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Photo by Bruce Marcus

AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. Part of the massive crowd of nearly 100,000 persons that marched in the rain in New York

City April 5 to protest the war in Vietnam. Similar demonstrations took place in cities throughout the U.S. See story, p. 356.

Thousands in U.S. Demand: 'Get Out of Vietnam Now!'

HUGO BLANCO THREATENED WITH DEPORTATION TO JUNGLE PRISON CAMP

News has just been received in New York that Hugo Blanco is threatened with being sent to a prison camp in the jungle region of eastern Peru named El Sepa.

The camp is completely isolated, being linked to Lima solely through military planes that bring in supplies and relief guards.

The hot, humid climate is extremely oppressive and the area is noted for the insects that make life virtually unbearable for those confined to the camp under the most primitive conditions.

Lacking in medical facilities, with the prisoners at the complete mercy of brutal guards, it is obvious that anyone sentenced to being held there has few chances for surviving long.

The official reason for transporting Hugo Blanco and other political prisoners to this hellhole is that El Fron-

tón, the prison island where they have been held up to now, is to be closed down.

The Belaúnde government made this decision in view of the ability of the prisoners to call national and international attention to the scandalous conditions prevailing in the prison and the shocking treatment accorded the inmates.

The current military junta is carrying out this "reform" initiated by the regime they overthrew.

Protests are in order on an international scale. They should be addressed to the Peruvian embassies and consulates and to the military dictator, General Juan Velasco Alvarado, Presidential Palace, Lima, Peru.

Copies of protests should be sent to CODDEH [Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos], Casilla 10149, Lima, Peru.

A FIGHTER AGAINST OPPRESSION

This May, Hugo Blanco will mark the beginning of his seventh year in prison. The thirty-four-year-old Trotskyist peasant leader has demonstrated in these difficult years the qualities of revolutionary will and dedication to the struggle of the oppressed that made his name an object of fear to the Peruvian oligarchy when he led the peasant masses of La Convención in their seizures of land from the hacendados [landlords].

Hugo Blanco grew up in Cuzco, where he saw at first hand the desperate poverty of the oppressed Indian masses who constitute the majority of the Peruvian population. From his youth he spoke Quechua, the Indian language, as well as Spanish. In the early nineteen-fifties, Blanco went to Argentina, where he studied agronomy and worked as an active union member in an American-owned meat-packing plant. When he returned to Peru, he helped to organize the giant demonstrations at the time of the visit of then-Vice-President Nixon in 1958. Forced to flee Lima, Hugo Blanco returned to Cuzco, where he and his comrades began to organize peasant unions.

Beginning with literacy campaigns and the establishment of hospitals, the union movement soon confronted the central problem: the tiny group of capitalist rulers who owned the vast bulk of the land. The peasants began peaceful occupations of land that had been taken from

them by the landlords. Between 1961 and 1963 more than 300 such recuperations took place. The oligarchy used police, troops and private armed goons against the peasants. The unions in reply created armed self-defense units.

On May 30, 1963, after an extensive manhunt, Hugo Blanco was captured. On July 23, 1963, Che Guevara, while on a visit to Algiers, declared, "Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could."

The government did not dare bring Blanco to trial immediately for fear of the repercussions among the masses. It was not until August 1966 that the Belaúnde regime felt secure enough to put him and twenty-eight of his comrades before a military tribunal in the remote village of Tacna. Blanco was sentenced to 25 years in prison. His close associate, Pedro Candela, was given 22 years. The prosecution sought the death penalty on appeal. This was avoided only because of a worldwide campaign on Blanco's behalf that enlisted hundreds of intellectuals, trade-unionists and independent political figures, including such people as Jean-Paul Sartre and Bertrand Russell.

The new threat of the Peruvian junta to permanently silence this outstanding fighter will certainly provoke an outcry from Hugo Blanco's friends and supporters throughout the world.

FOTOS SECRETAS DE HUGO BLANCO



AT EL FRONTÓN. Hugo Blanco (right) and his fellow prisoners now face deportation from the prison fortress in Lima's harbor to a remote camp in the jungle. In this photo, taken secretly by Carlos Domínguez of the Lima magazine *Caretas*, Blanco is holding a tray typical of the handicrafts made by the prisoners to earn a few soles to help feed their families. Even this pitiful livelihood will be taken away from them if they are sent to the jungle

death camp. On Blanco's right is Eduardo Creus, an Argentinian Trotskyist. One of the military regime's reasons for closing El Frontón is to end communication between the political prisoners and the outside world. Last December 13, for example, Blanco and Creus issued an open letter exposing the terrible reprisals that authorities took against prisoners after Blanco and others revealed that several prisoners had been murdered by sadistic guards.

MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS THROUGHOUT U.S. DEMAND: "GET OUT OF VIETNAM NOW!"

Tens of thousands of persons took to the streets throughout the United States April 5 and 6 to demand that American troops be withdrawn from Vietnam. The demonstrations were the largest since April 1968. They marked a dramatic end to the lull in antiwar activity induced by last year's election campaign, the Paris negotiations and the "honeymoon" of the Nixon administration. Particularly significant were the large numbers of American soldiers marching in the front ranks of antiwar parades in several cities.

In New York a throng estimated at more than 100,000 marched through midtown Manhattan April 5. In Chicago the same day, some 37,000 protesters took part in the largest demonstration on record in that city. On April 6, demonstrations were held in nearly thirty other cities. In Atlanta, Georgia, 3,000 persons joined a parade opposing the war and commemorating the first anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King. Press reports, which generally understate the size of demonstrations by at least half, put the number of antiwar marchers in San Francisco at 15,000 and in Los Angeles at 4,000. Reports from other cities have not yet been received.

The nationwide demonstrations were called by the GI-Civilian Antiwar Conference, which met in Chicago December 27-28, 1968. The conference had the support and endorsement of leading antiwar groups and activists from many cities. It elected a liaison coordinating committee including Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers party; Sidney Lens, cochairman of the National Mobilization Committee; Howard Petrick of the Student Mobilization Committee [SMC]; and others. In New York the massive parade was organized by the Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee. The SMC played a vital role in organizing the tens of thousands of students that turned out and in leafleting army bases to involve GIs in the action.

Marchers assembled in the rain in midtown Manhattan, filling the side streets for blocks around 41st Street and Sixth Avenue. At the head of the parade were GIs under a banner reading, "GIs Against the War in Vietnam!" Several hundred soldiers were on hand, in civilian clothes and wearing white paper caps identifying them as antiwar members of the American armed forces. Behind the GIs marched rank after rank of veterans of Vietnam and other wars, many wearing medals or the insignia of various campaigns. After them came the students and youth.

The overwhelming majority of the marchers were young. Most were high-school students. Even the rain, which

kept many adults away, failed to dampen the enthusiasm of these antiwar warriors. There was a profusion of homemade posters and banners. The most common demanded, "End the War in Vietnam" "Bring the Troops Home" and "Free Speech for GIs." Others said, "Since Talks Began: 10,000 Dead," "Peace Now," and "Victory to the NLF." Many wore black armbands with the numerals "33,000," signifying the number of American dead in Vietnam. One marcher carried an effigy of a crucified soldier. The massive march lasted more than three hours. The concluding rally at 72nd Street in Central Park was nearly over before the last of the marchers stepped off from the assembly point thirty blocks away.

The demonstration received wide coverage in the press and over radio and television. It was the major event on evening national news telecasts. One radio station provided live coverage of the march and the rally. The New York Times devoted five columns of its front page on April 6 to a picture of the GI contingent.

The sharp resurgence of the movement that brought down Lyndon Johnson sent tremors through the Nixon administration. While the antiwar throng was marching in New York, Washington officials told the press that Nixon had decided to end the war and pull U.S. troops out. The actual "plan," however, remained as much a secret as the one Nixon claimed to have when asked about the war during his campaign against Humphrey many months ago. It was clear that the antiwar movement had drawn blood in Washington, but Nixon still appeared to be stalling for time.

Another aspect of the antiwar demonstrations that drew worried attention from capitalist commentators was the growth of the GI contingents. In a page-two article on April 6 the New York Times said: "The peace demonstrations by soldiers in six American cities this weekend reflect the rapid growth in recent months of a seriously worrisome problem and an emotional affront to the armed services -- aggressive antiwar militancy by enlisted men. A contradiction in terms, the antiwar soldier may become the most disruptively effective peace activist yet, with an impact that could far exceed his small numbers in the 3.5 million-man armed forces."

The article pointed to the growth of GIs United Against the War at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, as symptomatic of the developments taking place in the army. It also reviewed the case of Specialist 4 Allen Myers, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, who is presently under quarters arrest at Fort Dix, New Jersey, because of his antiwar views.

SOHYO VOTES TO CONTINUE COOPERATION WITH RADICAL STUDENTS IN OSAKA

Osaka

The executive committee of the Osaka Council of Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan] voted March 24 to continue to participate in joint struggles with radical students, despite heavy pressure to break with the student movement. The decision was especially significant inasmuch as Sohyo is the largest trade-union federation in Japan with 39.8 percent of the country's ten million organized workers. Osaka is one of the largest industrial centers, with a strong tradition of militancy in the labor movement, and the action of the local Sohyo Council will have repercussions throughout the country.

The central leadership of Sohyo, influenced by the Japan Socialist party, refused any further cooperation with radical student groups after the massive October 21 antiwar demonstrations last year, which resulted in clashes with the police in several cities. The Japan Communist party has encouraged the Sohyo leadership in its break with the anti-Stalinist student radicals.

The Sohyo national leadership has been trying to impose its stand on local chapters and affiliates. In accord with this the JCP has been staging a full-scale campaign against the students.

In Osaka, too, the JCP's malicious campaign has been felt. The leadership of

the Osaka council has had several discussions on the problem, under pressure from the central leadership of Sohyo and the JCP.

