

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 7, No. 18

© 1969 Intercontinental Press

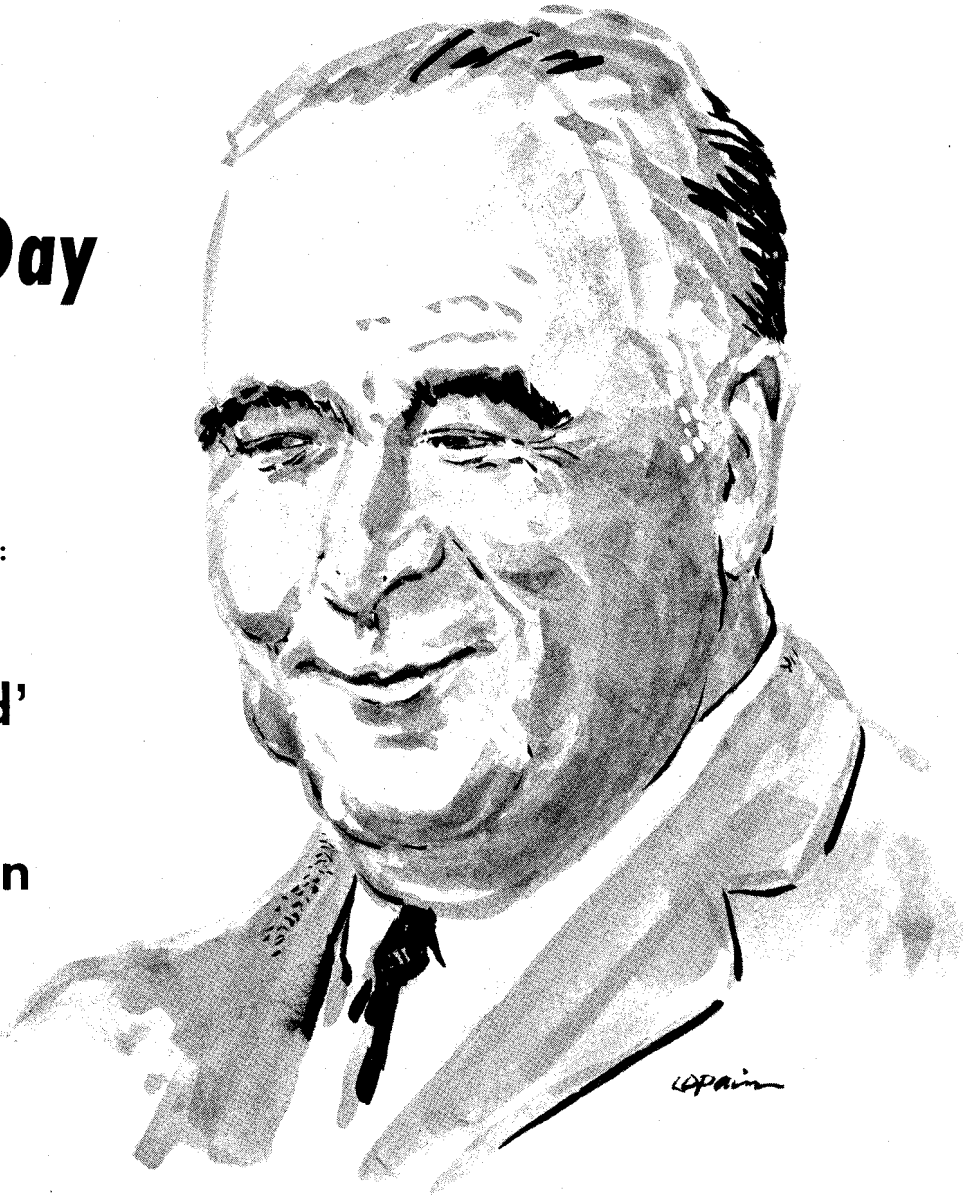
May 12, 1969

50c

Why French CP Canceled May Day Demonstrations

From the Spanish Underground:
**'Popular Resistance
Has Not Diminished'**

**Thousands in Japan
Demand Return
of Okinawa**



Interview with Pierre Frank:

France's next president?

Meaning of de Gaulle's Resignation

Maoism and the Indian Revolution

By Raj Narain Arya

WHY THE FRENCH CP CANCELED THE MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS

Paris

At 12:05 a.m. on Monday April 28, after being beaten in the referendum he himself had engineered, de Gaulle announced his resignation as president of the republic. We have explained elsewhere that his defeat was caused by important sectors of big capital, who became convinced in the course of the referendum itself that since the so-called left was divided, it was possible to topple de Gaulle without running too much of a risk.

Their estimate was correct. But this operation still involved a danger because even in these circumstances the elimination of de Gaulle would encourage the masses, who would see in it, correctly, a weakening of the bourgeois government. The masses' feeling of victory would inevitably have expressed itself in the May Day demonstrations. Before the referendum, the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail -- General Confederation of Labor, the Communist party-dominated union] announced that it was organizing a march from the Place de la Bastille to the Place de la République on the afternoon of May 1.

From the start of the preparations, it was clear that the CGT intended at any cost to prevent the "leftists" from participating in this demonstration under their own slogans as they had in the one March 11. The various declarations indicated that only CGT slogans would be tolerated.

On April 29 l'Humanité repeated this message and called a meeting for 6:00 p.m. the same day in the Bourse du Travail for the trade-union militants, which meant the CGT goon squad, who were to be called on to give the "leftists" a lesson. According to various reports, the Stalinist leaders were determined to employ harsh repressive measures.

And, suddenly, at about 10:00 p.m. that night, a communiqué came from the regional council of the CGT announcing that the plans for this demonstration had been canceled. The reason given was that Gaullist and fascist groups were preparing to take advantage of the presence of the "leftists" in the march to stage "provocations," in other words, to create disturbances.

At the time of this writing, the CGT leaders have said nothing further. Following the CGT decision, the police department announced that all demonstrations were forbidden. The ban was aimed at the UNEF [Union Nationale des Etudiants de France -- National Union of Students of France] and other organizations

which stuck to their call for a demonstration.

