

Russell Calls Conference on Czechoslovakia

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Resurrection of the West German Communist Party

PALACH MARTYRDOM HARDENS WILL OF CZECHS TO RESIST OCCUPATION

By Les Evans

More than 500,000 people lined the streets of Prague January 25 to pay tribute to Jan Palach at the funeral for the 21-year-old student who burned himself to death to protest the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

In the morning, tens of thousands of persons formed a line more than a mile long outside Charles University, waiting to view the student's coffin. Black banners and flags at half-mast were seen throughout Prague. The giant crowd was silent, but there were many scenes of great emotion. All Prague theaters canceled light entertainment programs as a sign of mourning.

In the evening, police used tear gas to prevent a crowd of young workers and students from placing a portrait of Jan Palach in Wenceslas Square. The crowd retreated before the police attack, but denounced the cops as "Russian stooges," and "Gestapo." Steel-helmeted police used clubs later to break up a march of 500 youths headed for the home of President Ludvik Svoboda.

The massive turnout, larger than the demonstrations immediately following the invasion, served notice on the Czechoslovak government and the Soviet occupation authorities that the "normalization" demanded by the Kremlin was to be delayed, permanently if possible.

The recipients of the notice clearly indicated their fear over what the new mobilization of the Czech masses might lead to. Soviet troops were reported moving closer to Prague from their winter quarters in the countryside. Czech troops were deployed in the city itself.

On January 26, evidently in response to Soviet pressure, Slovakian Minister of the Interior Maj. Gen. Egyd Pepich banned all public meetings held without official permission, threatening "resolute steps" by the police against violators.

A requiem concert scheduled to honor Jan Palach was canceled without explanation.

The young protester died of his self-inflicted burns January 19. Since then, ten other young people have attempted suicide. Jan Palach has become a symbol for the movement for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia. Within a week after his death the mass movement was once again on the march, registering a severe setback for the Soviet bureaucrats.

Palach's suicide note, demanding the abolition of censorship, and the banning of the paper Zpravy -- published illegally by the Soviet occupation -- was prominently displayed in the press.

The day after the student's death a crowd estimated by Czech police at more than 100,000 filled Wenceslas Square where he had set himself on fire. Scenes of this massive demonstration were featured over national television and widely reported in the press with scant regard for the "self-censorship" which the occupation forces have been trying to enforce on the communications media.

For the time being at least, the most notable "achievements" of the occupation were wiped out: the press censorship, the demobilization of the masses. A tangible evidence of the rebellious mood was the blossoming of walls with fresh slogans and symbols. The streets were back where they were when the Soviet troops took over. One of the first directives of the occupation in August was to wash off or paint over these vivid expressions of popular opinion.

As tensions rose, the position of the Czech government became more and more difficult. Caught between the threat of a new mass explosion and a new Soviet intervention, most of the party leaders sought to temporize, expressing their sympathy with the popular demands, but refusing to grant any concession that would antagonize the Kremlin. The result was a further erosion of the moral and political capital of the party leaders in the eyes of the masses. It was plain, for example, that the stock appeals for calm were employed with considerably diminished effect after the death of Jan Palach.

President Svoboda declared that Palach was a person of "pure character and pure intentions." He joined Alexander Dubček, Oldrich Cernik, and Josef Smrkovský in sending a telegram to Palach's mother, saying, "We know well that he was led to this by his genuine and honest love of his country."

In Moscow the reaction was a little different. The news agency Tass did not make its first comment on the events until January 21, five days after Jan Palach's self-immolation. Tass described the act as an "antisocialist provocation."

The Ulbricht regime in East Germany carried this theme even further. The January 23 Paris daily Le Monde quoted the of-

ficial East German news agency, ADN, as claiming that many Czech citizens believed "that Jan Palach was forced to commit this provocative act by a secret organization controlled by the West German secret service."

On January 20 a high-level Soviet delegation arrived in Prague, allegedly to discuss questions relating to the stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. No further details were made public and the composition of the delegation remained secret. Le Monde suggested January 24 that the delegation might even include Soviet Premier Kosygin himself. The paper noted that both Kosygin and Dubček were absent from important state functions for several days during the Czech crisis. Kosygin was absent from the ceremony welcoming the cosmonauts in Moscow, while Dubček missed an important trade-union congress in Prague. Both of them are "ill," according to their governments.

The day after the arrival of the Soviet mission, Premier Cernik addressed a congress of trade unions in the Czech regions. He professed his continued support for the reforms adopted in January 1968, but refused to agree to workers' demands for an end to censorship and a vote by secret ballot in the new federal assembly when the demotion of Josef Smrkovský comes up for final review at the end of January.

"Some demands and attitudes," Cernik said, "in the given circumstances cannot be fulfilled and they are creating serious situations of conflict."

Cernik attacked "radical extremist forces" in Czechoslovakia, but there was a strong implication that he meant by this the majority of the Czech working class. He told the congress, composed of democratically elected representatives of four million workers, that he knew some of the government's actions were opposed to the will of the "great majority of the people." Defending the government's acceptance of Moscow's diktat, he said: "But the feelings of the people cannot be the only determining, rational criterion of rational policy."

The unions refused to give Cernik a blank check, however. The chairman of the session, Rudolf Pacovsky, said the workers demanded complete freedom of speech and the press, and the right to participate in decision-making. He said they would not forego the use of political strikes to win their demands, if that proved necessary.

Students have raised similar demands and are said to be meeting with top government officials. In addition to the two demands put forward by Jan Palach, student organizations are demanding elec-

tions in the near future and a party congress before October. The Kremlin is against all of these demands.

Workers, students and writers are reportedly setting up coordinating committees.

Another indication of the revival of resistance was the decision of Ota Sik, architect of the economic reforms, and Eduard Goldstuecker, chairman of the Union of Writers, to return to Czechoslovakia. Both have been under heavy attack in the Soviet press. Goldstuecker has been teaching in London. Sik was in exile in Switzerland.

On their return, both of the reformers were sworn in as members of the Czech National Council, the republic's legislative body. They were elected while in exile, despite Soviet pressure to have their names dropped.

The unions are exerting considerable pressure on the government. Vlastmir Toman, chairman of the Czech Trade Union Congress, told the congress January 23: "It is not possible to live in tension exacerbated by the obstinate persistence in their functions of those who today no longer represent anyone." The unions held a five-minute work-stoppage on January 24 in honor of Jan Palach.

The Dubček leadership was able to ride with the popular demand for socialist democracy as long as it had some leeway for maneuver. Because of their policy of capitulation to the Kremlin, the Czech leaders have found this increasingly difficult. The alternative, from their viewpoint, is repression. Such a course would mean the destruction of the independent power of the Dubček regime and its reduction to puppet status.

The greatest disaster is for the Kremlin. The Soviet bureaucrats were completely unprepared for so rapid a revival of mass resistance. Their supporters and even their reluctant collaborators in Czechoslovakia are more isolated and discredited than ever. The bureaucrats bargained in August for an easy military victory followed by quick acquiescence on the part of the Czech workers and students. This was a major political miscalculation.

The only sure way to repress dissent now would be to stage a second intervention and put the country under Soviet military rule.

Even this drastic course might well have the effect of hardening the Czech resistance, provoking bolder forms of struggle under a leadership completely outside of the Kremlin's control.

From Czechoslovakia

GUEVARAS ARE NEEDED

[Radio Vltava, the East German station which broadcasts programs for the edification of the Czechoslovak people under the occupation of the country by troops of the Warsaw Pact powers, pointed to the martyrdom of Jan Palach as evidence of "the insufficiency of Marxist-Leninist training in Czechoslovakia's educational system."

[An alternative explanation, which Radio Vltava might accept, is that the 21-year-old student had been reading certain articles that appeared in the Czechoslovak press before Moscow could get a Stalinist censorship reimposed.

[Among these articles might have been the following one which appeared in the October 17 issue of Politika shortly before Moscow succeeded in having the magazine banned. The article, by Karol Bartosek, was published under the title, "Guevaras Are Needed." The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

He was killed a year ago, in the afternoon of October 9, shot right in the heart. Born in Argentina, he lived and fought in Cuba; he died in Bolivia. He was, in reality, a citizen of Latin America -- more precisely of the Latin-American revolution. His name, Che Guevara, became a symbol in the sixties and a legend of struggle against oppression. It was spoken with admiration most of all by a large section of committed youth in the Americas, in Africa, and in West Europe. And this was not by chance.

Guevara's destiny was the destiny of the son of a "good family" who left his appointed path -- instead of becoming a respected doctor, he became a professional revolutionist. In the course of his travels in search of freedom through several Latin-American countries, he met Fidel Castro in Mexico in 1956. He was 26 years old at the time. He sailed with Castro to Cuba and was among the first, the "original," participants in the fight against the Batista dictatorship.

Together with Castro, he led the insurrection from the Sierra Maestra to the conquest of Havana. He was an organizer and theoretician of armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare. In 1962, he published his book Guerrilla Warfare, which will stand among the classics of this type of literature. After the victory of the Cuban revolution, he worked as the director of the National Bank and was minister of industries.

He was strongly against material incentives and for the total socialization of distribution. He condemned the pursuit of individual gain and individual self-interest. "One of the basic goals of Marxism is to eliminate individual self-interest as psychological motivation," he said. And "Socialism without communist morality does not interest me; we are fighting against poverty but also against alienation." In putting his economic concepts into practice, Che got involved in a series of disputes. This upright Saint-Just of the new revolution resolved them in his own way.

In 1965, he left Cuba "for an unknown destination" to fight again, arms in hand. The most diverse stories circulated about his travels. He was supposed to be in Vietnam and in Africa. Several times the sensationalistic press announced his death. But Guevara was living on the Latin-American continent, living and fighting. And the speculation about his activities only increased the legendary aura around his name. The enemy hunted him with ever increasing intensity -- everywhere in vain. The people prepared to enshrine a new image of a fighting hero in their hearts.

In April 1967 the speculation about Che was cleared up. Castro read a militant message from Guevara containing an idea which has been discussed throughout the world. In the struggle against American imperialism, Guevara wrote, we must "create two, three, many Vietnams" in order to compel imperialism to disperse its forces.

Once again Guevara argued the necessity for armed struggle and hatred of the enemy. And his argument was based on an internationalist conception of revolution. "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome if our battle cry has reached even one receptive ear, and another hand reaches out to take up our arms, and other men come forward to join in our funeral dirge with the chattering of machine guns and new calls for battle and victory."

Waging armed struggle against imperialism; living in peril and finally fulfilling his pledge of "Fatherland or Death, We Will Win"; creating new Vietnams -- Che did not just declare these and other principles. He acted according to them. And he died for them.

Was he an unrealistic dreamer or romantic? Those who knew him well categorically deny this and maintain that strong

intellectual and rational conviction lay behind Guevara's words and deeds. Shortly after his death, a friend of Guevara's, an Argentinian doctor living in Cuba, convinced me of this after long argument.

Guevara thought and acted on the basis of absolute morality. The essence of his personality was expressed in his devotion to the morality and purity of the revolutionary movement. Some may condemn this aspiration for total fulfillment of the revolutionary idea as utopian or romantic. But would anyone dare to claim that such utopianism is more harmful to the revolution than cold, sophis-

tic, narrow-minded calculation and "realistic" maneuvering? Romantics belong in all revolutionary movements. If a movement has no romantics, it has ceased to be revolutionary. Only opportunists can condemn the Guevaras as "dreamers" or "fools."

Our revolutionary movement needs its Guevaras, its lovers of justice. It needs people who fully and unhesitatingly follow Che's dictum: "The Duty of Every Revolutionary Is to Make the Revolution." At first glance, this seems a commonplace statement. But, I think, only at first glance.

BERTRAND RUSSELL CALLS INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation announced January 24 that an International Conference on Czechoslovakia will be held in Stockholm February 1 and 2 "to defend the people of Czechoslovakia and their struggle to achieve socialist democracy." The Stockholm sessions will be preliminary to an expanded conference to be held in London May 2-5, prior to the congress of Communist parties in Moscow.

The Russell Foundation said that the participants "are all people who have opposed American imperial policy and NATO."

In a statement explaining the aims of the conference, Bertrand Russell said, "In calling this conference and issuing invitations to it, I have been conscious of the responsibility of Western socialists, and particularly those in Western Europe, to respond positively to the events of the past year. It is the widespread failure to do so which makes this conference necessary. The conference will avoid the confusion and hypocrisy of many in the West who support the people of Czechoslovakia because they suppose they were advancing towards not some form of socialist democracy but towards capitalist 'freedom.'

"The participants will concern themselves with events in Czechoslovakia both before and after occupation, with Soviet pretexts for invasion and its consequences and with the immediate dangers facing both the Czechoslovak people and the world socialist movement.

"It will, for example, examine the cruel use of anti-Semitism, in the context of latter-day Stalinism, which is such a blot upon the record of the Soviet Union. More widely, the participants will examine the implication of the Soviet invasion, both for Eastern Europeans and for those in every continent who oppose imperialism. Throughout this work, the em-

phasis will be upon analysis independent of both cold-war assumptions and Soviet myths."