The antistudent campaign has provoked a strong counterattack from militant young workers organized in the All-Osaka Committee of Antiwar Youth. A strong defense for joint struggles with radical students has come from representatives of the Teachers' Union of Osaka, the Osaka Municipal Workers Union, and the Osaka Section of the All-Telephone and Telegraph Workers Union. Many young workers from these unions have been active in antiwar struggles and in the fight for the return of Okinawa to Japan.

The central force in the Osaka Committee of Antiwar Youth is the Socialist Youth Alliance, led by revolutionary socialists. The Socialist Youth Alliance has played an important role in mass meetings against the Vietnam war and on the Okinawa question. The group has energetically protested the antistudent policy of the central leadership of Sohyo and the JCP.

The decision of the Osaka council of Sohyo, in responding to the pressure of the revolutionary students and not that of the central bureaucracy, will have a big impact on the struggle against the Japan-U.S. Security Pact, scheduled for renegotiation next year.

SARTRE, ARAGON CONDEMN ANTI-SEMITISM IN POLAND

[The following protest against the anti-Semitic campaign that the Polish government has been whipping up since the March 1968 student demonstrations was published in the March 30-31 issue of Le Monde. Among the signers were Louis Aragon, poet and novelist, editor of the literary weekly Les Lettres Franais, and dean of French Communist intellectuals; Aragon's wife, Elsa Triolet, also a well-known novelist; Jean-Paul Sartre; Simone de Beauvoir; and Alfred Kastler, winner of the 1966 Nobel Prize in physics. The other signers were Maurice de Gandillac, Michel Gordey, and Jacques Madaule.

[The text published in Le Monde appears to be abridged. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Under the pretext of anti-Zionism, a form of anti-Semitism has been develop-

ing in Poland for several months. This development, moreover, has been assisted by at least a part of the ruling circles. Although anti-Semitism is still officially condemned and not approved by the official laws, an atmosphere prevails in Poland which might recall various unfortunate precedents....

As old friends of Poland, we deplore this situation all the more because it is contrary to all the principles on which the Polish government claims to stand.

We earnestly call on the Polish authorities to cease at once the campaign of systematic denigration and suspicion of which Polish citizens of Jewish origin have been the victims. We call on the Polish authorities to annul the unjustified sanctions which too many of these Polish citizens have been subjected to in disregard of their past lives. The honor of the new Poland is at stake.

KREMLIN TO TRY CRIMEAN TARTARS FOR "ANTI-SOVIET SLANDER"

Another series of political trials is at hand in the Soviet Union -- this time of leaders of the Crimean Tartars, a people whose struggle for national rights in defiance of Kremlin policies has reached a high level of mass organization and consciousness. The bureaucracy, concerned lest this example spread to other sectors of the Soviet population, is escalating its reprisals.

Facing trial in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek Soviet republic where most of the Crimean Tartars now live, are the following: Rolan Kadyev, 29, a physicist; Izet Khairov, 31, also a physicist; Ridvan Gafarov, 54, an electrician; Ayder Bariev, 26, a mechanic; Risa Ulifov, 49, a building worker; Reshat Bairamov, 28, an electrician; Svetlana Ametova, 26, a nurse; Munire Khalilova, also a nurse; and Ismail Yazidzhiev, a teacher. Another defendant, Gomer Bayev, faces trial not in Tashkent but in Simferopol in the Crimea.

The trials were reportedly scheduled for the end of March, but there has been no news of their commencement or outcome thus far. The "crimes" with which the defendants are charged apparently include spreading "anti-Soviet slander," organizing mass disorders, and resisting the

Statement of the Crimean Tartars:

"THE PEOPLE HAVE ANSWERED EVERY ILLEGAL ACT WITH MASS PROTEST"

[Following is the text of Bulletin No. 82 of the Moscow representatives of the Crimean Tartars, issued New Year's Day, 1969. It has appeared in several publications outside the Soviet Union, including the London Observer of March 30, 1969, whose version we have followed. One paragraph that appeared in a Russian-language version but not in the Observer has been inserted in brackets at the appropriate place.]

* * *

Dear compatriots. The year 1968, designated by the United Nations General Assembly as International Human Rights Year, has passed. The Crimean Tartar people had hoped that the Government, even if only for reasons of its own prestige, would at last take some steps towards the resolution of [this] national question. But our hopes were unfounded.

Our national question has not merely not been resolved; the situation has been further aggravated by the severe repressive measures taken by the author-

ities. "The prosecution has amassed some twenty volumes of documents and 500 witnesses to prove its case of slander," reports the April 7 Newsweek. "But the Tartars seemed determined to use the trials to publicize the injustices -- past and present -- that have been inflicted on them."

Under Stalin, in 1944, the entire nation was deported from the Crimea to Soviet Asia on the pretext that some Tartars were Nazi collaborators. In 1957, with de-Stalinization, their exile status was ended, but they were denied the right to return to their homeland and reconstitute the Crimean Tartar Autonomous Republic (first established under Lenin's revolutionary national policy). A decade of petitioning in vain for that right culminated in mass demonstrations by Tartars in 1968 -- on Lenin's birthday, April 21 -- and other mass protests thereafter (as described in the Tartar statement below).

Dissident Communists such as former Major General Pyotr Grigorenko have strongly supported the Tartars. The London Economist of March 29 reports: "Grigorenko has been warned by the Soviet police that if he goes to Tashkent for the forthcoming trial of Crimean Tartars he will be immediately arrested."

ities against Crimean Tartars. More very courageous and principled fighters for the people's interests have been thrown into the torture chambers of the KGB [Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti -- State Security Committee, the Soviet secret-police organization] -- Ridvan Gafarov, Izet Khairov, Rolan Kadyev, Gomer Bayev, Ayder Bariev and many others.

On the eve of the International Conference on Human Rights in Teheran, the authorities of the Uzbek Republic carried out a cruel pogrom against the peaceful citizens of Crimean Tartar nationality in the town of Chirchik. Detachments of the militia, soldiers of the internal security forces, and small units of firemen, with senior commanders at their head, demonstrated their strength and dexterity on peaceful citizens -- mostly women and children who had gathered to celebrate our national spring holiday.

This was an attempt by the authorities to instil in the Crimean Tartars the realisation that any expression by

them of their distinct national identity, any demonstration of affection for the customs and traditions of their homeland, the Crimea, would be severely suppressed. In vain Crimean Tartar representatives in Moscow cabled the Central Committee of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] and other supreme organs, demanding the immediate establishment of a government commission to investigate this crime.

The CPSU leaders ignored the voice of the people's representatives. Not only were the organisers of the mass terror not punished, but through farcical trials the responsibility for all these events was transferred to 10 victims of this tyranny, who were condemned for organising mass disorders, resisting the authorities, and propagating anti-Soviet slander, and sentenced to imprisonment for varying lengths of time.

These and many other acts of flagrant illegality against the Crimean Tartars did not prevent the Soviet delegation in Teheran from declaring that the Soviet Union firmly guarantees the defence of the civic, political and cultural rights of its citizens, and from subsequently attacking with "righteous anger" the "ruling juntas" of certain States for carrying out a policy of racial and national discrimination.

The Soviet delegation had not yet returned from Teheran, where it had signed a declaration on the need to strengthen the fight against racial discrimination and where it had even proposed a resolution containing a demand that all those guilty of conducting a policy of terror and mass repression should be brought to justice, when on 16-18 May in Moscow, about 800 representatives of our people were detained, beaten and forcibly dispatched to places of compulsory settlement; they had come to Moscow on behalf of their people, who had paid their expenses, to ask the leaders of the Party and Government for a rapid decision on the Crimean Tartar national question.

Every day the Soviet Press reports the persecution and judicial punishment of democrats and participants in the national liberation struggles of other countries; in the name of the whole Soviet public it protests against the arrests of Communists in Indonesia, and tirelessly hymns the "happy family life of the nations enjoying equal rights in the USSR." But at the same time, hoodlum "guardians of the peace" in the Crimea were mercilessly beating defenceless families of Crimean Tartars, solely because they had defied the will of chauvinistic obscurantists, left their place of exile and returned to their homeland; in Uzbekistan the most active participants in the Cri-

mean Tartar movement for equal rights were being tried on a false charge of anti-Soviet activity; and the peaceful celebrations and religious gatherings of Crimean Tartars were being dispersed with the help of armed force; while in the capital of the USSR, in front of the Central Committee building itself, punitive bodies led by their highest ranks were rounding up the legitimate representatives of the people.

Yet not a single line in any one of the thousand newspapers and magazines of our "most democratic" and "people's" Soviet Press made even a passing reference to these events, which are such a tragedy for our people.

But the past year is not characterised by these dark episodes alone. In 1968, the civic consciousness of our whole people rose even higher. Mass repressions have not frightened the Crimean Tartar people. The people have answered every illegal act with mass protests and a multitude of meetings and demonstrations. It is precisely this cohesion and strength of will that arouses the open fury of those who would like to preserve the system of the dark times of Stalin, when a handful of ignorant careerists and officials, headed by an infinitely inflated idol, could dictate their criminal will to [the] Soviet people paralyzed with fear, and could, at their own discretion, dispose of the property, sovereign territory and freedom of whole nations and peoples.

[In the past period the national movement of the Crimean Tartar people for equal rights has entered a new phase. The courage and firmness of the Crimean Tartars has attracted the attention of Soviet progressive public opinion, of progressive people of the Soviet Union, to whom the honor of their country and the fate of its people is not a matter of indifference. Also the voice of progressive world opinion has begun to sound more and more insistently in support of us. Today we are not alone. In time the regime will have to take that into account. We, too, should reflect on these favorable conditions. While strengthening our ranks and activating our national forces, we should continue to look for friends throughout the country, throughout the world.]

Current world events serve as a sharp reminder that even the most powerful force cannot crush a people, however small in numbers, provided that it is united in its thoughts and actions.

