

Czechoslovakia

Moscow Opens Counteroffensive

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**"Peaceful Coexistence"
Between Washington,
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How French CP Saved de Gaulle

**Victor Rico Galan,
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BREZHNEV: Tries technique of Big Lie on Jan Palach.

Solzhenitsyn's New Novel

BREZHNEV-KOSYGIN OPEN A COUNTERATTACK IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

If Brezhnev and Kosygin had been nursing hopes that they were succeeding in returning Czechoslovakia to Stalinist "normality," those hopes could hardly have survived the massive demonstration January 25 in honor of Jan Palach, who burned himself to death in protest against the Soviet invasion and occupation of his country.

The nationwide outburst of emotion around the martyrdom of the 21-year-old student showed that the situation has grown worse since the political disaster of last August.

But rather than retreat, Brezhnev-Kosygin appear to have decided on a counteroffensive. Whether it will prove any more successful than their previous efforts to put the country back into the Stalinist straitjacket remains to be seen.

The Moscow bureaucrats opened their counteroffensive on three fronts:

- (1) The police, particularly in Prague, began cracking down on student demonstrators.
- (2) The pressure was stepped up for further shifts in the Czech government, an immediate step being the tightening of the screws on the communications media.
- (3) A propaganda campaign was opened to overcome the effects of the political blow struck by Jan Palach. As was already intimated by the attacks in East Germany, the campaign against the young student seeks to change him from a martyr, who sacrificed his life in the cause of socialist democracy and freedom, into a miserable tool in a sinister plot woven in West Germany or Washington.

Readers of the Daily World, the newspaper of the Communist party of the United States, were given their first taste of this campaign in the January 30 issue. An article, datelined Prague, questioned whether Palach had committed suicide, suggesting that he may have been murdered!

"The newspaper Vicerny Praha," said the dispatch, "reported on Tuesday Palach had been told that the fuel which he would use would produce only a 'cold flame' and 'luminescence.' After he had set himself afire, he screamed for aid as he ran from the site. 'Throw an overcoat over me', he was reported to have shouted. A dispatcher of the Urban Transport Service, named Spirek, threw his overcoat over Palach but it was too late."

So the student Palach was not so

intelligent after all. It had never occurred to him to test this novel stuff before pouring it on himself and lighting it!

But isn't this story easily checked? Jan Palach lived for four days. During that time, why didn't he tell anyone about his shock and surprise on discovering that it wasn't a "cold flame" and not just "luminescence"?

What fuel did Palach use? Where did he actually obtain it?

The truth is that Jan Palach affirmed his act and explained why he did it. What he said was widely reported on Czech television and in the press: "It was my duty to do it, and there will be others." He called himself, everyone will remember, "Torch No. 1."

His doctor reported that Palach's mind was "clear and logical" and that "Jan said he had no regrets."

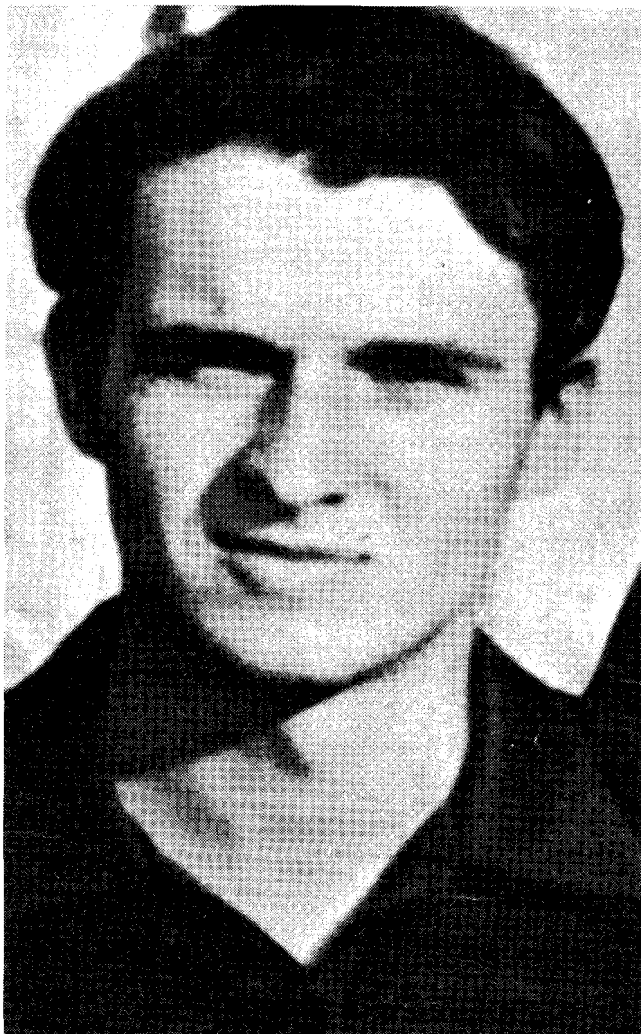
The technique used by Brezhnev and Kosygin in this campaign is the technique of the Big Lie. They are, of course, adepts at it, having learned it in the school of Stalinism. They owe their present positions at the head of the Soviet government to the loyalty with which they practiced it under the great Stalin himself in the purges and frame-up trials of the thirties.

The cynicism with which these hand-picked lieutenants of the late dictator practice the Big Lie is shown by the fact that even as they spread the rumor about Palach being murdered by mysterious plotters, they are doing everything in their power, under the banner of "peaceful co-existence," to reach an understanding with the Nixon administration on policing the world and maintaining the status quo. Of course, this is not surprising. They were there when Stalin used a similar approach with Hitler.

The lie resembles the one cooked up by the CIA to explain why Buddhist monks burned themselves in Vietnam as a way of political protest. They were, according to the propaganda, "drugged by the Vietcong."

To give the lie about Jan Palach more plausibility, it had to be followed up by additional "evidence."

The opportunity came January 22 when Blanka Nachazelova, an 18-year-old student, committed suicide in Prague by gas. On January 25 Minister of the Interior Jan Pelnar revealed that the police had discovered a suicide "note."



JAN PALACH

The content of the note was indeed bizarre:

"Dear friends, When you will read this letter I shall no longer know about this. Believe me, I have acted not on my own conviction. I have been forced to this. I choose this means for my death. This means is much easier, though it is terrible for myself. I want to live so much! When at 08:30 the black 'Mercedes' hoots three times, I shall draw the curtains and open the gas. I do not want to do so but I must. Please forgive me, forgive me. I have no way out. This is better than having acid thrown into my face. Goodbye and forgive."

Everyone knows of course that the Mercedes is the expensive automobile made in West Germany. That should be enough, shouldn't it?

The January 28 issue of Zemelski Noviny, a prominent Czech daily, revealed that Blanka Nachazelova's parents had refused to give permission to publish the letter, suggesting that they did not be-

lieve it was genuine.

They told the paper that their daughter had never shown any interest in politics.

They added that no one in the neighborhood had seen or heard the mysterious black Mercedes that supposedly gave the signal for her to turn on the gas.

Nearly all the newspapers and other media in Czechoslovakia were similarly doubtful about the authenticity of the suicide note. Only one newspaper, Rude Pravo, printed it, and only after some delay.

Minister of the Interior Pelnar, in accordance with his duties as head of the secret police, made up for these derelictions of the parents and the press. He saw to it that the suicide note was printed up as a leaflet and given wide distribution, something he had not done with the message left by Jan Palach.

The Daily World helped him in his duty, making out that the letter had been very well received, being "published in Rude Pravo, Communist Party organ, and other newspapers..."

Just why such a point was worth mentioning, the correspondent of the Daily World did not explain.

He would have displayed better journalistic enterprise had he asked for a photostatic copy of the original. With that he could have asked the girl's parents and her friends about the handwriting. Was it hers? Or was it written with a heavier hand than she was known to use?

Another fruitful line of inquiry might have been to investigate the possibility of a mistake in the identity of that automobile. If no black Mercedes had been seen in the neighborhood at that hour, had anyone seen a black Zis or a black Zim?

These cars are made in the Soviet Union, of course, not West Germany. Just the same, under current circumstances, the nationality of the invading troops being what it is, the chances that the mysterious automobile was made in the USSR would seem rather good.

Moreover, strange suicides have been known to occur under Soviet rule even when a genius holds the reins of power, as the editors of the Daily World may recall from the revelations made at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU.

Any number of Czechoslovak journalists and newscasters are capable of following up such leads. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why Brezhnev-Kosygin brought their fists down on the table, insisting that the censorship be tightened, and

tightened fast.

On January 21 a letter, presented as emanating from the People's Militia of Prague and central Bohemia and addressed to the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party, demanded punishment for journalists "who refuse to respect self-censorship and ignore the warnings concerning their irresponsible and demagogic attitude."

The letter condemned "all the attempts to discredit Gustav Husak" and called for the expulsion from the party of "rightists and opportunists..."

On January 30 Premier Oldřich Cernik told the new Federal Assembly that around 120 leading journalists would be purged from the communications media.

He said that "precensorship" would be imposed on three weeklies known for their tendency to publish critical opinions and articles advocating socialist democracy. These were the Reportér, organ of the Union of Journalists; Zitrek, published by the Socialist party; and Listy, the paper of the Union of Writers.

Artistic, intellectual, and scientific organizations have threatened to strike if the precensorship is imposed.

The police were under evident orders to stop dallying.

On January 25, immediately after the immense outpouring in the streets to pay honor to Jan Palach, the police dispersed students who assembled in Wenceslas Square to continue their vigils.

This was their way of warning the students that Jan Palach had been buried and it was now time to forget him.