Participants will include: Laurent Schwartz, the internationally known mathematician; Lucien Goldmann; author Daniel Guérin; Jean-Marie Vincent; Denis Berger, member of the executive committee of the National Vietnam Committee of France; Lawrence Daly, secretary-general of the National Union of Miners of Britain; Steven Boddington; Ralph Milliband; C.L.R. James, the Marxist historian; John Berger, British novelist and poet; Anya Berger; Stan Newens, M.P., a leader of the British Labour party left wing; John Eton; Christopher Farley; Emanuel Litvinoff; Vladimir Benko, director of the School of Sociology and Political Science of Ljubljana, Yugoslavia; Luciano Antonetti, writer and a member of the Italian Communist party; Ralph Schoenman; Prof. Joan Mellen; Michael McCabe; José Yglesias, author; playwright Peter Weiss; Goran Therborn, Swedish writer; G. Olgeirsen, leader of the Popular Socialist party of Iceland; Finn Gustavson, leader of the People's Socialist party of Norway; and Susan Sontag, American novelist and critic.

Papers will be submitted by several participants who will be unable to attend the sessions. These will include Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist; Pierre Naville of France; and Franz Schurmann of the United States.

The sessions will be held in a hall of the Trade Union Congress of Sweden.

The tentative agenda of the conference divides the discussion into four sectors, "Antisocialism?"; "Socialism under Occupation?"; "Prospects"; and the drafting of a declaration.

The first session will pose the question, "What has been 'counterrevolutionary' or 'antisocialist' in Czechoslo-

vakia (January 1968-January 1969)?" Under this topic such further questions will be taken up as, "What did the 'reform' demands mean for socialism?"; "What social and popular forces were involved and in what way?"; "How is the Soviet pretext for invasion to be assessed?"; and "What were actual Soviet motives in relation to the actual programme and movement of the 'reformers'?"

The second session will discuss the consequences of the invasion, the question of anti-Semitism, the implica-

tions of the Kremlin's doctrine of "spheres of influence," and the effect of the Soviet action on the international socialist movement.

The third session will discuss the future of the reform movement in Czechoslovakia, future prospects for both the Kremlin and the Dubček leadership, and the character of the popular resistance.

The declaration will summarize the discussion and call for a continuation of the dialogue at the May conference.

OKINAWA ANTILABOR DECREE SHELVED AFTER WIDE PROTESTS

Osaka

A new decree issued January 11 by the U.S. Civil Administration for the Ryukyus, the colonial authority ruling Okinawa, gave U.S. military authorities wide powers to ban public meetings at their discretion. "Ordinance 63," the exact provisions of which are still a secret, reportedly lists severe penalties to be applied to any striking Okinawan workers at U.S. bases on the island.

strongly protested the antistrike ordinance. All political parties and trade unions in the Ryukyus expressed unanimous opposition to the decree.

The Okinawa Prefectural Council of Trade Unions held a mass rally in the plaza in front of the Ryukyuan legislature January 17, followed by a march to the U.S. Civil Administration office where a demonstration took place.

The new ordinance is aimed at forestalling the one-day general strike on February 4 called by the labor council to press the demand for the immediate removal of B-52 strategic bombers from the islands. It is also an indication, however, of Nixon's determination to use all means to maintain the functioning of U.S. military bases.

Protest demonstrations spread to mainland Japan January 17 with a rally in the plaza at Umeda, Osaka, called by the Deigo-no-kai.

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New York

The New York Times reported January 24 that the U.S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyus had "postponed indefinitely" the enforcement of a new labor law after "a storm of anti-American protest in Okinawa." The law was to have become effective January 25.

The Times gave no reason for the protest. It implied that Okinawan workers were irrationally opposed to a rise in their standard of living. The only provisions of the inexplicably unpopular law cited by the Times included "a 50 per cent increase in minimum wage and expanded benefits, guaranteed annual bonuses, job protection rights for contractor employes and other benefits."

The Yomiuri reported January 13 that the ordinance prohibits all meetings which "may hinder" U.S. military activities in the Ryukyus. A spokesman for the American military rulers of Okinawa attempted to soften the antiunion image that had been created by emphasizing in a January 13 statement that the ordinance contained some provisions not directly related to strikes that would be enforced against all residents of the island, whether or not they were employed at U.S. bases. He added that the ban on picketing, rallies and demonstrations would apply on all roads specified for military use.

Though the details of Ordinance 63 are still unknown, opposition parties in Okinawa and Japan immediately reacted to the announcement of the decree. The Yomiuri reported Saburo Eda, secretary-general of the Japan Socialist party, as saying: "The action is clearly intended to suppress the general strike planned on February 4 and we cannot tolerate such an oppressive move."

Leaders of the other opposition parties made similar statements. Sohyo [the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan] declared that it was planning steps to support the Okinawan workers in their drive for abolition of the ordinance.

The indigenous government of the Ryukyus, headed by Chobyoy Yara, who was recently elected on a platform calling for the return of Okinawa to Japan,

NEW TRIAL OF POLISH STUDENTS ON HEELS OF KURON, MODZELEWSKI CASE

Four more Polish students, accused of instigating the March 1968 demonstrations and strikes in Poland, were put on trial in Warsaw January 16 -- one day after the two young Communist students Kuroń and Modzelewski were sentenced to three-and-one-half-year prison sentences for the same "crime."

The trial of these four -- Barbara Toruńczyk, Adam Michnik, Henrik Szlajfer, Wiktor Górecki -- is the fifth thus far in the series.

The formula decided upon by the Gomulka regime to counter student dissent seems to be to railroad small batches of anti-Stalinist students through court in secret trials in order to intimidate university circles while not attracting broad international and domestic public attention. That the Polish regime has not succeeded in bottling up political dissent on the campus is indicated by reports of demonstrations by students in the court building itself, first in support of Kuroń and Modzelewski and then of the most recent defendants. Nor are the Polish CP chiefs likely to succeed in their second aim of avoiding the national and international repercussions of these witch-hunt trials.

In particular, the processing of Kuroń and Modzelewski, the best-known student oppositionists, could not fail to draw international attention.

What specially intrigued the international press in the case of these two was the anomaly of a professedly socialist state sentencing young Communists for engaging in Marxist theoretical and political discussions.

"Is communism a crime in Poland?" asked the British Economist (January 11). The January 20 German weekly Der Spiegel made an ironic commentary on the trial by the simple device of publishing excerpts from Kuroń and Modzelewski's Open Letter to Members of the Communist Party, which sets forth their views in detail.* Apparently the editors of Der Spiegel thought that the two imprisoned Communists' own words put their trial in the most sensational light.

Among the passages Der Spiegel printed were these: "It is hard to say in

* Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out, 1964-1968. Merit Publishers, 873 Broadway, New York, 10003. \$1.25. Published in German as Monopolsozialismus, Hoffman und Campe Verlag, Hamburg. A French edition is also available from the Paris office of Intercontinental Press.

which of these countries [the bureaucratized workers states of the Soviet bloc] the [antibureaucratic] revolution will begin. On the other hand, it is certain that it will not stop there. The social crisis cannot be surmounted in any of these countries -- except, perhaps temporarily -- by reforms and concessions. There is nothing more to reform. In these circumstances, the revolution must inevitably spread throughout the entire bloc, and the possibility of armed intervention by the Soviet bureaucracy will be determined by the gravity of the class conflicts* within the USSR and not by the tanks and airplanes presently at its disposal.

"Undoubtedly, the anti-bureaucratic revolution will shake the political stability of neo-capitalism. But it does not constitute as direct a danger for it as it does for the bureaucracy. In any case, it is hardly likely that Western imperialism, which would gladly step into the shoes of the abolished bureaucracy, will be prepared to go to the point of military intervention to accomplish this end. The workers of the developed Western countries have won a relatively large margin of democratic freedoms for themselves and society. In these conditions, wars cannot be begun without adequate preparation of public opinion. From this standpoint, an armed expedition against the countries which have just carried out an anti-bureaucratic revolution would be impossible. It would evoke public protest, mass resistance and an active anti-war struggle led by the working class, which is a powerful, organized political force in all those countries. In addition to this, neocolonialism is faced with the threat of the colonial revolution."

The international publicity given to Kuroń and Modzelewski's revolutionary Marxist views made it difficult for the Gomulka regime to accuse them directly of antisocialist or procapitalist activities. Therefore, it resorted to the most hackneyed of bureaucratic arguments: Any criticism of a "socialist" leadership gives aid and comfort to the capitalists and

* Kuroń and Modzelewski use the term "class" to describe the bureaucracy in the East European states. Thus, what is meant here by "class conflicts" is the struggle of the workers against the bureaucracy. Despite the terminology they use, Kuroń and Modzelewski's analysis of the bureaucracy is quite different from that of other tendencies which describe the bureaucracy as a "class," such as the Western state capitalists and those who support the thesis in Milovan Djilas' book The New Class.

any interest in such criticism shown by capitalist news media or propagandists is sufficient proof of this.

This formula constitutes the "theoretical" basis for the suppression of all criticism in the Soviet Union since the bureaucratic caste usurped power. The Polish leaders and their spokesmen have,



JACEK KURON

however, distinguished themselves by carrying this logic to greater absurdities than any of their counterparts.

For example, at the time of the May-June revolt in France, the official Polish literary weekly Kultura carried an article by Jacek Fuksiewicz which darkly hinted that a CIA and Zionist plot lay behind the French student rebellion. Fuksiewicz reasoned that since de Gaulle had taken an independent attitude toward the

United States and a critical one toward Israel, bringing down his government would benefit the Zionists and the Americans. Therefore, he contended, it followed that CIA and Zionist agents must be behind the revolt.

The same logic is employed in the analysis of the Kuroń-Modzelewski trial offered in the January 17 issue of Zycie Warszawy, the most prominent Polish daily. It is worth comparing the moral and intellectual level of this government-sponsored article with the statement of the Polish rebel students. The Zycie Warszawy article is printed below in full. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

* * *

After the Sentence

This league published no declarations, no membership cards were given out, no division of functions and tasks was established. However, the university "commandos" were united on a program of secret action, common goals, and common purposes in clear contradiction to the interests of the socialist state.

They eagerly set about "correcting" socialism by sowing chaos in the academic centers. By harassing actions, the "commandos" sought to draw attention to themselves at any cost, to create a political force which one day, under their leadership, would be capable of playing the role they assigned it.

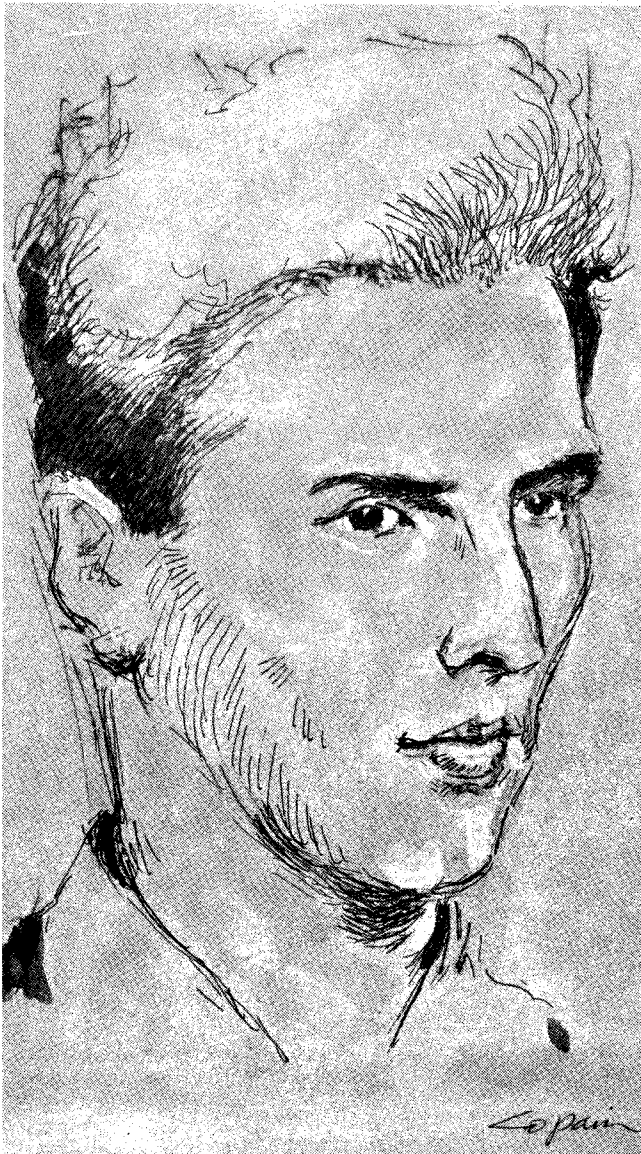
Under the cover of birthday parties, they organized political meetings in which they prepared themselves to carry out anti-party activity. They dreamed of finding broad support for their work.

No one could consider these groups dangerous. Numbering in all only a few dozen individuals, they spent their time chewing over little opuses and lucubrations which even they could not understand. They "soaked up" wisdom from Trotsky and Djilas and passionately argued their views and opinions in their "private parties." But no one could tolerate either what their activity had to lead to.

The ten-day trial of Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuroń ended on Wednesday [January 15]. The accused were sentenced to three and one-half years in prison. In the course of the trial several hundred witnesses appeared before the Warsaw district court. Some of them now realize they strayed onto a wrong path, now that a good deal of time has passed since the March events, which in large measure the "commandos" laid the groundwork for. Others, like the two accused, still have not per-

ceived that their activities were harmful to their country and to socialism, of which they claim to be propagators and enthusiastic supporters.