The new year, 1969, must be a year of even greater political activation and unity of action for our people. The time is not far off when our people, with the help of all progressive forces, will be able to break the back of Great-Power chauvinism and a resurrected nation will

breathe freely on its native soil. Happy New Year, dear compatriots!!!

New Year greetings and best wishes for the New Year have been sent to the

Crimean Tartar people by representatives of democratic public opinion in the USSR -- S.P. Pisaryev, P. Grigorenko, P. Yakir, V. Krasin and many others....Your representatives in Moscow.

NEW CLAMPDOWN ON THE CZECHOSLOVAK PRESS

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist party, acting under pressure from the Kremlin, announced the imposition of government censorship of the press April 2 and threatened disciplinary action against Communist party members who continued to oppose the Soviet occupation. The action followed a new outburst of popular demonstrations March 28 when the Czechoslovak ice hockey team defeated the Soviet one in the world championship tournament in Stockholm.

In Prague the demonstrators sacked the offices of Aeroflot, the Soviet airline. Thousands gathered in Wenceslas Square shouting "Russians go home!" The Czech government later revealed that similar demonstrations took place throughout the country and that crowds made numerous attacks on Soviet barracks and offices and that a number of Soviet military vehicles were burned.

The Soviet bureaucrats used the demonstrations as an excuse to demand new concessions from the Czech leaders. Pravda on March 31 denounced the popular protests as "chauvinistic psychosis." Two high-ranking Soviet officials arrived in Czechoslovakia the same day without invitations. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir S. Semyonov and Defense Minister Andrei A. Grechko met secretly with Czech government leaders preceding the press crackdown. The Czech Presidium specifically criticized Josef Smrkovský, a leading reformer, for "violating the conclusions" of party resolutions that incorporated Soviet demands. Semyonov and Grechko were said to have threatened to use Russian tanks against demonstrators in the future. On April 3, Alexander Dubček appeared on national television. He appealed to the population to end their resistance to the occupation in order to "prevent a return to the crisis of August."

But the workers, students and intellectuals gave some indications that they were not ready to follow the leadership into the arms of the Soviet occupiers. Worker, party and student meetings adopted resolutions critical of the censorship decree. The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists declared that the new curbs would lead to a "serious weakening" in the relations between the mass media and the people.

The new Soviet crackdown was wide-



GUSTAV HUSAK

ly regarded as a prelude to the removal of outspoken figures such as Smrkovský and perhaps even Dubček himself. The news service of the Los Angeles Times and the Washington Post indicated April 4 that this threat had worried even some Kremlin conciliators in the Czechoslovak leadership. Gustav Husak, the Slovak party chief who played a central role in the recent demotion of Smrkovský, was said to have threatened to resign if the Soviet leaders insisted on the ouster of Czech progressives. He was also said to have proposed that if any member of the Presidium was forced out, the entire Presidium should quit.

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE IMPRISONED STUDENTS OF MEXICO

By José Revueltas

[The following open letter to the students imprisoned in Mexico was written by the well-known Mexican novelist José Revueltas November 7, 1968. In March of this year it was published by the Comité de Lucha (Struggle Committee) of the School of Philosophy at the University of Mexico.

[In addition to being one of the foremost writers of his generation, Revueltas is a long-time revolutionary militant. In the early 1930s he was sent to the penal colony on the Islas Mariás for being a member of the Young Communist League. He was fourteen years old at the time. Government spokesmen have called Revueltas the "intellectual leader" of the 1968 student rebellion in Mexico.

[Since he wrote this letter, Revueltas has joined the political prisoners behind bars. Despite pleas for his release from many Mexican writers and from the famous Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, the regime continues to hold him under brutal conditions.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Compañeros:

You form the body of those who, at different times in the struggle following July 26 of this violent and bitter but no less joyous and hope-inspiring year of 1968, were the first of us to fall. The word "fallen" sounds harsh and bare, but that is the tone in which history speaks. Do not smile and think that this is mere rhetoric. When the hot breath of human struggle has put life into them, figures of speech assume a real, living, palpable content. It is because of this struggle that history gives us the right to speak in its name.

You are the first. More will fall. But for now it has come to you alone to pay the price of struggle. That must not matter, because fallen does not mean defeated. Behind those who fall there are always others to pick up the standard and sooner or later they will fly it from the very summit of victory.

You, compañeros, we, are young; our movement is a young movement. All who fight, who will not accept defeat, who struggle, are young when they fight to win the world for reason and human dignity.

Think deeply on the meaning of our

attitude, of the positions of our movement and also about what it means in the life of a man to be a political prisoner at such an early age. It shows the spirit of devotion and sacrifice of a new generation, an alert, vital, fighting generation which has refused to abase itself, a generation which could not be seduced by the demeaning illusion of easy, opportunistic success or a life without adventures or difficulties.

You student compañeros who are in prison have won the mantle of manhood by going to jail, rather than getting the academic degree that would initiate you into one or another profession. You have preferred to be confirmed as human beings rather than casting your lives on the gray tide of conformity and servility in the prospect of becoming one more commodity in a society whose only god is Mammon.

Compañeros, fighting in the ranks of the student and popular movement has been an honor for all of us who have participated and who have unselfishly supported this fight. But being prisoners for the cause of our movement is a two-fold honor and a mark of pride and dignity that no one can ever take from you. You, and we all, are a generation with very special historical characteristics setting us apart and distinguishing us very clearly from the generations that have gone before.

This does not mean that we should fall into vainglorious boasting that we have qualities superior to all the past generations. We are no better nor any worse. We move and act in a political and social context different fundamentally from other times. The only thing that sets us apart is that we are unwilling to betray our destiny or let anyone betray it. Actually, this involves no virtue. The historical circumstances, the nature of the world and of the country we live in, make it impossible that this destiny should not be realized -- unless that catastrophe intervenes which threatens all humanity and on whose brink we find ourselves.

It would be obtuse and stunted provincialism to think that the 1968 Mexican youth rebellion was a case apart without connection with what is going on in the world. It would be absurd to think that it was uninfluenced by the dominant tone that governs the relations among all countries -- big and small -- by this tone which is founded on the possession of nuclear weapons by the great atomic powers of both blocs into which the world is divided.

If the social relationships and structures in the world are not transformed, and this holds for both the capitalist and socialist countries, the final catastrophe seems assured. In substance, and apart from superficial differences, the struggle of the youth is the same in each and every country of the earth -- the same in Japan as in Uruguay, in Brazil as in Germany, in Mexico as in Czechoslovakia.

Yes, there really is an "international plot," but not the one that the dwarfed and murderous imagination of our rulers has invented as a pretext for a bloodbath and for implanting fear and terror in the hearts of the people. The conspiracy is by the nuclear superstates, all of them. It is the inertia of their overwhelming and growing atomic armament which is leading them little by little toward the holocaust. And that point will be reached unless the peoples are able to prevent it.

The petty politicians who seek to decide the fate of the developed countries -- and this is more obviously the case for the political con men in our country -- maneuver under the cover of this situation. Encouraged by the cynicism, the shamelessness, and the arbitrariness that are the political norms in the foreign relations of the great powers, these politicians choose to institute violent and terroristic dictatorships.

If the U.S. presses its barbarous war in Vietnam and the Soviet Union invades Czechoslovakia with complete effrontery, caring nothing about the censure and indignation of public opinion, why then should the Díaz Ordaz government shrink from committing the fearful massacre in Tlatelolco? Why should it not be able to carry out this mass murder without the least concern for the internation-

al honor of Mexico? Why should the consternation, apprehension, and horror with which the press in all countries reacted to a deed so monstrous and inconceivable for any civilized country make Díaz Ordaz lose any sleep?

Because of these extreme situations it is impossible for our generation of 1968 to be false to its destiny. In Mexico and throughout the world a single inexorable and crucial dilemma faces us -- Victory or Death. Victory for our country would mean a free, democratic, healthy Mexico where the people could breathe, think, create, study, and love. Death -- if we were unfortunate enough to remain physically alive -- would be a night of the soul, endless tortures, a muzzle on all expression, poverty of the body and of the spirit.

Compañeros imprisoned for the cause of liberty:

We are all sustained, you in prison and those of us who are still "free," by our confidence in the inexhaustible vitality of our movement, in its indefatigable determination to win, in its resolution to endure any sacrifice, and in the unimpeachable rectitude and purity of its aims.

We must maintain our ironclad unity of objectives and our discipline. We must keep our bonds of solidarity, our fighting spirit, firm, resolute and intact, both inside and outside the prisons, both in the open fight and in the enforced passivity of the prisons, which need not be any less militant and spirited.

Ever Onward to Victory!

The University of Mexico
November 7, 1968

TARIQ ALI REPORTS ON THE SITUATION IN PAKISTAN

Tariq Ali, the well-known leader of the British anti-Vietnam-war movement, has recently returned to London from a four-week visit to his native Pakistan at the request of revolutionary student groups in Rawalpindi. He described the present situation in Pakistan in the March 28 London Daily Mirror.

On the prospects of the new junta under General Yahya, which replaced the military regime of General Ayub Khan, Tariq Ali wrote: "In 1958 [when Ayub seized power] the people were afraid -- and the Army was united. In 1969 the opposite is true. There is dissension within the Army. Some officers in West Pakistan are facing courts-martial for refus-

ing to open fire on strikers."

"The 'calm' which now seems to have returned is bound to be deceptive. Having got rid of one yoke after ten years it is unlikely that the East Pakistanis will tolerate a new West Pakistani dictator for more than a year.

"The smallest incident could lead to another upsurge which may end in an independent and sovereign East Pakistan: a Pakistan which of political, economic, and geographical necessity would be Socialist.

"It could be a new Yemen or, if the Central Intelligence Agency decided to intervene, it could even become a new Vietnam."