The following day the police used tear gas to prevent students from displaying a flag and portraits of Jan Palach in Wenceslas Square. They arrested 199 persons. The students have demanded an immediate end to the censorship and an end to the illegal publication of the Soviet occupation paper Zpravy. They are also demanding general elections and a party congress in the near future.

Michael Dymacek, president of the Czech Union of Students, said in the youth paper Mlada Fronta January 27 that the police had attacked while he was trying to negotiate the question of demonstrations with the authorities. "I regard this as an abuse of our attempts to solve the situation by negotiation," he said.

Because of numerous incidents between Czech workers and Soviet troops, the Soviet military command threatened to impose a curfew in Mlada-Boleslav

where the giant Skoda automobile plant is located.

The Stalinists in Czechoslovakia were striking a more belligerent note on the very eve of the funeral for Jan Palach. In a speech to the People's Militia on January 24, Lubomir Strougal, head of the party bureau for the Czech regions and a member of the eight-man Executive Committee of the party's Presidium, cited the extreme political tension in the country. This tension, he said, was due to the machinations of agents of Western imperialism.

This thesis, of course, was tailored to fit the machinations of the Soviet military command and their Moscow superiors to "normalize" the situation in Czechoslovakia.

The enemy, Strougal declared, was stronger than ever, despite the friendly aid of the Warsaw Pact countries, because of the highly refined methods used by imperialism. Consequently it would not be possible to select delegates to a party congress or to hold elections until the party has reconstituted its "unity," and come once more to resemble the parties in the other socialist countries.

The last thing bureaucrats like Strougal and his Moscow mentors want is party elections or party congresses in which the rank and file would be free to express their will.

Strougal was right about one thing, however. Tension is mounting in Czechoslovakia. Tragic evidence of this is the number of "torches" since Jan Palach set himself on fire.

Minister of the Interior Pelnar admitted January 28 that eighteen attempted self-immolations had occurred since the death of Palach. He did not reveal whether any suspicious black limousines were seen in the neighborhoods where these occurred.

Four attempted suicides by fire were reported in other countries as well -- Hungary, Yugoslavia, Italy and Austria.

It seems hardly likely that this form of protest will last long in Czechoslovakia. In face of the counterattack mounted by the Moscow bureaucrats and their agents, the students and workers in Czechoslovakia will unquestionably seek more effective means of expressing their resistance than burning themselves.

Brezhnev and Kosygin may find that this turn will come even sooner than they fear.

"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" BETWEEN WASHINGTON, MOSCOW, AND PEKING?

By George Novack

Washington, Moscow and Peking are presently engaged in a diplomatic poker game -- and each one of the players is holding the cards close to his chest.

Three big developments have set the stage for their mutual maneuvering: the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, the initiation of the Paris talks on Vietnam, and the advent of the new Republican administration in the White House.

These events very likely instigated the surprising move made by the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of China November 26, proposing the resumption of bilateral discussions with the United States in Warsaw on the basis of "the five principles of peaceful coexistence." At the same time the Chinese repeated their demand that Washington withdraw support from Chiang's regime on Taiwan. [See Intercontinental Press, December 16, 1968, p. 1,141.]

The talks between the Chinese and U.S. ambassadors, which had been held in a desultory fashion since 1955, were suspended a year ago on the initiative of the Chinese. The call for their resumption has apparently been motivated by Peking's concern over the prospect of a U.S.-Soviet understanding and cooperation in the Far East at its expense.

Its apprehensions are well-grounded. Since the Sino-Soviet breach in 1961, Moscow has pursued a policy of trying to contain and isolate the Maoists on all fronts, and especially in Asia. This was made evident at the time of the border dispute with India in 1962 when Moscow supplied military aid to New Delhi and afterwards when it acted in a parallel way with Washington to settle the India-Pakistan conflict.

Since the escalation of the war in Vietnam early in 1965, the Russians have vied with the Chinese Communists in becoming the senior partner and principal adviser of Hanoi and have to all appearances gained that status. Moscow has been far less interested in helping to assure the military victory of the National Liberation Front and North Vietnam than with working behind the scenes to arbitrate the conflict with Washington.

It has played a significant role in bringing about the Paris talks and shaping their course. After his replacement by Lodge, former Ambassador Harriman paid a tribute to Moscow late in January for being "helpful in October and helpful recently" in breaking the stalemate in the talks.

Mao's representatives participated in the 1954 Geneva conference which resulted in the partitioning of Vietnam and then in the negotiations with Kennedy over Laos in 1962. Peking does not want to be excluded from any Vietnam settlement today. Up to now it has not publicly opposed the four-party parley in Paris. But it is resolved to see that no important arrangements in its sphere of interest are concluded there without its concurrence and consent.

Moscow for its part would like to have Peking excluded from participation in the proceedings and denied any veto power over a possible agreement.

The leaderships of the two most powerful workers states should view it as an elementary duty to close ranks against the machinations of the colossus of imperialism. But since their rift they have not done so in either small matters or great. Their mutual animosities are deeper and fiercer than their opposition to the class enemy.

Moscow refused to align itself with Peking in the clash with Nehru's bourgeois government. Peking was equally -- and even more disastrously -- adamant in rejecting any concerted action with the Soviet "revisionists" in defense of the Vietnam revolution. Whether from conciliatory or ultraleft premises, both bureaucratic regimes place their nationalistic and factional interests above the welfare of the international struggle for socialism.

Peking's apprehensions about Moscow's intentions have been greatly intensified by the Soviet armed intervention in Czechoslovakia. It regards the Brezhnev doctrine, justifying the right of the Soviet Union to violate the sovereignty of any other workers state, as a possible pretext for similar action against Communist China and its allies.

Thus the Chinese leadership sent a telegram on September 17 applauding Albania's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and pledging all-out support to its sole ally in Europe. "Should American imperialists, Soviet modern revisionists and other servants dare to touch even a hair of Albania, they will meet with none other than total, disgraceful and inevitable defeat," Peking promised with a rather rhetorical flourish.

As matters stand, Moscow is far friendlier with Washington than Peking. The Maoist propaganda campaign against the Khrushchevist "imperialist-revisionists" is more strident than its press attacks

upon President Nixon as the head of "the monopoly capitalist class." In any case, Peking has not proposed to enter negotiations with Moscow, as with Washington, on the basis of "the five principles of peaceful coexistence" or any other terms.

Now that both have indicated that they would like to have talks with Nixon, the irreconcilable division between Moscow and Peking places the United States in the best possible maneuvering position.

In a review of "The Washington-Moscow-Peking Triangle in the Nixon Era" on January 27, Harry Schwartz of the New York Times editorial board reported that "there is some reason to believe that they [the Chinese] 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."

He also writes that Soviet journalists have hinted "that the Soviet Union would welcome continued American military presence in South Vietnam after conclusion of a political settlement in Paris." If rumors of this sort are designed to envenom Sino-Soviet relations, they are not intrinsically implausible. Moreover it is hard to see how their relations could be much worse.

What about Nixon? A growing section of the U.S. ruling class, in opposition to the unrelenting warhawks in the Pentagon and among the military contractors, has recently been expressing interest in modifying Washington's intransigent attitude toward China. Nixon himself

wrote in the October 1967 Foreign Affairs: "We simply cannot afford to leave China forever outside the family of nations... The world cannot be safe until China changes. Thus our aim, to the extent that we can influence events, should be to induce change. The way to do this is to persuade China that it must change: that it cannot satisfy its imperial ambitions, and that its own national interest requires a turning away from foreign adventuring and turning inward toward the solution of its own domestic problems."

The fact that Italy, Canada and possibly Belgium appear ready to recognize the People's Republic of China are signs of change in the international diplomatic atmosphere. Washington is in no hurry. The State Department believes it can stand pat with a strong hand. It hopes to explore Peking's intentions at leisure as the bilateral talks in Warsaw go on concurrently with the Paris parley.

As Schwartz writes: "...There is no need for the United States to favor Moscow against Peking or Peking against Moscow. These 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."

Whether or not the new administration listens to this advice, it contains a damning indictment of both the Khrushchevist and Maoist foreign policies. Their deepening schism disrupts the international unity of the struggle against imperialism which Washington intends to exploit to maximum advantage.

BERLIN STUDENTS DEMAND RELEASE OF KURON, MODZELEWSKI

West Berlin

Some 2,000 students at a memorial meeting on the fiftieth anniversary of the deaths of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg voted to send a telegram to the Gomulka government, protesting in strong terms against the imprisonment of the two courageous Polish revolutionary socialists, Jacek Kuroń and Karol Modzelewski. The students demanded the immediate release of the two fighters for socialist democracy. Only a few pro-Stalinists were opposed to sending the message of protest.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the West Berlin Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund and the Republican Club. The latter acts as a coordinating center for radical activities in West Berlin.

Speakers at the meeting included West Berlin SDS leaders Bernt Rabehl and Christian Semmler; a representative of student groups engaged in forging links with the factory workers; and Ernest Mandel, the editor of the revolutionary-socialist Belgian weekly La Gauche.

HUGO BLANCO CHARGES EXISTENCE OF HATCHET FUND IN EL FRONTON

The Peruvian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights reports that Hugo Blanco, El Frontón's most famous political prisoner, may face grave reprisals because of his courageous revelations con-

cerning a purse got up by the prison authorities to pay for the liquidation of witnesses of crimes committed by the Republican Guard against ordinary prisoners, two of whom died from torture.

WHY "HAIR" RAISED THE HACKLES ON DIAZ ORDAZ'S NECK

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

The banning of the musical comedy Hair in Acapulco shows the lengths to which the Diaz Ordaz government is going with its witch-hunt. A seemingly harmless bit of entertainment became the target of this oppressive government.

The musical comedy, which might have been quickly forgotten, became a cause célèbre in the press, where arguments justifying the government ban predominated.

