only tendentious and falsified reports since the beginning of the Novotny regime; that is, on developments in the People's Republic of China, in Cuba, Albania, in the Third World, in the current European left, and in the USSR. Only such information supplied in the context of a broad discussion with the participation of the greatest possible number of activists can restore confidence in the party.

ROME PARALYZED BY ONE-DAY GENERAL STRIKE

Workers and students staged a twenty-four-hour general strike in the Rome area December 5, closing down public transportation, government offices and most businesses. The strikers demanded higher wages and an end to unemployment.

A wave of strikes and demonstrations swept Italy following the police murder of two striking agricultural workers in Sicily December 2. The Rome action, called by the three major labor federations and the student movement, was the third one-day general strike in Italy since mid-November. Its organizers estimated that 1,000,000 workers took part out of 1,800,000 in the five-province area of Latium. Since the latter figure includes many small shopkeepers and self-employed persons, the strike was considered virtually 100 percent effective.

All public transportation stopped, even taxis. Schools were closed, as were many government, municipal, and business

offices. Mail and nonautomatic telephone service was cut off. No newspapers were published. The transportation workers, known for their militancy, walked off the job three hours before the work stoppage was to begin.

During the strike an estimated 30,000 workers and 5,000 students held a rally in the Piazza of St. John's Lateran. Afterward thousands of students and many workers marched to the central university campus, stoning a police station en route.

The previous day 20,000 persons attended the funeral of the two slain Sicilian workers in their home town of Avola (population 27,000), despite heavy rain. Unions called work stoppages and demonstrations in several cities. Workers and students clashed with police in Florence, where four police were wounded. In Naples demonstrators reportedly tried to break through lines in front of the local police headquarters.

STUDENTS IN MADRID STRIKE AGAINST POLICE REPRESSION

Three-quarters of the students in Madrid went on strike after 200 of their comrades were arrested November 29 during a demonstration against the presence of police on the campus. Ten students have also been handed over to a military tribu-

nal on charges of "terrorist" activity. Three are accused of belonging to a pro-Cuban group called Frente Unida de Resistencia [United Front of Resistance]. The other seven are charged with associating with illegal workers organizations.



ANTIWAR MARCH IN OKINAWA. The recent crash of a B-52 bomber on the U.S.-occupied island has sharpened popular demands for the return of the Ryukyus to Japan and the closing of U.S. bases. These students were part of giant October 21 demonstrations involving 800,000 persons in Okinawa and Japan. The students held a militant rally

in front of the U.S. Civil Administration Office, headquarters of the colonial government. Slogans on helmets read: "Anti-war" and "Liberate the people of Okinawa." Police lined up at edge of march are in full "riot" gear for the first time. Several clashes with police took place during the demonstration.

ANTIWAR ACTIONS FOLLOW CRASH OF B-52 BOMBER IN OKINAWA

Osaka

A U.S. B-52 bomber caught fire and exploded at Kadena Air Base November 19 while taking off for a bombing mission in Vietnam. The base, which is the largest U.S. installation in the Far East, is located in the heart of Okinawa, although Kadena itself is a small town. Five Okinawans were injured when the plane's bomb load exploded. Blasts damaged 139 houses and shattered more than 200 windows. Two crewmen were burned when they jumped from the plane before it exploded. Nuclear weapons are stockpiled at Kadena base, but this plane was carrying only conventional bombs.

An immediate wave of protests swept Okinawa and Japan. The crash came just nine days after Okinawans overwhelmingly elected Chobyō Yara as chief executive on a platform of withdrawal of U.S. bases and the return of Okinawa to Japan. Yara issued a statement declaring that the crash had turned "this fear of ours into reality." He reaffirmed that "We will demand removal to the end."

In Kadena about 8,000 workers and students held a protest rally the night of the crash. According to the Asahi Evening News and the Mainichi Daily News the participants were in an angry mood and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the B-52's.

The same evening, a mass rally was held at Umeda, Osaka, called by the Socialist Youth League and the Deigo-no-kai.

A series of demonstrations have been called throughout the country for late December aimed at military bases and arms plants. Organizers hope large numbers of workers will participate in addition to militant student groups.

The student organizations have taken steps on a national scale to form united fronts in face of the severe government repression following the massive antiwar demonstrations October 21.

Another important phenomenon is the success of the antiwar movement in Osaka in cementing links with the workers movement. In the rest of the country, bureaucrats of Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan] and the Japan Socialist party have declared they will no longer allow student organizations to participate in union demonstrations. This buckling to government pressure means a certain isolation for the student movement in most of Japan. But in Osaka, the Sohyo leadership has refused to disavow the student groups.

In Osaka antiwar youth committees have been organized, workshop by workshop. These workshop committees are called Shokuba-Hansen. They serve as a pole of attraction for militant workers and constitute a potential base in building a class-struggle left wing in the unions. The most advanced workers and student militants have proposed affiliating the workshop antiwar youth committees into industry-wide committees called Sanbetsu-Hansen.

Some student organizations have insisted on the primacy of neighborhood, community, or district committees called Chiku-Hansen. Groups backing this view include the Communist League, Chukaku, and Kakumaru Zengakurens.

Because the workers act through their unions, and the unions are organized by industries, the Chiku-Hansen form of organization tends to bypass the mass of workers, leaving the union bureaucrats unchallenged. That is not to say that district organization cannot play a valuable role if it is clearly subordinate to the task of winning the mass of workers organized in the union movement.

Now is the time for any vanguard worthy of the name to seek organizational solidarity with the mass of workers. However difficult it may appear, the effort must be made to bring the working class into the antiwar movement, and ultimately into the revolutionary socialist movement.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS VOW TO CONTINUE PROTESTS DESPITE WITCH-HUNT

Duncan Innes, president of the National Union of South African Students, told reporters in Cape Town November 16 that the country's fascist-like government was carrying on the "largest and most intensive witch-hunt" ever conducted against the student movement. In the past two months, he said, sixty students had been "involved" in government reprisals for student demonstrations. Twenty-one

black students were expelled from Fort Hare University College for Africans for protesting against the appointment of a new white rector.

Several white students were denied passports or threatened with deportation. Innes said the demonstrations were legal and that "protests such as these will continue next year."

WHICH ROAD FOR THE OPPOSITION IN PORTUGAL?

By Antonio Garcia

[The following article has been translated by Intercontinental Press from the November 30 issue of the Belgian Socialist weekly, La Gauche.]

* * *

On May 18, 1967, five young men wearing sunglasses and false mustaches, and armed with machine guns, seized a sum equivalent to \$1,000,000 from a branch of the Bank of Portugal in the wealthy seaside resort of Figueira da Foz. The entire country was astounded. In fact, the attackers moved with a courage, speed, and precision which could not help but inspire admiration.

Two hours later, when the bank manager, who had been locked in the toilet with the rest of the personnel, managed to get out, his first thought was to telephone the police. The line had been cut. He ran to the nearest police station. After hearing the unfortunate manager's story, an irritated police official responded: "Are you pulling my leg?"