The CGT's decision unquestionably threw cold water on the mood of the people. This will cause discontent among a section of the workers -- and demoralization as well. The CGT is calling on the workers to meet in their shops on April 30 to decide not to demonstrate on the following day.

What are the reasons for this decision? In a general sense, it is explained by the electoralist character of the policy of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français -- French Communist party] leaders, to whom the CGT leaders are linked. They do not want to do anything that would lose votes. But even the most inveterate electoralists do not always reject demonstrations, above all when they are as traditional as the May Day parade. It can be anticipated that what happened behind the scenes will shortly become public knowledge. But the general lines of the situation that caused the CGT leaders to retreat are already clear. In fact, they did not expect de Gaulle to be defeated in the referendum, as can be seen from the leaflet distributed by the CGT just a few days before the vote. In the event of a victory by de Gaulle, they would have appeared as the vanguard in the struggle against "personal power." But the Gaullist defeat created a new situation.

A gigantic May Day demonstration was to be expected. And in these conditions, in an immense demonstration where the "leftists" would raise their slogans, the CGT leadership feared that it could not control the workers. And, further, what might happen if the police or others engaged in provocations against crowds aroused by the fall of de Gaulle?

Facing such a danger, the CGT leaders preferred to abstain, hoping that they would have less difficulty in explaining their position in the individual factories. Thus, they stabbed the class struggle in the back, but they did it in such a way that it could only aggravate the crisis within the PCF. How could they dare retreat so abjectly when the workers felt that they had won a great victory!

This decision cannot fail also to embolden the reactionaries. But the crisis of French society is so profound that not even a blow like this can be decisive. The Stalinist leaders responded to what for them was the greatest danger, the possibility that they would lose their hold on the masses. But they retreated in a manner that can be exploited by the revolutionary Marxists in the not too distant future.

An Interview with Pierre Frank

THE MEANING OF DE GAULLE'S RESIGNATION

By Dick Roberts

Paris

When the returns on de Gaulle's referendum were reported on television April 27 and it became clear that the general had been defeated by an unexpectedly big majority -- the "no" vote in the metropolitan area was 53.17 percent -- Paris celebrated.

In the Latin Quarter, where students at the Sorbonne had detonated the May-June revolution one year ago, thousands attempted to hold the streets against police who were under orders to disperse every large gathering. Others drove cars through the area late into the night honking their horns to the rhythm of the slogan: Ce n'est qu'un début, continuons le combat! ["It's only the beginning, continue the struggle!"]

The following morning I was able to discuss the significance of de Gaulle's defeat with Pierre Frank, one of the main leaders of the French Trotskyist movement, who was jailed for ten days last June when the regime decided to repress the revolutionary upsurge.

"I think it is a very big event, nationally as well as internationally," Frank began. He emphasized three aspects of the situation in a rapid summary: the fact that the French bourgeoisie had turned against de Gaulle in the last days before the referendum vote; the precarious position in which this turn of events had caught the Communist party; and the evolution of the crisis of French capitalism to a new stage.

"Let us take it from the point of view of France. First of all, how did it happen? We must consider it as a continuation of the crisis that opened last May-June with the barricades, the general strike.

"De Gaulle survived at that time, but the spell he had exerted for many years was broken; not only was there the distrust expressed by the working class in the general strike, but also big capital was shaken about the regime itself, and the problem of succession was in the air.

"You saw the distrust of the bourgeoisie in November with the big financial crisis, huge funds in flight from France. Then it became clear that after the social crisis of May and June and the economic crisis of November, we were moving towards a political crisis.

"De Gaulle also felt this when, at the beginning of the year, Pompidou -- the man whom he had kicked out after the elections in June -- said 'I am a candidate for the presidency.' Well, a Bonaparte cannot have a candidate against him! So it was clear that something was in the air and de Gaulle felt that he had to do something to recover his position and he used his usual trick, the referendum, the plebiscite."

Frank dismissed the questions involved in the referendum as unimportant. "What happened is that it became clear that there was no big interest in this referendum and there was a danger that there would be many abstentions, so de Gaulle intervened to say, as he usually does, 'either me, or you have chaos.'"

It was at this point that sections of the bourgeoisie also changed their tactics. "Big capital was afraid of an explosion if de Gaulle continued in office. The man was to a certain extent erratic. They were afraid of what he might do with regard to the Middle East, Europe, the monetary question.

"The big bourgeoisie understood that it had an opportunity to get rid of de Gaulle and they saw that on the left there was no real opposition. The left has no unity now. The Communist party, the Socialist party, the intermediaries, have been scattered. They could vote 'no' but that is all they could do, and the bourgeoisie saw in this a solution to the problem of de Gaulle.

"So, suddenly, about ten days before the vote, the campaign started against de Gaulle. The Gaullists were afraid that they were in danger of losing and they asked Pompidou to take a clear position that he would not be a candidate if de Gaulle lost. But Pompidou didn't take a position, saying 'I never betrayed for twenty-five years' and so on -- big words with nothing in them. The bourgeoisie thought that they could get rid of de Gaulle, then perhaps get Pompidou, perhaps Poher, or perhaps another one -- that is open -- but they thought they had a chance to get rid of de Gaulle without a blowup immediately.

"So, as a matter of fact, de Gaulle fell because of the big bourgeoisie, but in any case, it appears as a victory for the masses. They are not involved in these machinations."

It is this situation that throws

the Communist party into difficulties. The CP had conducted a campaign against the "personal rule" of de Gaulle. Now that de Gaulle has fallen, the masses will soon find out that it makes little difference, and the CP does not have any alternatives.

"The CP started to campaign for a 'no' vote, and then suddenly they understood that they would be caught in a trap, so they stopped. They are now in a very tight corner. Against de Gaulle they played at being in the opposition and it didn't cost them much. They were the strongest people against 'personal power.'

"What will they do? Probably they will have to present a candidate, which they don't like, and they have no figure to present."