Occurring in the middle of Mexico's winter holiday season, the Hair case showed that Diaz Ordaz's political police don't go on vacations -- not even in Acapulco.

As in New York, Los Angeles, London, and other cities, the comedy, which is about the "hippies," was announced with a big publicity campaign. Alfredo Elías Calles scheduled the play for January, which is the "international" (i.e., American) season in Acapulco.

The authorities in the port granted him the necessary permits and the Actors Union approved the entry of the fifteen Americans cast for the parts. The entertainment taxes were even paid in advance, since Elías Calles figured it to be a surefire hit. Rehearsals were held in Mexico City for months.

In December, the company moved to Acapulco where some benefit performances were staged before the opening night on January 3.

The premiere, with all its fanfare, was a smash hit and the success was celebrated with a fiesta "à go-go" in Acapulco's "in" cabaret, "Tiberio's" (owned, of course, by Elías Calles).

Acapulco, it looked like, was in for another of the entertainment spectacles for which the vacation center is famous, although this time the entertainment was to have an "international" aura, something new for Acapulco and to be credited to Elías Calles' flair for culture.

The impresario has said the following of the port: "Acapulco is a new and special market. There is nothing to do in Acapulco but get drunk and go sunbathing."

As is befitting the grandson of a president, he wanted to bring in a little culture. In his opinion, the Olympic games had definitively "cosmopolitanized" Mexico. Thus, the republic was now "ma-

ture" enough to appreciate one of the most advanced examples of the contemporary theater.

However, on January 4, the rare treat, which he had gone to such lengths and such expense to make available to the public, was shut down by the authorities.

Which authorities? On January 2, Acapulco changed mayors. The new mayor, it seems, had decided to clean up Acapulco and make it a moral, law-abiding town. He canceled the permit for Hair which his predecessor had issued -- although, it appears, without refunding the thousands of pesos paid in advance in entertainment taxes.

Naturally his denunciations of the immorality of the musical comedy made the whole mafia of hotel and cabaret owners and proprietors of whorehouses, who are a prominent part of the scenic background, sit up and take notice. Would the new mayor close down the joints where vice is featured on a belt-line basis?

Rumors circulated about some... nudes in Hair. So, the innumerable cabarets that specialize in shows of this type felt the hot breath of morality closing in on them. But, no, these fears proved unfounded. Once Hair was banned, the crusade to make Acapulco a moral city instead of a fun city came to an abrupt halt.

Possibly the incorruptible mayor had lent an ear to the considerations advanced by the real purveyors of vice and corruption -- the drug pushers, the pimps, and the hotel keepers, both Mexican and foreign, the real bosses of the beautiful seaport. With rumors spreading about a "cleanup" in Acapulco, this mob thought of the inconveniences this would mean for the American tourists in search of relaxation, who would have to look for towns with balmy moral climates.

At this point, none other than the highly virtuous Secretary of the Interior Luis Echeverría moved onto the scene. His agents arrested the "foreign actors" January 5 because they did not have "work permits."

In defense of his department's order giving the cast twenty-four hours to get out of the country, he said: "If we were to let all the tourists work, every year we would have to provide jobs for a million people."

This observation was quite pertinent because, in fact, the capitalist sys-

tem in Mexico can barely dig up the half million new jobs needed each year for the new contingents of youth entering the job market.

However, Echeverría glided over the real reason for banning Hair. In fact, as could be proved, some of these foreign artists without "work permits" had been acting in Mexico for years.

Moreover, the Department of Immigration and the Department of Interior had issued permits for the rehearsals and for the premiere.

Finally, to make the government's arguments look still more ridiculous, the overwhelming majority of viewers of the show would be Yankee tourists, since it would be played in...English. And ticket prices were adjusted to the high level of the Yankee tourist's pocketbook.

So why all the uproar? How to explain the absurd ban? The Mexican stu-

dent vanguard could see only one item in the comedy that could have made the hackles of the Díaz Ordaz government rise like that.

The play has a scene about the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. At that point, the actors trot out signs referring to October 12. Some who saw the rehearsals say that the placards did not carry the date "October 12." They read "October 2." That was the date of the massacre in Tlatelolco. Some actor, or sign painter, sympathetic to the student movement had left off the "1."

When the "hippies" left Mexico City, every paper ran photos of them on the front page. The reason for the ban became still clearer. All of them were making the "V" sign with their fingers.

The "V" for "Victory" or "Venceremos!" [We will win!] has become a symbol in Mexico of the revolutionary-minded student movement.

STUDENTS REMOVE "PRISON" GATES AT LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS

A meeting of the Students' Union of the London School of Economics January 24 voted 282-231 to take immediate action to remove steel "security gates" erected to divide the campus into sectors after it was occupied by students during the big October 27 antiwar demonstration last year. About 300 students, supplied with the necessary tools, removed seven of the nine gates.

About five hours later, the police, at the invitation of the LSE's Director Walter Adams, cordoned off a building where a student social was being held. According to a student press statement issued the next day, "...students present at the Friday night social were forced to march single file through the cordon to be personally fingered by their own senior professors." One LSE lecturer described his colleagues who took part in this exercise as "vulgar police agents."

Twenty-five people, mostly students, were finally charged and will be tried February 18. Most of the charges are minor, but police have threatened to add the charge of "conspiracy to cause damage" which is a common-law crime and can draw a severe prison sentence.

Several hundred angry students sat down in front of Bow Street Police Station where their fellows had been taken following the arrests. The January 25 Guardian reported that 200 students chanted, "Release our colleagues," while police ringed the station four deep.

The LSE's board of governors declared the school closed indefinitely following the incident. Lord Robbins, chairman of the board and also chairman of the Financial Times, told the press, "The school will reopen as soon as we feel confident that normal order can be guaranteed."

At first the administration tried to gloss over the purpose of the gates. Director Adams told the Observer (January 26) that they were merely a convenience in "sectionalising" the school: "The sectionalising of the school is to the positive advantage of the students. They would be able to use their union premises at any time and hold dances outside normal opening hours." The Guardian quoted him as saying they had been installed to prevent "thefts."

The chairman of the Board of Governors, however, indicated to the press that easy access to student dances had little to do with the matter. The Observer added, "Lord Robbins, while admitting that the gates were also intended to limit unauthorised occupation of LSE premises, said that only people 'inspired by wrongful intent' could regard them as a grievance."

The students in their press statement explained what had inspired their action:

"Why is there this incredibly hard crack-down on the LSE student body merely

for removing from an academic institution steel gates more appropriate to a prison? The press has correctly pointed out that the gates were partly the result of our nonviolent occupation of the school during the October Vietnam demonstration.

"However, more recently the student body passed 454-52 a motion calling for direct action against (1) the use of LSE facilities for recruitment by corporations with subsidiaries or large holdings in Rhodesia and South Africa, (2) the use of school facilities by LSE Governors who continue to hold directorships in such corporations, (3) the continued use of school investments to finance these same corporations.

"In fact, not only have LSE's investments been used to support corporations active in southern Africa, and employing apartheid African labour, but these are largely the same corporations with which the Governors themselves are associated."

The students added:

"As tension has built up between the student body and the LSE administration over the school's support for apartheid in southern Africa, and over the control of the school by the business barons on its Court of Governors, some form of direct action was probably inevitable. Since the student body could not accept the present authoritarian governing structure of the LSE, or the token changes put forth by the Governors, a clash was certainly probable for the near future, with or without the gates....

"We regard the strong crack-down of the authorities on LSE students as a part of a general crack-down on militant students and workers throughout the country, during the present crisis of British capitalism." (Emphasis in original.)

On the whole, the British press has been hostile to the student demands. An attempt has been made to picture the students' characterization of the Board of Governors as a "stereotype." The liberal Sunday Times, for example, on January 26 came up with the following rejoinder to the students' case:

"The board is not the napalm-burning gang of City tycoons that the militants make them out to be, and could hardly be so with the Archbishop of Canterbury sitting there, massively silent under his eaves of eyebrows." There are evidently large numbers of students, however, who remain unpersuaded by the eloquence of the Archbishop's massive silence.

The Board of Governors is not the only link the LSE has with the racist regimes of southern Africa. Director Adams

spent eleven years as principal of the University College of Rhodesia before his appointment to the LSE last October. His appointment was a major issue in the occupation last fall.

Adams, referred to by student militants as "Herr Direktor," has a long if undistinguished record of service to British imperialism. During World War II he worked for British intelligence, writing propaganda for the government. When the war was over he became secretary of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies. In 1955 he went to Salisbury as founding principal of a multi-racial experiment in colonial enlightenment.

Although Adams is not a champion of apartheid, even his defenders grant that he found it expedient to adapt to the fascist-like Smith regime when it came to power in 1966. The Sunday Times in a sympathetic article January 26 noted: "The charges (formed soon after UDI [Unilateral Declaration of Independence]) that he tended to hedge in crises over questions of racial prejudice are substantially true..."

His conduct after Smith took power was not inconsistent with his past behavior. The Sunday Times wrote: "Even before UDI, Adams was heading for trouble. The college rejected an application for a college post by Dr Bernard Chidzero, a Salisbury-born African. Dr Chidzero was held to be unsuitable because he had married a white girl, a French-Canadian, in 1958."

Further reprisals are expected against LSE students and sympathetic instructors. One senior member of the academic staff told the Observer: "There will probably be student expulsions and at least one staff sacking." Two staff members who are rumored for dismissal are Dr. Robin Blackburn, a lecturer in sociology and editor of the New Left Review, and Laurence Harris.

The students, for their part, are preparing a defense campaign. In the leadership are the radical organizations. "The decisive political catalyst of the LSE conflict," the January 26 Sunday Times said, "is not so much student personalities but the various Left-wing tendencies -- International Socialists (IS), the Revolutionary Socialist Students' Federation, the LSE Socialist Society, the Maoists and the Trotskyites."