When the authorities were finally convinced of the facts, police were dispatched in all directions. However, the attackers must have already gotten far away. Thus it was decided to send out a general alarm so that roadblocks could be set up, and a dragnet organized throughout the country to intercept the daring fugitives.

They found out then that the town was isolated. Telephone connections with the rest of the country had been cut. There was no way out but to send someone in a car to Coimbra to give the alarm.

At the same time, but with less luck because all the service automobiles had been put out of commission, the employees at the nearby airport tried to do the same thing -- once they had come to. Their attackers had not hesitated to knock them unconscious to keep them from causing trouble.

Not much more is known. There was a yacht under Dutch registration which put out to sea under the eyes of the complacent harbor authorities in Figueira da Foz. The airplane was found a few days later in the south. It is rumored that the yacht picked up the sacks of money which were dropped into the ocean by the attackers in the airplane. The latter in turn are supposed to have met the boat a few hours later in the far south of the country.

None of the police forces of the

Salazar government -- including the redoubtable and no less efficient political police (PIDE [Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado -- International Police for the Defense of the State]) -- had the slightest suspicion of what was being planned. Despite the immense networks of spies maintained by these forces to keep a close eye on everything that happens in the country, no one attracted any attention -- neither the young couple who struck up a friendship with the airfield personnel in order to study this means of escape for the commando team, nor the hardworking student who carried his professional curiosity to the point of taking an interest in the telephone cables in the region.

However, the result was not only that PIDE emerged discomfited from this affair and a seemingly omnipotent regime found itself made ridiculous, with its mystique of invulnerability gravely compromised. The Figueira da Foz holdup had as much of an impact on the opposition as on the government itself. If the government was shaken by it, the opposition organizations were no less so, since their methods of action and organizational routines were suddenly challenged.

What is the makeup of this opposition? What does it represent? What means does it have at its disposal? What is its orientation? At the present time the "opposition" to the Salazarist regime is divided into five basic currents or parties: the "Democratic and Social" tendency, the "Progressive Catholics," the Socialist movement, and the two Communist organizations.

The "Democratic and Social Group"
-- the Party of Order

Of these groups the "Democratic and Social" tendency is undoubtedly the least well-defined and most ambiguous in political character. No newcomer to the Portuguese political scene, the tendency has appeared under several designations. However, the rubric "democratic and social" has become a constant. It is organized today in the Acção Democratica e Social [Social and Democratic Action].

Made up of professors, senior professionals, landowners, and industrialists, this party enjoys a very peculiar position. It is not a legal party, or rather it is not recognized by the authorities. The term "legal" is a misnomer in the political situation in a state of fascist character where the government knows no limits except those it chooses to impose on itself. On the other hand, this party

is not "illegal" either, that is, it has not adopted a clandestine or secret form of organization.

Its members are known to the authorities and they do not try to conceal their identity. Although they are closely watched, the adherents of the "Democratic and Social" tendency are tolerated everywhere so long as they do not exceed certain very narrow limits. Beyond these limits the police will intervene, arbitrarily of course and with total disregard for individual liberties but with measured force.

As things stand now in Portugal, the "Democratic and Social" tendency constitutes a quasi-legal party. Its representatives have even been quietly received by the president of the republic, Admiral Thomaz. He has granted them audiences so that they could communicate to him their "concern" about the constitutional irregularity of the situation in Portugal, or to call his attention to "actions by the Portuguese homeland smacking of imperialism," and other "errors which were reacted to only too late."*

Virtually the sole activity of the "Democratic and Social" tendency consists of petitions addressed to the chief of state, the texts of which are subsequently disseminated throughout the country in the form of mimeographed leaflets, and of the already mentioned discussions with the president of the republic. These petitions are generally lists of grievances written in deferential terms in an esoteric and elegant language adorned with Latin quotations and French proverbs. Altogether, even cultivated Portuguese find them difficult to digest and they are totally incomprehensible to the man in the street.

What emerges from these appeals is a demand for freedom of the press, for the unimpeded right to form political parties, for freedom of association, free elections on the basis of universal suffrage, and suggestions for certain economic measures. While the "Democratic and Social" tendency take their firmest position here, it is a different matter when they wave the bugaboo of "Bolshevism" in front of the regime, which according to them will be the fearful outcome of government policy in Portugal if the liberalization measures they propose are not adopted. Since principled anti-Communism is the cornerstone and highest justification of the Salazarist dictatorship, the "Democratic and Social" tendency and the fascists find themselves in agreement on the essentials.

* Cf. the communiqué issued to the press by Azevedo Gomes, Acacio de Gouveia, and Eduardo de Figueiredo following conversations with Admiral Américo Thomaz on February 16, 1961.

The same holds true for colonial affairs. When the occasion arises, the "Democratic and Social" group does not fail to invoke "the dread phenomenon of Angolan terrorism,"* or to offer a veiled apology for Portuguese colonialism, while taking the most intransigent position on the means to be employed in suppressing the revolt.

By its attacks on the Communist party, the "Democratic and Social" tendency broke the agreement held tacitly for many years among forces in the "opposition" that they should not attack each other. In doing this it rendered a clear service to the Salazar government. Such statements please the Salazar government, even if it has to pay the insignificant price of limiting its attacks against those who exercise the "right to petition" so constructively.

In following this course of action, Acção Democrática has observed rules set more by the Salazar regime than by itself, thus renouncing overthrowing the established order. Nonetheless it stands on what could be called the "opposition's" minimum program. Since it is not fixed in this, its logic is that of ambiguity.

Up to September when Salazar became physically incapable of ruling the Estado Novo [New State -- the Salazar equivalent of the "New Order"], the tendency's attitude was to wait until they could either convince Salazar by persuasion, achieving approval and even posts in the government; or -- if the regime collapsed, bringing the left and the extreme right into conflict -- step forward as the astute brokers, as the party of national reconciliation, which would then take power to avert civil war. With the pseudo liberalization just initiated by Marcelo Caetano, the old dictator's successor, the Portuguese "Democratic and Social" group seems to have already found its place as a legal and constructive opposition.

The Catholic Opposition and the Socialists -- the Men of Good Will

The progressive Catholic opposition, although far from enjoying an influence comparable to that of Acção Democrática e Social, has made progress since 1958 when the bishop of O Porto blasted the Salazar regime with his criticisms. In contrast to Acção Democrática e Social, which has a net of committees scattered throughout the entire country, the Catholic opposition is a more fluid movement lacking unified structures.

Its stand, though often in the

* Cf. the petition addressed to the president of the republic on June 12, 1967.

style of the "Democratic and Social" group, has been much sharper and clearer. For example, in 1959 in a blistering open letter to Salazar, well-known Catholic personalities made grave accusations about PIDE's brutal methods. They called attention to the mysterious circumstances in the death of a worker whose body was found on a public road; he was in fact a political prisoner arrested shortly before by the political police.