A possible figure for the CP to run in the elections, Frank suggested, might be Georges Marchais, the notorious organization secretary -- to be remembered for his reference to Daniel Cohn-Bendit in the pages of l'Humanité as "the German anarchist."

"The CP has been speaking about 'unity of the left,' but what is this unity of the left? The Socialists will probably have their candidate and the CP will

remain alone. They will have big, big problems.

"They cannot make a left turn, because on the left there are 'very dangerous people' who can use any move in this direction to push the matter much further than the CP wants. They are very much afraid -- because demonstrations in the street are one thing, but if new strikes start, how can they control them?"

A key aspect of the new situation is the contradiction between what the masses feel they have won, and the conclusion they will soon draw of having been cheated.

"The masses consider that they have won a victory. It appears as a victory of May-June, of the general strike, so there will be all kinds of demands. At the beginning, it will appear as if elections can accomplish something, and it will strengthen parliamentarism for a short time -- a very short time, I think.

"But after that, the same government remains, the same Assembly remains, the same constitution remains, the bosses continue their same policies. We are moving towards a big crisis everywhere. I don't know how quickly it will mature, I doubt that we will have big demonstrations immediately. De Gaulle is down, the



government is not down -- this is the essence of the crisis."

Pierre Frank touched on the international ramifications of de Gaulle's retirement, although he felt it was too early to make any definite predictions.

"It is clear that Moscow is very unhappy about this situation. I surmise that people like Pompidou will try to get some agreement with the CP behind the scenes by promising them something.

"But the others, Giscard d'Estaing, Poher, etc., are pro-NATO, so the CP is very worried."

Frank, however, cautioned that it is necessary to remember that de Gaulle's "European" policy had objective roots. He simply gave a "special tinge to this policy."

For example, Frank said, "Whoever it will be, they cannot bring American troops back to France. 'U.S. Go Home!' is now established. You can't change it."

Frank said he expected new developments in French policy toward the Middle East. He felt that the new rulers will not continue to maintain such an aggressive posture. But he ruled out a full return to a pro-NATO policy.

THOUSANDS IN JAPAN DEMAND RETURN OF OKINAWA

More than 160,000 persons demonstrated in cities throughout Japan April 28, demanding the immediate return of Okinawa to Japan and the abrogation of the U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty, which is scheduled to be renewed in 1970. Similar demonstrations took place in Okinawa on the same day, more than 170,000 persons participating out of the island's total population of 700,000.

The largest assembly in Japan was a rally of 100,000 persons in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park, sponsored by the Communist and Socialist parties.

Thousands of radical students and young workers took to the streets in more than 250 cities and towns. Sharp clashes with police broke out in several places, particularly in Tokyo where hundreds of demonstrators were arrested.

The Sato government mobilized its repressive forces for "Okinawa Day." Tight security cordons were set up at strategic points in Tokyo. Police, following the example of their French counterparts, spent a week before the demonstration removing paving stones from intersections in fashionable districts of the capital to keep them out of the hands of the students.

The April 30 Japan Times reported, "Police erected barricades with armored trucks on major roads leading to the Kasumigaseki-Nagatacho area where Government offices, the Diet Building [parliament] and the U.S. Embassy are located."

Early in the morning of April 28, the police mounted an assault on Hosei University, arresting student leaders on vague "antisubversive" charges. The attack did not succeed, however, in deterring the students and their young allies.

Large numbers of students came

from outlying areas or other cities and were quartered in Meiji University and Tokyo University. Early in the day about 100 students gathered near the home of Prime Minister Eisaku Sato. They threw rocks at the house, but were dispersed by police. According to the Mainichi Daily News, "No serious damage was reported to Sato and his house."

Late in the afternoon large crowds of radical students and workers began to gather in downtown Tokyo. Police estimated there were some 6,550 members of the left-wing Zengakuren factions, 1,000 members of the Antiwar Youth Committee, and about 1,300 persons affiliated with the Japan Peace for Vietnam Committee [Beheiren).

"The students...began to assemble at Tokyo Station around 4 p.m.," the April 30 Japan Times reported. "They occupied a platform and held a rally before jumping onto the tracks to march toward Shimbashi Station at about 5:40 p.m. Most of them wore helmets and carried either steel pipes or wooden staves....

"Riot police, numbering 2,000, went into action...and sandwiched the student mobs on the tracks between Shimbashi and Yuraku-cho stations. The police, firing tear gas bombs, managed to disperse the students from the railway tracks. The demonstrators spilling out of the stations milled around on the streets in the Shimbashi-Ginza-Yuraku-cho area and many of them in small groups clashed with police."

Hundreds of passenger trains of the Japan National Railway were canceled because of the demonstrations.

Police announced that 965 persons were arrested, including 133 women. This was an all-time high for arrests in any single demonstration since the second

world war. Some 106 persons were reported injured in the Tokyo clashes, of whom 94 were police.

The student demonstrators face mounting repression from the government. More than 600 student leaders have been held without trial for months, some since last year. Most come from the ranks of the radical organizations to the left of the Japan Communist party, which is hostile to the student movement.

On the eve of the Okinawa Day demonstrations the government invoked its new Anti-Subversive Activities Law against leaders of the Revolutionary Communist League, which is said to give theoretical leadership to the "Middle Core" [Chukaku] faction of the Zengakuren. This witch-hunt law allows the government to arrest persons for their political views, without having to prove that any "illegal" act has been committed.

The law is intended to jail "professional revolutionaries" for their political opposition to the government. The Mainichi Daily News said April 29: "The present criminal code is powerless to control such persons who, on the surface, do not resort to violent acts."

The witch-hunt has been sharply condemned by civil libertarians. Mainichi reported, "Prof. Shinichi Takayanagi, a

constitutionalist at Tokyo University, recalled that most of the nation's law scholars opposed the Anti-Subversive Activities Law because they feared it was very dangerous. Its latest application before the materialization of violence has enhanced such fears, he added."