MARXISTS AND NORTHERN IRELAND

By Murray Smith

[The following article is reprinted from the March 1969 issue of International, a revolutionary socialist journal published at 8 Toynbee Street, London E.1, England.]

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When approaching the question of Ireland, British Marxists must be careful to differentiate between the correct demands for socialists to make in Ireland, and those demands it is appropriate to raise in Britain, in solidarity with struggles in Ireland. Obviously what we want to see is a socialist Ireland, but we must be quite clear that the achievement of this is the task of the Irish working class, and its allies among other sectors of the Irish people, such as the small farmers, the students, etc.

Having stated this, let us proceed first of all to analyse briefly the situation in Ireland today -- both North and South.

The situation in Northern Ireland has changed dramatically over the last six months. Up till then, Northern Ireland had remained depressingly the same for nearly half a century. Since its creation as an entity in 1921, the province has been ruled by one party, the Unionists -- a bourgeois party representing the interests of the British and Anglo-Irish capitalists and landlords, and basing itself on the Protestant two-thirds of the population. It has retained the support of these people, overwhelmingly workers and small farmers, on the basis of maintaining the Union with England (i.e., separation from Catholic Ireland) and the privileged position of Protestants.

The religious bigotry which makes this state of affairs possible goes back to the Seventeenth Century, when Ulster was colonised by British Protestant settlers who drove out the native Irish. Since then the Ulster Protestants have always clung to the link with Britain for "protection". The poor Protestants have been and are used by the ruling class like the "pieds noirs" in Algeria and the "poor whites" in America's deep south. They collaborate in discrimination (religious, cultural, economic, political) against the Catholics. The ruling class are thus able to have the Northern working class divided and unable to fight as an effective force.

Northern Ireland has remained politically divided primarily along religious, not class lines. Economically

wages have remained the lowest in the United Kingdom, housing conditions among the worst in Europe, and unemployment very high (over 7%, equivalent to 1½ million unemployed in Britain). All these problems have been more acute for Catholic workers, who get the less skilled jobs, the worst housing, and suffer most from unemployment. (In Catholic Derry the rate is 17½%, in Strabane 25%, in Protestant Belfast, around 5%.)

The central problem for socialists in the North has always been how to unite Catholic and Protestant workers. This has seldom been done. (It was being done prior to partition, in the strikes of 1906 and 1913, for example. Since then, only to a certain extent in the thirties.)

The Labour Party in Northern Ireland has always been bedevilled by the problem of the border. To accept it means driving the Catholic workers into the arms of the middle-class nationalists. It has been afraid to attack the border for fear of alienating Protestant workers. For the last 20 years it has chosen to accept it. The Northern Ireland Labour Party is today a reformist mirror of its British counterpart, and a defender of the Union -- but it has the affiliation of the trade unions. The smaller Irish Labour Party and Republican Labour Party are anti-partition, and have largely Catholic support. In this situation the Unionists have retained the support of the mass of Protestant workers, the Nationalists that of the Catholics.

The situation altered sharply last autumn, with the development of the Civil Rights movement. This sprang from two sources:

(1) The Derry Housing Action Committee; and (2) the People's Democracy at Queens University.

The Derry HAC, a mainly working-class organisation, began to campaign last year against the atrocious housing conditions in that city (500 houses built since 1919!). This became expanded into the Derry Citizens' Action Committee (a predominantly middle-class body) -- fighting not just the housing issue, but also on electoral gerrymandering and the denial of the local government vote to many of the (Catholic) workers of Derry and elsewhere, and the multiple vote for property owners.

People's Democracy was set up in October to campaign along the same lines, but has done so in a much more aggressive and militant way, obviously inspired by

the escalating struggles of students internationally. The split between People's Democracy and the middle-class leadership of Hume and Cooper of Derry CAC, and Currie and Co. of the Nationalist Party, has been obvious since the beginning of this year (the Belfast-Derry march, etc.). The militant leadership from People's Democracy has elicited a response among the Catholic workers of Derry and elsewhere, who are much more militant than their leadership -- viz., the effective occupation of Bogside by a workers' militia for a week.

In this situation, what should we advise socialists in the six counties to do? The aim must be to break the workers from both Unionist and Nationalist parties, and win them to a socialist position. This can be done through fighting for a socialist line in the Civil Rights movement, and to extend it to the Protestant workers, still largely unaffected by it. The radicalised students can play a big role in such a struggle. Concurrently, a struggle must be waged for a more militant socialist policy in the Northern Ireland Labour Party, to support workers' struggles, and to campaign for the removal of the border in order to assist the whole Irish working class to wage a united fight for a socialist Ireland.

In the South, there has also been an upsurge of political activity by workers and students recently. Industry in Eire (much of it American) has developed considerably during the phase of capitalist development since the Second World War.

There has, over the last year, been an escalating wave of strikes in the Republic, affecting many sections of workers. There has been the development of the Dublin Housing Action Committee.

There has been considerable radicalising of students. In January a demonstration of 2,000 workers and students against the eviction of a squatter was broken up by police in Dublin. This growing militancy has been reflected on the political plane. The Irish Labour Party recently adopted a radically left-wing programme, including the call for Connolly's "republic of workers and small farmers". It is widely tipped to make big gains at the next election, the more so since Lynch failed to win the referendum held last year to change to the British (two party biased) voting system [i.e., to abolish proportional representation. -- I.P.]. For the first time in many years there is a chance for Irish workers to break from the two nationalist parties.*



TERRENCE O'NEILL

The task of socialists in the Republic should be to fight in the Labour Party for an even firmer socialist programme, for support of the workers' strike struggles and the Housing Action Committees. In addition, the demand should be raised to reunify the Irish Labour Party and the Northern Ireland Labour Party (the unions in both North and South are already linked by the Irish Congress of Trade Unions) and to fight for a united Ireland. Fianna Fail and Fine Gael must not be allowed to regain the allegiance of Southern workers by posing as the champions of unity and the inheritors of the tradition of 1916, as they have done for half a century.

By fighting along such a programme in North and South, revolutionaries can lay the basis for the revolutionary socialist party which will be built from the left wing in the Labour Party and trade unions, the Civil Rights movement and the radical students. It is neither possible nor desirable that we in Britain should work out a detailed strategy for the building of a revolutionary party in Ireland. That is the task of Irish Marx-

* Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, the two traditional bourgeois parties of Eire.-- I.P.

ists. We can simply sketch out a general line of such a strategy, and offer our help in every way, political and practical.

It is claimed in some quarters on the British left that the demand for a united Ireland (that is, for self-determination of the Irish people as a whole) is not revolutionary, that it is acceptable to Wilson and Lynch. We should, according to these people, demand a united socialist Ireland. This is incorrect.

Firstly, the demand for a united Ireland is revolutionary. Wilson and Lynch might want a united Ireland. It would be more economically convenient, less politically embarrassing. The point is that to secure it would mean smashing the basis of right-wing Protestantism in the North, of unleashing civil war in fact. This the British imperialist Government will never do. Only the Irish working class could do it. Britain will rather send in troops to back O'Neill against the workers and students.

Secondly, if unity was achieved, it would enable the Irish workers to be gin to fight as a class for a socialist Ireland. Thirdly, we have absolutely no right to question the right of the Irish people to self-determination -- whether this leads to a socialist Ireland or not.

This leads us on to the question of what revolutionary socialists can do

in Britain. Obviously we can and must, as already stated, give all possible help to revolutionary socialists in Ireland. It also goes without saying that we show our solidarity with workers in Ireland (or students) who are engaged in a fight with the capitalist state, either North or South -- as we should do in relation to France, Mexico, or anywhere else. But we also have wider responsibilities to the Irish people.

As revolutionary socialists in an imperialist country which is occupying part of Ireland, we have a special responsibility to campaign for the withdrawal of those troops. We do not set any conditions to our support for the struggle of Irish people against British imperialism and its servants at Stormont. This means that we:

(1) Support all demands of the people of the six counties for political rights, jobs and housing; (2) demand the withdrawal of all British troops; and (3) demand the ending of all support, political and economic, for the Stormont Government.

It is along these lines that we must campaign in this country. We do so in order to enable the Irish people to settle accounts with the Unionist oligarchy and the Paisleyite thugs, stripped of their support from British imperialism.

PORTRAIT OF MAX EASTMAN: 1883-1969

By George Novack

On March 25, at the age of 86, Max Eastman died of a massive stroke at his winter home in Barbados. The history of American radicalism in the earlier decades of our century could hardly be written without reference to the participation of this genial poet, editor and translator.

The son of two liberal Congregational ministers who lived in upstate New York, he was educated at Williams College and Columbia University, where he wrote his doctoral thesis under John Dewey. In 1913, while teaching logic to Columbia undergraduates, he took over the editorship of The Masses, the iconoclastic monthly to which many of the most talented writers and artists of the left between 1913 and 1918 contributed.

Because of its campaign against the draft and opposition to U.S. entry into World War I, the magazine was banned from the mails and its editors, among them John Reed, Floyd Dell and the cartoonist Art Young, were indicted and

twice tried for sedition. The government dropped the cases when the juries disagreed.

In 1917 The Masses, which spoke for the left wing in the socialist movement, greeted the Bolshevik victory with immense enthusiasm. Friends of the magazine had sent John Reed to Russia as its correspondent and out of this assignment came the classic Ten Days That Shook the World.

Later in the war Eastman, with his sister, Crystal, edited The Liberator which for a few years replaced The Masses. In 1918 he published Lenin's Letter to American Workmen, smuggled into the United States by the poet Carl Sandburg.

While covering an international conference in Italy in 1922, he met Eliena Krylenko, the sister of Nicolai Krylenko, minister of justice under Lenin. Later that year he visited the Soviet Union to court Eliena, who became his second wife. There he learned Russian and a

great deal about the vicissitudes of the October Revolution.