A coordinating committee initiated meetings both of LSE students and of representatives of other colleges and universities January 27. A spokesman for the committee said, "We have telegrams showing solidarity from other colleges in various parts of the country, and some universities have intimated that they may occupy their

own colleges in solidarity with LSE students in their fight against British capitalism."

Activists have declared their support at Warwick and Essex universities and at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

A mass meeting of LSE students January 25 voted to call a national demonstration of solidarity, representing all student bodies, and to hold local demonstrations when those arrested the night before appear in court.

The government intervened in the crisis at the London School of Economics January 29 through a speech to Parliament by Edward Short, Minister of Education and Science. The educator told the legislators: "It is high time that some of these thugs be thrown out on their necks."

TARIQ ALI, BOB ROWTHORNE SCORE IN DEBATE WITH MICHAEL FOOT, ERIC HEFFER

Nearly 2,500 persons crowded into Central Hall, Westminster, London, January 24 to hear a debate between representatives of the left Labour party weekly Tribune and the radical socialist newspaper Black Dwarf. More than 1,000 tickets were sold in advance.

The issue that drew such a sizeable turnout was reform versus revolution. On one side were two champions of Parliamentary reform, representing the Tribune: Michael Foot and Eric Heffer, both Labour party M.P.'s. On the other side were two defenders of revolutionary socialism for the Black Dwarf: Tariq Ali, the paper's editor, and Bob Rowthorne.

The confrontation of views was widely reported in the London press. The January 25 Times commented: "With the great pipe organ of the Central Hall, Westminster, looming above them like the symbol of some new dawn, the left wing of the socialist movement in Britain last night took stock of itself."

Tariq Ali, the Times said, "after describing Mr. Foot as 'a Victorian reformer', briskly led his audience through the pathways of socialism, indicating its heroes and triumphs (Che, the N.L.F.), and explaining its tragedies (the history of the Russian revolution).

"He sneered at 'the charade of peaceful coexistence' between the west and Russia, and told his audience he hoped that they, when the clash came, would not be 'on the side of imperialism and capitalism'. He reserved his greatest abuse for the social democrats (among whom he numbered his opponents)."

It is "monstrous," Short said, "to disrupt the life of a college, university, or school because of Vietnam, Nigeria, or race, or because you are opposed to capitalism."

The minister refrained from listing any issues he might deem sufficiently grave to warrant the "disruption" of a college or university.

Short reportedly hinted that local education authorities should consider depriving student leaders of their government grants.

On January 30 the LSE administration obtained court injunctions banning thirteen young people -- ten of them students -- from entering the campus for one week. That night more than 1,000 students marched on the campus in protest.

Foot, the Times said, defended the "traditional idols of the British Left. He rose to the defence of the United Nations and Parliament."

Heffer described himself as "a revolutionary socialist." But his concept of revolutionary socialism was evidently quite different from that held by the speakers for the Black Dwarf and the better part of the audience.

Rowthorne, according to the Times, said the enemy of the Labour party "is the right and middle of the parliamentary party."

The debate was scheduled on the initiative of the Tribune, which had challenged the Black Dwarf. The press, despite its closer affinity for the views of the Tribune, generally granted that Heffer-Foot got the worst of it.

The January 25 Guardian said, "In torrential form, the merciless Mr Ali condemned Mr Heffer as a renegade, but reserved the title of public enemy number one for Mr Foot. As the honest priest, he said, he was more dangerous than the dishonest one.

"But both, Mr Ali insisted, represented a faction which had betrayed the working class time after time. They were Utopian defeatists who believed not only that socialism could be achieved without a fight but also that it could be achieved in no other way. He sneered at the activities of the Labour Left in Parliament, not one of whom had welcomed the Vietcong victories during the 'Tet' offensive. Instead, he said, they had urged the Government to

support 'the mealymouthed U Thant.'

Ali declared, "If there is a class struggle taking place, you have to be on one side or the other -- not in the middle trying to bring both sides together. We on Black Dwarf will give support to all factory occupations, all university occupations."

Foot replied by calling Tariq Ali a hopeless sectarian. It was necessary, he said, if socialists are to win control of the state, to participate in elections and existing political parties. "You say the Government has gone in the wrong direction. Indeed it has. Should I give it up? Retire? That is a doctrine for hermits....Come into the mass party in which you can make your voice effective."

Even the Evening Standard had to credit the Black Dwarf with a victory. It described Michael Foot as "seasoned," and Eric Heffer as "plodding" and "stentor-

ian," adding: "For the audience -- whose black dwarfs sounded as though they outnumbered the tribunes, even if they didn't -- there was a neat platform division between the under and over 35s."

Heffer underlined the generation gap by admonishing the young audience, "Four years ago I worked at a bench...I know more about the class struggle than 90 percent of the people here."

"The evening was Tariq Ali's," the Evening Standard concluded, "Master of oratory, as he by now should, indeed, be, he gave a superb display of rhetorical upsurges. He ranted and he gesticulated and he fell quiet, and all at precisely the right moments. Even seasoned Michael Foot, with his winning chumminess -- 'Let's not all call each other traitors' -- his scholarly argument and his practised Oxonian manner with hecklers, could not better him."

MAPAM NOT "MARXIST"

Several of our readers have called attention to some errors in a short article referring to the Israeli left party, Mapam, which appeared in our January 13 issue (page 31) under a London dateline.

These readers are, of course, correct that Mapam is not "Marxist Workers party" but "United Workers party."

Likewise on Mapam's allegedly standing for "equal rights for Arabs and Jews" -- Mapam has not included "four or five Arabs in its parliamentary contingent," as stated in the article.

Mapam's entire parliamentary con-

tingent consists of eight members, of whom one appears to be Arabic. According to one of our correspondents, he is decidedly pro-Zionist.

It should be added that as a member of the coalition government in Israel, Mapam supported the Zionist position in the June 1967 Middle East war and has taken similar positions in the past.

For more details about Mapam and other currents similar to it, see the article, "Some Remarks Concerning the Left in Israel," on page 626 of the June 16, 1967, issue of World Outlook (the former name of Intercontinental Press).

BRITISH COPS TO GET CHLORINE-BASED RIOT GAS

Police in Britain will soon get an important new "crowd control" weapon to combat the ever larger and more militant demonstrations on that island.

Specifications for a new type of CS riot gas grenade have been given to the British authorities by the Pentagon. The gas is known as "o-chloro benzel malonitrile."

This anticrowd weapon was pioneered by the U.S. forces in Vietnam. In Europe it was first used by de Gaulle's riot troops. They fired American-made canisters of the gas at demonstrators during the May-June 1968 revolt. The model to be added to the British arsenal includes several improvements based on les-

sons learned in the French events.

It will scatter, exploding canisters like grapeshot. The separate elements are jet-propelled along the ground too rapidly to be evaded. They disperse the gas as they travel, and become red-hot so that they cannot be caught and thrown back at the police. This is one of their main advantages.

The introduction of such weapons marks a sharp escalation in repressive violence in Britain, where the police do not carry guns. CS riot gas can cause permanent lung damage or even death in close quarters. Moreover, the detonating charges can cause mutilation when they explode among crowds.

PROTESTS CALLED FOR IN RICARDO GADEA CASE

The opening of public hearings in the military trial of Enrique Amaya, Ricardo Gadea, Alfonso Arata, and others accused of guerrilla activities, which was originally set for December 17, was postponed by the Consejo de Guerra de la II Zona Judicial de Policia [Council of War of the Second Judicial Police Zone], according to the January issue of Por la Libertad [For Freedom], the bulletin of the Peruvian Comite de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos [CODDEH -- Committee for the Defense of Human Rights].

The postponement came after cables and messages were received from many countries condemning the arbitrary trial of Enrique Amaya Quintana "in absentia," a procedure which is in violation of Peruvian judicial norms.

Por la Libertad is of the opinion that the Consejo de Guerra will set a new date, possibly sometime in February.

Enrique Amaya "disappeared" after the police arrested him in Paucartambo in the Department of Cuzco.

Up to now the government has not responded to repeated demands for an official inquiry into what happened to him after he fell into the hands of the police.

The CODDEH is appealing for further protests against the arbitrary procedures being followed in the case of Ricardo Gadea, who has been held in prison since his arrest in April 1966. [See World Outlook, November 17, 1967, p. 926, for details about the case.]

Protests should be sent to General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the head of the military junta that ousted Pres. Belaúnde



RICARDO GADEA

last October 3. He gets his mail at the Presidential Palace in Lima, Peru.

Copies of protests should be sent to CODDEH, Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

29 STUDENT LEADERS ARRESTED IN POLICE RAID ON TOKYO UNIVERSITIES

Four thousand police staged a surprise raid on several Tokyo universities January 25, arresting 29 left-wing student leaders. A January 27 Agence France-Presse dispatch from Tokyo said the police also seized sticks, lengths of metal pipe and leaflets.

The police are seeking to prove that demonstrations in the Kanda section of Tokyo January 18 and 19 were organized instead of being spontaneous. The demonstrators were acting in solidarity with students occupying Tokyo University.

An army of nearly 9,000 police re-

took the university January 19.

The new raids included Chuo, Meiji and Nihon universities. Students set up barricades and threw stones at the police but they were overcome by superior numbers.

The stocks of "weapons" will be introduced as circumstantial evidence in an attempt to prove they were placed in the schools in advance for the January 18-19 clashes. The universities named were said to have been used as student headquarters the week before. They were a special target in the vast police operation.