Since then the movement has apparently made quiet progress in Catholic circles. The government's actions show how strongly it feels it has to fear the Catholic opposition. In 1967, the police closed down the cultural organization Pragma, a cooperative for the "dissemination of culture and for community action" in the spirit of the encyclical Pacem in Terris. Its directors were arrested, accused by the police of spreading "subversive ideas." Vicious accusations have been made by the regime against "Communists who disguise themselves as Catholics," or against "Catholics who as citizens betray the fatherland"* and "as believers betray God."**

The government's animus is all the greater because some elements of the Portuguese Christian Democracy have chosen clandestine action to develop their propaganda and organization. Their paper Direito à Informação [Right to Information] took a particularly aggressive stance at the time of the Pope's visit to Portugal. It did not even hold back from attacking the cult of the Virgin of Fatima -- a cult which the Portuguese government encourages for its political advantage -- whom they termed "Our Lady of the Cold War."

Nevertheless, the Portuguese progressive Catholics have no program. For the time being they are only anti-Salazarists. That is already a great deal, above all if you remember that the Estado Novo is not far from the definition given it by the Belgian socialist de Brouckère -- "a dictatorship of the sacristy."

The socialists are scattered in several small organizations formed basically of intellectuals, such as the Revolutionary Action Movement and Socialist Action, the strength of which is difficult to assess but which for the moment appear to be of a secondary importance. The conference which they recently held abroad, while it was rich in interesting

reports on Portuguese and international politics, gave little indication of the road they intend to follow.

The Portuguese Communist Party -- a Structured Party

No one in Portugal doubts that the Communist party is the major force opposing the fascist regime, against which it stood almost alone for a long time. It has a large membership. The police repression in 1965 showed what considerable numbers it had just in university circles and how firmly anchored it was there.

In fact, the politicalization of the university, which led in 1962 to a protest strike of the three university complexes in the country lasting three months, was due to the decisive role of the Communist party. After these events, which provoked one of the gravest crises the regime has yet had to face, the student struggle has not been able to achieve similar scope. However, the students remain in the forefront of the resistance against the regime, and the Communist party is unquestionably largely responsible for this. Furthermore, the big popular demonstrations in the spring of 1962 and 1963 were essentially the work of the Communist party, whose influence among the urban and rural workers is also considerable.

At the present time, the Communist party is confronted with such grave problems as stepped-up repression by PIDE, which is depriving it of a number of cadres and members; the so-called pro-Chinese split; and a certain internal dissatisfaction over its "methods of struggle."

Essentially, the party's strategy as indicated in the program approved by its Fifth Congress is summed up in eight basic points: (1) destruction of the fascist state and the establishment of a democratic regime; (2) elimination of the power of the monopolies and promotion of general economic development; (3) agrarian reform, the land to be given to those who work it; (4) improvement of the standard of living of the working classes and the people in general; (5) democratization of education and culture; (6) liberation of Portugal from imperialism; (7) recognition and guaranteeing of the right of the peoples in the Portuguese colonies to immediate independence; (8) establishment of a policy of peace and friendship with all nations.

This is the Communist party's minimum program, established in accordance with its analysis of the Portuguese situation. "The fascist regime," states the program of the Portuguese CP, "is a terrorist dictatorship of the monopolies, which is associated with foreign imperial-

* Cf. the speech given on July 29, 1965, by Castro Fernandes, the president of the National Union, the single party in the Portuguese one-party state.

** Cf. Diario da Manha, Lisbon, August 12, 1965.

ism and the big landowners. The latter are closely linked with and subordinated to the monopolies. The fascist government's policy is at bottom directed against the interests of all other classes and social strata -- the proletariat (the industrial workers and agricultural wage earners), which is the class hardest hit; the peasants (small and middle farmers); the white-collar workers; the urban petty bourgeoisie; certain sectors of the middle bourgeoisie; and the intellectuals. All these classes and social strata have a vital interest in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. The national struggle against the fascist dictatorship is an antimonopoly and anti-imperialist struggle."

These eight points then represent a concretization and summarization in the present context of "the great task falling to the Portuguese proletariat and its party, which is, alongside its allies, to lead the national and democratic revolution to victory..."

What form will this national and democratic revolution take? First of all, "the (regime's) determination to resist to the end by means of a terrorist policy makes necessary a solution involving the use of force with a view toward overthrowing it."*

How will this forceful solution be implemented? Since popular insurrection is "the culminating point of a vast and determined mass movement involving a succession of strikes and demonstrations," the general secretary of the Portuguese CP writes that what is needed is "to raise the struggle to this higher level, then to increase the number of revolutionary organizations, steeping their cadres in the revolutionary process. And at the opportune moment the masses must be helped to obtain the necessary arms in order to move on boldly to the violent forms of popular action. At that moment, on the basis of an organization firmly anchored in the popular masses and deeply rooted in the armed forces, we can finally decide when to launch the final assault on the fascist fortress, when the insurrection is to break out."

Nonetheless, some criticize the Portuguese CP for not giving sufficient consideration to the fact that fascism can easily crush in embryo a process which requires at the start a capacity for mobilization that the masses do not have, watched over as they are by the police. In any event, the virtual absence of extensive nonviolent actions by the masses in these last two or three years

is apt to arouse some skepticism about a simultaneous political and social "escalation" centered in the first case on broadening the unity of the "allied forces" and in the second starting off from modest demands for better wages and working conditions.

There are even those in the ranks of the Communist party and in the periphery around its organizations who advocate adopting "direct action" measures aimed not only at starting to break down the regime morally and organizationally but also intended to give encouragement to the masses, whose lack of revolutionary perspectives can be gauged by the extent of legal and clandestine emigration.

If a good many objections arise over the question of insurrection, the concept of "national and democratic revolution" is no less open to certain criticisms. At the very least this concept lacks clarity. The Portuguese CP proposes that power should first be taken by a "provisional government including representatives of the patriotic and democratic forces." A later meeting of a constituent assembly would determine the organization of the future regime. But the provisional government alone, the program of the Portuguese CP stresses, "would not secure all the objectives of the national and democratic revolution."

We know what road this revolution is supposed to open up -- an advanced democracy involving in particular "the elimination of the most reactionary bourgeoisie," "nationalization of the basic sectors of the national economy," "turning over a large part of the land to those who work it." We do not know, however, how this is to be achieved.

Moreover, the CP's classical system of alliances, extending over a broad spectrum from the left to the non-Salazarist forces on the right, must permit going through the various stages of this process. While it is dubious that the bourgeois forces of the right will support the idea of an insurrection by the masses, it is inconceivable that the "less reactionary" bourgeoisie will accept the ouster of the "more reactionary bourgeoisie" with which it has common interests, or that it will look with favor on the nationalization of the basic sectors of the economy or the agrarian policy proposed by the CP. In these conditions, the Portuguese Communist party seems to be the prisoner of tactics and strategy that are mutually exclusive.

The Pro-Chinese Communists
-- the Shadow of a Party

The so-called "pro-Chinese" current among the Portuguese Communists emerged from a split in the Communist

* Cf. "Report to the Central Committee," by the general secretary of the party, Alvaro Cunhal, April 1964, p. 126.

party which could already be considered to have been carried out in practice in 1964. While violently attacking the Communist party, it has constantly sought to attract the membership of the CP and the organizations under its control.

These dissidents argued for turning to new methods of struggle. However, the organization which they launched, Frente da Acção Popular (FAP) [the People's Action Front] got off to a very inauspicious start. A bomb exploded in the home of one of its members when he was putting it together. This led to his arrest and that of a number of his comrades.