Eastman became acquainted with Trotsky, acted as intermediary between American Communists on mission to Moscow and the Soviet leaders, and wrote a biography of the young Trotsky. He was convinced of the correctness of the positions advocated by the Communist Left Opposition and in 1925 published on his own initiative in English an account of the developing differences in the Russian CP entitled Since Lenin Died. In it he made public for the first time the text of the "testament" which Lenin wrote shortly before his death, warning the party against Stalin's rudeness and lack of loyalty and advising his removal from the post of general secretary.

For the rest of the 1920s, Eastman championed the cause of the Trotskyist Opposition. James P. Cannon, founder of the American Trotskyist movement, wrote in The First Ten Years of American Communism that "the first American Trotskyist was undoubtedly Max Eastman but he had never been formally a member of the [Communist] party. On his own responsibility as an individual he published a book called The Real Situation in Russia, by Leon Trotsky, in 1928. But this came out about the time we were in Moscow at the Sixth Congress [of the Communist International] and I did not see it until our

return. It contained the Platform of the Left Opposition in the Russian party and a number of other documents of the Left Opposition. Eastman cooperated with us and gave us quite a bit of help in the first days of our existence as an expelled group publishing The Militant." In fact, the paper's appearance was made possible by the royalties received from that book.

In November 1928, on the eleventh anniversary of the October Revolution, Eastman published a sonnet in The Nation lamenting the corruption of Bolshevism under the rule of the Soviet bureaucracy.

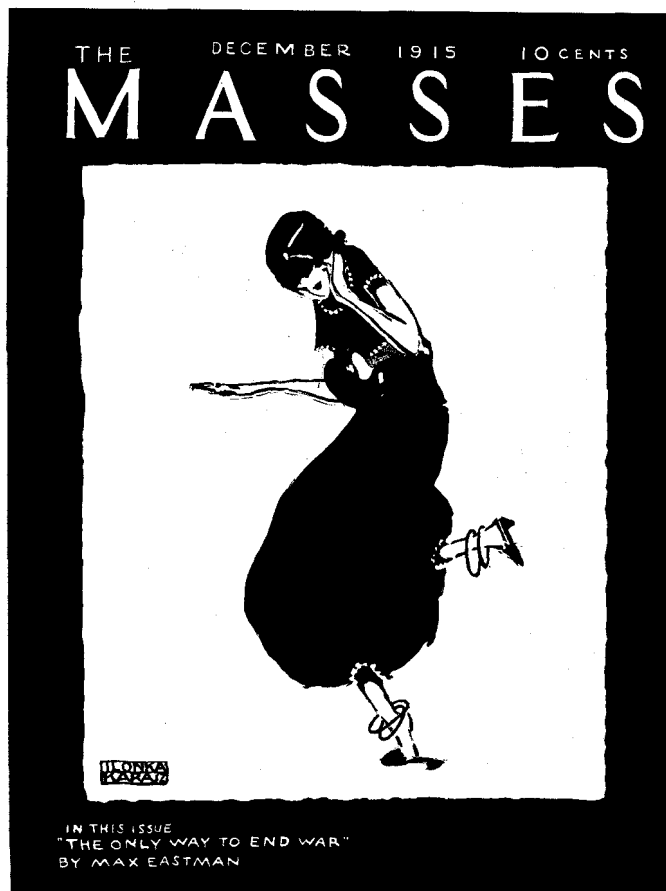
"Trotsky is banished;
Lenin lies in state...
A troupe of crude farce actors
tread the boards
Where trod the chiefs
of the real battle hordes
Of the exploited,
storming the forts of fate...
Speak if you have no deed;
the truth is great.
They rot to earth
who only stand and wait."

Eastman was averse to the discipline of a revolutionary organization and refrained from joining either the CP or the Communist League of America. Like many another radical intellectual, he was torn between the conflicting claims of unreserved dedication to the making of the socialist revolution and a purely literary vocation. This division was discernible not only throughout his political career but in the two different categories of his writings: his five books of poetry and his critical works on The Enjoyment of Poetry and Enjoyment of Laughter at one pole and at the other his discussions of revolutionary theory, such as Marx and Lenin and The Science of Revolution.

Whenever the two poles came into conflict, his center of gravity resided in his personal expression as an individual. He candidly acknowledged this self-preoccupation in the two volumes of autobiography he published in 1948 and 1965, notably in the second, Love and Revolution.

Eastman performed considerable services to the truth in publishing the materials and defending the views of the Russian Left Opposition. The English-reading world is indebted to his precise and felicitous translations of Trotsky's major writings during the 1930s, above all, The History of the Russian Revolution. Next year Doubleday will belatedly bring out his translation of Trotsky's account of the young Lenin, hitherto unavailable in English.

In an interview during his later years Eastman disavowed any identification with Trotskyism. "I've been called a



Trotskyite, but I'm not and never was one. I was sympathetic to the movement, but I attacked everything about it that I didn't like, and I fought with Trotsky like cats and dogs."

The congenital free-lancer Eastman was never a Marxist. Philosophically he was an aggressive pragmatist who undertook the mission of polemicizing against dialectical logic as a worthless hangover of Hegelianism. He sought to cut the heart out of the body of Marxist doctrine and replace it with what he considered a more down-to-earth method of social engineering which he attributed to Lenin but was actually inspired by Dewey's instrumentalism.

Eastman's assaults on the philosophic foundations of scientific socialism evoked a wrathful response from Trotsky. He expressed gratitude to Eastman for his achievement as translator. "But as soon as Eastman attempts to translate Marxian dialectics into the language of vulgar empiricism, his work provokes in me a feeling which is the direct opposite of thankfulness," he wrote in 1933.

Eastman figured in the first conversation I had with Trotsky upon his [Trotsky's] arrival in Mexico in January 1937. On the presidential train chugging from Tampico to the capital, Max Shachtman and I informed the recently interned exile about the aid Eastman, Sidney Hook, John Dewey and others were giving to the committee which had secured his asylum and was working to halt and expose Stalin's Moscow Trials.

Very good, he told us, but precisely because of their close association with us, immediately upon your return to the United States, the comrades should launch a consistent campaign against Eastman's philosophic distortions. "American radical intellectuals are impregnated with pragmatism. That represents a great theoretical weakness and danger to our movement."

Trotsky's prescient warnings on this score were borne out in 1939-1940 when he had to wage his last great battle in defense of Marxism and its theoretical method against the petty-bourgeois opposition which, ironically, Shachtman directed.

In the last of the Moscow Trials in 1938 Eastman was himself falsely accused of putting the Soviet diplomat Rakovsky in touch with British Intelligence agents in 1925. He sued the Daily Worker for libel, as he explained, to prevent the character assassination from turning into physical assassination by Stalin's gunmen. The newspaper settled for \$1,500.

In the mid-1930s, after being boycotted in radical circles for his oppositional views and his book exposing the cultural regimentation in the Soviet Union, Artists in Uniform, Eastman again acquired a growing influence among American writers like Edmund Wilson and others who had become disillusioned with Stalinism. The novelist James T. Farrell told me around 1936 that Eastman retained the highest moral authority of all the members of his literary generation thanks to the courageous one-man stand he took against the degeneration of the Russian Revolution.

However, this did not prevent Eastman from undergoing a subsequent political degeneration of his own. After the Moscow Trials ordeal and the Stalin-Hitler pact he renounced Marxism and socialism altogether, forfeiting the moral capital he had stored up. In company with John Dos Passos, Eugene Lyons, James Burnham and other ex-radicals, he moved to the extreme right, from anti-Stalinism to procapitalism, celebrating the virtues of free enterprise and private property. He ended as a roving editor for the reactionary Reader's Digest.

As many men and women can testify, Max Eastman had a charming personality. A poet by temperament, he was not cut out for the rough and tumble and hard work of the political arena and would have preferred to stay on the margins of the revolutionary struggle.

Such a person might have been able to carry on the literary life in an atmosphere of sunny sociability in less tempestuous times than his own -- or ours. As it was, he was propelled by the force of circumstance into the vortex of titanic conflicts and partisan passions which were fiercer and deeper than he bargained for -- and which in the end he lacked the stomach to endure.

STUDENT STRIKES SPREAD IN SENEGAL

Three high schools in the Senegalese capital of Dakar went on strike March 25. On March 28 the students of the University of Dakar declared a sympathy strike in support of the high-school students' demands. The Union Démocratique des Etudiants Sénégalais [Democratic Union of Senegalese University Students] demanded immediate reinstatement of twenty-seven expelled high-school students and appealed for international support against the repression.

A NEW PERSPECTIVE FOR THE FRENCH STUDENT MOVEMENT

[The following article is taken from the February 19 issue of the French biweekly communist action journal Rouge. It is a contribution to the debate on perspectives taking place in the French student movement.

[The tempo of working-class struggle has quickened in France since this article was written, but the student movement still faces the problems described by Rouge.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

The administrative and police repression following the occupation of the rectorate [of the University of Paris] touched off a new outburst of student struggles marked by the occupation of Vincennes, the incidents in Nanterre, the strike in the schools of the University of Paris, and the February 13 demonstrations.* This revival of enthusiasm restored hopes and renewed memories. Nonetheless, this revived exhilaration had melancholy undertones. One could sense in it the need, if not the blind determination, to "believe" -- together with a poorly concealed disillusionment.

It is important to avoid being caught up in the ebbs and flows of emotion, which are apt to encourage all the excesses of optimism as well as demoralization. We must patiently study the current problems of the student movement, examine all its facets and identify all the traps.

* Two student actions were called on February 13 in defiance of the Gaullist ban on unauthorized street demonstrations. The anarchistic current in the student movement projected a loosely organized adventurist demonstration at the Gare de l'Est. They proposed to block this major commuter terminal during rush hour to physically prevent the departure of student activists being drafted after their deferments were revoked for political reasons.