The opposition parties were divided in their attitude toward the student actions. The Japan Socialist party dissociated itself from the students' tactics, but pointed out that they were a manifestation of opposition to the reactionary policies of Sato's ruling Liberal Democrats.

The Democratic Socialist party attacked the students for wanting a socialist revolution, an aim which it said was "different from normal student movements."

The right-wing Komeito [Clean Government] party condemned the students, but strongly criticized the government for using the demonstrations as a pretext for invoking "internal security" measures.

The Japan Communist party, adopting the language of the prosecutors' office, denounced the students as "Trotskyite gangs."

According to the April 30 Japan Times, "the Japan Communist Party said that they [the students] were hindering the people's unified action...."

NEW CLASHES BETWEEN STUDENTS AND POLICE IN ETHIOPIA

One student was killed and two others were seriously wounded in clashes with police in Addis Ababa April 23. High-school and college students have been on strike in the Ethiopian capital since March 3. They are demanding a thorough-going educational reform. Following the latest incidents, an April 25 Agence France-Presse dispatch said, the government has decided to close all nine public high schools in the capital indefinitely.

A center of the student unrest is

Haile Selassie University, where a group called the "Crocodiles" is accused of spreading "communist" ideas. The students have protested the presence of the Peace Corps in the country, the influence of the United States in the army hierarchy, and the use of Israeli "advisers" in the police apparatus.

The proimperialist Selassie regime also faces strong popular resistance in Eritrea, where an independence movement is gaining ground.

STRIKE WIDENS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DAKAR

Students at the University of Dakar went out on a five-day general strike April 29 in response to a call by the Union des Etudiants de Dakar [Union of Students of Dakar -- UED]. The 1,250 Senegalese students on the campus have been on strike since March 28. In making the strike general, they were joined by the 1,250 exchange students at the university. These include 800 youth from other

African countries and 400 French students.

Most of the colleges and high schools have been on strike since the struggle first broke out. The students are demanding the reinstatement of several of their comrades who were expelled in February during an earlier campus action. The government has refused to grant any of the students' demands.

THE CRISIS IN LEBANON

[The following article was taken from the May 3 issue of the Belgian revolutionary socialist weekly La Gauche. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Until recently, Lebanon was the "quietest" country in the Middle East. After 1958 [when U.S. Marines landed to "restore order"], Lebanon regained its right to the title of the "Switzerland of the Middle East." It was a country of bankers, the treasury of the Arab world. It was one of the few countries in the Third World with an even slightly developed "national bourgeoisie." It was endowed with an extremely complex political system based on mutual neutralization of the various political currents through a delicate game of balancing off the religious tendencies against each other.

The Palestinian resistance has shattered the Lebanese equilibrium. Since the Six-Day War, a current of popular support for the Palestinian resistance has continued to deepen. This support became apparent last year during the funerals of the Al Fatah fedayeen [guerrilla fighters] and after the Israeli raid on the Beirut airport. The current of popular support has been expressed in two principal ways -- organization of concrete aid to the Palestinian resistance groups and creation of armed nuclei in south Lebanon to resist a possible Israeli aggression.

During the first part of 1969, this current of support deepened to such an extent that the bourgeois politicians -- the leaders of the National Liberal party for example -- completely lost control of the situation and found themselves compelled to reject the United Nations resolution of November 22, 1967, on the Middle East crisis.

The left parties found themselves outdistanced by their cadres. If they did not want to be completely discredited, they had to go beyond words, and demand, with the support of the masses, that the restrictions the government had placed on the activity of the fedayeen be lifted. On April 21 the leaders of the seven left parties issued a joint manifesto protesting the limitations on the activity of the Palestinian commandos in Lebanon and calling for street demonstrations throughout the country.

The following parties signed the manifesto: the Progressive Socialist party, the Movement of Arab Nationalists, the Communist party, the Lebanese Progressive Front for Struggle Against Zionism, the Independent Progressives, the

Ba'ath party, and the Lebanese Socialist party.

It is to be noted that the Progressive Socialist party is a reformist party that had a representative in the government of Rashid Karami [who was forced to resign April 24, the day after the demonstrations].

The manifesto declared, in essence, that the population was duty bound to give its support to the fedayeen, to aid them in achieving the total liberation of Palestine. The declaration protested Lebanese authorities permitting the Israelis to occupy frontier villages (which they have done since 1948), and preventing the fedayeen from liberating them.

The manifesto called for a popular demonstration in support of the fedayeen on Wednesday, April 23, beginning at 4:00 p.m. It set the assembly point near the Pine Forest in Beirut.

Even before the demonstration took place in Beirut, there was a Palestinian demonstration in Saida in south Lebanon, near the Ain el-Heloué Palestinian refugee camp which houses 30,000 persons. The Palestinian demonstration had been banned. The authorities had made it known that the Palestinians were to limit themselves to sending a delegation...to the authorities! The police could not control the demonstration and fired on it. Armed Palestinians retaliated. People were killed on both sides.

In the afternoon, after the news came of the bloody clashes in Saida, the atmosphere in Beirut was explosive. The students of the Arab University of Beirut and the demonstrators responding to the call of the left parties fought furiously against the police, who had to retreat after exhausting their reserves of water and tear-gas grenades.

The situation was soon completely out of the control of the traditional political figures. Former premier Yaffi as well as Kemal Joumlatt, the leader of the Progressive Socialist party, sought in vain to act as "conciliators." Joumlatt even went back on his party's decision to support the demonstration and told the paper L'Orient: "I recognize that I made an error. After the demonstration, in which I was said to be implicated, I should have ordered the distribution of a countermanifesto condemning the street demonstrations. I was opposed to the demonstrations because I realized the danger they involved in the present situation."

Neither the state of emergency, the curfew in the main "hot spots," repression, conciliation by the traditional parties, nor anything else can prevent the crisis from deepening. Lebanon is

part of the Arab nation, whether its leaders like it or not. The Arab revolution, led by the Palestinian resistance, is beginning to bring Lebanon out of its lethargy.