Consciously or unconsciously but by their own choice, they exercised a destructive influence on the academic milieu by handing out leaflets on the cam-



KAROL MODZELEWSKI

pus, by raising demagogic slogans, and even diverting legal activities and actions to serve their own purposes. They incited academic circles against the state, creating a climate and a situation which foreign propaganda centers hostile to Poland used to slander and attack our country.

We can justly pity those in the "commandos" group who fell under the sway and de facto leadership of the older

Kuroń and Modzelewski [31 and 33 years old respectively]. Their passion and enthusiasm for discussion led them onto the wrong paths. However, the defendants sentenced by the district court on Wednesday must be severely judged.

They knew what they were doing. They had already had warning. They were first sentenced in 1965 for drawing up a political program containing assertions and formulations detrimental to the interests of the state and of socialism [the Open Letter]. This should have been sufficient warning for these unquestionably intelligent young people. They were later given an opportunity to correct their errors. They were permitted to continue their doctoral work. After serving two-thirds of their sentence, they were unanimously released on parole.

But they gave the opposite interpretation to this act of forbearance. They recommenced their activity, which in effect prepared the way for the March convulsions -- events in which they should have finally realized the futility of their designs. The workers in Warsaw and other centers, the entire society, supported the political line of the Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza [United Polish Workers party -- the Polish CP] and its leadership.

The revisionist yammering and woolly-mindedness, the clamor raised by those who are pleased by every attack on the achievements and aims of this country, revealed a great deal. We could see clearly what hypocrisy lay behind the demagogic slogans raised by the "commandos" and instantly repeated by the Munich loudspeakers and all the others serving as instruments of imperialism's psychological war against People's Poland and the socialist camp.

Like eels, both the accused wriggled to the accompaniment provided by some witnesses, claiming that they had no idea of creating a secret society, that no one held any office in their group, that no one paid dues, that it was not an organization but a spontaneous movement. These myths were exposed in the course of the trial. Fact by fact, the district court examined the truth. It set aside everything in the activity of the accused which was not legally relevant to the charges. It scrupulously analyzed the positions and activity of the accused. And it pronounced Karol Modzelewski and Jacek Kuroń guilty.

But the sentence -- which was lower than the maximum that could have been imposed -- has again given these young people a chance to reevaluate, to rethink their positions and return to the right road.

FRANCO TRIES TO BLOCK A FRENCH "MAY" IN SPAIN

Citing recent "student disorders," the Franco regime on January 24 decreed a "state of exception," the Spanish equivalent of a "stage of siege."

Information Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne, in commenting on the decree the same evening, referred to the events of last May and June in France:

"It is better to prevent than to cure. We are not going to wait for another 'May,' after which a remedy would be more difficult and expensive."

Within a day at least 100 persons were arrested in Madrid, according to opposition forces, who succeeded in monitoring the police radio.

In reply to Franco's attempt to tighten the buckles on the fascist strait-jacket, demonstrations flared in Madrid, Pamplona, Valencia, and Saragossa.

The Spanish government's crackdown came against a background of broad student and worker agitation and after weeks of mounting protest against the imprisonment, torture, and persecution of opponents of the regime.

In a letter to the Ministry of the Interior January 16, some 1,300 intellectuals, including 500 priests, demanded an investigation of police torture. Documents were included with the letter, describing cases of torture. The Madrid bar association called on the government January 17 to ameliorate the conditions under which political prisoners are held.

Thousands of students marched in Madrid January 22 in mourning for Enrique Ruano Casanova, a young law student accused of being a member of the Revolutionary Communist party.

According to the official account, Ruano plunged to his death from a seventh floor balcony while being "questioned" by police. More likely he was thrown by the police.

Meetings of protest were held in all the schools of the University of Madrid; and the red flag and the flag of the Spanish republic (which was overthrown by Franco) were hoisted over the university buildings.

A tight censorship was also restored. This ended the relatively liberal attitude toward the press adopted in legislation passed in January 1966. As a result, the Spanish press once again is devoid of significant news and comment.

The Wall Street Journal, which is

not without sympathy for Spanish capitalism, notes the rise of strong new forces in Spain that offer a revolutionary challenge to the decaying Franco regime.

Describing the rise of illegal workers committees, George Melloan, the Wall Street Journal's Madrid correspondent, writes in the January 21 issue:

"In 1962, committees led strikes in the Catalonia, Asturias and Basque regions -- all fertile seedbeds for rebellion -- and it became evident that the committees had a power base.

"Today, according to a labor specialist here, nearly every Spanish factory with more than 1,000 workers has a committee. Committees provide the real leadership for between 500,000 and one million of Spain's 10 million workers...."

"From spontaneous and separate beginnings, the workers committees are drawing into a national movement. They have formed a 'National Committee of Spain,' and held at least two secret national conventions. Failure to find out about last year's gathering, which brought about 1,000 leaders to a church near Madrid, shook the Spanish secret police. The agency prides itself on its knowledge of underground activities.

"Although there is general agreement that the committees are becoming more political, few observers believe they have the immediate potential for leading a revolution. But there is general agreement that they provide the first real mechanism for mobilizing the workers in Spain since the 1936-1939 civil war.

"'For nearly 30 years Spanish workers were almost unpersons, in the Orwellian sense,' says one knowledgeable source here. 'But in the last three years they have been looked upon as a big political question. Whoever can mobilize them perhaps can control Spain. They were an inert mass, but now the workers' committees are providing a nervous system and some structure for the mass.'

"The secret anti-regime political groups that are speculatively eyeing the workers' apparatus include a remarkable diversity of interests. There are rabid Catalanian nationalists, Trotskyites, anarchists, Christian socialists, Maoists, Guevarists and Communists. Many are men of substance."

Melloan ends his article by quoting a "Spanish observer," who says that if a contender for power "decides to call upon the workers' movement for help, there could be a new kind of government in Spain."

IRISH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT DISCUSSES REGROUPMENT

By T. J. O'Flaherty

London

since last October.

While the Northern Ireland police state awaits the hearing of the Commission of Inquiry it has set up, and prepares to tighten up its "law and order" regulations, the revolutionary movement which has sprung up from the grass roots is arguing out strategy and tactics which could well lead to a regroupment along firm, principled lines of struggle for freedom, equality and socialism over the whole of Ireland.

There are three main wings to the movement: (1) The Derry Citizens Action Committee led by Ivan Cooper, a Protestant member of the Labour party, and John Hume, a Catholic businessman. An overtly reformist and bourgeois organization elected at a town meeting, this committee of fifteen includes no representatives of the Bogside proletarian area (where a workers militia took control for a week, keeping the Ulster Royal Constabulary thus at bay). (2) The Civil Rights Association led by Betty Sinclair, a long-time member of the Communist party, which follows an ambivalent line, counseling "orderly" action but which is nevertheless pushed by its radical composition to take part in confrontations with the state power. (3) People's Democracy [PD], which, despite its ill-starred name and "nonviolent" origin, represents the militant, student-based, left-wing mass organization that has been setting the pace in all the marches for freedom in Ulster

According to a report in the London Sunday Times January 19, PD "is given to continual debate, with all decisions by popular vote."

"P.D. is effectively led," the paper writes, "by a young lecturer, Michael Farrell, who has links with Left-wing organizations including International Socialism and the Irish Workers Group, which is dedicated to an 'All-Ireland Socialist Workers' Republic' and originated among Irish expatriates in Britain."

The paper reports further that a "showdown" meeting among the three groups after the bus-burning demonstration in Newry has been "inconclusive." It is possible, the report says, that the other groups will disown PD. "However," the Sunday Times concludes, "when P.D. last decided to act alone, it led to the student march from Belfast [to Derry]...and a rapid rise in revolutionary zeal. If a split does come soon, will P.D. go it alone again? The answer is almost certainly yes."

If PD, after the efforts at regroupment, does decide to take action, it is almost certain it will not long be alone. Pressure of the rank and file in the other organizations has in the past brought them to support PD and help assemble mass backing. It will undoubtedly happen again.

THE BATTLE OF YASUDA HALL

When striking students occupied the administration building, Yasuda Hall, on the Hongo campus of Tokyo University, they declared that their eviction by the police could not end their struggle for power in the university and for the revolutionizing of Japanese society. That was on July 2, 1968. A few days before, police had invaded the campus to expel medical students from several buildings they had occupied to protest injustices in the system of internship in Japan.

The students at Yasuda Hall expected to be ousted by police at any time, particularly after summer vacations ended in August. Yet they held the building until January 19, when the final defenses fell before any army of nearly 9,000 police, the largest mobilization of police power to deal with a campus disorder in Japanese history.

Preparations for the massive raid were publicly debated in newspapers and the final decision was made at the highest levels of government. The Mainichi Daily News reported Saturday, January 18 -- the day the police attack began, "The Government decided Friday to extend its all-out cooperation to the administration of Tokyo University in attempts to normalize the school's confused situation and revive the tentatively-canceled entrance examinations in March."

The police raid was planned at a conference of the government and the ruling Liberal-Democratic party, after a meeting between government education minister Michita Sakata and Ichiro Kato, the acting president of Tokyo University. The Mainichi Daily News said the police announced in advance that they "intended to arrest students on criminal charges."

Despite these public attempts at intimidation, police had no easy time in carrying out their threats.

Students responded to the warning by strengthening the barricades at Yasuda Hall with wooden planks, construction forms, cement and tiles.

The police invasion began at dawn January 19. Students from several other universities staged supporting demonstrations in the streets of Tokyo. A sharp clash took place near the Japanese National Railways' Ochanomizu Station, where a passenger car was set on fire.

The first day of the siege, police cleared twenty-three buildings of student strikers. The Mainichi Daily News said, "Police reported that students' resistance at most occupied buildings was minor. This was particularly so at the buildings held by students affiliated with the Japan Communist Party, the arch rivals of the struggle committee at the campus."

At the central building of the medical faculty, however, supporters of the Zenga Ku Kyoto Kaigi [All-Student Struggle Congress], the united-front coalition that led the strike, were dislodged only with the use of water hoses, tear gas, and police helicopters. At nightfall on Saturday only Yasuda Hall still remained in the hands of its defenders.

The last phase of the two-day siege began at dawn on Sunday. The police used movable wooden "tunnels" to approach the heavy doors of Yasuda Hall, under a

rain of stones and Molotov cocktails from students on the roof. More than 6,000 policemen were used to attack this single building. All 334 students found inside were arrested.

Although the occupation is ended, all observers agree that "normalization" is still far off. Tremendous damage was done to the university during the police assault. Many books and research materials were destroyed by water from high-pressure hoses used by the cops.

More important, the issues involved in the strike have not been settled. The strike began on January 29, 1968, with a protest by medical students against the low pay and long hours of young doctors for a year after graduation -- a practice that makes it very difficult for poor students to become doctors.

When the administration disciplined several students, the struggle spread to other faculties. The character of the action broadened. Demands for general university reform were raised.

A notable step in the struggle was the formation of a united-front leadership of all the Zengakuren factions, with the exception of the Communist party youth, who opposed the strike and called for "non-violent" activities.

The struggle is expected to be renewed in time for the drive against the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty scheduled to be renegotiated in 1970.

KREMLIN REFUSES TO SELL ARMS TO PALESTINIAN GUERRILLAS

The Soviet Union has reportedly refused to sell arms to Al Fatah, the largest of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations. The January 25 Christian Science Monitor said the refusal was conveyed to Al Fatah leaders, after a delay of many weeks, through the staff of Sergei Vinogradov, Soviet ambassador to Cairo. The decision has not been made public by the Kremlin, but is being widely discussed by Palestinians.

"Sources close to the Palestinian leadership," the Monitor's staff correspondent in Beirut wrote, "regard Moscow's negative answer as further proof that the Soviets are pressing Arab statesmen, especially President Nasser, for a quick compromise solution in the Middle East."

The Soviet decision was said to apply to all of the Palestinian guerrilla organizations.

The arms question will be a major point on the agenda at Al Fatah's second national assembly, to be held in Cairo early in February.

At present the People's Republic of China supplies the guerrillas with some light weapons, under an agreement made in 1965 with Ahmed Shukairy, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the time. Al Fatah's major need, however, is said to be anti-aircraft arms.

The guerrillas occasionally receive some air support from Jordanian units, but they had hoped to purchase Soviet 23mm. and 57mm. anti-aircraft guns.

On January 21, Al Fatah announced a new ten-point program, putting heavy emphasis on independence of the "armed Palestine revolution" from all governments, in the Middle East or elsewhere.

NEW MAOIST PARTY FORMED IN INDIA

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

A third Communist party, drawing inspiration from the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung and accepting unreservedly the leadership of the Communist party of China, has, for all practical purposes, started functioning in the country, according to a newspaper report from Calcutta.

Its activities are being guided by the All-India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries, dissidents from the Communist party of India (Marxist),* set up in Calcutta a year ago by some "Naxalite" leaders. Its main theoretician is Charu Maxumdar, who was the main theoretician of the Naxalbari movement also.

The formation of the party had been delayed so long because the coordination committee was said to be "averse to the bourgeois method of forming parties from the top." It wanted the party "to grow from the base through revolutionary struggles."

The Committee now feels that, in the past one year, the "Naxalite" movement spearheaded by the CPI(M) dissidents has spread sufficiently "to warrant the formation of a party to guide and coordinate the activities of the communist revolutionaries in different states."