The Marxists grouped around Rouge counterposed a carefully planned lightning demonstration at the Reuilly recruiting station. Both demonstrations drew about 2,000 people, according to press reports. The Reuilly demonstration went off without a hitch and the students dispersed before the police could intervene. The Gare de l'Est demonstration was broken up by the police who arrested between 600 and 700 of the demonstrators.

1. Why We Must Still Dare to Struggle

On the economic level, the wounds of May have not yet healed. The bourgeoisie had to make wage concessions. The result has been a rise in production costs. These increased costs must be absorbed as soon as possible. This is not because the individual bourgeois is an infamous glutton for pleasure but because the bourgeoisie's margin of profit -- that is, their means for financing and modernizing their plants -- has been shaved. But in the context of tougher international competition, constant modernization is a vital necessity for the bourgeoisie.

Formerly, increased prices would have rapidly counterbalanced wage increases. Today, this recourse is partially blocked because the products would become unsalable on the international market if they were repriced upward. Therefore, the wage increases must be recouped by the alternative method -- by increasing productivity, that is, by speedups complemented by layoffs. (These layoffs, moreover, are not an inconsiderable club over the head of the workers.) What the capitalists require for such a solution is passivity and docility on the part of the proletariat. Such passivity, however, is not assured. The bourgeoisie still fears that the titan it succeeded in restraining, by dint of great effort, will break out of harness again. It must therefore take preventive measures by trying to conciliate or intimidate the working class.

How is it to do this? This is where the bourgeoisie's second problem arises. Its political regime has been in crisis since May. Since May the bourgeoisie has had no confidence in its government. It has been groping for an alternative but without success. In fact, the range of possibilities is limited.

Recourse to a fascist regime is impracticable for the immediate future. While the social basis for such a regime might develop out of the despair of the petty bourgeoisie and small peasantry who are paying the price for May and out of the swelling of the reserve army of the unemployed, this social base is not present as of now. Moreover, the question may be asked whether the bourgeoisie actually can crush the organizations of the workers movement and thus remove the irritant? In the context of today's economic competition, can it reorganize the economy along fascist, primarily nationalist, lines? There are many such questions that the bourgeoisie has shown a reluctance to face.

On the other hand, a Social Democratic solution remains just as improbable. Where can the forces be found to support

war spirit.

Thus, the bourgeoisie's margin for maneuver is much more restricted, its choice much less varied. Its only possibility turns around the reestablishment of the strong state, which was compromised in May and November. This strong state is not just an incident, or a temporarily convenient tool for the bourgeoisie. It is the form of political domination most suited to the age of monopoly capitalism.

For a time, the big bourgeoisie has had to placate the small and middle bourgeoisie with concessions in order to present a united front against the threat from the workers. But it cannot continue on this path which leads back to the compromise policies of parliamentary democracy, which has definitely had its day. Thus, after the financial panic in November, the bourgeoisie must find a savior who can win the confidence of their class. Will it be Edgar Faure or Pompidou?

The race to succeed de Gaulle began in a muffled fashion in the polemic between Edgar Faure and the CDR [Comités pour la Défense de la République -- Gaullist goon squads]. The other candidate took off the wraps by setting himself up as the heir apparent -- for 1972, he said, but very soon, he thinks.

Edgar Faure is basing himself on still scattered factions of the bourgeoisie (liberals, left Gaullists, democrats, radicals, Defferre, and -- why not? -- Mendès France), which he wants to rally around his university experiment.

Pompidou bases himself on the CDR, a part of the army and of finance capital -- in brief on the bureaucratic, administrative, and military scum secreted by ten years of Gaullism. He has the advantage that he showed his mettle in June. Tixier-Vignancour [the leader of the ultraright] greeted him as the real victor in the elections and extended him his confidence. A workers' march on February 12 which shouted "Pompidou, des Sous!" ["Pompidou, Some Pennies!"] thought he was already in power...

Edgar Faure has a chance to put himself over by solving the university question, which haunts the politicians. To achieve this, he is posing as a reformer. But he must at the same time prove his firmness and his capacity for repression. He must give guarantees to the bourgeoisie and counterbalance Pompidou's prestige in this area. Since his policy of conciliation has been deprived of financial backing by the budgetary restrictions and austerity measures, he has clamped down on the student movement to prevent any balking.

In this situation of economic and



CHARLES DE GAULLE

such an alternative after the breakup of the FGDS [Fédération de la Gauche Démocrate et Socialiste -- Federation of the Democratic and Socialist Left -- a combination of Social Democrats and liberals], Guy Mollet's vacillations, and Mitterrand's record of failure?

The only possibility would be to bring the PCF [Parti Communiste Français -- French Communist party] into the government. But the bourgeoisie is not eager to do that. Despite the PCF's caution, its proof of good manners, and its worldly sophistication, the PCF still seems too closely linked to the USSR to be a loyal ally. This is especially true at a time when the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the "military" rehabilitation of Stalin have chilled the warmth of the Glassboro embraces with a breath of the cold-

political instability for the system, revolutionists must not leave the bourgeoisie's hands free to solve its problems at its leisure. It is not a matter of indifference to us, nor without bearing on future struggles, whether the bourgeoisie overhauls its regime at its convenience by a palace revolution or has to do it under constraint.

Why the Students
Are Exhausting Themselves
by Their Boldness

It is important in such a situation for revolutionists to measure exactly the possibilities and limits of the movement and to be able to explain them. To this end we must repeat certain analyses already developed in Rouge.

The contradictions in the university system are the expression of the fundamental contradiction in the capitalist system -- the need to advance the productive forces while maintaining outworn relations of production.

The tempo of technological innovation, which requires a general boosting of the level of skills, is magnifying the role of the universities in the advancement of the productive forces. This function remains, nonetheless, indissolubly linked to that of perpetuating the existing production relations by propagating the bourgeois ideology which masks the real nature of these relations.

Confronted with this contradictory need, all bourgeois educational reforms are half-baked and hidebound. They are contradictory even in their formulation. For example, these reforms raise the level of skills, while seeking to fragment professional training, etc.

It is because they face this contradiction, because they are immersed in it, that the students en masse are ready for action and can be mobilized. However, they cannot by themselves answer the problem that confronts them. They are incapable of producing a programmatic line independent of the working-class movement.

The contradiction of the universities cannot be solved within the limits of higher education. It can only be solved by the elimination of the fundamental contradiction of capitalism from which it derives. The problem of education and training can only be solved in connection with the problem of employment in general.

The problem of the student movement, then, can only be solved in struggle shoulder to shoulder with the workers movement. Furthermore, the two movements must agree on the objectives of this struggle. This is not the case today be-

cause of the domination of the political and trade-union bureaucracies over the working class and the effort these bureaucracies put forth to hide the class struggle.

This is why the student movement gets up a head of steam, halts, retreats and turns in on itself without finding any way out.

Thus, the student movement is compelled to choose. It must either resign itself to maneuvering within the trade-union field under the limits this imposes, or run the risk of fighting alone in the vanguard. It carried off this gamble with brilliant success in May 1968.

It cannot, however, run this risk constantly. There is a real contradiction between the nature of the student movement, its petty-bourgeois limitations, the motivations that underly it, and the vanguard role which it can be called on to play in certain conditions. It cannot play this role permanently. It would be torn in two between its nature and its function.

It would have to be explained to the students that in order for their struggle to be successful they have to achieve a linkup with the workers and that in order to do that they have to take the initiative in the struggle against the bourgeois state in order to get things moving. This amounts to asking the mass of a petty-bourgeois movement to have the understanding of vanguard militants and to define themselves not in accordance with the motivations and problems which stir them but in accordance with the class interest of the proletariat and of the class struggle as a whole.

In fact, as the interesting pamphlet Les Etudiants, les Cadres, et la Révolution ["Students, Cadres, and the Revolution"]* stresses, we must distinguish the strategic vanguard from the tactical vanguard. In certain special conditions, the student movement can fulfill the role of a tactical vanguard by resolutely unleashing struggle. Only the vanguard of the proletariat, the party, can constitute the strategic vanguard capable of formulating a consistent class line.

But a tactical vanguard can develop in separation from the strategic vanguard only temporarily in special periods. That is why the student movement cannot permanently play the role it played in May without danger of breaking up. It can only play this role when the prospect exists for a rapid linkup with the working class in struggle. But this is where the diffi-

* Cahier du Centre d'Etudes et de Formation Marxistes-Léninistes, Paris.

culty lies today.

Why the Workers Are Deaf
to the Students' Struggles

After May, the workers realized the limitations of a movement of "unparalleled breadth"* when such a movement fails to go beyond economic demands. They realized that only a change in the regime could really guarantee their gains. Nonetheless, they have no political perspective. After the June elections and the debacle of the bureaucrats, the parliamentarist mirage of a united left painstakingly pieced together by the PCF evaporated. Having been indoctrinated exclusively in such a perspective by decades of Stalinism, the workers feel bewildered. The experience of workers power, of dual power, of a different kind of power dimly seen in May has not been sufficient to fill the great void left by the collapse of the parliamentary house of cards.

It is our task to discuss the experience of May, to explain it, to lend substance to this perspective which was then perceived by the workers only in a confused, embryonic way. But this requires long-term work; for the present the workers lack any concrete perspective on the problem of power. This uncertainty acts as a brake on their struggles. Since they see no political solution, strictly defensive struggle seems empty and discouraging to them.

In the situation which developed after May, the workers have tended to close ranks in the unions. Facing capitalist repression in the plants, which often takes the form of political firings, the workers are not ready to fight out in the open, without the legal cover of a union.

Moreover, the working-class vanguard that appeared in May remains conditioned to the point of view of a maximum and minimum program, ground in by the Social Democracy and the Stalinists. Having experienced the limitations of a minimum program, they tend to retreat into the rhetoric of the maximum program and an attitude of all or nothing. This accentuates the gap between the mass of workers discouraged by the absence of perspectives and an emerging vanguard incapable of developing transitional slogans which could link it to the class.