ADOLFO GILLY AND OTHERS SENTENCED TO LONG PRISON TERMS IN MEXICO

Ten political prisoners, including the journalist Adolfo Gilly, were given harsh prison sentences in Mexico City April 18. All of the accused had been held without trial since 1966 on a variety of concocted charges, most of which amounted to nothing more than the advocacy of socialist ideas. A number of the defendants are members of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskista) [Revolutionary Workers party (Trotskyist)].

Three who were not citizens -- they were from Argentina -- received the longest sentences: Adolfo Gilly, 6 years and 3 months and a 5,000-peso fine [12.5 pesos = US\$1]; Oscar José Fernández Bruno, 8 years, 6 months and a 6,000-peso fine; and Fernández' wife, Eduwiges Teresa Confreta de Fernández, 5 years, 3 months and a 5,000-peso fine.

Others sentenced were Gildardo Islas Carranza, Ramón Vargas Salguero, Marta Elena Vargas de Salguero, Leocadio Francisco Zapata Muzquiz, Genaro Jongitud Lara, Tito Armando Domínguez Lara, and Fausto Dávila Solís. All were sentenced to 2 years and 6 months in jail and fines of 5,000 pesos.

Most of the defendants were arrested in April 1966 during a student strike at the National Autonomous University in Mexico City. The arrests were part of a government campaign to smear the student movement. The Mexico City daily Excelsior

ran a banner headline April 29, 1966: "Communist Brains, Money and Hands in the Student Movement...A Trotskyist Plot to Overthrow the Legal Order." The lurid stories, based on information released by the Department of Justice, served their purpose and the "plot" was allowed to be quietly forgotten while the victims remained in jail.

None of the sensational accusations were substantiated at the trial. Adolfo Gilly, for example, was charged only with "conspiracy," a conveniently vague "crime." Under Mexican law the long sentences meted out to the Argentinians makes it impossible for them to be released on bail while appealing the verdict.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionaria is affiliated to a grouping led by J. Posadas, which split from the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist movement, in 1962.

With a dwindling number of adherents, Posadas set up his own "Fourth International on an ultraleft" sectarian program. Their isolation made them an easy target for witch-hunting attacks of the Díaz Ordaz regime that were really aimed at the revolutionary student movement. Protest over the injustice done to these revolutionists should be lodged with the Mexican government.

THE END OF BARRIENTOS SPELLS TROUBLE FOR THE BOLIVIAN "GORILLAS"

The death of Bolivian dictator General René Barrientos Ortuño in a helicopter crash April 27 promised new instability for the oligarchy that rules that small Andean nation. Barrientos was not even buried before rifts began to appear in the constitutional façade of the regime. Vice-president Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas, who assumed the presidency on Barrientos' death, has already come under attack from other sectors of the oligarchy. The May 4-5 Le Monde reported that the Bolivian Peasants Confederation -- a bureaucratic structure headed by Salvador Vásquez, a crony of Barrientos -- gave Siles Salinas an ultimatum to quit the presidency by May 5 because he was not "representative of the masses." The con-

federation proposed General Ovando, the man reputed to have given the order to murder Che Guevara, as a more suitable candidate.

Siles Salinas rejected the ultimatum. At Barrientos' funeral in Cochabamba May 2 he declared, "Whatever the gravity of the situation, I will face all the consequences. They can kill me if they want."

Meanwhile, it was reported that "elements hostile to the late president" had seized the town of Achacachi. The identity of the rebels was not disclosed, but the revolt was said to have been suppressed.

AUSTRALIAN LEFT MAPS UNITED ACTION

By Ivan Dixon

Sydney

About 800 representatives of the "Old" and "New" left met here April 5-6 in a "Left Action Conference" that marked a significant step forward for united action on questions where common agreement could be reached. The conference was attended by spokesmen for a wide spectrum of views, including trade unionists and student radicals, Trotskyists, anarchists, Maoists, members of the Communist party, and representatives of the left wing of the Australian Labor party [ALP]. The participants came from all states.

The Old Left, as elsewhere, is made up mainly of people over forty, mostly with a Stalinist political education. They are mainly members of the CP (a small minority party in the Australian context), the left of the mass party -- the Australian Labor party -- and trade-union militants. By far the dominant influence in the Old Left has been the CP, which has generally exercised a strong (moderating) influence on the left of the ALP through its national or state branch control of several major industrial unions affiliated to the ALP.

The CP came to its greatest strength during the post-war "left turn" of Stalinism, and by 1949 felt itself ready to challenge the ALP bureaucracy for control of the entire labor movement: it took over and politicised a strike on the major eastern coal fields, paralysing industry and demanding capitulation from the Chifley Labor government. In this struggle it was defeated, and in the ensuing right-wing reaction almost outlawed -- which caused it to beat a retreat to a moderate position designed to achieve unity with the ALP, especially its left and moderate sections. This later fitted it well to pass painlessly to a Khrushchev peaceful coexistence policy.

Since 1949, the CP's influence has been towards compromise with the right of the ALP and trade-union movement rather than for militant struggle, and of course it has always seen one of its major roles as that of propagandist for the Soviet Union and its leadership.

The coming of the Vietnam war, involving Australian troops, saw this moderation in action, but also the beginnings of local CP crisis. The ALP, led by old-time right-winger Arthur Calwell, took a stand traditional to it since World War I. It opposed conscription, and the use of conscripts in Vietnam -- which as the gov-

ernment parties* readily pointed out, meant in practice complete opposition to Australian involvement. This line was taken into the last federal election campaign [in 1966] by the ALP and was voted for by 42 percent of the population.

Subsequently, the ALP leadership passed to a more youthful "new look" right-winger, Gough Whitlam, who reached a successful compromise with the Old Left and got ALP policy changed from withdrawal to support for negotiations, an end to the bombing of North Vietnam (as then favoured by U.S. Secretary of Defense McNamara) and the conversion of Australia's military role to that of a "holding operation" in South Vietnam. The new policy was praised by both CP and left ALP newspapers.