Another consideration that is weighing with the committee in this connection is the imminence of the Chinese Communist party congress. It is presumed that, after the congress, China will take the initiative in reviving yet another "Communist International."

The Maoist Communist party has to be formed before that. The matter is likely to be considered at a meeting of the coordination committee to be held soon after the midterm poll in West Bengal scheduled in the first week of February 1969.

Says a Calcutta report published in the Times of India of Bombay (January 5):

"The Committee thinks that it has

* The CPI(M) itself split from the pro-Moscow Communist party of India (CPI) in April 1964. Initially it was regarded as a Maoist party, but its opposition to a peasant revolt in Naxalbari, West Bengal, in 1967 led to a further split of a relatively small group of "Naxalites" or "true" Maoists. -- I.P.

already obtained de facto recognition from China. Not only have Naxalbari-type agitations been commended by China, but Peking Radio seems to have made it a point to broadcast regularly excerpts from the English and Bengali journals of the committee.

"The committee claims to have adherents now in almost all states. State coordination committees have been set up in Assam, Andhra, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal. Communist revolutionaries are also becoming active in such staunch Congress states as Mysore and Maharashtra.

"Some Naxalite leaders from West Bengal recently visited Mysore and are said to have reported that peasants are organising themselves in certain areas of Mangalore.

"The sudden appearance of Naxalite posters in parts of Bombay is also said to be the act of communist revolutionaries associated with the committee. One of those arrested in this connection in Bombay attended the last meeting of the coordination committee held here in November 1968.

"Among the areas where the communist revolutionaries are said to be active now are Naxalbari and parts of Midnapur and 24-parganas districts in West Bengal, Srikakulam in Andhra Pradesh, Kushahari in Bihar, Lakhimpur in Uttar Pradesh and certain parts of Punjab.

"In all these areas, the communist revolutionaries are organising the peasants for an armed uprising. The predominantly tribal belt stretching from Madhya Pradesh to West Bengal is said to have proved particularly susceptible to their campaign.

"One explanation of this is said to be that the tribals are 'doubly oppressed' and the slogan, 'tribal areas for the tribals,' quickly catches on in these areas. The Naxalites are trying to convert this struggle of the tribals for land into a class struggle.

"In some of these areas, the Naxalite movement has advanced a stage further in which it has been possible to form armed guerrilla bands. It is stated that such bands exist in Naxalbari, Srikakulam and some areas of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar."

In a review of the Naxalbari movement, its leader, Kanu Sanyal, said a few days before his arrest in October 1968 that, among the reasons for which

the movement could not succeed was the "failure to organise guerrilla bands." The formation of guerrilla bands in the Naxalbari area is said to be a new stage of the movement reached after the arrest of Kanu Sanyal.

The coordination committee does not claim to have, however, any connection with the extremist raids on the Pulpalli and Tellicherry police stations in Kerala.* K.P. Narayanan, one of the persons accused in the police station raid cases in Kerala, attended a meeting of the committee but left without deciding whether he would join it.

The committee thinks that Narayanan was mistaken in organising the raids, but unlike some other extremist groups, it is not prepared to condemn him. The committee feels that "in a revolutionary situation, many such mistakes will be committed and, instead of condemning them, communist revolutionaries should try to convert them to the Maoist path."

Two dissident CPI(M) groups in Kerala are said to be willing to associate themselves with the committee. No decision has yet been taken in the matter.

The differences between the committee and the Andhra leader Nagi Reddy, who has already formed a separate party at the state level called the "Revolutionary Communist Party," have reportedly been resolved. Reddy attended the last meeting of the committee in Calcutta when the committee's standpoints were explained to him.

Reddy had some reservations about the "boycott the election" slogan (now the chief slogan of the committee during the midterm poll in West Bengal) but he is reported to have come round. At its last meeting, the committee had insisted that "Communist Revolutionaries" should not only boycott all elections in the future but resign all elective posts, even of local bodies, held by them at present.

Reddy is reported to have agreed to abide by this decision and has informed the committee that he would soon resign from the Andhra Assembly. He has not resigned so far.

The "Communist Revolutionaries" are unable to say to what extent the "boycott the election" slogan will affect the midterm poll. But the slogan has done them good. On the one hand, it has enabled them to know who are really with

them, for some of their early associates have dropped out on this issue; on the other, it has saved their cadres from being drawn into the vortex of the election campaign and weaned away by the CPI(M).

The Union Home Minister's recent warnings against the "Naxalites" have been noted by the "Communist Revolutionaries." They say that the rapid spread of the "Naxalite" movement cannot be unknown to Mr. Chavan and it is only natural that he should think of curbing the Naxalites as, after the lining up of the CPI(M) with the ruling class, the Naxalites alone posed a threat to the present regime.

According to a Trivandrum report dated January 6, K.P.R. Gopalan, MLA, leader of the CPI(M) dissidents recently expelled from the party, said the various "extremist groups in Kerala would meet this month to evolve a proper leadership for the movement."

The "extremist" movement had failed to gain momentum in Kerala because of the absence of a coordinated leadership.

A news agency report says: "Mr. Gopalan admitted that the activities of Kunnikkal Narayanan and his group had caused a set-back to the extremist movement envisaged by him and others like him who disapproved of the 'Narayanan type of extremism.' The set-back was due to the glorification of terrorism by the 'bourgeois papers.'"

"The youth in Kerala generally held up Ajitha Narayanan and Mandakindi Narayanan* as models of heroism.

"Mr. Gopalan, however, anticipated that the period of veneration of terrorist adventures would end very soon in Kerala. By that time, the various 'revolutionary groups' in the State would come together to direct a 'real revolutionary movement.'"

K.P. Kosala Ramdas, who resigned from the legislature as a dissident from the CPI(M) as he had no faith in the parliamentary system, would join with other groups very soon, according to Gopalan.

At present, Gopalan and K.K. Annan are the two "Communist Revolutionaries" who, after leaving the CPI(M), had not resigned from the legislature. Gopalan said no final decision had been taken about their future in the legislature. He

* See "Another 'Naxalbari' in Kerala?" in Intercontinental Press, January 13, p. 23.

* The daughter and wife respectively of Kunnikal Narayanan. All three face trial on charges of carrying out raids on a police station in Tellicherry and one in Pulpalli. -- I.P.

thought the two "Communist Revolutionary MLA's" might have to sit in the legislature at least till the end of the current budget session to "expose the Marxists [the CPI(M)]."

Gopalan anticipated that real "rev-

olutionaries," if they still existed in the CPI(M), would have to leave it as the eighth congress of the party, which concluded in Ernakulam (Kerala) recently, had banished all revolutionary hopes in the party. Since the eighth congress, the CPI(M) had definitely become a "right revisionist party," according to him.

ITALIAN CP DEMANDS "NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY" FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Enrico Berlinguer, Carlo Galluzzi, and Armando Cossutta, all members of the top leadership of the Italian Communist party, returned to Rome from Moscow January 22 after a secret meeting with Kremlin leaders where they are said to have criticized the continued Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The trip itself, coming in the midst of a new upsurge of Czech resistance, was kept short and quiet. Both Berlinguer and Cossutta were in Italy at the end of the previous week for two regional party conferences. The party press service did not report the visit to Moscow until after the wire services had discovered it.

The purpose of the mission has still not been revealed, but it is known that the Italian CP is under heavy pressure in Italy because of the Soviet occupation. The party is presently circulating a manifesto on the "tragic and agonizing chain of suicides which are affecting Czechoslovakia."

The party declared: "Italian Communists express their profound sorrow for this tragedy and are attempting to understand the emotions which provoked it, the

profound significance of the protest thus expressed, while recognizing that such a desperate gesture does not belong among the forms of political struggle recognized by Communists."

Referring to President Svoboda's statement on the death of Jan Palach, the manifesto declared that the objectives defined by Svoboda are "those to which the Italian Communists have committed themselves with all their strength by demanding national sovereignty for Czechoslovakia, the free autonomous development of the Czech people in the name of progress and socialist freedom."

Luigi Longo, secretary general of the Italian CP, told the newspaper Corriere della Sera, "In the face of the suicides of recent days, my reaction is one of deep emotion and a great respect, it is the same reaction as that which has inspired the attitude taken by the Czech leaders."

Several hundred students in Rome demonstrated January 23 against the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia. There were some reports that workers, on strike for economic demands, also protested in the aftermath of Jan Palach's suicide.

JAN PALACH BECOMES A PROBLEM FOR THE VATICAN

It took Pope Paul VI himself to get the Vatican staff straightened out on the proper ecclesiastical interpretation of the martyrdom of Jan Palach, who chose a fiery death to protest the Soviet occupation of socialist Czechoslovakia.

On January 23, the Vatican radio applauded youths who burn themselves "for freedom" in Eastern Europe, saying this was like the martyrs who have been made saints by the Catholic Church.

An undisclosed Vatican source then said this was a false analogy. "These youths are not doing this as a religious act. They are not even anti-Communists, but Communists of a different faction from the ruling faction."

The radio thereupon reversed itself, saying in a Czech-language broadcast that man cannot dispose of his God-given life.

After this, the pope made an official statement January 26 that straddled the issue. He said he could not approve the suicides but "we can treasure the valor that puts above all else self-sacrifice and love for others."

The real source of embarrassment may have been that the Vatican remembered instances in which the person who perished at the stake was not a saint but a heretic. In which category, after all, do you put a Communist like Jan Palach?

MOSCOW AND PEKING -- RIVAL SUITORS WOOING NIXON?

"Are Moscow and Peking now rival suitors engaged in competitive wooing of Richard M. Nixon, 37th President of the United States?" This intriguing question concerning the matrimonial ambitions of Mao Tse-tung and Kosygin-Brezhnev was asked by Harry Schwartz in his January 27 column in the New York Times.

As a member of the editorial board of the powerful New York daily, Kremlinologist Schwartz is not without his pipelines to the gossip going on in State Department circles over Nixon's chances to be escorted to the altar as a blushing bride by one of the Moscow-Peking rivals.

Schwartz hopes that it's both at once and that Nixon won't try to play it coy.

Recalling the first suggestive rippling of the silk curtain, Schwartz says: "The Chinese astonished the world last Nov. 26 by calling for a resumption of United States-China talks in Warsaw next Feb. 20, a month to the day after Mr. Nixon's assumption of office."

This led to some biting of the lips in the Kremlin: "In the following weeks, Moscow has shown more than a little nervousness about the potentialities of this Chinese initiative. Its reply has been to intensify its efforts to make contacts with the Nixon Administration, and to begin doing business with it."

The Chinese, in turn, are not sitting on their hands, but waving them -- in a rather shy and bashful way it is true: "There is some reason to believe that they are using Japanese contacts to pass the word along to Washington that they, too, are interested in doing business with the new occupant of the White House."

The Soviet swain was made all the more impetuous by this sly move of the rival for Nixon's hand:

"The most detailed recent unofficial American probing of Soviet thinking took place the week before last when high-ranking Russians and Americans met in the plush surroundings of the Westchester Country Club in Rye, N.Y. The key Soviet journalists and other spokesmen there were so relatively affable that some American participants came away convinced that Moscow wants a comprehensive deal with Washington."

There was no demand whatsoever

that the U.S. spy agencies stop fomenting a counterrevolutionary situation in Czechoslovakia or stop forcing Czech students to commit self-immolation. The Russians were not that uncouth -- not with such go-betweens to take up their cause with the lovely charmer sitting at the push buttons in the White House.

"These participants," Schwartz reveals, "got the impression the Kremlin wants an arrangement to safeguard Soviet interests in Europe by an agreed boundary freeze -- including a continued division of Germany -- in return for Soviet help in solving the Middle East crisis and ending the missile race plus a major expansion in Soviet-American trade."

How profitable the Soviet bureaucrats visualize this trade might be for U.S. imperialism, Schwartz did not indicate. Perhaps the subject was discussed only in broad outline and the participants did not get down to dollars and cents. In any case, Moscow appears to be ready to package a specially enticing box of goodies:

"Perhaps most surprising were the hints given at the Westchester Country Club that the Soviet Union would welcome some continued American military presence in South Vietnam after conclusion of a political settlement in Paris."