In these circumstances, the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Confederation of Labor -- the CP-controlled union federation] was able to

take the gamble represented by its February 12 day of action at little cost. Its slogan was "A Single Will in Diverse Actions."* Its honor was saved and the failure was hard to prove by the figures.

The honor of the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail -- French Democratic Confederation of Labor -- the independent union federation] was also saved when it used the occasion to drape itself in its pseudo leftism, disdaining this "publicity-seeking operation." As for the workers, they were only a little more demobilized by the action, to the great relief of the leaders of the two union federations, who in a way washed each other's hands.

It was in this context that the student strike stagnated and suffered attrition. It is in this context that it must be understood, interpreted, and its results summed up.

We Must Be Able to Draw the Lessons
of the Struggle

In the face of police and administrative provocation, the student movement could not fail to react. That would have been surrendering without a fight. That would have been an admission of impotence, after which the regime could have presumed anything.

This said, and having taken account of the relationship of forces, this student strike could not take any definite focus. It was apparent that the regime had taken advantage of the disorganization in the student movement to deal it a blow.

Under these conditions, the skirmish took on the character of a test. The regime was prepared to hold firm. Thus, it was important to conceive the strike as active and political. It was necessary to organize the students in their study centers in preparation for the next phase of the strike, beginning to establish a political university in the midst of the strike itself.

But, once again, the strike leaders merely appealed to student solidarity in the face of repression instead of giving this mobilization political objectives. Once again, they called the strike and left the rest up to the spontaneity of the masses....

The movement declined into desultory agitation which consumed itself as quickly as it spread. Such a movement was incapable of any political initiative whatever. It was up to the national con-

* The prerequisite, according to the standard formulation of the French CP, for raising advanced political demands.

* The CGT has a standard tactic of calling scattered actions in order to dissipate the workers' militancy. -- I.P.

ference of CAs [Comités d'Action -- Action Committees] in January to take such initiative. This conference refused to do so, thereby sanctioning the dispersion, fragmentation, and anarchism in the student movement.

With the national bureau of UNEF [Union Nationale des Etudiants de France -- National Union of Students of France] impotent and the local CAs limited by a narrow or spontaneity-worshipping outlook and functioning as the private preserve of "personalities," there were no nationally organized struggles. In the absence of such coordination, struggles could only be undertaken on the local level, that is, within the limits that are paralyzing the student movement.

In Paris, the strike rarely went beyond local or individual manifestations of solidarity, despite spasmodic attempts at manipulation by a dozen or so agitators who represented no other political force but themselves. This strike, which was supposed to be "active," was hardly that. The time that should have been used for the work of establishing a political university to train and inform militants was often wasted in interminable assemblies, disjointed actions, and scattered flare-ups of activism.

In Nanterre neither strike committees in the departments nor a strike committee at the university level nor a platform of political demands and university reform was developed. The CAs did meet, but only as fragments of general assemblies. They were composed not of militants organizing their particular areas but of students who, while ready to work, found no initiating role to play.

Once the strike was begun, the strike leadership had no idea of the conditions for its success. They did not even communicate with those they mobilized. They did not make an effective connection between the strike and the struggle against the Faure reforms and for a boycott of the participation elections.*

After carefully stage-managing a propaganda campaign about the success of participation, Edgar Faure displayed his firmness against the schools considered the most obstinate -- Vincennes, Nanterre, Censier. Faure's policy of selective repression coupled with demagoguery threatens to isolate the student vanguard from the mass of students. Many students who are unhappy about the material conditions in the schools and about constant examina-

tions -- a new version of attendance checks -- do not identify with the vigorous but relatively small-scale actions of vanguard elements who constitute a minority. This category of students joined in struggle for the first time during the strike.

The main lesson most of them probably have learned concerns the limitations of the student movement. They will leave to others the difficult honor of seeking a linkup with the workers, satisfying themselves with more practical objectives -- trying to get the best results out of the reform, etc. This reformist retreat can offer the UEC [Union des Etudiants Communistes -- Union of Communist Students] an opportunity for growth through the committees for a renewal of UNEF.*

Torn between the limits of its own nature and the importance of its task in the class struggle, the student movement is threatened with being diverted in two opposite directions -- campus reformism and superproletarianism. The student movement in Italy has already had this experience.

In France, the promoters of this campus reformist degeneration are the UEC and the AJS [Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme -- Alliance of Youth for Socialism -- an ultraleftist grouping allied with the sectarian Socialist Labour League in England]. These groups are reviving student unionism for their own reasons. The basis of their policy is negative -- they are against the "leftists"; they seek to revive the myth of a mass student union.

Thus, the UEC and the AJS are making themselves the spokesmen of a revival of reformism, rallying the students who are ready to be organized, but on a bourgeois-democratic basis. On the other hand, superproletarianism is reappearing in a relatively politically conscious but scattered fringe of the movement. This fringe is tending to revive the spontaneist, populist organizational practices of May even though in its political propaganda the superproletarian fringe disassociates itself from these practices.

Finding only a weakened response among the workers, the student movement feels its contradiction all the more cruelly. But the movement has not sought to overcome this contradiction. Instead, several currents have appeared which advocate retreat in order to conceal this contradiction.

* Elections for student committees that are supposed to share in the running of the universities under the reform introduced by the Gaullist minister of education, Edgar Faure. -- I.P.

* UNEF-Renouveau [UNEF-Renewal] is a CP-sponsored reformist split-off from UNEF.

The Advocates of Strategic Retreat

Instead of confronting the contradiction, a number of currents have tried to escape it by plunging blindly ahead, offering solutions which are more or less a theoretical expression of despair.

While fruitlessly dreaming of violence, the student movement has fumbled every opportunity to counterattack against the government offensive. Strait-jacketed in the ephemeral organizational forms that have accompanied the actions undertaken, the movement lacked the organizational capacity to pursue the objective it set itself -- that is, to sustain a prolonged battle against the bourgeois state.

The existence of the anarcho-Maoist current in the movement is not a chance phenomenon. This ideology feeds the ultimatic boasting and frenetic activism necessary to conceal the contradiction which is eating at the vitals of the movement. Finally, the disappointments of the strike will generate anarchist tendencies. The fact that appeals to mass self-defense got no response will reinforce the eagerness of the devotees of action by a militant minority to seek confrontation with the established order in all places and at all times.

This is the other face of populism, which has shown itself rarely up till now -- terrorism. The "theory" behind this practice is well known -- as well as the waste of militant forces it causes. While revolutionary action always brings some violence into play, violence is not per se a criterion of revolutionary action.

But as was said by Professor Lenin -- who is famous for his ideas on liberation from all forms of oppression -- ultraleftism consists in basing a revolutionary tactic on revolutionary sentiment, on taking one's desires for realities, that is, no longer even trying to make one's desires a reality. This means reducing class confrontation to symbolic class-struggle gestures, to a play of symbols which forgets the basis of the symbolic function of an act. This means practicing fictional politics instead of real politics.

It is, as Action [the organ of the CAs] says, "driving the cop out of one's head" because the student movement is incapable of driving him from the campus. These people have not yet learned that you don't have to get rid of the cops at Nanterre or any other place before you can undertake action, that driving the cops off the campus is a particular stage in a political or propaganda campaign or in a campaign of mobilizing the students.

Unfortunately, the anarchists be-

lieve in the propaganda of the deed, and that a deed is a dramatic event. Thus, snatching Georgeiu's* cross was supposed to be sufficient to prove that he is a fascist. Unfortunately, no one understood what this act was supposed to prove. All the anarchist who did it achieved by his brilliant exploit was to put the student movement in the public eye as an ordinary oddity of the news. And that is what the bourgeoisie hopes for.

The cult of spontaneity is more sophisticated. It knows the problem, so it is trying to bury it. It found its charter in the pamphlet Après Mai.** It holds that "the proletariat encircles the world bourgeoisie." Therefore the dominant class internationally is the proletariat and consequently the dominant ideology is that of the proletariat.

But then how does this movement explain its view that bourgeois ideology has regained power in the USSR? By what evil spell was that accomplished? It is also true that the "military" rehabilitation of Stalin in a state they consider bourgeois poses some problems for these anarcho-Maoists...

But, to sum it up, the East wind prevails over the West wind. Bourgeois ideology is a shambles. All any worker or student needs to do is see this to break the hypnotic spell and develop revolutionary consciousness at a single bound. Relations between the vanguard and the masses no longer pose any problems. The masses are the only hero. They have a revolutionary ideology. All that is necessary is to provide them with a theory. A handful of intellectuals are enough for this task. A vanguard theory must be developed and "on this solid foundation a party can be built," a party of a new type. (Is this Marx or St. Peter? You are the theory and on this theory I will build my church...)

In this heady thought, the student movement dissolves. It no longer exists. After the threshold of consciousness is crossed, after spiritual conversion and ideological emancipation, all that exists is the revolutionary movement in which social origin is irrelevant. All the same, the class struggle is lost somewhat here. The political struggle is submerged and disappears in the ideological struggle.

* A Rumanian priest, political exile, and virulent anti-Communist. He is the author of the novel La Vingt-Cinquième Heure [The Twenty-Fifth Hour].

** Après Mai 1968, les Plans de la bourgeoisie et le Mouvement Révolutionnaire ["After May 1968, the Plans of the Bourgeoisie and the Revolutionary Movement"], Edition Maspero, 2 francs.

Democracy, fascism are only "ideological variants" and not political variants of bourgeois power. "The cops are only strong to the extent that there is a cop in the head of every one of the oppressed." Everyone must rid himself of his own mental policeman. The revolution individualizes itself in order to take a more general form. The student movement as such disappears in it (at the price merely of a great dramatic display), and with it disappears its contradictions. So much for that!