The New Left, mainly made up of young workers and student radicals, continued to campaign inside and outside the existing mass labor movement for immediate withdrawal, and for support of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. They were aided by the crisis of the CP and ALP-led youth movements, which rapidly fell to pieces.

The New Left, led by various groupings of Trotskyists, anarchists and Maoists, mushroomed. They continually -- and rightly -- accused the Old Left of selling out to reformism in the name of "unity" everywhere -- in the ALP, the trade unions, and the antiwar movement.

Whatever the private feelings of rank-and-file CP, left-ALP, and trade-union militants were, they did not get an airing. The all-important CP continued its domestic Khrushchevism, its peaceful coexistence with the right wing of the ALP and the unions, and all too often, with the bourgeoisie.

Left trade-union officials, like their right-wing counterparts, settled down to a life mainly of negotiations with the bosses in the arbitration courts, warning of the dire consequences these courts' penal powers offered to extended strike action.

How long this would have continued we cannot say. But what ended it was France in May 1968 and Czechoslovakia.

The Australian CP fully supported

* Australia is ruled by a bourgeois coalition of the Liberal party and the Country party. -- I.P.

the line taken by the French CP, against strong New Left opposition. But Czechoslovakia was too much. The National Committee was called to emergency session within hours of the invasion, a motion of condemnation passed, and a CP demonstration of protest organised outside the Soviet embassy in Canberra. Most of the CP's leaders knew that support of the Russians would mean goodbye to any further influence with the masses and mean total political annihilation in the short run.

From Czechoslovakia 1968 to Easter 1969 there has been much rethinking going on amongst the CP rank and file. And not only there: National Secretary Laurie Aarons was very worried by the party's failure to recruit young people, and is reliably reported to have tipped the party's death within five years if it kept to its established course.

A change of line was decided last Christmas, but only appeared in the full force of all its details and implications at the Easter conference.

The key speech of the conference was given by Laurie Carmichael, CP member and Victorian state secretary of the powerful Amalgamated Engineering Union. He firmly admitted and criticised the mistakes of the past, and called for left action around a militant fifteen-point program, bringing all the force of the trade unions of the left into action. Among his fifteen points were:

(1) Confrontation with conscription, and militant action against the Vietnam war. (The CP-controlled unions or shop committees in the maritime industries are vital here.) (2) Confrontation with the penal powers of the arbitration system (a policy to end the strikebreaking power of the boss). (3) Struggle to defend civil liberties and free speech.

CRITICS OF CZECH INVASION PURGED FROM CANADIAN CP LEADERSHIP

The national convention of the Canadian Communist party, which met in Toronto over Easter weekend, concluded an internal political struggle touched off by the Kremlin-sponsored invasion of Czechoslovakia. The pro-Moscow wing of the party reasserted its control and purged virtually all the remaining critics of the Soviet action from the Central Committee.

The Central Committee members dropped included Rae Murphy, editor of the CP's national newspaper, Canadian Tribune; Joshua Gershman, editor of the CP's Jewish newspaper; and Alf Stenberg, former head of the now-defunct Communist Youth League. John Boyd, the Prague correspon-

(4) Support for the struggles of the aborigines. (5) For student power. (6) For workers control of industry. (7) For the strengthening of union shop committees.

Other speakers at the conference came out in support of new forms of strikes, involving workers staying in and taking control of their industries, if only for short periods, rather than walking out. For example, transport strikes might take the form of the workers continuing to run the buses and trains themselves, but refusing to collect fares, thus eliminating a naive and hostile public reaction to their cause.

The most notable feature of the New Left speakers was their lack of a "we told you so" attitude. Their dominating concern was the building of a new and powerful radical alliance and getting on with the direct action. Many of these militants are used to living in an oppositionist world, and so find it suddenly very joyful to realise that behind them now stands the Old Left's vital power base in the labour movement and the large industrial unions.

Therefore in Australia in 1969 we have a good chance of seeing:

(1) Trade unions in unison refusing to pay fines (up to 1,000 dollars per day previously) set by arbitration court judges for holding illegal strikes, thereby challenging the whole arbitration system. (2) Student action in support of the workers struggles -- using all the techniques learned in the fight against the Vietnam war and conscription. (3) Some kind of boil-over in the universities, of the kind seen in the USA and Europe. (4) The popularising of strike action involving workers taking control. And (5) a fight to return the ALP to a policy of military withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

dent of World Marxist Review, and Stanley Ryerson, the party's best-known intellectual, quit the Central Committee.

These last-remaining critical elements did not organize a struggle for their position. The main opposition currents walked out of the party last December, on the eve of a convention of the British Columbia unit of the CP, hitherto the most active section of the party. The Canadian CP condemned the invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968, but reversed its position in October under pressure from the Stalinist old-guard. The reversal was acclaimed in Moscow as a sign of receding dissidence in the international Communist movement.

YAKHIMOVICH'S APPEAL TO THE SOVIET PEOPLE

[The trial of Ivan Yakhimovich, who was arrested March 25 for "spreading anti-Soviet fabrications," is expected to begin shortly in Riga.

[Yakhimovich, who first gained prominence as a model Communist and collective farm manager, became known as a dissident in February 1968. At that time he sent a letter to M.A. Suslov, the secretary of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, denouncing the trial and sentencing of two independent-minded young Soviet writers, Yuri Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginzburg.

[Peter Reddaway, writing in the London Observer, April 13, 1969, described the reprisals the Kremlin took against Yakhimovich for voicing his opinion: "While away from home taking some exams -- and against the wish of his farm workers -- he was sacked. Against the wish of his primary party organization, and therefore illegally, he was expelled from the party. His wife Irina was sacked from her job as a teacher."

[The persecuted couple had to move with their three children to find work. Irina got a job in Yurmala and the family settled there. Yakhimovich himself was unable to get a job for months because his residence permit, essential under the Stalinist internal passport system, had been revoked. Finally, he found a job as a furnace stoker in a sanatorium.