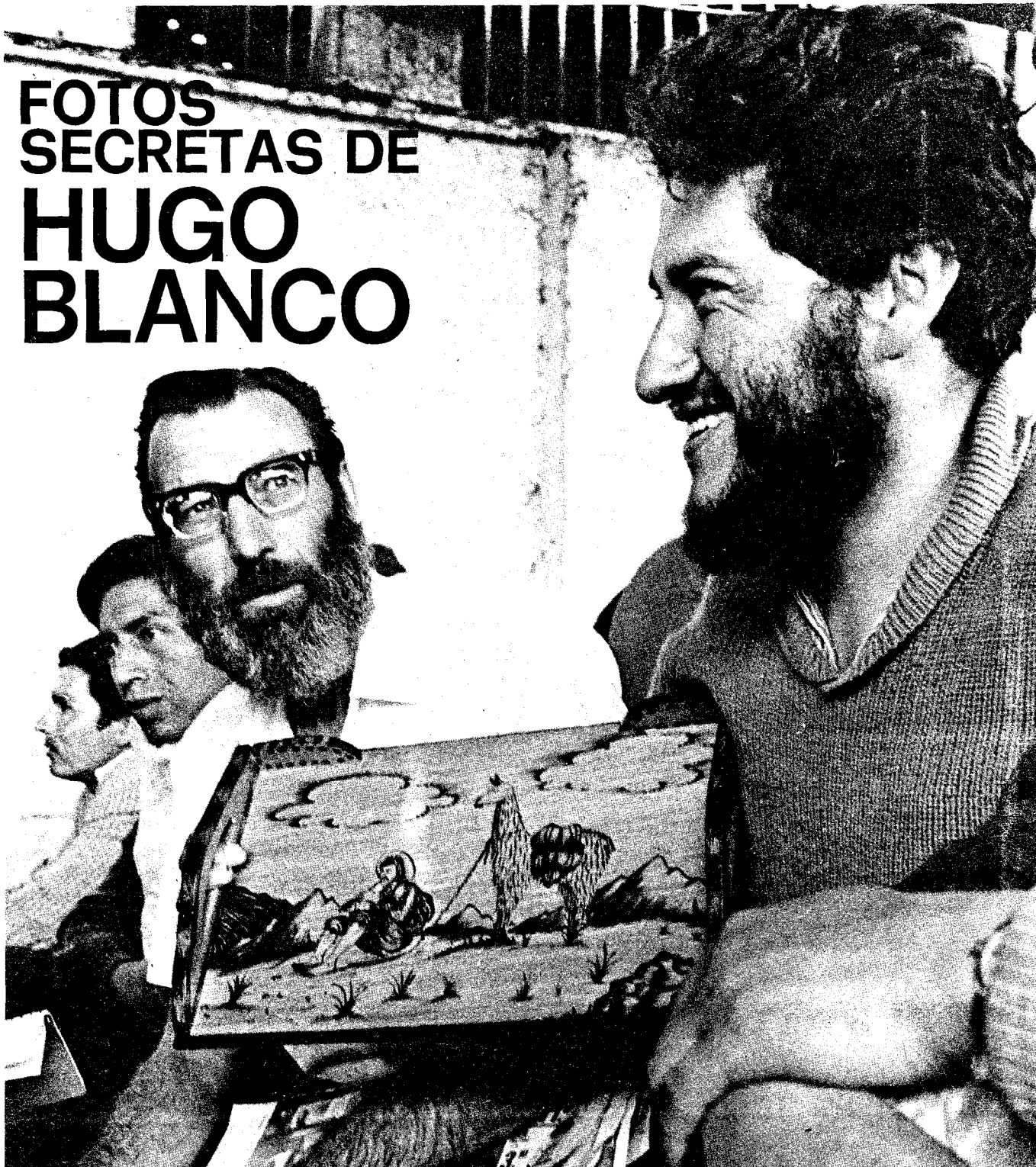
With such offers coming in already, Nixon seems to be in excellent position to fan the ardor of his suitors by stimulating their mutual jealousies and suspicions. He could put each of them through a series of tests to prove their devotion and dependability. Peking, for instance, might be asked to admit U.S. correspondents to China. Moscow's ideas on a "Middle East settlement" and "limiting nuclear missiles" might be explored.

And, of course, Nixon can decide not to "favor Moscow against Peking or Peking against Moscow." In fact, he may have "an opportunity in the months immediately ahead to improve relations with both Moscow and Peking simultaneously."

As Schwartz puts it: "Those two capitals' quarrel is their own affair. This nation's interest is best served by improving relations with both Communist giants, and thus minimizing the danger of war with either."

Or, put more frankly: Let Nixon play them both against each other; for all's fair in love or war.

FOTOS SECRETAS DE HUGO BLANCO



"SECRET PHOTOS OF HUGO BLANCO." Carlos Domínguez of the Lima magazine *Caretas* smuggled a camera into the notorious island prison of El Frontón recently and took a number of pictures of Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners being held there. The best photo, reproduced above from *Caretas*, shows Hugo Blanco holding a tray which he probably made himself. The prisoner to his right is Eduardo Creus, an Argentinian Trotskyist and com-

rade of Hugo Blanco. The other two prisoners are not identified. Some of the inmates at El Frontón make hand-colored trays, postcards, and similar items to earn a few soles to buy food for themselves and to help provide financial support for their families. For information about obtaining products made by the political prisoners in El Frontón write the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, P.O. Box 2303, New York, N.Y. 10001.

"MONITOR" NOTES FLAWS IN WASHINGTON ANALYSIS OF CUBAN ECONOMY

On January 1 Cuba celebrated the tenth anniversary of its socialist revolution. Cubans were able to note with satisfaction that they had managed to survive and even prosper during the near decade of the American blockade, though no one denied that many problems remained to be overcome.

The anniversary was also the occasion for a sharp criticism of the Cuban revolution from a somewhat unusual source: the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

This agency, best known for its voluminous statistical surveys and for dispensing subsidies to corporate farmers to not produce food, might seem remote from the mechanics of imperialist policy, reserved for the wielders of power in the State Department and the Defense Department. The agricultural bookkeepers succeeded in discovering an opportunity that fitted their particular talents: a statistical report on the state of Cuban agriculture for the edification of the American reading public.

Wilbur F. Buck, a Department of Agriculture analyst, published the resulting study in a recent issue of Foreign Agriculture magazine. Buck pointed to what he claimed was a drastic decline in food production in Cuba as evidence of alleged mismanagement by the Castro regime.

He charged, for example, that Cuba's per capita food production in 1968 was 25 to 30 percent under that of the late 1950's under Batista. Buck also claimed that per capita income has dropped by 14 percent in the last decade.

The American mass communications media are so universally hostile to the Cuban revolution that anything with so impartial an aura as a Department of Agriculture statistical survey might be expected to pass without comment into the digests of popular consumption. This was largely so in this case.

An exception was a section of the press that serves the function of providing reliable information for America's rulers. The Christian Science Monitor, for example, was critical of some of the cruder aspects of the Buck report. The paper cautiously noted that "there are some doubts" about Buck's statistics.

Without probing any further in that sensitive area, the Monitor, in its January 23 issue, quoted one critic who charged that the government report "misleads the general public for it isolates Cuba from the general Latin-American situation which also shows a per capita food-

production decline and equally serious economic problems."

Others, the paper said, saw the report as an example of "Washington's continuing effort to make Cuba look bad just because it has a regime we do not agree with."

"The critics do agree," the Monitor said, "that life is austere in Cuba today. Indeed, Premier Castro has admitted austerity....But this austerity is most severely felt by those who belonged to middle and upper classes before Dr. Castro came to power. Lower-income groups, it is felt in many quarters, have benefited considerably from the Castro years."

The Department of Agriculture survey does not mention the severe drought Cuba has suffered during the last period. Buck refers to this factor only once, in predicting a bad harvest for 1969, thus excluding it from consideration in the period for which he provides statistics. Was this an oversight?

The Christian Science Monitor comments that the two-year drought "was so severe in parts of the eastern provinces of Oriente and Camaguey, traditionally the most important sugar-producing regions, that the rainfall registry showed only about 10 percent of normal moisture in 1967....The same drought has severely set back agricultural production throughout the Caribbean and in a wide area stretching from the Caribbean islands through parts of Central America and down South America's west coast and then across the Andes into Argentina and Uruguay."

The Boston daily does not mention Washington's economic blockade as a cause of difficulty in the Cuban economy -- because the paper fundamentally supports the aim of undermining the Cuban revolution.

It is in fact a tribute to the superiority of a planned economy that after nearly a decade of unrelenting pressure aimed at wrecking the Cuban economy the "proofs" of the weakness of the revolutionary regime have to be doctored in such a shameless fashion.

Buck reveals in passing what really concerns Washington about the Cuban economy -- its loss as a preserve for American "free enterprise" -- when he laments that with the victory of the Cuban revolution, "60 years of mutually beneficial trade between the two countries went down the drain."

THE RESURRECTION OF THE WEST GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

[The Communist party of Germany (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands -- KPD) was banned in 1956 after the Constitutional Court, at the request of the Adenauer government, had found that it did not abide by the West German constitution. Under the ban, some of its leaders and members suffered persecution.

[In 1966, when the Social Democrats joined the Christian Democrats in a "Grand Coalition" government, rumors began to circulate that leaders of the KPD were attempting to negotiate a deal that would permit the party to regain legality.

[These behind-the-scenes efforts paved the way for the announcement in Frankfurt last September 26 that a new party, the German Communist party (Deutsche Kommunistische Partei -- DKP) was being formed. Kurt Bachmann and Kurt Erlebach, the heads of a committee to seek "lifting of the ban" on the KPD, stated that the new party took the position that "an exact repetition of the road to socialism followed by the DDR (Deutsche Demokratische Republik -- East Germany) is excluded in the Federal Republic, owing to a different historical situation and different conditions."

[In announcing the birth of the new party, the leaders also approved the Soviet invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia.

[The first federal conference of

the new party was held in Offenbach, West Germany, last October 28.

[At the time of the banning in 1956, the party officially decided not to seek "legality" at the price of emasculating its program by complying with Bonn's restrictive anti-Communist laws. These ban all organizations that espouse the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or "incite one class against another" -- provisions that were made part of the West German Basic Law upon the insistence of the Allied occupation forces.

[Because the leadership did emasculate the program, the formation of the new party is viewed by some German Communists as a capitulation. An open letter, written by members of the German CP, denouncing the new party, was published in the October 28, 1968, issue of Was Tun, the newspaper of the left wing of the German SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund -- German Socialist Student Union). Despite the mood indicated by the open letter, the editors of Was Tun are of the opinion that there is little likelihood of a left opposition developing in the West German Communist party, which is notorious even in international Stalinist circles for its docility.

[Below, we are publishing the open letter of the dissident West German Communists, followed by Was Tun's comment, "The Long March of the DKP." The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Open Letter to the Members of the KPD

Comrades!

Many of us first learned about the "reconstitution of the Communist party" from the bourgeois press. Many assumed at first that a government-manipulated provocation lay behind this project until they learned the names of the founders and received the declaration of the reconstituted party -- which chooses to call itself the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei (DKP).

What does this reconstitution mean? What is being served up to us as "Communist"?

Since our party was banned we have fought to get this ban lifted. At the same time we rejected proposals to get around the ban through reconstituting the party. Our entire party seemed to agree that if the ban on the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands] remained in force, any reconstitution of the party would inevitably lead to a new ban -- or else the reconsti-

tuted party would have to limit its statements and action to what the government of the Federal Republic considered legal. In the second case, such a party would be Communist in name only, and the basic political content of Communist work would be abandoned.

We wonder why the founders of the DKP disregarded this clear position of the KPD. Has the reactionary stance of the Kiesinger-Strauss-Wehner government changed any? After ramming through the emergency-powers bill over the protest of tens of thousands of demonstrating and striking workers, university students, and high-school students, surely not a single one of the DKP founders harbors such illusions.

Have the DKP founders considered the fact that the ruling class in West Germany did not permit the founding of the DKP out of love for Marxism-Leninism but so that it could use a democratic cloak to good advantage in pursuing its policy? We are sure that the DKP founders

considered this factor very carefully! In their "Declaration on the Founding of a Communist Party," the DKP founders were so obliging that they shamelessly betrayed all the previous work of the Extraparliamentary Opposition [Ausserparlamentarische Opposition -- APO].

For years the Extraparliamentary Opposition has sought to destroy the illusions still existing abroad about conditions in the Federal Republic and the direction of its development. We were strengthened by the demonstrations against the Federal Republic's embassies abroad. However, the "reconstitution of a Communist party" was defended with the following statement: "Freedom of action for a Communist party in this country would also contribute to the Federal Republic's prestige abroad, both in the West and in the East." It is revealing that right in the next sentence the DKP founders point to the fact that the CP is legal in "England, France, and even in the USA."

But shouldn't they have considered the possibility that these CP's are permitted because of their nature and the sort of activity they carry on? We do not want to get into any dispute with the Communist parties in those countries. But we can say that a party, vegetating on the periphery of the opposition movement or limping behind it, and whose primary importance is as a field of activity for government agents, will be as readily permitted as a big party which in critical situations assists the government's maneuvers in defense of capitalism.

The founders of the DKP were certainly aware that there would be some opposition in our party to their accommodating the government in this way. Why otherwise did they avoid submitting their plans for discussion by the whole party? Why was there no discussion of the founding of the DKP in all the factory groups and neighborhood clubs? What kind of comrades are these who negotiated the founding of the DKP with the federal Ministry of Justice but kept their plans secret inside the party?

We know that the founding of the DKP was welcomed not only by the reactionaries but also by a number of KPD members who supported the establishment of the DKP. In a certain sense we welcome it too. Because it forces us to question how such views and endeavors could develop in our party.

What is wrong with our party that it has a leadership which will let the party be betrayed, if not encourage this betrayal? What seed has germinated here? We must admit in self-criticism that we clearly failed to wage a consistent struggle against revisionist tendencies in our party. For some years we relied too much

on the prospect that public opinion would force the ban on the Communist party to be revoked. We should have relied instead on waging a consistent struggle in the interests of the working people so that through their support we would have won freedom of action for our party in the struggle against the ruling class. We will not make the mistake again of confusing loyalty to our party with uncritical toleration of tendencies that present the party with accomplished facts and lead it to revisionism and Social Democracy!