Blind Alleys or the Solution

The contradiction in the student movement comes from the fact that it cannot play a vanguard role over the long run without breaking up.

There are two solutions to this problem. One is verbal. That is the solution chosen by the worshippers of spontaneity. It makes a student movement as such the first element of a vanguard which cannot fail to attract a working-class counterpart.

The other solution is more difficult but it is the only real one. It is to build a vanguard rooted in the working class, not through "get rich quick" schemes but through jointly developing strategies and the elements of organization. Only in this way will it be possible to restore the student movement to its real role instead of holding it forever to the untenable position of being a substitute for something else.

It must be noted in this regard that on several occasions Rouge made concessions to the ideology of the movement by overestimating the potential role of the student struggle. This was the case when we assigned it the task of "updating revolutionary theory" (Rouge, No. 3). The student movement can contribute to this task, but only when it is inspired by a vanguard which looks beyond the student world.

Another example was our harboring the illusion of a permanent tandem of vanguard workers and the student movement. In fact, only vanguard militants can develop lasting ties with the revolutionary workers by answering the political questions they raise on the nature and evolution of the PCF, work in the unions, etc. Not just any student militants can do this.

Only a revolutionary Marxist organization, a vanguard organization not only of the students but above all of the workers, will make it possible to resolve the contradiction in the student movement. Only such an organization will make it possible to prevent the student movement from breaking down into two opposite types of populism -- campus reform politics and

superproletarianism.

Organization, Organization, and Still More Organization

In opposition to those who deny the possibility of a mass movement in the universities, we must develop political universities to show the blind alleys of bourgeois higher education. In opposition to those who want to commit the student movement to a reformist line and those who paralyze it with maximalist objectives, we must develop tactical initiatives enabling us to block campus reformist tendencies and tendencies toward a cult of spontaneity. We must develop creative tactics to bridge the gap between the nature and role of the movement.

For the immediate future this means regaining a foothold in the classrooms, laboratories and school workshops by organizing all the struggles against the austerity measures and against the participation masquerade. And by these struggles we must expose repression in its diverse forms -- economic (the stock market), police (cops on the campus), political (abolition of draft deferments), academic (continual tests and examinations). This means, moreover, that we must begin a prolonged ideological struggle within the university structures in the wake of the strike through discussing the strike's results.

Through this struggle revolutionary militants must renew their ties with the student world and overcome the split between the vanguard and the mass of students. It would be disastrous if a superproletarian backlash in the aftermath of the strike pulled revolutionary militants off the campus and left the reformists in possession of the territory. The ideological struggle and the struggle for reforms must politicalize the layer aroused by the strike, transform it profoundly, and organize it to the fullest extent possible.

Only in this way can the broadest tasks be undertaken -- actions against Nixon's visit, long-term agitation against the bourgeois army extending the example of the February 13 Reuilly-Diderot action.

But this requires an increase in the practical capacities of the student movement, which cannot be achieved merely by traditional appeals to self-defense. The student movement must organize now to take on the job of politicalizing the student world, if it does not want to see its aspirations consigned forever to the realm of fancy.

In launching the idea of a "national March 22 movement," the Rouge militants at the Marseille congress fell victim to impressionism. The March 22 movement was a unitary structure based on action and prac-

tical activity. In a period of mounting struggles, it made it possible to break down the barriers between the various political groups, to clear the air of preconceived rhetoric, and to get discussion focused around the specific actions to be conducted.

At Marseille, the meetings of the CAs gave the impression that it was possible to found a national movement of the same type. The week of quasi-national agitation which preceded the Marseille congress had produced common concerns regarding perspectives and put the actions being conducted in a common framework. This explains how it could be felt that a national March 22 movement was possible. But these were not valid grounds for believing in such a perspective.

In fact, in the post-May period the proliferation of actions has led to an escape into unthinking activism. The political situation and the contradiction in the student movement demand strategic perspectives and, accordingly, structures in the movement making debate on strategy possible. After having opened the way for the movement to develop, unitary organization for action is confining it within the limits of routine agitation.

It is dangerous today to make a fetish of the movement as it has been so far, to look at it just as it is, with its superdemocratic forms and spirit, and to think that we can adjust it in one direction or another to suit needs as they arise. We must not hesitate to turn our backs on the acclamatory general assemblies in order to consolidate the CAs on the basis of political debate, to extend their organizational roots, to reinforce them as the basic structures of the movement. Those who look down their noses at the CAs today will be forced to return to them, but on a political basis chosen by the CAs.

Organization of the CAs is also a prerequisite for the militants who belong to them to be able to intervene politically in the student milieu. It is the precondition as well for the creation of those celebrated self-defense groups that are called for at every general assembly, where people expect the whole mass meeting to break up "spontaneously" into self-defense groups like an amoeba dividing. Self-defense presumes a political awareness, a political understanding of the tasks at hand. Movements are not created simply by assembling individuals but through debate which produces agreement on a common line.

Thus, today we must operate on the living movement, cut it up into CAs capable of intervening politically and organizationally.

In organizing the student movement into CAs, we must, unless we want to deny its specific character totally, maintain the perspective of unifying the movement into a broad national organization of CAs.

It would be too grave a default to leave all national expression of the student movement to opportunist leaderships. The UNEF mass meeting against the repression held in the Mutualité February 10 testifies to the seriousness such a default would have. No real problems were taken up. There was no lack of boasting, with the speakers trying to outdo each other, but not a word about the problems of the strike, nor was any real perspective for struggle offered.

It would also be just as serious a fault to capitulate to the "antibureaucratic" demagogy of the spontaneity cult in the CAs. The January meeting was instructive in this regard. Following the logic of their theory, the spontaneists rejected all national action, any national campaign, arguing that the boycott would make the slogan of a national action unnecessary. In the same way, Séguy* claimed that the strike [in May-June] was a general strike in fact, in order to avoid raising the slogan. This lack of national political initiative on the part of the CAs has had a strong negative effect on the course of the movement.

Likewise, the fact that the CAs refused to accept representation by elected delegates subject to recall permitted all the hall-packing that has gone on and all the phony attempts at coordination. Since the movement has remained unorganized, the spontaneist current lacks any capacity for tactical political initiative.

After issuing the call for the Gare de l'Est demonstration [February 13] from the rostrum of the Mutualité, it was the prisoner of this slogan. It was forced to chase after this slogan which no longer belonged to it, which belonged to the "masses." The spontaneists could not correct their course because they could not base themselves on an organized, mobile movement, on a reserve of reliable couriers.

This is why the Reuilly demonstration had to be organized entirely by vanguard militants. This was a grave weakness because it meant substituting to some extent for the movement. It was a grave weakness because as a result there were 600 to 700 arrests at the Gare de l'Est.

Thus the undecided students and the public are presented with a casualty list

* Georges Séguy, secretary general of the CGT. -- I.P.

of 500 or so arrests after every demonstration. This discourages the unsure elements. It is the duty of militants to protect the masses they organize. A current that issues an irresponsible slogan and then sticks to it because it cannot really organize a political action condemns itself.

For the immediate future, in order for the CAs to be viable and continue to exist, the vanguard which maintains them must be separated out and developed. The politically conscious comrades in the movement are looking for political and organizational perspectives now. In order also not to try to impose our full line on the movement, we have to encourage the development and independent creation of

Rouge supporter groups right now, both by word of mouth and in writing. This is essential also to prevent the student movement from being locked into the untenable role of a substitute for the vanguard.

Enough dilletantism! Let us organize the Comités d'Action! Enough fragmentation! Let us work to unify the student movement in a broad national organization of CAs! Let us weigh the results and the lessons of the strike in the classrooms, laboratories, school workshops! Let us continue to organize defense for our comrades who are victims of the repression! Let us get started right now to prepare the right kind of welcome for the scoundrel Nixon, not only in Paris but in the provinces as well.

OKINAWA COUNCIL DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. BASES

The Okinawa Prefectural Council for Return to the Fatherland, a liberal coalition of fifty-three "democratic bodies," voted March 23 to take a more militant stance by calling for the withdrawal of American bases from the Ryukyu Islands and for the abolition of the Japan-U.S. Security Pact scheduled for review in 1970. Hitherto the council had criticized ties with the U.S. but had re-

frained from demanding withdrawal of U.S. bases. The March 29 Mainichi Daily News described the council's action as "a turning point, changing its character from a nationalistic movement to an antiwar oriented one." The council's reasons included the recent detection of cobalt 60 in Okinawa due to port calls by nuclear submarines, and crashes last year of American B-52 bombers on the island.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
PHOTO: April 5 Anti-Vietnam-War Demonstration in New York	353
Hugo Blanco Threatened with Deportation to Jungle Prison Camp	354
A Fighter Against Oppression	354
PHOTO: Hugo Blanco and Eduardo Creus in El Frontón	355
Massive Demonstrations Throughout U.S. Demand: "Get Out of Vietnam Now!"	356
Sohyo Votes to Continue Cooperation with Radical Students in Osaka	357
Sartre, Aragon Condemn Anti-Semitism in Poland	357
Kremlin to Try Crimean Tartars for "Anti-Soviet Slander"	358
Statement of the Crimean Tartars:	
"The People Have Answered Every Illegal Act with Mass Protest"	358
New Clampdown on the Czechoslovak Press	360
DRAWING: Gustav Husak	360
An Open Letter to the Imprisoned Students of Mexico -- by José Revueltas	361
Tariq Ali Reports on the Situation in Pakistan	362
Marxists and Northern Ireland -- by Murray Smith	363
DRAWING: Terrence O'Neill	364
Portrait of Max Eastman: 1883-1969 -- by George Novack	365
Student Strikes Spread in Senegal	367
A New Perspective for the French Student Movement	368
DRAWING: Charles de Gaulle	369
Okinawa Council Demands Withdrawal of U.S. Bases	376