HARSH SENTENCES FOR VICTOR RICO GALAN AND 20 OTHERS

After spending two and a half years in Lecumberri prison in Mexico City, the well-known journalist Víctor Rico Galán and twenty other members of the Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo [Revolutionary Movement of the People] were suddenly taken before Judge Raúl Jiménez O'Farril and sentenced January 25.

The condemnation was done swiftly so as to cut down publicity about the way Mexico handles its political prisoners.

Rico Galán, Gilberto Balám Pereyra, Miguel Cruz Ruiz, Gumersindo Gómez Cuevas, Isaías Rojas Delgado, and Dr. Rolf Meiners Huebner were each sentenced to eight years in prison and fined 10,000 pesos [12.50 pesos = US\$1].

Under Mexican law, no bail is permitted in cases involving sentences of five years or more. Thus the prisoners must remain in prison while they appeal these harsh sentences.

The remaining prisoners were given sentences under five years and were released on bail.

Raúl Ugalde Alvarez was sentenced to four years and three months and fined 6,000 pesos.

Ana María Rico Galán, the sister of Víctor, was sentenced to three years and six months and fined 4,000 pesos. Her bail was set at 125,000 pesos.

Carlos Aguilera Delgadillo was

given the same sentence.

The others were sentenced to two years and six months and fined 3,000 pesos each. These included Alberto Chang Moreno, Juan Espino Aguilar, Pedro Medina Calderón, Roberto Minón Corro, José Navarro López, Dr. Yolanda Ortiz Ascencio, Guadalupe Otero Medina, Juan Oliverio Pérez Galicia, Raúl Prado Ballardí, Gonzalo Santillan Esquivel, Eduardo Uribe Ayala, and Filiberto Vázquez Mora.

Víctor Rico Galán and his comrades were arrested in August 1966 after the organization ran a candidate for the presidency in opposition to Díaz Ordaz.

Rico, a strong supporter of the Cuban revolution and a frequent contributor to such publications as Siempre magazine, spoke out vigorously against the candidacy of Díaz Ordaz.

Raúl Ugalde took a similarly active part in the campaign.

The Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo organized classes for peasants, workers and intellectuals on the political situation in Mexico, the Cuban revolution, etc. And the classes proved to be a success and began growing.

It was then that the police staged a series of raids and charged the victims whom they arrested with "fomenting rebellion, conspiracy, and storing arms." [See World Outlook, September 9, 1966, p. 13.]

ELIO PORTOCARRERO RIOS TRANSFERRED TO LAMBAYEQUE PRISON

In reprisal for participating in efforts of the inmates at Chiclayo prison in Peru to secure better food, Elio Portocarrero Ríos was ordered transferred to Lambayeque prison December 27, the Peruvian Committee for the Defense of Human Rights reports.

The prisoners at Chiclayo had voted for Portocarrero to keep a check on the daily deliveries of food. They knew that the prison funds earmarked for food were being diverted.

Previously Portocarrero had been held at the Piura prison together with Mario Calle, another political prisoner.

He was kept isolated and was denied normal visiting rights. Because of a visit paid him by some worker and student leaders, Portocarrero was accused of carrying on "Communist agitation" and trans-

ferred to Chiclayo.

The warden of Chiclayo prison, Fausto Tello, slandered Elio Portocarrero in the columns of the newspaper La Industria of Ciudad Trujillo, accusing him of trying to incite the prison population.

In an open letter, Portocarrero's wife, Martha Flórez de Portocarrero, denounced the arbitrary acts to which her husband has been subjected.

The political prisoners in San Quintín, El Frontón, and El Sexto sent a joint letter to the Consejo Supremo de Justicia Militar [Supreme Council of Military Justice] and the Dirección General de Prisiones [General Prison Administration] requesting that Elio Portocarrero be granted his democratic rights and the treatment proper to his status as a political prisoner.

LITHUANIA -- NEW TROUBLE SPOT FOR THE KREMLIN

Since the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet press has repeatedly sounded the alarm about "bourgeois nationalism."

The main target, of course, is the "nationalist intoxication" that is proving so hard to counteract in Czechoslovakia. But other areas, too, show the alarming symptoms. Both Rumania and Yugoslavia have come under fire from the Moscow "internationalists."

A watchful eye is also being kept on the Ukraine, long troublesome in this respect.

Now the Kremlin has run into the problem in Lithuania. An article, "In the Spirit of Friendship and Brotherhood: On Educating the Workers in the Spirit of Internationalism," by G. Zimanas, published in the January 24 issue of Pravda, reveals that in Lithuania "vestiges of bourgeois nationalism" exist and have to be combated.

"Some time ago," he reports, "a letter appeared in a paper in this republic whose author complained that he had failed to get an apartment because apartments were given to members of another nationality."

Zimanas tactfully refrains from mentioning whether the author of the letter was Russian.

He reports also that the heads of some leading bodies in Lithuania have "allowed distinctions to be made among cadres on the basis of nationality." He intimates that the problem is a consequence of overzealousness in promoting Lithuanian cadres. Again he refrains from mentioning whether the victims were Russians.

Zimanas propounds a new theory to explain the need for redoubled struggle against "petty-bourgeois nationalism" in the USSR and its spheres of influence fifty years after the October revolution.

It is similar to the theory used to justify the intervention in Czechoslovakia where it was argued that the imperialist subversion had become an immediate danger because the world balance of power had shifted in favor of the socialist countries. Therefore, it was necessary to send troops to meet the "immediate danger."

In the same way, Zimanas maintains that "as the socialist nations in our country draw closer together, we will have a period of determined assault on the vestiges of bourgeois nationalism..."

As practiced by the Russian Stalinists, the stronger "internationalism" becomes, the more it tends to give rise to the most militant kind of nationalism.

U.S. COULD END POVERTY IN EIGHT YEARS

The preliminary findings of a partially completed survey of hunger and malnutrition in the United States, which were leaked to the press a few days before the inauguration of Nixon, show that at least 10,000,000 persons go to bed hungry every night in the richest country in the world.

Part of a \$3,700,000 study undertaken by the U.S. Public Health Service, the findings were based on physical examinations of 10,000 Americans selected at random in low-income neighborhoods in the states of Texas, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Michigan. Both rural and urban areas were included.

Goiter and anemia were among the common deficiency diseases discovered. The authorities were surprised to find cases of kwashiorkor, generally thought to be confined to the children of colonial and semicolonial regions.

In testimony before the Senate

Select Committee just before he left office with the rest of the Johnson administration, Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman said that it would take only another \$1 billion a year to wipe out hunger and malnutrition in the United States. At present \$1.1 billion is being spent in food for 6,000,000 out of the country's 27,000,000 poor.

In its annual report to Congress January 16, former President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisers estimated that only \$9.7 billion a year -- about 5 percent of the government budget -- would be required to completely eliminate poverty in the United States within six to eight years.

Meanwhile the U.S. government has been spending \$24 billion to \$36 billion annually since 1965 in the war in Vietnam. That's over and above the "normal" U.S. military budget of around \$50 billion a year.

THE QUICKENING PACE IN SPAIN

[The chronology below covers one week's events in Spain in the month preceding Franco's declaration of a state of emergency. It illustrates the quickening pace of the struggles in Spain and the extent of the popular mobilization against the fascist regime.

[Received from the Spanish underground, the translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

December 3

In Barcelona, nine Trotskyist students turned over to the military authorities. The schools of economics, engineering, and architecture closed. (The schools of philosophy and medicine had already been closed.) In Madrid, the rector declares the university in danger. Strike spreads to the entire campus involving more than 25,000 students. Five of those arrested in connection with the events of the previous Friday [student sit-ins in the schools of political science and economics on November 29] were handed over to a military tribunal. Anarchist students arrested.

A worker killed at Hytasa was buried and there were slowdowns in protest at Hytasa and Hispano Aviación. A slowdown strike at the Unión Metalográfica Andaluza in Seville. Forty-seven women in Madrid -- some of them discharged workers, others wives of discharged workers -- sent a letter of protest to Solis, the general secretary of the official government union federation. The representative for Guipuzcoa [one of the Basque provinces] said he was dissatisfied with the continuation of the state of emergency in this province and the reasons alleged to justify this action [a state of emergency was declared in Guipuzcoa in August 1968 for three months and later extended for another three months to combat Basque nationalist activity].

December 4

More and more reports of mounting foreign investments and growth of finance capital. For the first time, the Social Security Administration budget was published, showing an income of 117,593,000 pesetas [69.8 pesetas = US\$1] and an outlay of 87,398,000 (where is the rest?). The Estatuto del Movimiento [Statute of the Movement -- i.e., of the fascist movement] was accepted in face of heavy criticisms and massive opposition in the press.

There was a student meeting in the Madrid subway station with a leaflet distribution. In Barcelona, sharp struggles

occurred in the school of medicine. A group of professors called for an explanation for the closing of the law school. Rumors of a new rector.

December 5

The Comisión Permanente del Consejo Nacional del Movimiento [the Standing Committee of the National Council of the Movement (fascist)] called for speeding the preparations for bringing the trade-union bill to the floor of parliament.

A general strike by intermediate university students in protest against the poor prospects facing them after graduation. A protest signed by 500 intellectuals and members of the professions in the province of Coruña against the penalties imposed at the University of Santiago. A forty-eight-hour strike at the agronomy school in León. In Barcelona, the School of Technology joins the strike. In Madrid, a protest sit-down strike in the law school. Many arrests of students in their homes and in the street. Sit-down strikes at Areonáuticos in Madrid. Slowdowns in Hytasa and Seville. A demonstration in the Palomeres district against slum conditions in Madrid.

December 6

Rumors about meetings of the Consejo del Reino [Council of the Realm] to name a successor to Franco. It seems the government does not dare introduce the trade-union bill.