[However, his long period of enforced idleness gave him the opportunity to meet other dissidents in Moscow. On July 29, 1968, he joined with former Major-General Pyotr G. Grigorenko, the writer Aleksei Y. Kosterin, and two other Communists in writing an open letter to the Czechoslovak leadership warning them that the Kremlin might use force to halt the democratization in Czechoslovakia.

[When seven Soviet dissidents demonstrated against the invasion of Czechoslovakia on Red Square in August, Yakhimovich is reported to have written Grigorenko in Moscow expressing his solidarity with this action.

[After the August events, Yakhimovich is said to have begun an essay on the invasion of Czechoslovakia. On September 27, 1968, under pretext of investigating a bank robbery, the police searched his home and confiscated his notes. On February 5, court officials in Riga began preparing a case against him for "anti-Soviet slander."

[Anticipating arrest, Yakhimovich wrote a defense of his position just a few days before the police took him into

custody on March 25. His statement, which is said to be circulating clandestinely in Moscow, has reached the West.

[Sections of Yakhimovich's declaration were published by the New York Times, April 13, and by the West German news weekly Der Spiegel April 28. The version given in Der Spiegel, although still incomplete, is more extensive than the version in the Times. The following is the text of the sections printed in Der Spiegel plus a few sentences that appeared in the Times. The translation from the German is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

My days of freedom are numbered. On the threshold of captivity, I address myself to those whose names I cannot forget. Hear me!

I am thirty-eight years old. I was born in Daugavpils as the tenth child of a washerwoman and a day laborer. After I graduated from high school, I studied at the Latvian Pyotr-Stuchka state university. Then I worked in the countryside as a high-school teacher, school inspector, and as the chairman of the Jauna Gvarde [Young Guard] collective farm in the Kraslava district. At present I am working as a stoker in the Belorussia sanatorium in Yurmala, Latvian SSR. I was a member of the Komsomol [Kommunisticheskii Soiuz Molodezhi -- Young Communist League] for ten years and a member of the party for eight years.

I grew up among people to whom Lenin's name was more respected than any other, to whom his name was the authority for determining the truth. At the beginning of 1942, my brother Kasimir Yakhimovich, a bearer of the Order of the Red Star, fell before Moscow. My brother-in-law Nikolai Kirkhenstein, a nephew of the present chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Latvian SSR, lost his life in the defense of Leningrad. My uncle Ignat Yakhimovich, an old revolutionist, spent eight years in prison under the Latvian bourgeois regime...

In 1956, I went to the virgin lands as a Komsomol volunteer. I met my future wife there, although we had studied at the same school, the school of history and philosophy, at home. She was in her first year of study, I in my fifth. We married in 1960.

I must tell my history because a flood of lies and slanders against me will come out of the court chambers. I must tell about myself because my fate is the fate of my people and my honor is their honor.



IVAN YAKHIMOVICH

I am accused under Paragraph 183, Section I, of the Criminal Code of the Latvian SSR of spreading fabrications slandering the Soviet state and social system. The maximum penalties for this offense are three years deprivation of freedom, a year at hard labor in a prison camp, or a 100 ruble [1 ruble = US\$.90] fine.

My letter to Suslov,* which I sent to the office of the CPSU and which also became known in the West, is supposed to have been anti-Soviet. The appeal to world public opinion by P. Litvinov and L. Bogoraz,** which I helped disseminate, is alleged to have been slanderous.

On September 27, during a search of my apartment, newspapers, periodicals, excerpts from Lenin's works, two notebooks with my notes on the events in the Czechoslovak Soviet Republic, my wife's diary, an unsent letter in defense of P.

* A member of the politburo and the chief ideologue of the CPSU [Communist party of the Soviet Union].

** Larisa Bogoraz-Daniel, the wife of the Soviet writer Yuli Daniel, imprisoned since 1966.

Litvinov, and a report by P.G. Grigorenko on the beginning of the 1941-45 war were confiscated. This search was carried out under the pretext that I had stolen over 19,000 rubles from my bank, although at that time the real bank robber had already been captured and all police stations had received the order to discontinue the search.

On February 5 and March 19 and 24, I was summoned to appear before E. Kakitis, the investigating judge of the Lenin district in Riga, despite the fact that I live in Yurmala. From the negative report made by the first secretary of the Kraslava district, G.M. Kirilov, and by the chief of production direction, A.I. Oralov; from the evidence presented by the dean of the Jelgava agronomy school, Comrade Pakalnietis (who maintained that I had admitted visiting P. Litvinov in Moscow and that I recorded my letter to Suslov on tape to send abroad); and from a whole series of similar indications, one thing became clear to me. Previously the alternative was whether or not I should be brought before a court, and if I were, whether or not I should be sent to prison, but now all that remained was to bring me to trial and lock me up...

Bertrand Russell, you are a philosopher, can you perhaps understand better what their accusations are based on? From what position do they approach this? From the class standpoint? By my social origin I am a worker and I am a worker now by the criterion of the job I am actually doing.

What law have I broken? The Constitution of the Latvian SSR and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights guarantee the freedom to write, to propagate ideas, to demonstrate, and so forth.

Do they fear perhaps that I am about to become a capitalist? But as a collective farm chairman, I did not possess a private plot or a cow or a sheep, or even a hen, but I lived on my wages. I have no house of my own, no car, no savings book. My only capital is my books and my three children. Do they think that I did not work and am not working for socialism? If not, what system am I working for, then? Whom does my freedom threaten and why must it be taken from me?

Comrade Alexander Dubček: When seven people went out onto Red Square on August 25 with the slogan "Hands Off Czechoslovakia," and "For Your Freedom and Ours," they were beaten bloody, they were called "anti-Soviet slanderers," "dirty Jews," and the like. I could not be with them, but I was on your side and I shall always be on your side as long as you serve your people honestly. "Remain firm, the sun will rise again..."

Alexander Isaievich [Solzhenitsyn]:

I am happy that I had the opportunity to read your works. May "the gift of the heart and the wine" be yours.