The "Declaration on the Reconstitution of a Communist Party" manifests a Social Democratic outlook which is by no means new. It is part of a truly famous tradition of hoodwinking the German workers and integrating them into the dominant capitalist social order. What is the meaning of the DKP promise to "tell the working people the truth openly and plainly and on the basis of the lessons of Marxism work for a democratic alternative"?

According to Lenin, the workers need a revolutionary communist organization because the proletariat by itself would develop only a trade-union consciousness. The DKP, however, offers itself as the unneeded "spokesman and leading fighter for the just demands of the trade unions." Bravo! Communists no longer consider it their task to develop trade-union consciousness into socialist consciousness; but they support the unions' demands for the sake of making themselves presentable! The DKP also supports the "just trade-union demand" for "equality between capital and labor," which comes out of the attic of Social Democratic revisionism and reformism. This notion has deceived the workers for long enough.

But we would not want to make any excessive demands of the DKP. It is modest enough to be simply against "excessive power of the industrial and banking lords" and for "limiting the omnipotence of the monopolies." Anyone who goes to the workers with a policy of "social insurance against capitalist arbitrariness" without at the same time advocating the abolition of private ownership of the means of production is opposing the encroachments of capitalism instead of capitalism itself.

Anyone who attacks the excessive power and omnipotence of the capitalist class and does not at the same time point out that it is the workers' historical task to destroy the collective power of the capitalists is not fighting capitalism; he wants to correct its faults through a partnership between labor and capital. Anyone who has nothing better to say about the demands in the DGB [Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund -- German Trade-Union Federation] program "for the nationalization of key industries and companies that dominate their respective markets" except that they

are "timely" is making an ingratiating gesture and not helping to further the consciousness of the workers through a socialist position.

But finally the DKP says it quite openly. It is not interested in a socialist transformation of society but in a "struggle for a renewal in all areas of social life on the basis of the democratic principles proclaimed in the Basic Law." Since when have we had relationships which socialists should struggle to "renew"? Is this the truth that the DKP wants to tell the "working people openly and plainly"! It may be that the founders of the DKP once "based themselves" on the lessons of Marxism. But it is certain that they have since developed to a point where nothing of Marxism remains!

Precisely what our party feared from a reconstitution has happened. From top to bottom the reconstitution declaration is an expression of an effort to avoid raising the question of socialism and is a definitive renunciation of Communism.

Although the DKP demands that the ban on the KPD be lifted, in fact the founding of the DKP is an excellent way to perpetuate the ban on our party. We can be sure that the government as well as those who are temporarily taken in by the DKP will say: "What more do you Communists want? You have your 'Communist' party." The party of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, and Ernst Thälmann has been betrayed by "Communists." However, we must add the self-critical qualification that if we look at the recent development of our party there was not much left to betray.

We demand that anyone still a member of the KPD who at the same time supports the DKP be expelled. In fact these comrades have already left the movement.

We are aware that the expulsion of these comrades is not sufficient to make

our party a revolutionary party again. In the present situation nothing would be gained either if the communists still working in our party together with those communists working outside it founded a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party. Only mobilizing and organizing work at the grass roots, in the shops, schools, universities, and on the land, which would overcome all forms of modern revisionism and Social Democracy in practice and not just in theory, could produce a real working-class vanguard and party in the Federal Republic.

Although in contrast to the DKP founders, understandably, we publish no lists of our names, we are sure that both the debate now beginning in our party as well as grass-roots work will soon bring us in contact with those who share our interests. And we are sure that these contacts will not be confined solely to members of our party. In face of the "Reconstitution of a Communist Party," this motto is particularly valid for us: "And if in any country those who call themselves communists do not know how to fulfill their duty, we will support those who, without calling themselves communists, conduct themselves like real communists in action and in struggle."*

Munich
October 1968

P.S. Although we do not agree with Was Tun in all questions, we sent our letter to this publication also. Because we think that questions of communist activity cannot be discussed in our party alone. Moreover, in contrast to the founders and supporters of the DKP, we cannot assume that the ban on the KPD will not be applied against us. Therefore our names have not been made public.

* See Fidel Castro's speech "Those Who Are Not Revolutionary Fighters Cannot Be Called Communists," World Outlook, No. 13 (special issue), 1967. -- I.P.

The Long March of the DKP

The Communists spent twelve years in illegality before they could reappear legally in 1945. At that time, after Germany's total collapse, the hopes of millions were placed in this party. Before and after 1933 it had made grave -- indeed unforgivable -- errors. However, these errors weighed lightly in the balance compared to the guilt of the bourgeois parties or of the SPD [Sozialistische Partei Deutschlands -- German Socialist party]. The SPD had continually betrayed the revolution and democracy, and even after its forcible dissolution it wanted to collaborate with the brown-uniformed regime. Of course there were

thousands of Social Democrats and many bourgeois democrats in the concentration camps. But the great majority of the political prisoners and the overwhelming majority of those killed were always Communists. They were the only party to wage a selfless struggle over those entire twelve years.

Now again after twelve years of illegality, the Communists can come out into the open and they have founded the DKP, the Deutsche Kommunistische Partei. No more hopes are placed in it. It is not a revolutionary movement nor a vanguard. It is a worn-out troupe of demoralized

failures barely held together on a social basis. No one expects anything from them. The left hopes only that these Communists, who still have considerable material means, will cause the least possible harm and confusion. And all the others are satisfied.

The liberals are happy that the CP is no longer banned in our country as it is in Spain or Greece. The highest representatives of the state and society like Brandt, Wehner, and various CDU [Christlich Demokratische Union -- Christian Democratic Union] people had yearned for years for reconstitution of the party. Big business organs like the Frankfurter Allgemeine or the Industriekurier are so relieved by the reconstitution of the CP that they have not written one critical word about it. The Handelsblatt found nothing to object to even in the founding of factory groups.

Thus, the right offers its unalloyed goodwill, often even its encouragement. The establishment is intelligent enough to appreciate this party which is increasingly dividing and hamstringing the APO, a party which recommends itself in its founding declaration thus: "Freedom of action for a Communist party would also contribute to the Federal Republic's prestige abroad." They will be thanked for providing this fig leaf. The DKP is fortunate that it is not working in Eastern Europe. If it were, such loyalty to the counterrevolution would have forced the Red Army long ago to practice "international socialist solidarity" on behalf of this sister party.

It is typical of the Federal Republic that its president cannot answer accusations that he was a concentration camp architect, that a prominent propagandist for the Nazi system stands at the head of the government, and that except for Willy Brandt and the ex-Stalinist Wehner, only old Nazis or Nazi collaborators sit in the present cabinet. It is characteristic of this regime that the Bundeswehr [the national army] is exclusively led by officers who swear every oath to the republic but remained loyal to Hitler to the end. They have banned the KPD and continued to persecute it as in the old days through ex-Gestapo officials in the political police and only superficially de-Nazified judges. This was a club to use against any opposition, and it has been so used. It goes without saying that we support lifting the ban on the KPD.

Scarcely half a year ago the KPD rejected an offer from state [Länder] ministers of the interior that the party could be reconstituted with the same members and the same name so long as it were not demonstrably unconstitutional. This offer was double-edged. The 1956 ban was

not to be lifted. Any organization would continue to be subject to being banned as a successor organization of the outlawed party whenever it was convenient to do so. Thus the government kept in its hands an assured means of applying pressure.

The KPD acted quite correctly when it rejected this overture and declared, "A party without Communist goals would be no Communist party." However, this understanding did not last long. In the most complete secrecy, leading Communists met with the heads of the Bonn state. They wanted to win legality for their party not through struggle but through a deal with the government. They achieved their object. But at what price?

The party members are not disillusioned. There is no danger from that quarter. They defended the old line and they are going along with the new one without a murmur. They do not know why the line was changed and are not ready to debate the question with outsiders. They are accustomed to having their party's policy decided at the top. They have gotten used to the idea that their only reason for being in the party is to carry this policy out. Spontaneity, initiative, independent thinking from below -- what's the use? It's the same old complaint. Why should it be any different now?

The programmatic declaration on the reconstitution of the party tips its hat in all the necessary directions. It expresses profound respect for the Basic Law, calls for much more democracy, and advocates everything that the trade unions have long demanded. It says much about democracy and peace, about the exemplary German Democratic Republic, and the rescue by the Warsaw Pact powers of socialism in Czechoslovakia. Socialism naturally can only be mentioned once in passing. Questions of economic and social policy, which are the core of any socialist policy, are brushed off in a couple of lines.

In no respect does this program go beyond that of the DFU [Deutsche Friedens Union -- German Peace Union -- a "progressive" electoral formation dominated by the CP]. Only a few socialist terms are inserted here and there which the DFU refrained from doing out of consideration for its bourgeois partners. In the concluding part, all Communists and Marxists -- here an important distinction is quite correctly made although unfortunately not developed -- "who work in the spirit of Marx, Engels, and Lenin" and want to "enrich political life in the Federal Republic," are invited to join the party.

These great names are nothing but

an alibi. The DKP is continuing what the KPD has long done. The great alliance of all democrats and socialists to defend democracy stands in the forefront. What objection could our rulers have to such a party?

For almost two decades, because of their identification with the Soviet Union and East Germany, they have been unable to accomplish anything. They have set no forces in motion. All the great postwar movements have been started without the participation of the Communists and in part against their opposition. Whenever any project came under Communist leadership or control it always died a quick political death -- not because of anti-Communism but because of the inability of the Communists to lead a mass movement.

They do not lack readiness to engage in movements but they lack ideas, frankness, tolerance, and political independence. You have to have experienced their narrow-minded factional work in practice to understand the collapse of so many organizations. Anyone who criticizes the sainted German Democratic Republic or the Soviet Union otherwise than casually is finished in their books. That leads to their self-isolation in the end.

There is hardly any prospect for changing this. The party has too many paid functionaries -- the secretaries of the party and innumerable organizations, journalists, representatives and employees of East European concerns in the Fed-

eral Republic. They are the transmission belts of subordination and they keep the party in check. So in the future, too, the DKP will run after the opposition, always calling to it: "Wait, we must take the lead because we were the vanguard fifty years ago."

Up to now the APO has made an ideology out of its organizational weaknesses and the lack of discipline of many of its members. The DKP sees its opportunity here. At the right time mass actions can have undreamed-of results. The May strikes in France are the latest example. At the final decisive moment, the organization and leadership which could have led the movement and overthrown capitalism was lacking.

So the CP blocked the movement, although with some difficulty.

The DKP and the SDAJ [Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterjugend -- German Socialist Worker Youth -- the Communist-controlled youth organization] are essentially the same. Already some disillusioned followers of the APO have taken refuge in these organizations. Here also in the Federal Republic we can advance no further without an effective, disciplined, and democratically structured organization with a recognized leadership. The West German Communists have an utterly miserable leadership. But behind this leadership stands an organization, even though a weak one. And therefore these leaders still represent something. Let us build our own organizations.

STUDENTS IN FOREFRONT OF BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN PAKISTAN

Sixteen persons had been killed, more than 500 arrested, and an unknown number wounded up to January 26 as police sought to put down students and workers demonstrating against the Ayub Khan regime. Dacca, capital of East Pakistan, was placed under 24-hour-a-day curfew January 24 when a general strike called by student leaders totally shut down the city. The army was called out to enforce the curfew.

Students demanding democratic reforms have demonstrated against the government since the beginning of November. On November 13 a number of opposition politicians were arrested.

The current crisis erupted January 17 when eight opposition parties staged a nationwide "Demands Day," calling for the freeing of political prisoners and the establishment of universal suffrage. When a student was killed by police at Dacca University, the leadership of the movement passed to the students.

Crowds burned down progovernment newspaper offices and attacked a government building during the January 24 general strike in Dacca. Police opened fire on crowds in three parts of the city.

Groups of youths on the outskirts of Karachi in West Pakistan January 26 reportedly ransacked an office of the ruling Moslem League. They took furniture from a government Development Authority building and burned it in the street.

Two curfew violators were reported shot in Dacca January 25, and three others in Khulna.

At a demonstration in Rawalpindi January 21, thirty-two persons were injured in a clash between students and police -- eighteen of these were said to be police. The crowd sacked government buildings and burned a bus. The offices of the progovernment paper Kohistan were attacked by the crowd.



BOLIVIAN PEASANTS PROTEST TAX. Part of crowd of 3,000 peasants at town of Belén who assembled December 18 for the presentation of agrarian-reform land titles. When a supporter of President René Barrientos was given the microphone, the crowd displayed anger. Barrientos tried to quiet them, addressing the peasants as "Brothers." Appealing for calm, the dictator sought to explain the benefits of a

new tax levied on farm produce. Whistles and hisses interrupted the speaker and stones began landing on the platform. Soldiers, police and guards fired over the crowd while they hustled Barrientos to safety. Stones continued to fly as the automobiles raced away. Some of the peasants used their slings to give greater force and range to the mementos of appreciation for the president's visit.

BARRIENTOS DECLARES STATE OF SIEGE IN BOLIVIA

Dictator René Barrientos answered increasing peasant unrest in Bolivia by declaring a "state of siege" January 18. Under the decree, all civil liberties -- which were only nominal in any case -- were suspended. Anyone suspected of holding "subversive" thoughts can be arrested on sight and held indefinitely.

In announcing the measure over the radio, Minister of the Interior David Fernandez said that the state of siege was called for "owing to the climate of subversion prevailing in Bolivia."