Intermediate-level classes in all the universities in Spain on strike. Legal proceedings against those students arrested November 14 [student demonstrations accompanied by sharp clashes with the police took place in several Spanish cities on that date]. The engineering students resumed their strike. Penalties began to be imposed for the disturbances of November 29. More than 100 students were expelled from the University of Madrid campus. Threat to close the University of Madrid if the strike continues.

Gross malfeasance by the official grievance committee at Hytasa. Arrests continued in Euzkadi [the Basque provinces]. Stocks of arms discovered there.

December 7

Continuing rumors about cabinet shake-ups and a government crisis. Some 50,000 intermediate university students remain on strike throughout Spain. The school of architecture closed at the University of Madrid to prevent a campuswide assembly. Strike by all the students at

the University of Valencia. Professors resigned in Barcelona as a result of the incidents there.

The workers at Hytasa stuck to their position and there were renewed arrests of workers at the factory. Slowdowns in solidarity with the Hytasa workers at Flex and Chaesa; two minutes of silence in solidarity at Hispano Aviación. Conflicts at Hispanoamericana de Electrodo in Seville. In protest against the firing of two workers, the Cojinetes de Fricción plant in Getafe was occupied. Madrid police removed the workers.

December 9

In Madrid, the police prevented a school of philosophy assembly from being held. Administrative proceedings against seven architecture students for speaking at a central assembly. New proceedings against last year's student delegates in the school of medicine. Weakening of the strike in the schools of philosophy and the sciences. In Barcelona, the school of sciences closed (only the law school remains open).

The Tres Amigos mine went on strike in Asturias. Solidarity slowdowns at Casa in Seville. The wife of Camacho [an imprisoned leader of the illegal workers organizations] appealed to the supreme court, accusing the Servicio de Información Sindical [Trade-Union News Service -- the voice of the official unions] of issuing lies.

December 10

Arrests continue of members of the ETA [Euzkadi ta Azkatasuna -- the Basque Nation and Liberty -- the militant Basque nationalist group]. Students expropriated the law school mimeograph in Barcelona. Support for the strike at the University of Madrid dropped to a low level. The commemoration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights banned in Barcelona. All the Barreiros workers signed a petition calling for the resignation of the plant grievance committee. The strike at the Tres Amigos continues in Asturias. A local prosecutor wrote the ministry of the interior that great discontent exists in the countryside in the province of Gerona.

5,000 FILIPINO STUDENTS IN CLASH WITH MANILA POLICE

Five thousand students stormed the buildings of the University of the Far East in Manila on January 24 after negotiations between their leaders and the university authorities broke down. Six youths were arrested and one was injured when the police moved in to disperse the

December 11

Increase in the capital of the banks of Guipuzcoa and Santander. Complete crisis in the Spanish grape industry. In Madrid, national assembly of intermediate-level university students held. Student sit-down at the Plaza de la Cuatro Caminos. Nonpermanent law professors protest against the closing of the law school. A recital by Paco Ibáñez at the Universidad Autónoma [Autonomous University] suspended. Lightning demonstrations held in the neighborhood of Salamanca. The architecture school returned to classes. The former dean of the law school at the University of Madrid acknowledged the failure of the reform in the law school.

The political prisoners in Carabanchel in Madrid went on a hunger strike against the planting of microphones in their new quarters. Two hundred miners protest in the streets of Seville over the closing of a mine. Two workers arrested in Mataró in connection with the suspended commemoration of the Declaration of Human Rights in Barcelona. Various strikes in the mines in Asturias over accidental deaths of miners.

Minister of education meets with the rectors of all the universities in the country to draw up a plan to "put an end to the subversion." Lightning demonstrations in Madrid and a sit-down in the Plaza de Cuatro Caminos. In Barcelona, a law professor censured and fired. The school of sciences reopens.

Twenty officers in the official trade unions resigned in Barcelona. The fuel workers union opposes the 5.9 percent wage ceiling. Silicosis victims strike in protest against working conditions in the mines. Three-hour strike at "Viansa" in Asturias.

More members of the ETA arrested. Thirteen members of the Juventudes Socialistas [Socialist Youth] arrested in Bilbao. The president of OIT in a parley with Espinosa Poveda. Twenty-four wives of political prisoners occupy a Jesuit church in Madrid. Another meeting to commemorate the Declaration of Human Rights was banned in Barcelona.

demonstrators. The following day, classes were suspended. The students were protesting the continually increasing size of classes at this university which with an enrollment of 42,000 is one of the largest institutions of higher learning in the islands.

MORE FACTS ON HOW THE FRENCH CP SAVED DE GAULLE FROM REVOLUTION

Paris

It was apparent during the May 1968 events in France that the joint leadership of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Confederation of Labor -- the Communist-controlled union federation] and the PCF [Parti Communiste Français -- French Communist party] saved the Gaullist regime by their totally reformist policy and the grip they held on the mass of workers.

This policy was clear from the statements and speeches of the leaders of these organizations, in particular Séguy, the general secretary of the CGT. But it could be assumed that these leaders had behind-the-scenes contacts and discussions with representatives of the bourgeoisie and various political formations, and it would have been interesting to know what questions were raised and what they said to each other.

We cannot expect that these gentlemen will tell the whole truth about this. It is possible, however, that for reasons which have nothing to do with any concern for historical truth, bits and pieces of the facts about these discussions will come to light.

In the January 8 issue of l'Humanité, Séguy himself considered it necessary to write an article on the relations between the CGT and the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail -- French Democratic Confederation of Labor -- formerly the Catholic union federation]. Two years previously, in January 1966, these two federations signed an agreement to coordinate their bargaining drives. Among other things, this agreement resulted in a mobilization for a few days to back up the demands. This consisted primarily of processions between the Place de la Bastille and the Place de la République.

During the May events, this agreement went up in smoke, with the CFDT adopting a position to the "left," verbally, of the CGT. To a certain extent the CFDT is now profiting from the position it took then at the expense of the CGT, as can be seen in the results of the shop steward elections. Séguy's article is part of a campaign to counter this development.

We will not take up this article in its entirety here. A faithful disciple of the PCF, Séguy knows how to hit the CFDT's weak spots. But this article contains some information which is worth noting:

"The leaders of the defunct FGDS

[Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste -- Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left -- a coalition of right-wing Social Democrats and liberals], the CFDT's most favored 'ally,' knew what they wanted when on May 21 they sent a delegation to the CGT headquarters and suggested the idea that we not recognize the existing government as a legitimate party to the talks. We replied that it was difficult to conceive of such an eventuality in the absence of a concrete agreement of the left based on a common program taking into account the legitimate aspirations of the working people." (Emphasis added.)

So on May 21 the leaders of the FGDS (including the Socialist party, the Radical party, and the Convention des Institutions Républicaines [Republican Institutions Convention]) suggested to the CGT leaders that the Pompidou government no longer be recognized as a legitimate participant in the discussions, in other words, that the May movement be used to achieve a parliamentary end.

Let us not cherish any illusions about these people; they certainly had no intention of making a revolution. They only wanted to apply pressure to get a left government from de Gaulle, as the Mitterrand-Mendès operation* showed a few days later. But how did Séguy respond to this proposal? In essence, he said, "We are at your disposal if you formulate a common program with the PCF."

We should recall that this program had been running up against enormous difficulties for months, and from some of Séguy's statements in this article, it seems that the May events added to these difficulties.** Moreover, let us recall that at no time during the May days did the PCF and CGT leadership -- which the FGDS turned to because it controlled the power of the working class -- put forward a program for forming a government. Nor did it call on the workers to fight for

* The plan of boosting Mendès France as a providential leader of a broad left coalition in which he would be "above the parties" and relatively immune to CP pressure. The FGDS leaders were reluctant to form a coalition with the CP which would force them to make concessions and might alienate their conservative support. See "The French CP Draws Its Balance Sheet of the May-June Events," Intercontinental Press, July 29, 1968, pp. 678-682.

** "At that time...some [FDGS leaders].... seemed more disturbed about the extent of our demands, as if they had already been raised..."

any such program, which could have possibly forced the "left" to agree on a common program.

But Séguy did not just meet with the FGDS leaders. His article brings to mind a few lines in the pamphlet The 1968 Revolution Betrayed by André Barjonnet, a member of the National Bureau of the CGT whose political positions were close to those of the defunct FGDS and who resigned during the events. They are worth quoting at some length:

"On Monday May 20 all France woke up paralyzed by the most gigantic strike in its history. This was precisely the moment Georges Séguy chose to loudly proclaim the strike's purely economic character to the workers in the Renault factory ...Late in the night of May 20-21,* I received a telephone call. Via a member of the Conseil Economique et Social [Economic and Social Council -- one of the leading bodies of the CGT], who was also a member of the Groupe des Chefs d'Entreprise [Group of Union-Local Heads], I learned that Huvelin, the chairman of the CNPF [Conseil National du Patronat Français -- National Council of French Employers] was urgently trying to get in touch with Georges Séguy.

"After discussing this matter by telephone with André Merlot, a secretary of the CGT (who himself had discussed the matter with Henri Krasucki, another CGT secretary), I told the employers' representative that Georges Séguy was busy and that I would get in touch with him again on Tuesday, the next morning.

"On Tuesday the 21st, I was at the National Bureau with Séguy and I was officially assigned to make this contact which in fact took place late in the morning. In fact, the employers' representative had no serious proposal to offer me on behalf of the CNPF. He simply wanted to let me know that if Georges Séguy's speech to the Renault workers represented his true feelings, concealed no ulterior motive, then a serious discussion was possible immediately. Following this interview and this 'proposition,' I saw Séguy again several times. And then I got the idea or rather became convinced that the CGT indeed had no 'ulterior motive,' that it not only never dreamed for a moment of throwing its forces into the battle for socialism but it did not even contemplate the slightest action to overthrow the Gaullist regime..." (Pages 34-36, Barjonnet's emphasis.)