An attempted bank robbery failed because of unsureness on the part of the squad. They were arrested. Finally, the noisily announced liquidation of a Salazar secret police spy brought on the arrest of the FAP's principal leaders and the virtual disintegration of its organization inside the country. After that, the FAP was able to survive solely in the emigration and for merely a short time.

After a rather long period rich in accusations and counteraccusations and all sorts of differences, the Portuguese pro-Chinese Communists decided to reorganize, setting up a movement of "Marxist-Leninist Committees" (MLC). This movement advocates armed insurrection as a means for taking power without having to go through the intermediate stage of "national democracy" proposed by the Communist party, which involves several political groupings sharing power.

For the moment, the Marxist-Leninist Committees are doing, with more or less success, what they have always held to be an excuse advanced by the "revisionist" Communist party for not engaging in immediate armed struggle -- "winning and organizing Communists, forming Communist committees everywhere." This is being done with the perspective of launching a "people's war" to overthrow fascism and the bourgeoisie simultaneously.

The road to follow is that of the "mass line." This matches the "mass action" supported by the Communist party just as "people's war" matches the latter's "national uprising." In order to carry out the tasks which flow from this line, the MLC maintains that "no form of struggle should be neglected." Instead, all forms must be combined in accordance with the criterion of "revolutionary effectiveness and education" in order to orient the working classes and the "intermediate classes," who are their allies, toward "the illegal and higher forms of political struggle and politico-military struggle."

Despite the vituperative tone tak-

en toward the "revisionist" Communists, the proposals of the MLC seem most often to echo the program of the Portuguese Communist party. In fact, fundamentally only two real points of disagreement can be found. The CP makes the insurrection conditional on a "ripening of the revolutionary crisis," while the MLC seems to take the view that these conditions have already been attained and are in a sense permanent. With regard to the seizure of power, the Portuguese CP follows a perspective of creating a provisional coalition government while the MLC, in the last analysis, aspires to take power alone.

In practice, the CP always turns toward mass actions even though they are usually minor and of little significance, but on the other hand it shows slight inclination to undertake more radical forms of struggle. However, the MLC is no good at either, limiting itself rather to pure propagandistic activity, primarily in emigré intellectual circles. The MLC press reflects progressive remoteness from the Portuguese reality. It is apt to neglect the struggle of the working classes so as to devote itself primarily to certain international questions or to abstract political reflections.

Perspectives

The lightning attack on the Bank of Portugal could not help but highlight the weaknesses of a fragmented and hesitant opposition. The opposition had not yet recovered from its shock over the affair when on September 17, 1967, another commando group slipped into the headquarters of the third military region and managed to seize a considerable stock of arms.

In the meantime, the authors of these two strikes made themselves known by a leaflet distributed throughout the country. In this statement the Liga de União e Acção Revolucionaria (LUAR) [League for Revolutionary Unity and Action] declared that it was "not another political party wasting its energies in sterile wrangling or mired in sectarianism," but "an organization for action" open to "all those who want to destroy the infamous Salazar regime arms in hand." The LUAR rejected all political education as useless and condemned all polemics among the antifascist organizations. It sketched its program in a few words -- establishment of a democratic order; elimination of the "parasitism of the magnates"; ending the "economic and social causes at the root of class antagonism"; "organizing a more just society from the human point of view."

If such a contradictory manifesto in the last analysis gives no hint that would permit a better assessment politically of the LUAR, one thing is nonethe-

less certain, above all if the LUAR continues to harass the Salazarist regime -- the Portuguese opposition cannot continue to exist as it has up until now.

In the more or less near future, the left opposition will find itself forced to take a new look at its positions and methods of action. It will have to study means for regrouping its forces. Unless it does so, it will risk losing its influence over vast sectors of the population as well as the confidence of its own members.

On the other hand, since the LUAR does not constitute a political party and does not have the support of any party, it also runs the risk of extinction. Ultimately, its survival will depend on its ability to renew itself. But this requires a contact with the masses which is in contradiction to its highly secret character. Barring its forming a new party, whose orientation cannot be predicted, the LUAR could play a useful role if it integrated itself in a larger whole composed of all the forces really interested

in overthrowing the Salazar dictatorship. It could then take the place that really belongs to it and become the armed organization of the Portuguese antifascist forces.

For the time being, LUAR is primarily a powerful corrective to the faults and blunders of all those who, although they have shown themselves capable of courageous struggle, are not exempt from a certain indecisiveness which often sinks into routinism.

The great problem of the Portuguese opposition is that once expressed by Lenin in "Dare We Win?" In short, is the Portuguese resistance capable of winning? Will it dare to win?

Having proved incapable of taking advantage of a situation as clearcut as that under Salazar, the Portuguese antifascists will certainly not find their task made any easier by the vague promises of liberalization coming from Marcelo Caetano, the new Portuguese strong man.

RUSSELL PROTESTS IMPRISONMENT OF FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER IN PAKISTAN

[The following statement was made by Bertrand Russell concerning the arrest in Lahore November 13 of former Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in the wake of student demonstrations throughout Pakistan.]

* * *

The arrest and imprisonment in Pakistan of former foreign minister Mr. Z.A. Bhutto is outrageous and in every sense unjustifiable. There is no reason why he should not be instantly released. It is impossible to explain this imprisonment with reference to any other fact than that he is leader of a serious opposition

to the government of Pakistan, a government which is prepared to use any means to prevent his electoral success. His arrest raises questions both of personal liberty and of overall political freedom in Pakistan.

The allegation that he can be held in any way responsible for student unrest is without foundation since it is manifestly obvious that unrest flows from students' reaction to abuses of government and is in no way consequent upon actions of Mr. Bhutto. I call upon all supporters of political liberty and civil rights to protest strongly to the Pakistani High Commission and embassies throughout the world.

PAKISTANI STUDENTS WIN CONCESSIONS

President Mohammad Ayub Khan announced December 1 that he was making several concessions to stem student unrest in Pakistan. The most important of these gestures was elimination of a section in a repressive ordinance providing for forfeiture of degrees by students who engage in "subversive" activities.

Ayub expressed the hope that his magnanimity would have "a good effect" on the campus.

He was answered December 4 by striking students in Rawalpindi, the form-

er capital of Pakistan. They issued a press release publicly vowing to continue their struggle for educational reforms until complete victory is won, no matter what the consequences.

Agence France-Presse reported the same day that support for the student rebels had been expressed by the chairman of the Pakistani Association of University Professors. Speaking in Lahore, he said that student unrest would persist until the educational institutions were made autonomous and freed from "official pressures."

THE REAL ISSUES IN THE NEW YORK TEACHERS STRIKE

By Les Evans

On November 18 the United Federation of Teachers [UFT] ended its third strike against the schools of New York City since the opening of the school season in September. The basic issues were not settled; tension remains high; and the conflict could flare again at any time.

This was no ordinary strike action, but a struggle involving complex issues that pitted the overwhelmingly white membership of the UFT against the black and Puerto Rican communities in the country's biggest city. The key question was, who shall run the ghetto schools?