Fernandez pinned the responsibility for the situation on the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario [Nationalist Revolutionary Movement]. He said that the

MNR sought to overthrow the government. The MNR held power for many years, being overthrown in 1964 by the reactionary officer caste created with U.S. assistance.

The January 22 Le Monde published a dispatch from La Paz reporting that in that city alone on January 20 at least twenty persons were rounded up, according to a "reliable source." All were said to belong to opposition parties, ranging from the MNR to the Communist party. Other arrests were reported in key mining centers.

It is doubtful that intensified witch-hunting will allay the unrest. Certainly it will not help popularize Barrientos' new tax on farm products.

WOES OF THE U.S. STEEL INDUSTRY

By Dick Roberts

Ten years ago the United States was the largest exporter of steel in the world; today it is the largest importer.

Foreign steelmakers had about 9.6 percent of total steel sales in the U.S. in 1966. They sold 11,500,000 tons of steel to the U.S. in 1967, constituting 12.5 percent of the market. And in 1968 foreign steel sales jumped to 18,000,000 tons or over 15 percent of the U.S. market.

The multibillion-dollar industry, employing over 500,000 workers, has also fared comparatively poorly in profits. In 1967, the industry's net return on investment ranked 39 on a list of 41 U.S. industries compiled by the First National City Bank of New York. Steel's return was 7.4 percent, compared with an average of 12.5 percent for all industries. This was down from a return of 13.2 percent in 1957.

These facts -- among others -- explain why the steel industry has taken the lead in the fight for protective tariff legislation in the U.S. Congress, and why it opposed to the bitter end the international "Kennedy Round" tariff reductions agreed upon in Geneva in 1967.

More particularly, the case of the U.S. steel industry illustrates the changing relationship of forces between U.S. and foreign corporations in the competition for world markets, the biggest market being the U.S. itself.

The fact that the U.S. steel industry faces problems in the context of a world overproduction of steel does not diminish the significance of these problems. According to The Economist of February 4, 1967, U.S. steel ran into overcapacity in the mid-1950's: "Europe did not properly catch up with its own demand until around 1961. This brought the first crisis in 1962..."

But it is precisely after the event of world steel overproduction and the heightened competition which this caused that the U.S. steel industry began to lose a firm grasp on its own market.

A typical juxtaposition of views on the merits and demerits of steel protectionism was presented in the January 8 and 9 issues of the Wall Street Journal, respectively. (This influential financial newspaper has not yet taken sides in the controversy.)

R. Heath Larry, executive vice-

president of U.S. Steel Corp., stated the arguments for restricted imports. Admitting that foreign steelmakers can undersell U.S. corporations by \$25 to \$45 a ton, and that the technology of foreign competitors makes their products "quite acceptable in all markets of the world," Larry blamed steel's woes on high U.S. labor costs:

"In the Japanese steel industry," he complained, "employment cost per hour is only about one-quarter that in the U.S."

Rebutting critics of steel who claim that the industry has not kept up with the advances of foreign technology, Larry held that "even the domestic industry's most difficult competitor, i.e., Japan, used some 17 man-hours per ton of product in 1966, compared with 13 in the U.S."

In view of Japan's "cost advantage," the steel executive calculated, "an improvement in efficiency would require that U.S. steelmakers discover a technological forward leap which could reduce their 13 man-hours a ton down to approximately 4 man-hours a ton. Such an accomplishment is today unforeseeable on the basis of technology now known or even dreamed of, anywhere."

It is hard to deny the competitive weakness of the U.S. steel industry in the world market. Rising steel imports concern other sectors of American business because of their adverse effect on U.S. trade surpluses, and consequently on the balance of payments. In 1968, with steel imports worth over \$1,000,000,000, the U.S. trade surplus had fallen to a "miserable \$500 million," according to undersecretary of the Treasury, Frederick L. Deming -- the lowest level since before World War II. As recently as 1964, U.S. trade surpluses were \$6,000,000,000 higher than the 1968 figure.

But decisive sectors oppose steel protectionism, and up to now have succeeded in blocking it, because of the damage steel protectionism might inflict on other arenas of trade. Arguing against protectionism in the January 9 Wall Street Journal, economist Richard S. Thorn pointed out:

"Retaliation against steel quotas is not likely to be directed at basic steel products, but at other branches of American industry.... A Government-imposed protective steel quota would represent a substantial reversal of our reciprocal trade policy and might easily precipitate

a world-wide increase in trade restrictions, which would be to no nation's advantage."

Interesting in Thorn's reply to the steel protectionists was his attack on U.S. steel for failing to keep up with the U.S. norms of technological advance. Thorn presented the following table:

Average Annual Rate of Growth
1957 - 1964

	<u>Steel</u>	<u>All Manu- facturing</u>
Compensation per man-hour	3.4%	3.8%
Output per man-hour	2.8%	3.6%
Unit labor costs	0.6%	0.2%
Prices	0.7%	0.7%
Output	3.4%	5.0%

"Labor productivity in the steel industry," Thorn argued, "has risen more slowly than that of the manufacturing industry in general. Average hourly labor compensation has also grown more slowly but not enough to offset the slower growth in productivity."

"As a consequence unit labor costs in the steel industry have risen on the average of 0.6 percent per annum compared to 0.2 percent per annum for all U.S. manufacturing industry. Prices, on the other hand, have risen about the same rate with the result that a profit squeeze developed."

Thorn professes to believe that with increased expenditures on research, a high level of investment and "an aggressive and flexible price policy," the U.S. steel industry could make up for its sluggish behavior of the last decade: "The steel industry is tough. It is time that it put its handkerchief back in its pocket, rolled up its sleeves and got on with the job."

That kind of talk has been popular with steel executives when it comes to their negotiations with trade unionists. So far as the charts for future investment in the industry are concerned, they have not been persuasive. Recent investment trends have been in the direction of specialization and diversification, not toward improving crude steel output. One has to take into consideration the nature of the competition.

Japan now leads the world in steel exports. New York Times reporter Junnosuke Ofusa described Japan's rise to prominence in the steel industry January 20, 1967. "Japan's share in the American market climbed from 17.8 percent in 1960 to 41 percent in 1965. Last year's share was put at 44 percent. [It remained close to

that level in 1967 and 1968 -- D.R.]"

Pointing out that the Japanese steel industry had to start virtually from scratch, following the immense destruction of the second world war, Ofusa noted that "its output in 1953, reaching 7.66 million tons, surpassed the highest prewar production figure."

Ofusa divided the expansion into three periods. In the first, from 1951 to 1956, Japan invested \$330,000,000 for new rolling mills, facilities for oxygen in open-hearth furnace shops and for raw-material processing equipment.

It is to be noted that the rolling mills developed in this period used computerization techniques perfected during the war. Oxygen converters were also an important technological advance, costing less and having a higher productivity than the normal open-hearth process. Today nearly 60 percent of Japan's total ingot production is made from oxygen converters as compared with about 15 percent in the U.S.

"The emphasis in the second stage," Ofusa stated, "from 1956 through 1960, was on the construction of large blast furnaces, oxygen converters and existing plant expansion. Investment in these improvements reached \$1,700,000,000."

"The third stage, from 1961 to the present, involves further expansion of existing facilities and the building of new and larger integrated steel works. Plant investment in this phase is expected to reach \$2,900,000,000."

Concentration and centralization of capital have been pronounced in the Japanese expansion of steelmaking capacity. A report by the Special Committee for Iron and Steel of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (see OECD Observer, No. 32, February, 1968) emphasized this trend.

This report covered the period from the end of 1961 to the end of 1966: "The number of companies with a crude steel capacity exceeding 2,000,000 tons a year rose from three in 1961 to eight in 1966; one company, Yawata, has a capacity which has recently grown to over 10,000,000 tons."

The OECD report noted that there had been seven mergers of Japanese steel industries since 1961. It necessarily omitted the 1968 merger of the two biggest Japanese steel firms, Yawata and Fuji. The combined output of this giant ranks second only to U.S. Steel Corp. in the world.

The European Common Market nations combined (West Germany, France, Belgium,

Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands) export essentially the same amount of steel to the U.S. as Japan. And in these countries there has been comparable concentration and expansion of production.

The same OECD report noted that in Germany "recent years have seen a number of mergers and rationalisation schemes... The most important among them are the merger in 1963 of three works belonging to Rheinische Stahlwerke to form Rheinstahl Huttenwerke A.G.; the 1965 merger between the Bochumer Verein and the Friedrich Krupp works whereby Krupp's iron and steel activities were reorganised and concentrated; and in 1966, the merger of Hoesch A.G. and the Dortmund-Hörder-Huttenunion A.G. into a new company, Hoesch A.G. Huttenwerke, which is closely associated with the Koninklijke Nederlandse Hoogovens en Staalfabrieken at IJmuiden." The OECD journal recorded German cartelization: "Four sales organisations have been set up with a view to a more economic distribution of orders and a more rational organisation of sales; 30 steel companies are affiliated to these sales organisations."

A significant merger was noted in Luxembourg, between the two largest iron and steel companies, Arbed and Habir in July 1967.

In Belgium, "two important mergers took place as early as 1955, leading to the setting up of the Société Cockerill-Ougrée and the Société Hainaut-Sambre. In 1966, Forges de Thy-Marcinelle merged with the Aciéries et Minières de la Sambre, and the Société Cockerill-Ougrée with Forges de la Providence. The production capacity of the new company, Société Cockerill-Ougrée-Providence, is some 5,000,000 tons of steel a year, including the French works at Rehon and Hautmont."

In France, the most important merger was between Usinor and Lorraine-Escaut.

In addition to French mergers, "Investment and specialisation agreements or agreements relating to the rationalisation of rolling programmes have also been entered into, particularly by the joint use of facilities or the creation of jointly-owned companies; a striking example is the setting up of a works at Gandrange in Lorraine by the Sacilor company, formed jointly by Sidelor and de Wendel, and in which the Société Mosellane de Sidérurgie also have a holding."

The U.S. steel industry is showing visible cracks from the pressure of foreign and domestic competition. "It isn't too hard to find areas outside steel that provide a better return," an executive of Armco Steel, one of the "Big Eight" U.S. steel manufacturers, recently told the

Wall Street Journal.

"Yearend can't roll around soon enough for steel producers, who are winding up 12 months that even the most conservative of them call turbulent," Business Week stated December 14, 1968.

It has resulted in the first major price cutting in the steel industry, at least since World War II, according to Business Week. "Bethlehem Steel Corp., the No. 2 producer, slashed hot-rolled carbon sheets by \$25 a ton...Steel executives couldn't recall a more drastic price cut since the rampant competition of the early 1930s, nor could they recall a more direct challenge to the industry's leader, U.S. Steel Corp."

Business Week noted several other evidences of the steel industry's dilemmas. Two of the "Big Eight" have been attacked by "outside" conglomerates. Last spring, Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., acquired controlling interest in Jones and Laughlin; there is talk about a merger between Youngstown Sheet and Tube Co. and Lykes Corp., a company one-sixth its size in terms of revenues. Crucible Steel Co., one of the large specialty steel producers, was taken over by Colt Industries, Inc.

Business Week could note only one merger within the industry of import, that of Pittsburgh Steel Co. and Wheeling Steel Corp., which will make the ninth-largest producer.

The trend of investment within steel is toward diversification: "U.S. Steel Corp. is upping its ante in chemicals, plastics, and real estate, and it is even in the business jet aircraft leasing market. National Steel Corp. is plunging into primary aluminum...National is also acquiring fabricating capacity to absorb its share of primary aluminum output."

Finally, the real problems facing U.S. steel producers were brought to the surface in their reaction to the recent agreement by Japanese and European steel firms to "voluntary" limits on their exports to the U.S. The agreement, worked out over a long period with the U.S. State Department, called for limiting steel imports from Japan and the Common Market to 5,700,000 tons each in 1969. This would be at a substantially lower level than imports in 1968, although higher than imports in 1967.

John P. Roche, president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, said the restrictions "don't adequately remove the threat that large and rapidly growing imports of steel pose."

A steel mill executive who thought

the voluntary restrictions would make it even more difficult to get protective legislation from Congress told the January 16 Wall Street Journal: "It makes me kind of tired that these guys can get together and decide what they're going to do about us."

And there was one place where the Wall Street Journal found unanimous dis-

pleasure about voluntary -- or any other -- import quotas: among U.S. buyers of foreign steel! One East Coast user, who buys 40 percent of his steel overseas, told the Wall Street Journal: "We're going to go along with this temporarily, until we see whether it hampers our business. But if it does hurt us, we're going to go to Washington and beat on literally everybody's door."

BRITISH TROTSKYISTS DISCUSS PERSPECTIVES AT LONDON CONFERENCE

London

The International Marxist Group [IMG], the British supporters of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938, held a highly successful delegated conference here January 11-12. The gathering opened with greetings from the United Secretariat, the leading body of the world movement, and from various sections of the Fourth International.

Alan Harris, a leader of the IMG well known in the British antiwar movement, reported on the international situation. The counterrevolutionary war being waged by American imperialism in Vietnam made it imperative, he declared, for revolutionary socialists to coordinate their struggles on a worldwide scale to defeat the imperialist aggression.

Ernest Tate, another well-known Trotskyist leader in Britain, analysed the antiwar movement. He pointed to the encouraging results of the IMG policy of participating in and helping to build united-front actions against the war in Vietnam and for the victory of the National Liberation Front.