When Barjonnet says that he was authorized to make this "contact," that he saw Séguy again several times, it is clear that he served as an intermediary between the CGT and the CNPF on several occasions on May 21 and perhaps up to May 23.* And if from an "idea" of what was going on he became convinced of it, that means that in shuttling back and forth Séguy must have given specific answers to specific questions from the CNPF...and, it cannot be doubted, from the government, which Huvelin must have reported back to.

Thus on May 21, during the very same day, Séguy was negotiating with the employers (and the government) promising that the strike would remain an economic strike, while he chatted with the FGDS regarding a "common program" about which he could have had no illusions. These negotiations and meetings took place during the week when the movement acquired exceptional breadth, culminating on Friday, May 24, in a night of rioting. This precipitated the opening of the Grenelle bargaining sessions under the patronage of Pompidou, which ended on May 27 with the signing of an agreement that was immediately rejected by the working class.

From these facts, it is clear that the PCF-CGT leadership could not claim ignorance of the fact that the movement posed the question of power. The employers as well as the non-Communist parliamentary opposition called on them to clarify their attitude on this question. And they put this question to the CP because they know that it had the forces at its disposal to resolve the question through the intervention of the working class.

While a few days later, on May 28-29, the CP did put forward the slogan of a "People's Government," that was not because their policy had changed but because the rejection of the "Grenelle Agreements" created a difficult political situation and it had to engage in a big gamble in order to regain control of the movement and keep it from going any further. On May 30 when de Gaulle spoke and decreed that elections be held, the CP resumed the line that the strike was purely economic.

These little bits of information from Séguy and Barjonnet show, for anyone who might still doubt it, that for ten days the May events objectively posed the question of power. Both the bourgeois and working-class leaderships were conscious of this fact at the time. The policy of the PCF-CGT leadership was, then, a deliberate betrayal.

* The pamphlet says "May 21-22," but the context makes it absolutely clear that what is meant is "May 20-21."

* He resigned the evening of May 23 when a CGT statement confirmed that this organization wanted to negotiate under Pompidou's aegis (p. 37 of his pamphlet).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NORTH VIETNAM IN 1968

[Since the American government began bombing North Vietnam in February 1965, that embattled nation has suffered destruction unparalleled in the history of warfare. Full-scale bombing continued throughout the first quarter of 1968. In the "limited" phase of the attacks following Johnson's March 31 announcement of his noncandidacy, the total bombing was actually intensified, although limited to the lower third of North Vietnam.

[Despite this ferocious imperialist assault there is evidence that North Vietnam was able to register substantial economic growth in 1968. A summary of the gains made last year in economic construction appeared in the January 2 issue of the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan. Following are excerpts from that article as presented in the January 17 Vietnam Information Bulletin, published in Rangoon, Burma, by the Vietnam News Agency (VNA).]

* * *

Hanoi, VNA, Jan. 2 -- The Hanoi daily Nhan Dan in its editorial today highlighted the economic successes of North Vietnam in 1968 which, it said, "bear a major significance in the strengthening of the economic and defence potentials of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

The paper said:

"In four years of the fierce fight, in implementation of the policy of reorganizing the economy to suit war-time conditions, the socialist economy in the D.R.V.N. has made big strides forward. Along with maintaining and promoting the key production branches run by the central level, the regional industry has made a new, notable step forward.

"In the provinces and cities, a regional economy has taken shape and has created more and more conditions for achieving balance between agriculture and industry, promoting the new distribution of labour and raising social labour productivity. Under the unified direction of the state plan and closely linking agricultural to industrial production, the production capacities of the various localities have increased visibly.

"In spite of the war, a number of main industrial branches in North Vietnam continue to forge ahead. The engineering industry, in particular, has increased manyfold and hundreds of engineering factories, big and small, have been put into commission while many others are under construction.

"The regional engineering network

which has been established from the provincial and district levels down to the co-operatives has contributed to boosting the production capacities of the engineering factories at the central level.

"Coal extraction has of late made good progress. The mines in the Quang Ninh colliery have fulfilled their production plans ahead of schedule. For all the American air raids, the electrical workers have maintained the electric current at the most vital places. Workers of the timber extraction service have also made praiseworthy efforts to supply the increasing needs of construction.

"As far as light industry is concerned, state plans have been overfulfilled in many factories with high production records. In particular, in response to the decision of the government to present the South Vietnamese people with fifty thousand tons of rice, ten million metres of cloth and a hundred tons of medicines, workers of the textile industry have accepted an extra plan for ten million metres of cloth and have fulfilled their task in due time.

"In 1968 agriculture production in North Vietnam encountered big difficulties caused by prolonged cold and drought spells, repeated typhoons, water loggings and crop pests in addition to enemy air raids. However, the new production relations in the countryside have been further consolidated and the material and technical basis of the co-ops further strengthened. Agricultural production continued to develop along the line of intensive cultivation and all-round development. The emulation to reap five tons of paddy per hectare in a year is drawing millions of co-op farmers."

Nhan Dan went on:

"These big achievements in the economic field resulted from the correct guideline of the party and state. They are fine expressions of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary heroism in production and fighting and also of the effective assistance brought by the fraternal socialist countries."

Turning to the tasks ahead, Nhan Dan said:

"1969 holds a very important place. The state plan this year provides for the increase of production, the improvement of the people's living standard, the promotion of the regional economy, and at the same time active preparation for a higher rate in economic rehabilitation and development."

MESSAGE TO THE PEASANTS OF BOLIVIA

[The following appeal, "Mensaje a los Campesinos de Bolivia," is being distributed in Bolivia by partisans of the National Liberation Army (ELN), the continuation of the guerrilla forces founded by Che Guevara. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Peasant Compañeros:

The Barrientos military government has just had its fraudulent First Peasant Conference approve the Single Tax on Farm Products in the name of the peasants of Bolivia. But this conference, composed of impostors meeting as delegates under police protection, cannot commit the Bolivian peasantry, which has expressed its opposition to such a tax many times.

After massacring miners, persecuting students, destroying the unions, and slaughtering the revolutionary patriots in the political opposition, the dictatorship is turning against the peasantry and is taking the first steps to plunge it into ruin.

In fact, the Single Tax on Farm Products is the key piece in a master plan to reestablish the landlord system in the countryside, reducing the peasants to serfdom for the benefit of new masters and the American capitalists.

The Single Tax on Farm Products not only requires payment of large sums of money for each hectare of arable land, pasture, or uncultivated land but in addition sets a tax rate of 3 percent on the annual income of every peasant. Since the Bolivian peasants are among the poorest in the world, with an annual per capita income of less than \$100, it is obvious that they will be unable to pay this tax. They will be left to the mercy of loan sharks or the tax collectors, who will finally auction off their land. And this land will pass into the hands of investors to be combined into new big estates. This is the essence of the Barrientos policy for the Bolivian countryside -- to promote poverty in the countryside in order to seize the peasants' lands and convert the peasants themselves into a source of cheap labor.

The hand of the imperialists can be seen in all these measures. Similar methods were applied in the nationalized mines and industries. First they were led to ruin and then foreign investors showed up to take them over.

The Single Tax on Farm Products is not merely an unjust measure. Above all, it is the first step toward imperialist

penetration of the Bolivian countryside. The "gorilla" lackeys of imperialism can never be responsible to the needs of the Bolivian peasantry.

The needs of the Bolivian peasants are: (a) Occupy the land and establish their right to it. (b) Increase production and raise the peasant standard of living. (c) Assure a market for their products and stable prices for the industrial goods they need. The policy which the murderous generals have followed up till now, in particular with the Single Tax on Farm Products, runs directly counter to these needs.

For all these reasons, we must organize opposition to this unjust tax, which will starve the peasants and serve as the springboard for development of a new landlord system. But in order to resist and combat this tax, the peasants must learn from the experience of the miners. As we all know, the miners' wages were cut by 50 percent, their unions were destroyed, etc. The miners protested and mobilized and they were answered with a massacre. Protests, resolutions, strikes, or street demonstrations are not sufficient against the Barrientos military dictatorship. We must organize, arms in hand, to defeat the murderous "gorillas."

The Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN) [National Liberation Army], which goes back to the guerrillas of Nancahuazú led by the glorious Comandante Che Guevara and Roberto Cocco Peredo, repudiates the Single Tax on Farm Products and supports the protest of the peasants.

Centuries of experience have taught the peasants not to expect anything from bourgeois governments. They have learned that gains are not won by humiliating themselves, by pleas, or tears. The exploited can make gains only through force.

Therefore, the ELN calls on the peasants throughout Bolivia to rise up in arms against the Single Tax on Farm Products. On all the estates and communal farms, armed squads must be organized to face the mercenary bands of the Barrientos regime. The guerrillas of the ELN will be with the peasants and fight shoulder to shoulder with them to defeat the uniformed agents of imperialism.

By the authority of its sacrifice and the blood it has shed in the service of the country, the ELN calls on all peasants to wage revolutionary war to build socialism in Bolivia and Latin America! It calls on them to struggle for consolidation of their right to the land, for a new organization and planning of agricultural production, for economic and techni-

cal development and mechanization of the countryside, for transforming the archaic methods of farming through the introduction of chemical fertilizers, for protection of the lives and health of the peasants by bringing hospitals and medicine to the countryside, for broad guarantees and political freedoms for the peasantry by expelling the military bosses and killers from the countryside, for the expulsion of the imperialist agents, for the improvement of peasant education, etc.

The peasants will be free only when, arms in hand and united with the guerrillas, the workers, and the students, with the entire Bolivian people, they defeat the military dictatorship and share in the work of establishing socialism in Bolivia.