On one side stood virtually every black organization from the most militant to the most conservative. On the other stood the 55,000 teachers of the largest union local in the United States. Allied with them for the first time was the Council of Supervisory Associations, representing school administrators, principals and superintendents.

The union bureaucracy, led by UFT President Albert Shanker, claimed that what was at stake was the right of teachers to "due process" in hiring and transfer procedure and freedom from "intimidation" by hostile school administrations. The union aimed its blows, however, not at the central Board of Education but at the local governing boards of three experimental school districts set up in 1967 under the rubric of "decentralization" as a concession to the growing demand for black control of the black communities. The three districts, the Intermediate School 201 complex in Harlem, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district in Brooklyn, and a similar project in Manhattan's multi-racial Lower East Side, were opposed by the UFT from the time they were created.

The immediate issue in the strike was Shanker's claim that ten teachers had been "fired" from the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools last May. These ten [originally nineteen, but some voluntarily transferred to other schools], he said, were the victims of black "extremists" and "vigilantes" who had infiltrated the local governing board, bent on driving white teachers out of ghetto schools.

On September 9 the UFT struck, demanding the reinstatement of the ten teachers and "job protection" for more than 100 others who had walked off the job in Ocean Hill-Brownsville last May in support of the original ten.

After a two-day strike the union won an order from the Board of Education

for the reinstatement of the ten. When black parents, angered by this, refused to allow the "ousted" teachers to enter the schools, the UFT held the governing board responsible and struck again, adding a new demand -- suspension of the board.

Under a temporary agreement, the schools were reopened September 30 only to be closed again October 14 when Shanker failed to win sanctions against the Ocean Hill-Brownsville sector.

The real source of the conflict was the steady deterioration in the quality of the education available to black and Puerto Rican children. Their parents demanded the right to control the schools in order to improve them.

Black and Puerto Rican youth constitute 52 percent of all the students in New York's public schools. A full-page ad inserted in the October 11 New York Times by the Urban League, the most conservative of the major black organizations, declared:

"In Negro and Puerto Rican school districts, education has all but ceased. The average high school graduate* in these districts cannot read at the eighth grade level....

"Negro and Puerto Rican schools are physically the most decrepit in the system. The teachers in these schools are dramatically less experienced than the ones in the predominantly white schools."

In an ad in the December 2 New York Times, the Urban Coalition, a predominantly white, private "antipoverty" agency, provided the following figures on what this racist educational structure means.

Eighty-five percent of the children in Harlem are a year behind in their reading; 80 percent of black and Puerto Rican high-school students drop out before graduating; less than 2 percent of the high-school graduates in East Harlem get an academic diploma -- a requirement to enter most colleges.

The response of the bureaucracy of

* In most U.S. cities children begin school when they are five. A year of kindergarten is followed by six years (grades) of grammar school. Grades 7 through 9 are junior high school. High school consists of grades 10 through 12.

the teachers union to this situation has been to blame the children, not the racist system. A major demand of the UFT strike in September 1967 was to remove so-called disruptive children from classes. The black community rightly looked on this as an attack on their children who were being used as scapegoats.

The black community stiffened its struggle for local control of the schools. School decentralization in the black ghettos is a step toward the exercise of self-determination. At a minimum it means placing millions of dollars in funds raised from the ghettos through taxation into the hands of black representatives to build, equip, staff and maintain ghetto schools. It is here that the trend of the teachers union -- as well as other crafts, such as the building trades -- toward becoming an all-white job trust brings the union bureaucracy and sections of the rank-and-file membership into head-on collision with the rightful aspirations of black people. Of New York's 60,000 teachers, only 8.8 percent are black.

From the outset the UFT leadership has been a vociferous opponent of all plans for decentralization, frightening white teachers with visions of locally elected black school boards firing whites and replacing them with blacks. The UFT, in fact, spent more than \$500,000 lobbying in the state legislature to defeat all measures aimed at even token decentralization.

The UFT's position as the major foe of decentralization has allowed the capitalist state and city government and its Board of Education to demagogically pose as supporters of decentralization.

Because there were legitimate union rights involved -- though they conflicted with the rights of the most highly exploited sector of the working class, in the ghettos -- many honest unionists and a section of the radical movement were led into supporting Shanker's racist actions against the black community.

Some professed to be able to see only a struggle between a workers organization and the bosses -- in this case the local governing board of Ocean Hill-Brownsville. Many fell into this trap who were not overtly racist but who had failed to grasp the revolutionary implications of the struggle of Afro-Americans for self-determination.

The Workers League, for example, the miniscule group of American cothinkers of the Socialist Labour League of Britain, went so far as to declare in their paper (The Bulletin, October 14) that decentralization was "formulated and paid for by the bosses government to destroy the unions..." This crass defense

of Shanker's position by would-be revolutionists is the end result of trade-union fetishism and incapacity to grasp the dynamics of the black struggle.

The real attitude of the government toward black community control of schools is not at all as pictured by the Workers League. A central conclusion of a study of the school crisis carried out by the New York Civil Liberties Union was that "from the beginning, the central Board of Education attempted to scuttle the experiment in Ocean Hill-Brownsville by consistently refusing to define the authority of the Local Governing Board." [Emphasis in original.]

In July 1967 the Ford Foundation provided a small grant to a group of teachers, parents, and community representatives in Ocean Hill-Brownsville to set up the local governing board. In September of the same year the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board hired five principals for its schools who met state qualifications but were not on the civil service seniority list. The UFT representatives on the board protested, and the next week the union called a city-wide strike, ostensibly over wage demands. This was taken by the black community to be a move toward a showdown. When the majority of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville board refused to support the action, the UFT representatives walked out and never returned.

Wholesale sabotage of the black school districts began, evidently mounted in collusion by the union, the Board of Education, and the Council of Supervisory Associations, i.e., "management."

On November 1, 1967, all eighteen assistant principals transferred out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools. The UFT bureaucrats then negotiated a change in their contract to permit unlimited numbers of teachers to transfer out of Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools at will. The Civil Liberties Union reported that under the new provisions, "Significant numbers of teachers did leave, sometimes in groups large enough to cause serious shortages."

It would be one thing if this right to transfer had been demanded as a general right throughout the school system. It was not. It was granted by the Board of Education, and exercised by the UFT, only in the experimental black and Puerto Rican school districts.

In May 1968 the Ocean Hill-Brownsville governing board, chaired by Rev. C. Herbert Oliver, answered the sabotage by transferring nineteen teachers who had opposed the program. Shanker countered by trying to destroy the local board. More than 350 teachers walked out of the Ocean

Hill-Brownsville schools in support of their "ousted" fellows, and did not return.

It was here that a special piece of duplicity was employed. Under the UFT's contract with the Board of Education teachers may be transferred at will by school superintendents with no recourse to due process. At the same time there are very strict provisions for trial procedures in the firing of tenured teachers -- so strict that only twelve teachers have been fired in the last five years.

Shanker inserted full-page ads in the New York papers protesting the "firing" and used this incident as the central publicly stated reason for this fall's series of strikes.