The successful demonstrations against the war, especially the massive march of 100,000 persons on October 27, 1968, he said, were in large part due to the role of the IMG. These demonstrations took place outside the traditional protest movements, including the organised labour movement, and marked a new phase in the struggle for a socialist Britain.

The conference unanimously pledged full support for the antiwar demonstration scheduled for March 16 against British complicity in the war. The Labour government backs Washington in supporting the corrupt Saigon regime against the National Liberation Front and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The March 16 action will include a reception at London airport to welcome representatives of the DRV and the NLF to Britain. They will address a mass rally in central London.

The conference discussed the perspectives of the new student upsurge and the current situation in the Labour party and the trade unions. The Labour parliamentary left was scored for its complete failure to project a militant alternative to the right-wing programme of the Wilson leadership.

The delegates felt that this made the independent work of the IMG more necessary than ever. This was seen, however, as complementary to oppositional work inside the Labour party.

In recent months the student radicalisation has led to sizeable and dramatic actions around "student power" issues at universities through Britain. Student activists from key colleges and universities participated in the IMG conference. They decided to publish a youth bulletin to spread Trotskyist ideas among students and to help build a strong revolutionary-socialist student movement.

The conference reaffirmed its support to the movement for black power, the movement for workers control, and the new movement for women's rights.

Lively debate took place in the preconference discussion period and at the conference itself. The overwhelming majority of the delegates voted to endorse the perspectives presented by the National Committee in its draft resolution.

Pat Jordan, national secretary of the IMG, reported that membership had doubled in the last twelve months. He pointed to the conference itself as proof of the progress made over the past period and expressed confidence that the IMG would recruit revolutionary socialists in ever greater numbers in the future.

Noting how the IMG had provided cadres who played effective roles in the recent mass movements, he projected a more and more favorable hearing for Trotskyist ideas and increasing strength for the Fourth International in Britain.

THE REAL PURPOSE OF THE ISRAELI RAID ON BEIRUT

[The following article has been translated by Intercontinental Press from the January 11 issue of the Belgian socialist weekly La Gauche.]

* * *

In itself the Israeli raid on the Beirut airport was of little importance -- just a brilliantly executed commando raid. The airplanes that were destroyed will be paid for by the insurance companies. No apparent harm was done to the Arab population this time.

Yet there is almost universal denunciation in the Western press. Even the United Nations, without taking sanctions, scolded Israel severely. As for the Americans, they seemed genuinely irritated over their Israeli friends placing them in a difficult position with respect to the Arab rulers just as U.S. relations with the Arab governments seemed to be improving.

The international bourgeoisie was outraged at this lack of respect for civil airports -- which affects their own security. They were outraged at this attack on private property, their property, because the Lebanese company involved is largely owned by European interests.

In short, the Israelis made a big mistake. They "overreacted." On the other hand, nothing at all was said about the fact that this operation was planned and defended as a "reprisal."

At most, astonishment was expressed that Lebanon, the most pacifistic, the most Western, and the least Arab of the Arab countries, should have been selected as the target of the latest Israeli attack. At most, astonishment was expressed at the completely bewildering disproportion between the assault in Athens and the "reprisal" it provoked -- the "Beirut raid."

From our standpoint, there was nothing surprising about the Israeli raid except perhaps its suddenness. To the contrary, such actions are in accordance with the very nature of Israel. This attack was only one more flagrant expression of Israel's fundamentally aggressive character. This character results directly from the conditions of the installation of Israel in an Arab country and its economic and political system (comparable to that in South Africa) which oppresses the Palestinian population.

The Palestinians are not, properly speaking, exploited as they would be in a colonial system of the traditional type but simply driven out and denied their

own national existence and means of political expression.

Israel's aggressive nature is also produced by the instability of its present situation, its incapacity to establish its independence from American imperialism. The American imperialists intend to restrict Israel to the role of a tool, a guardian of their Middle East oil interests, and not let it get out of hand.

In itself, the Beirut raid was little or nothing. It must be seen rather as a pretext and provocation. And lying is already an elementary form of provocation.

In fact, how can the Beirut government or the Middle East Airlines be held responsible for the Athens attack or the other aggressions to which Israel claims it has been subjected? Why should the Lebanese government refuse passports to persons who have no police record? Finally, how can Lebanon be held responsible for anti-Zionist actions planned on its territory? How can it prevent Lebanese Arabs from organizing support for the Palestinians when there are refugee camps in their midst?

Moreover, there is every reason to believe the Lebanese government when it denies that it has permitted Arab or Palestinian nationalist organizations to maintain training camps on its territory. Once hardened in battle, these organizations would first and foremost endanger the present political leadership in Lebanon, which is only too inclined to favor American interests in that country to the detriment of its people and the Arab states.

Thus, the aim of the Israelis in the Beirut raid might have been to put pressure on the Lebanese government to repress the Arab organizations. This would seem sufficient explanation if it were not that pressure from the Israelis is certain to produce the opposite effect in the long run. This has already been proved in Jordan.

Repression cannot stop the advance of the Palestinian organizations nor destroy their prestige in the eyes of the population. And the Arab governments, moving painfully against the guerrillas in the face of this popular feeling, are only discrediting themselves.

What does Israel gain? It is making new Arab enemies but winning a firmer commitment from its American friends. The Americans realize that the Arab governments cannot protect their interests from the threat posed to them by the liberation movements and that they have to rely on

their policeman in the area. In this sense, the Beirut operation was quite successful. The raid was executed at an opportune moment and in a completely calculated way.

Lebanon, the country of compromise, rests, they say, on a balance between the Christian and Muslim elements in its population. In fact this religious division only masks a division between the completely pro-Western bourgeoisie (which, while doubtless Christian in the majority, is quite mixed) and the disinherited population (which is largely Muslim).

Since 1952, thanks to the Arab-Israeli conflict, these masses have become more and more politically conscious. They are demonstrating their opposition to a regime which, let us not forget, was imposed by American marines in 1958 at the end of a long period of insurrectionary unrest. Up to the present, however, this regime retained some rather mitigating liberal aspects. A general held the presidency only briefly.

The Israeli raid has probably dealt a fatal blow to this old Lebanon. Facing the present danger, a government of national union will certainly be formed which will use the army to suppress all demonstrations, except doubtless those calling for the introduction of conscription. And this leaves aside possible intervention by international forces.

For a long time, Lebanon seemed a sort of paradise because of its hospitable character, hospitable above all to foreign capital, which enjoyed exceptional tax privileges equaled in few other places in the world. It is easy to surmise what damage the Israeli raid did to Lebanese prosperity, which was already greatly undermined by the loss of part of its tourist revenue.

In June 1967 the Israelis, through their conquests, came into position to intercept the flood of pilgrims traveling through Lebanon to visit the holy places. What peaceful tourists will still venture to go by way of such ill-famed spots as the Beirut airport? And what foreign capital will come to a country as threatened as Lebanon?

The flow of tourists and capital is not the only flow, moreover, that Israel seeks to divert. The water of the southern rivers also represents riches which the Israeli land thirsts for. Israel's expansionist designs do not go back just to the recent past. Southern Lebanon has long been included on the map of "Greater Israel," which has expanded continually since 1948. The Israeli leaders mince no words on this score.

After the six-day war, Abba Eban came to the parliament at Strasbourg to propose a confederation with Lebanon. At another time the prime minister, Eshkol, did not fail to deplore the loss of Lebanese water draining into the sea (which is completely false!). Moshe Dayan has been still more explicit. Two days after the six-day war, he declared: "All our frontiers are ideal, for the moment, except those with Lebanon."

The aim of the Beirut raid, then, was also to start a process of violent conflict enabling the Israelis to annex the southern part of Lebanon. This is the next phase shaping up and the fears of the Lebanese in this regard are fully justified. The so-called "reprisal" was only a pretext.

It was both a pretext and a provocation. The new Israeli aggressions and the fears it aroused can only provoke a violent reaction by an alarmed Arab public and an increased military effort, thus forcing the Arab countries closer to their appointed arms supplier, the Soviet Union.

This indicates, then, that at the time Johnson confirmed the sale of Phantom jets to Israel, the Israelis sought a means of forcing the Americans into a closer commitment to them as America's most reliable ally and into a definitive break with the moderate Arab leaders (including Nasser and the Damascus Baathists), whose authority is more and more imperiled by the upsurge of the masses.

The Israeli leaders know that for the moment the great powers are too attached to peaceful coexistence to let themselves be thrown off balance by their adventures. They know that in case of conflict the United States would be compelled to take their side.

The Israelis' calculations were doubtless accurate, except on one point. By underestimating the capacity of the Arab people to resist and their will to fight, Israel ultimately risks becoming involved in a conflict from which it will be unable to extricate itself, even if aided by the American marines.

Revolutionary socialists must take a clear position. They must unqualifiedly condemn the policy of the Israeli generals, politicians, and diplomats, whether hawks, doves, or "hawk-doves." In the last analysis, no matter what plans they propose, all of them are in agreement on a policy of conquest to plunder the Arabs of their lands and rights. Any negotiations they enter into are aimed solely at ratifying their most recent conquests and paving the way for the next.

We must condemn all negotiations

which exclude the Palestinians themselves from the discussions. Neither the representatives of the great powers nor of the Arab countries can decide the future of a people which has already begun to struggle for its liberation.

We must use every means to assist the struggle of the fedayeen, who do not

seek to drive out the Jews but to establish a democratic and socialist Palestine. Only the Palestinians themselves can create such a Palestine.

The Marxists in Israel must join in the struggle of the Palestinian fighters. This is the only road to socialism in the Middle East!

HOSTILE RESPONSE TO WILSON'S "WHITE PAPER" STRIKE CURBS

London

A storm blew up in the Labour movement when Barbara Castle, minister of employment and productivity in the Wilson government, made public a "White Paper" January 17 proposing legislation to sharply curb trade-union freedoms. The document calls for a twenty-eight-day "cooling off" period in case of unofficial strikes, an "automatic" secret ballot of all members of a union affected by an official strike, and gives the minister or the government the right to intervene in interunion jurisdictional disputes.

Failure to comply entails heavy fines for union officials and members through civil action such as court orders to garnishee wages, etc. No mention is made of what action is to be taken in case of refusal to pay fines.

The "White Paper," entitled "In Place of Strife," ironically threatens to rend the whole Labour and trade-union movement. Unions such as the Scottish section of the National Union of Miners voted even prior to its publication, but on the basis of previous reports, to call for a national one-day general strike throughout Britain.

The Trades Union Congress General Council has issued a statement through its general secretary, George Woodcock, denouncing the main proposals as "unworkable" and likely to have the opposite effect of that intended. Woodcock has meanwhile been named chairman of the Commission on Industrial Relations provided for

in the government paper, despite his expressed opposition to some of the provisions, and is expected soon to be replaced at the TUC headquarters.

As a sop to the trade unionists, and to meet the demand, "Open the Books," now frequently taken up by leaders of the workers, the "White Paper" also provides "certain sorts of information" to be furnished by employers that are "needed for negotiations." "Worker directors" are to have representation on management boards, the right to belong to a union is to be written into all contracts of employment, etc.

In spite of all the soft soap, militant trade-union leaders at once spoke up, calling on their members to be alert for action.* Among these were Jack Jones, recently elected to replace Frank Cousins as general secretary of the giant Transport and General Workers Union; Lawrence Daly, general-secretary-elect of the National Union of Miners; Hugh Scanlon, new president of the Association of Engineers and Foundrymen [machinists and mechanics, etc.]; and such well-known left-wingers as Clive Jenkins, the supervisory and scientific workers leader, and others.

All are active supporters of the "workers control" movement now gaining ground here steadily.

* What they fear most is that this "Labour" legislation can easily turn into the thin end of a wedge later to be used by a Tory government.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN VIENNA GREET SHAH

Several hundred students in Vienna carried out two demonstrations against the shah of Iran following his arrival in Austria January 20 for a private visit.

The January 24 Le Monde reported that a student action committee demanded the shah be deported from the country. A number of student organizations joined in sending an open letter to Minister of the

Interior Soronics, protesting the presence of members of the Iranian secret police (Savak).

The letter charged that the shah's agents had roughed up Iranian students living in Austria.

The Iranian ambassador claimed there were no Savak agents in the country.

TARIQ ALI, IN BELFAST, OFFERS AID TO IRISH CIVIL-RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Tariq Ali, Pakistani-born leader of the British antiwar movement, offered support to Irish civil-rights demonstrators during a visit to Belfast January 14. He said he considered marches to be the most effective method of protest in Northern Ireland and suggested mass demonstrations in London to promote the civil-rights cause.

Ali was in Belfast to address members of the New Ireland Society at Queen's University. He told the students that he believed civil disobedience to be a less

effective tactic than mass marches.

He said the religious discrimination against Northern Ireland's Catholic minority was analogous to racial discrimination suffered by nonwhites in England.

The antiwar leader said he would discuss with civil-rights leaders how he could help in getting English organizations to publicize the situation in Northern Ireland. He added that he felt all tactical decisions should be made by those directly involved.

HONEYWELL, INC., MAKES AN ANTIWAR CONTRIBUTION

Honeywell, Inc., settled out of court for \$400 when Bertrand Russell sued the U.S. computer outfit for listing him

in an ad as dead. Honeywell, which also makes antipersonnel fragmentation bombs, sent the check to the Peace Foundation.

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INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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

New York, N. Y. 10010

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

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