We summon the Bolivian peasants to this glorious struggle! Let us fight to make Bolivia the fatherland of Bolivians

and no longer the colony of the Yankees. Let us answer the violence of the "gorillas" with revolutionary violence.

To stop the Single Tax on Farm Products we must make the revolution and take power. To take power we must organize armed struggle and guerrilla warfare.

Glory to Che Guevara!

Glory to the Heroes of the Peasant Struggles!

Long Live the Guerrillas!

For the Ejército de Liberación Nacional

Inti Peredo

Bolivia
December 1968

MAOIST THINKER AT WORK

In an "analysis" of the proposed new constitution of the Chinese Communist party featured in the January 16 issue of the Workers World, Sam Marcy expresses the view that Chapter I of the document "is written wholly in the revolutionary spirit of the Communist International..."

Theoretician Marcy does not waver even when he comes to the key paragraph in the chapter. Lifting high the great red banner of Mao's thought, he surmounts all obstacles to reach the following triumphant judgment:

"An extraordinary aspect of the draft is the inclusion of a paragraph in Chapter I entitled the General Program, which reads as follows:

"Comrade Lin Piao has consistently held high the great red banner of the thought of Mao Tse-tung and most loyally and resolutely carried out and defended Comrade Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line. Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade-in-arms and successor."

"Bourgeois commentators have taken great pains to pour abuse on this aspect of the draft of the constitution.

"Unquestionably it is without precedent in the history of the communist movement and does not conform to previous standards of what a constitution generally contains. The framers of this clause are at least equally aware of its novelty as are its critics. It is a frank admission that while the political consolidation of the Cultural Revolution has been advanced, it is by no means fully victorious. On the contrary, the insertion of this extraordinary clause indicates that decisive, ideological and political battles may still be ahead. If it will help to win them, the insertion of the clause is entirely justified."

Recommended award to Maoist Marcy for this fine example of what miracles can be accomplished with Mao's thought: one copy of the little red book, autographed by Lin Piao.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT CHANGES HIS NAME

Daniel Cohn-Bendit, well known as "Denny the Red" during the May revolt in France, told a West German court January 24 that henceforth he would call himself "Kuroń-Modzelewski" in solidarity with the two imprisoned Polish student leaders.

He was appealing a sentence of

eight months in prison on charges of "agitation, inciting to riot, and insulting a policeman." The prosecution demanded the sentence be increased to eleven months.

The court upheld his conviction on the first two charges, dropped the last, and gave him a six-month suspended sentence.

Book Review

SOLZHENITSYN'S NEW NOVEL -- A MICROCOSM OF SOVIET SOCIETY

By George Saunders

CANCER WARD, by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.
Translated by Rebecca Frank. Dial Press,
New York, 1968. 616 pp. \$8.50.

In protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Soviet poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko invoked the traditions of Russian literature: "...such writers as Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, and Solzhenitsyn," declared the rebel poet, "have taught me that silence is sometimes a disgrace."

This inclusion of Solzhenitsyn among the great writers of the Russian language is entirely justified. (The point needs to be made because its overworking in the ads for the various editions of Solzhenitsyn's works in English tends to arouse doubts.) This novelist of the 1960's does stand in the tradition of the Russian classics -- both in writing technique and humanist outlook. But not only has he absorbed the best of his native tradition, he has also enriched and built upon it in the light of Marxism and the immense, contradictory experience of the Russian Revolution.

It is especially appropriate that Yevtushenko cited Solzhenitsyn in connection with Czechoslovakia. For the novelist's pen has consistently portrayed the very forces within the Soviet Union that correspond to what Brezhnev and Kosygin want to crush in Czechoslovakia. The anti-bureaucratic spokesmen in Czechoslovakia recognized their kinship with Solzhenitsyn by reading his open letter against censorship at their own Writers Congress in June 1967, and they have continued to solidarize themselves with him and the currents he is linked with in the Soviet Union. (See "A Literární Listy Editorial," in Intercontinental Press, October 28, 1968, p. 935.)

To read Solzhenitsyn's most recent novel, Cancer Ward, written in 1963-1967, is to get a lungful of the atmosphere which is building up in the Soviet Union toward the kind of transformation that was begun in Czechoslovakia after January 2 and temporarily delayed by the August 21 invasion.

* * *

Solzhenitsyn takes as his subject a slice of life from Soviet society in the early months of 1955. This is the period subsequent to Stalin's death but preceding Khrushchev's secret speech, a time when the first cautious steps toward

de-Stalinization were being taken.

The author gives us, in addition to the mood and excitement of that time, a sense of the subtle political and so-



ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

cial processes under way. The problem of Stalinist bureaucratism weighing upon the country and of the way to overcome it is the crux of the novel.

This problem is posed through a microscopic inspection of one section of the body politic: a group of cancer patients at a hospital in a remote city in Central Asia. Several purposes are served by this choice of subjects:

- (1) Cancer being no respecter of rank or position, the author is able to place representatives of many different strata of the population together without false effect and show their relations and interaction.

(2) In the humanist tradition of Russian literature, Solzhenitsyn deals with the lives of "forgotten people," those sick with or dying of cancer, with whom the normally healthy are usually not concerned. But the artist feels a responsibility to record their story.

(3) There is an obvious symbolism. Kostoglotov, the main character, proclaims it in one of the book's final scenes, referring to de-Stalinization: "My God, but it was time! High time! A man sprouts a tumor and dies -- how, then, can a country live that has sprouted camps and exile?"

In discussing the sociological nature of the Soviet state, revolutionary Marxists have often likened the bureaucratic caste to, precisely, a parasitic tumor (rather than a viable, self-sufficient organism). This malignant growth hampers and distorts Soviet life without changing the class character of the society.

Solzhenitsyn has projected a very similar view with the symbols of literature and the rich details of immediate experience. Symbolically, the entire hospital, whose purpose is to cure disease, is in the grip of a parasitic bureaucrat, Nizamutdin Bakhranovich, the chief physician. This man uses his position to enrich himself and reward incompetent cohorts with sinecures, thus drastically reducing efficiency and impairing the functioning of the producing members of the staff. The latter, nevertheless, go ahead with their work over and around their parasitic chief.

The central theme of the novel is brought out, not through suspenseful twists and turns of plot, but by an apparently rambling tour through the day-to-day, small-scale events in and around Ward Thirteen, the cancer ward. The author pauses for close-ups, now of one character, now of another -- patients, visitors, doctors, other staff members.

Attention focuses mainly on two figures: Pavel Nikolayevich Rusanov, the epitome of the petty bureaucrat and long-time secret police informer; and Oleg Filimonovich Kostoglotov, embodiment of the antibureaucratic rebel and long-time inmate of Stalin's camps. These two men, and the conflict they symbolize, form the central axis of the novel.

Through the medium of the setting and characters he has chosen, the artist brings into view a much broader field than just the life of the hospital ward.

(1) He gives a vivid picture of the pervasive bureaucratism and of the economic and social problems that bureau-

cratic rule is either unable to solve or that it itself creates.

(2) By exploring the past biographies of individual characters, through conversations, flashbacks, and similar devices, he lays bare the Soviet past that led to the present state of affairs.

(3) The developing tempo of the post-Stalin changes, and their effect on different sectors, are dramatized as visitors bring news, rumors are passed on, or the daily Pravda arrives in this little corner of the huge country.

(4) In parallel with the de-Stalinization trend, the revival of political consciousness and discussion among the masses is delineated through the debates engaged in by the people in the ward.

These discussions tend to become increasingly explicit, with the views of Kostoglotov tending to prevail over those of the bureaucrat Rusanov, especially in their impact on the younger patients. The high point of the novel in this regard is reached in a sharp dispute over social inequality, where Leninist antibureaucratic ideas are voiced, followed by a discussion of establishing a "different kind of socialism" -- "moral socialism."

On the surface, the "story" of the novel is hardly complicated or exciting. It begins with the arrival of Rusanov at the hospital, where he soon encounters the "lout" Kostoglotov, and concludes with the departure of both men from the hospital.

It would be a mistake to suggest, as some reviewers have, that the essence of the novel lies in the realm of the purely subjective: how the character Kostoglotov faces up to his fatal disease, or, in wrestling with personal problems, such as his relations with two women, gains self-understanding. Only a reviewer blinded by the outlook of subjective individualism promoted by the commodity-producing private enterprise system could have misunderstood so badly.

True, the novel is not all politics and social problems. Questions of doctor-patient relations, relations between the sexes, and the morality of self-honesty as opposed to self-deception, are important in the novel. For in painting life Solzhenitsyn is not one-sided. He shows the subjective factors in their real, complex interactions with the objective. But in the end it is the broader social and historical problems that are the author's main concern.

[To be continued.]

RUSSELL-SPONSORED CONFERENCE CONDEMNS INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

A conference of socialists and Communists meeting in Stockholm February 1 and 2 appealed for a boycott of the world congress of Communist parties, scheduled to be held in Moscow in May, as a way of protesting the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The participants in the Stockholm meeting, sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, invited Communists and revolutionary socialists to attend an enlarged meeting of the body in London May 2-5. The conference was attended by twenty-two delegates from Europe, the United States and the Caribbean.

The gathering heard a message from Bertrand Russell February 1 in which the

philosopher denounced the Soviet invasion and criticized Czechoslovak leaders for compromising with the occupiers.

The declaration issued by the conference said the invasion was the "logical consequence of authoritarian and dogmatic conceptions of how Socialism should be built."

The sessions were held in a hall of the Trade Union Congress of Sweden. The participants discussed the Soviet claim that a threat of "counterrevolution" existed; the impossibility of building socialism under military occupation; and prospects for the future in Czechoslovakia and in the world socialist movement.

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