A number of prominent intellectuals of Social Democratic stripe took out a widely circulated advertisement in September entitled "The Freedom to Teach." This averred that the "ousted" teachers at Ocean Hill-Brownsville had been fired without due process. When the real facts became known -- that they had been routinely transferred, not fired at all -- one of the signers, Dwight Macdonald, wrote an open letter to the organizer of the project, Michael Harrington, national chairman of the Socialist party. "Of the thousands of 'cause' statements I've signed in my time," Macdonald said, "I've regretted more than a few but this is the first one I've been ashamed of, also the first time I felt I'd really been 'had.'"

The Civil Liberties Union report stated: "It certainly seems abundantly clear that the due process issue as used by the U.F.T. was nothing but a smoke screen behind which the effort to discredit and destroy community control could go on."

The final point to be made on the due process issue is that 40 percent of the UFT's 55,000 members are new teachers who do not have tenure. They have very little protection against arbitrary actions by principals. This year alone 2,800 of these teachers were not rehired after the close of the spring semester or were involuntarily transferred without a word of protest by the UFT bureaucrats. Many of these teachers participated in the massive high-school student strike against the war in Vietnam April 26 called by the Student Mobilization Committee.

The effect of the UFT strikes this fall was to spur an unprecedented mobilization of the black and Puerto Rican communities. Hundreds of local community organizations sprang up. Black teachers overwhelmingly refused to honor the strike and many white teachers in ghetto schools crossed the picket lines to keep the schools open. When principals struck and

had the schools locked, parents forced their way into the buildings and set up classes for their children.

From the beginning, the central ghetto schools were largely unaffected by the strike, and as the weeks dragged by more and more peripheral schools were opened by parents and nonstriking teachers. When the strike was finally called off, 447 schools, almost half of the total, were open and holding at least some classes. Attendance was estimated at 138,988 students, about an eighth of New York's 1,200,000 school children. Rather than defeating and demoralizing the black masses, Shanker had succeeded in galvanizing them into action on a hitherto unheard-of scale. In the course of this mobilization they strengthened their organizations and gave concrete meaning to the slogan "Black control of the black communities" for millions of others. On October 14 a march of 20,000 blacks and Puerto Ricans demanded the right to control their own schools.

The racist aims of the leadership of the teachers union produced a counter-movement within the labor movement also. Inside the UFT several thousand teachers have indicated support for the New Coalition, an opposition group that supports decentralization. On October 26, 100 black and Puerto Rican delegates to the New York Central Labor Council broke with that body on the issue of the strike.

Shanker tried to stir up hysteria among the large bloc of Jewish teachers by directing attention to anonymous anti-Semitic leaflets which he crudely associated with black leaders. He suggested that attempts were being made to drive Jewish teachers out of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville schools.

Three hundred and fifty newly hired teachers in the beleaguered district answered this with an ad in the New York Times pointing out that 70 percent of the new teachers hired by the governing board were white and 50 percent of these were Jewish.

The settlement agreed to by the UFT leadership November 18 fell short of their previous demand for the outright destruction of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville project. The mass mobilization of the black and Puerto Rican communities prevented those demands from being realized.

Although the terms of the settlement marked a judicial weakening of the powers of the local community boards, the fact that they were not destroyed by the concerted attack of the union, the Board of Education, and the city government is an indication of the growing strength of the black community.

MILITARY PROSECUTOR IN IRAN ANNOUNCES TRIAL OF 14 POLITICAL PRISONERS

Under pressure from a worldwide campaign in behalf of a group of Iranian political prisoners, who were believed to have been tried secretly, the military prosecutor of Iran announced November 21 that the trial had not yet been held, that it would take place soon, and that it would be public instead of behind closed doors as is usually the case under the shah's regime.

The prisoners had been held incommunicado for more than six months. The government of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi refused until November 21 to make any public comment. It is known that forty persons were originally arrested. This number has now been reduced to fourteen, if the military prosecutor is to be believed. He did not say whether the other twenty-six had been released.

The Paris daily Le Monde (November 10-11) published a report based on information from Teheran relayed through Jean-Paul Sartre that the trial had already taken place and that eight of the defendants had been sentenced to death.

This forced the shah to alter the usual procedure of announcing a trial only after it is over and the victims have been sentenced.

The prosecutor told a correspondent of Le Monde November 21, "The Communist party is an illegal organization in Iran, and the defendants, numbering fourteen and not seventeen, are accused of Communist activities and plotting against public order and the security of the state." He did not deny the widespread reports that eight of the defendants face possible death sentences.

The circumstances surrounding the government's demand for the death penalty were reported in a November 3 press statement by the Iranian Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners, affiliated to the World Confederation of Iranian Students. This committee reported that the fourteen prisoners during their long imprisonment were "subjected to the most barbarous kinds of torture such as whipping, sleeplessness, hot air, restriction of breathing." They were forced to sign "confessions" prepared by SAVAK, the secret police.

"Till a week ago," the November 3 statement continued, "they were all to be tried under Clause 63 of the Military Judicial Codes, which is for subversive activities and carries from 3-10 years imprisonment. But after they had denied any responsibility for the forced confessions, and announced their intention of bringing a law suit against their torturers, the Army Interrogator suddenly switched the clause to No. 317 for eight of them. This is for armed uprising and carries the death sentence, and is probably meant to teach a lesson to other political prisoners who might likewise denounce their forced confessions."

Bertrand Russell sent a cable to the shah November 13 declaring:

"Am shocked at military persecution of fourteen men of letters, now to be arraigned before court-martial. This action follows cruel tortures. It will result in the deaths of many if you do not intervene. The civilized world will not forgive such a crime. Appeal to you to draw back from permitting murder."

The Secretariat of the Confederation of Iranian Students (National Union) [CISNU] issued a statement in Frankfurt November 22 commenting on the prosecutor's announcement:

"This admission by the Military Prosecutor, effected under world public opinion pressure, once more unmask the undemocratic and inhuman nature of the Iranian regime which, contrary to the express letters of the Iranian Constitution, has detained a large number of Iranian patriots and subjected them to cruel torture. The admission of the Iranian government not only confirms the reports published by CISNU, but also stresses the fact that the Iranian regime, despite all pretenses to the contrary, incessantly resorts to most medieval methods to eliminate her political opponents."

The Confederation of Iranian Students, demanding that the prisoners be granted a civil jury trial, are seeking to mobilize further pressure. They ask that protests be sent to the shah or his local diplomatic representatives.

BERTRAND RUSSELL ISSUES APPEAL FOR IRANIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS

[The following is the text of an appeal issued by Bertrand Russell November 18 on behalf of the fourteen political prisoners soon to be tried by a military tribunal in Teheran.]

It has been brought to my notice that the fourteen Iranian intellectuals who have been held, now, for nine months under close arrest, under a vague charge of conspiracy to overthrow the Government

are now to be "tried." They have been imprisoned under appalling conditions, without any specific charges having been leveled against them, and without any of the elementary rights of access to legal advice, let alone to any judicial hearing.

Now they are to be brought to a "court" which must surely embarrass even the Iranian authorities by its brutal disregard of civilised legal conventions. The military are, apparently, to be jury, prosecutor and judge in their own case against these valiant, honest and much-persecuted men.

EGYPTIAN STUDENT DEMONSTRATORS DEMAND POLITICAL FREEDOM

A week of student demonstrations in three Egyptian cities in late November left at least twenty persons dead, following assaults by Nasser's police and troops. Many more were injured and over 200 were arrested.

The demonstrations began November 22 in the Nile Delta city of Mansoura, seventy-five miles northeast of Cairo. The students were protesting a new restrictive education law. They also demanded political freedom and the abolition of press censorship. The crowd swelled to more than 6,000.

According to one report, the police fired when students began to shout, "Down with Nasser!"

Another version was that the demonstrators tried to seize a police station.

The semigovernmental Al Ahram admitted that four people were killed in Mansoura and forty-three were wounded. Twenty-seven were arrested.

On November 24, when the demonstrations spread to Alexandria, the country's second largest city, Nasser ordered all universities in the United Arab Republic closed indefinitely.

The Alexandria events were even more serious than the first outbreak. By November 26 at least sixteen students had reportedly been killed in the city.

More than 5,000 students took part in clashes with police in Alexandria. Three night clubs were destroyed, two movie theaters burned, and a number of cars and buses set on fire. Police and soldiers set up machine-gun posts at strategic points in the city and used tear gas, clubs and gunfire against the students who were demanding freedom of speech.

On November 24, demonstrations

Having beaten, whipped and half suffocated its victims for almost a year, the Iranian Army now intends to kill eight of them, for no better reason than that they have retracted their "confessions," which were extracted under torture.

I appeal for the widest possible protest campaign against this travesty of human rights. Representations should be made to the Iranian Government directly, and through its embassies all over the world.

broke out in Cairo where police and soldiers used tear gas to break up crowds of students in front of the heavily guarded Cairo University.

The London Times commented November 27: "There is no doubt that the Egyptian student riots, especially in Alexandria where they have outgrown the dimensions of a student demonstration, have faced the regime of President Nasser with its most serious problem since it came to power in the 1952 revolution."

Nasser's first reaction was to blame right-wing religious fanatics for the outbreak. The New York Times defended this view in a November 29 article which reported that students in Alexandria shouted, "There is no God but Allah!" The West German weekly, Der Spiegel, on the contrary, reported December 2 that the cry was meant as criticism of Nasser's pretensions.

The London Times reported that workers joined the students in Mansoura and in Alexandria. The Mansoura demonstration, it said, was led by students from the Islamic College. But in Alexandria, the protests were "almost certainly left wing in spirit, probably from Marxist elements both within and outside the student ranks."

Secondary schools were also closed in Alexandria November 25 as teenagers joined the student revolt. Students demanded the dismissal and trial of officials responsible for police attacks on them such as interior minister Sharawi Gumi, a close associate of Nasser.

A special congress of the ruling Arab Socialist Union was convoked December 3 to discuss the student outbreak. The congress took on a witch-hunt tone when justice minister Mohammed Abu Nosseir claimed the Alexandria demonstrations had been "fomented" by an agent of Israel.

THE MEANING OF MAO'S BID TO NIXON

By Joseph Hansen

A statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on November 26 concerning the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with the United States produced a considerable ripple in diplomatic circles. The consensus was that it represented a bid from Mao Tse-tung to the incoming Nixon administration.

In an editorial, "New Prospects in Asia," the New York Times (November 29) offered the following comment:

"Especially interesting is Peking's proposal that the United States join in 'an agreement on the five principles of peaceful coexistence,' a gesture that implies a remarkable turnabout in China's approach to the United States even though it was tied to obviously unacceptable demands that this country abandon its ties with Taiwan.

"The 'five principles' date from a period in the 1950s when Peking was trying to win friends and influence peoples, as against its more recent efforts to alienate the world. They called for mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, nonaggression, noninterference in other countries' internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence.

"Peking's introduction of these concepts into its talks with Washington reinforces other evidence that the Cultural Revolution has run its course and that a leadership is emerging in China that recognizes the necessity for more responsible conduct in world affairs and for closer ties with the West.

"Incidentally, even during the Cultural Revolution, Chinese trade with the non-Communist world has steadily increased, while the proportion of its trade with Communist-bloc countries has declined. The lure of trade, especially in agricultural and related products, may become an important source of leverage in the coming Sino-American talks."

Writing from Hong Kong, where the Western powers maintain well-financed staffs of specialists on Chinese affairs, Tillman Durdin reported in the same issue of the New York Times:

"Observers here do not regard the new Chinese behavior as an indication of policy changes. They see it instead as the adoption of a less crude and belligerent attitude toward the outside world. If the tendency continues, Communist China could become easier to deal with,

the experts predict.

"One theory advanced here is that Communist China could be aiming at strengthening its position in foreign affairs to enable it to take part, at some future stage, in a settlement of the Vietnam war."

In Washington, according to Bernard Gwertzman (New York Times, December 1), "there was considerable surprise at the State Department" over the "statement proposing to meet with the Nixon Administration's representative in Warsaw on Feb. 20 and calling for the signing of an agreement on the 'five principles of peaceful coexistence.'"

Gwertzman said, "There was considerable speculation here that China might have decided that its tense relations with the Soviet Union might require an effort to ease tensions on its Eastern flank, where the American Seventh Fleet plies the water."

Gwertzman closed his dispatch with the observation: "Presumably, if the Taiwan issue could be shelved, there would be room for considerable discussion between Washington and Peking. Most experts see little chance of China dropping that demand. And unless there is a drastic change in the new Administration's foreign policy, the United States is not prepared to sacrifice Taiwan's freedom."

From these sources, it can be gathered that Washington was agreeably surprised by Peking's move and responded by indicating willingness to talk and even to bargain, the references to Taiwan being made, of course, in accordance with the standard procedures of haggling.

In Paris, Peking's maneuver was likewise noted with interest. Philippe Ben, reporting from New York in the November 30 issue of Le Monde, said:

"For the West, the Chinese offer must be placed in actuality in the context of American-Soviet relations, in particular the explanations given in private by numerous Soviet representatives on the question of the invasion of Czechoslovakia. In New York as well as in Washington, the Soviet diplomats confide to their Western questioners that 'since China is becoming more and more threatening, the Soviet Union had no choice in Prague. In view of the hard evidence, the Soviet Union had to protect its rear before it was too late.' Peking's move is thus considered to be an attempt to scotch the Soviet diplomatic game and to block the American-Soviet

rapprochement from becoming too close."

In passing, it is worth noting that while the Hong Kong experts speculate that China wants to ease tensions on the eastern flank because of Soviet pressure from the west, the Soviet diplomats explain to their Western conferees that they had to invade Czechoslovakia to protect Moscow's western flank because of pressure from China in the east.

It would seem that it would be of considerable mutual advantage to Peking and Moscow to close the breach and establish a common front against the common imperialist foe. Neither of the bureaucracies sees it that way, however, and each blames the other for the situation. Worst of all, in their rivalry each seeks an understanding with imperialism at the expense of the other.

Philippe Ben reports the intense way in which the Soviet diplomats are pushing "peaceful coexistence" with Washington (i.e., with Nixon), if not with Czechoslovakia. "The eagerness of the Soviet leaders to resume a dialogue with Washington is very visible at the United Nations, where hardly a day passes without some sign being seen of it."

The Sino-Soviet dispute, clearly involved in Peking's November 26 statement, will most certainly be weighed by the State Department in its response to the invitation from Mao Tse-tung. Washington has in fact sought to capitalize on the dispute since it flared into the open. One of the outcomes, for instance, was the Pentagon's calculation that it could get away with armed aggression in Vietnam.

It remains to be seen whether Peking's November 26 statement marks the opening move in a "remarkable turnabout" in foreign policy; i.e., a 180-degree turn from ultraleftism to rank opportunism. Study of the statement offers nothing new outside of its timing and the addressee, Nixon. The Mao regime, from the very beginning, has espoused "peaceful coexistence" in the tradition of Stalin.

Chou En-lai in particular has stressed "peaceful coexistence" with the United States. He provided a succinct summary of his government's foreign policy in this respect in his interview with Edgar Snow in 1960 (published in the latter's book, The Other Side of the River).

"Western opinion has been spreading rumors to the effect that China has given up the policy of peaceful coexistence," Chou En-lai told Edgar Snow. The premier sought to refute the rumor by citing the friendship treaties that had been signed that year and "the joint statements on peaceful coexistence with India, Indonesia, Cambodia, and Ceylon."

The treaties were all based on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence," which Chou stated were as follows:

"(1) Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) mutual non-aggression; (3) noninterference in each other's internal affairs; (4) equality and mutual benefit and (5) peaceful coexistence."

Chou said that a possible peace pact among the Asian countries and countries bordering the Pacific involved "Sino-Soviet relations" and "relations between the four countries of China, the USSR, Japan and the U.S.A." With regard to the United States, he underlined two points:

"It is inconceivable that a peace pact can be concluded without diplomatic relations between China and the United States."

"It is also inconceivable that there can be diplomatic relations between China and the United States without a settlement of the dispute between the two countries in the Taiwan region."

Chou En-lai cited the record at some length to show the consistency with which his government had sought to practice peaceful coexistence with the United States, and how Washington had made this impossible with its aggressive policy in the Western Pacific.

The main obstacle to the establishment of "peaceful coexistence" between China and the United States, Chou pointed out, has been Washington's insistence on maintaining the fiction of "two Chinas." Even here, however, it should be possible to find some formula to resolve the difficulty.

"Since it has been possible for China and the United States to hold ambassadorial talks in Geneva and Warsaw," Chou suggested, "talks can also be held at the same time between the Central Government of China and the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The former is an international question while the latter is an internal question. Parallel talks can be conducted and solutions reached separately."

A new element in the situation is the Paris talks over the war in Vietnam. In agreeing to seat the National Liberation Front at the table as one of the negotiating parties alongside of the Saigon clique, Washington has, despite itself, set a certain precedent. Could a comparable formula be found that might open the way to easing tensions in the Western Pacific on a much broader scale?

Perhaps this is the question which Peking intended to put to the Nixon administration with its November 26 statement.

If the démarche meets with a favorable response, there can be no doubt that the Mao regime would move further along this line with a readiness that might astound not a few observers.

This is the meaning of the other-

PEKING'S NOVEMBER 26 STATEMENT ON "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

[The following is the full text of the statement issued November 26 by the spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China on the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks. It was printed in the November 29 issue of Peking Review.]

* * *

On November 18, the U.S. State Department press officer and the U.S. Embassy in Poland issued statements in which they did their utmost to distort the facts and divulged the discussions between China and the United States about the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks, falsely accusing the Chinese side of having no intention of holding the meeting as scheduled and failing over a long period of time to respond to the U.S. proposal. In this connection, the spokesman of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China has been instructed to refute as follows:

1. The position of the Chinese side on the date of the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks has been consistent and explicit and is in conformity with the principle of reaching agreement through consultation between the two sides. The 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks was originally scheduled for May 29. On May 18, the Chinese side suggested that the meeting be postponed till the middle of November or late November, and the U.S. side later agreed to this suggestion. Since then, the Chinese side has not changed its view. It is utterly groundless and most absurd for the U.S. side to assert that the Chinese side has no intention of acting upon its own proposal.

2. The U.S. side has played a host of tricks on the date of this meeting. In its letter of September 12, it wanted to fix the date of the meeting rigidly for November 20. On November 8, it gave an oral notice demanding that the Chinese side reply to its suggestion of September 12 within a time limit of five days. This is a typical imperialist attitude. Furthermore, on November 15, it sent over a written notice, in which it groundlessly "assumed" that China has no intention

wise enigmatic reference in the statement to the possibility of "peaceful coexistence" with an imperialist power not especially noted for its practice of the Five Principles, above all in recent years and in relation to some countries very close to the borders of China.

of acting upon its original proposal and suggested that the meeting be postponed till February 5 or 11 next year.

Without waiting for a reply from the Chinese side, the U.S. Government unilaterally announced on November 18 a postponement of the meeting in violation of the principle of reaching agreement through consultation.

It must be pointed out that the days when U.S. imperialism can ride roughshod over the world and order others about are long gone, never to return. It is a sheer pipe dream to expect that the Chinese Government will accept such insolence from U.S. imperialism!

3. What is the aim of the U.S. side in putting up such a singular performance within a short space of ten days? Evidently, the U.S. Government has no intention whatsoever to hold the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks within this year, but is trying hard to postpone the 135th meeting of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks till February next year while shifting the responsibility for the postponement onto the Chinese side. To put it bluntly, this is because the United States is going to change its president, and the U.S. Government is now in a stage wherein the incoming is superseding the outgoing; hence it must try to drag on until the present period is over.

4. Actually why should the U.S. side have taken the trouble of doing all this? Since you find it necessary to postpone the meeting, say it outright! The Chinese side can give consideration to it.

Chen Tung, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Poland, already wrote to the U.S. Ambassador to Poland Mr. Walter J. Stoessel, Jr., on November 25, making a concrete suggestion that the two sides might as well meet on February 20 next year. By that time, the new U.S. president will have been in office for a month, and the U.S. side will probably be able to make up its mind.

5. Over the past 13 years, the Chinese Government has consistently adhered to the following two principles in the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks: First, the

U.S. Government undertakes to immediately withdraw all its armed forces from China's territory Taiwan Province and the Taiwan Straits area and dismantle all its military installations in Taiwan Province; second, the U.S. Government agrees that China and the United States conclude an agreement on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

But in the past 13 years, while refusing all along to reach an agreement with the Chinese Government on these two

principles, the U.S. Government, putting the cart before the horse, has kept on haggling over side issues.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly told the U.S. side in explicit terms that the Chinese Government will never barter away principles. If the U.S. side continues its current practice, no result whatsoever will come of the Sino-U.S. ambassadorial talks no matter which administration assumes office in the United States.

YEAR'S INDEX IN NEXT ISSUE

Our next issue -- the final one for 1968 -- will carry a complete index for all the material that has appeared in

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