Pavel [Litvinov] and Larisa [Bogoraz-Daniel]: We saluted your courage like the gladiators of old: "Hail Caesar, we who are about to die salute you!" We are proud of you. "Deep within the Siberian mine, keep your patience bright...not in vain are your sufferings nor the lofty flight of your thought."*

Yevgenii Mikhailovich, old friend and fellow fighter from World War II days: My arrest should not come as a surprise to you. Do not believe them, do not believe them! I cannot be an enemy of Soviet power.

Peasants of the Jauna Gvarde collective farm: I worked with you for eight years. That is long enough to get to know a person. Judge for yourselves and may your judgment serve the truth. Don't let them deceive you.

Workers of Leningrad, Moscow, and Riga, dockers of Odessa, Liepai, and Tallinn: By going out onto Red Square to say "No" to the occupiers of Czechoslovakia, the worker Vladimir Dremluga saved the honor of his class. He was thrown into jail.

On the pretext that he violated the police passport regulations, the transport worker Anatolii Marchenko was thrown into jail. His letter exposed the duplicity of the leading circles -- their interference in the internal affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Previously he languished six years in the camps in Mordovia because of the evidence given by an informer, losing his hearing and his health there.

Who should help a worker if not another worker? One for all and all for one!

Comrade Grigorenko, Comrade Yakir,** seasoned fighters for the truth!

* From Pushkin's poem dedicated to the survivors of the 1825 Dekabrist uprising against the Czarist autocracy. -- I.P.

** Pavel Yakir, a dissident historian and the son of a general murdered by the Stalin regime, who has done work to expose Stalin's responsibility for the heavy losses suffered by the Red Army in World War II. -- I.P.

May life preserve you for the just cause!

Crimean Tartars! He who has robbed an entire people of their homeland, he who has defamed an entire people, from infants in arms to old men, is the mortal foe of all peoples. For your homeland, the Crimean Tartar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic! For your sons and daughters who are being thrown into prison! For your rights that are being trampled underfoot!

I address myself to people of my own nationality -- to the Poles wherever they are living and wherever they work. Do not keep silent when injustice is being done.

Poland is not lost yet while still we live.

I address myself to Latvians, whose land has become my homeland, whose language I know as I know Polish and Russian... Do not forget that in the labor camps of Mordovia and Siberia thousands of your fellow countrymen languish! Demand their return to Latvia. Watch carefully the fate of everyone deprived of freedom for political reasons.

Academician Sakharov: I heard about your "Reflections."* I regret that I did not manage to write to you. The debt is mine. "There is so much evil in the world and so few are outraged at it." [From Yusuf Has-Habzhib Balassagunskii.]

Communists of all countries, Communists of the Soviet Union: You have one lord, one sovereign -- the people. But the people is made up of living persons, of real lives. When human rights are violated, especially in the name of socialism and Marxism, there can be no two positions. Then your conscience and your honor must command.

Forward Communists! Forward Communists! Most of all, it is dangerous for Soviet power when people are deprived of their freedom because of their convictions, for it will not be long before it too loses its freedom.

The great of this world are only great because we are on our knees. Let us rise!

* An essay circulating clandestinely in the Soviet Union. Its strongest side is its defense of intellectual liberty. -- I.P.

RIGHT-WING TERRORISTS ATTACK A SCHOOL IN PARIS

About fifty armed right-wing terrorists attacked students at the Louis-le-Grand secondary school in Paris May 2.

About a dozen students were injured. One student had his hand mangled by a grenade. One suspect was reportedly arrested.

Report from the Spanish Underground

"THE POPULAR RESISTANCE HAS NOT DIMINISHED"

[The following article from Ban-dera Roja (Red Flag), an underground revolutionary paper in Barcelona, was published April 2 in the French communist action journal Rouge. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

The state of emergency represented no turn in the Spanish political situation. It proved neither that the Franco regime was undergoing its final crisis nor that it was particularly strong. It was only a governmental call for stepped-up repression, a normal reaction by an authoritarian government and a relatively weak bourgeoisie facing a difficult conjuncture and a spreading popular movement.

The state of emergency meant the arrest and torture of hundreds of militants and the exile of thousands to remote provincial towns. Other thousands were forced into hiding. All meetings or public assemblies which were previously more or less tolerated were banned. A climate of terror was introduced by every means to forestall any reaction, to try to break all forms of organization by the workers and students, even by bourgeois democrats. What was the reason for this wave of outrageously brutal repression which assumed a scope long unknown?

A Difficult Situation

The international conjuncture was rather disquieting. The signs of economic recession were multiplying (the monetary crisis, the falling rate of investment, unemployment, accumulation of unsold goods, rising prices and attempts to freeze wages, etc.). And it is well known that when the capitalist economy of the developed countries catches a cold, those of dependent and economically unbalanced countries like Spain get pneumonia.

Also in the last months before the state of emergency was declared the Western countries had experienced popular upsurges as violent and widespread as they were unexpected. The memory of the Parisian spring and the Mexican summer haunted the Spanish oligarchy.

The ruling class found itself in a quite difficult situation. A whole series of factors forced it to take a very rigid stand against the workers' demands -- the decline in foreign investment; shrinking foreign markets; the inability to extend the internal market; and the need to put a tight rein on the sort of wage increases that the workers had won in struggles, taking advantage of the 1962-67 phase of

economic expansion. (The ruling class's need to cut back the workers' wage increases arose out of the necessity of continuing industrialization by importing producers' goods paid for by foreign currency earnings from tourism and the exploitation of manpower, etc.)

Added to this was the fact that the nature of the Franco state, which lacks any institutions for moderating conflicts (parliament, political parties, trade unions), causes every social demand not negotiated within the confines of isolated branches of industry to set off a political confrontation with the government and thus violent repression. In view of this, it is understandable that in a situation where the bosses did not want to make any concessions, they tried to forestall difficulties by brutally liquidating all opponents, even those who defended the bosses' essential prerogatives -- i.e., the bourgeois democrats.

The government's worries were not without cause. The level of the class struggle had risen sharply in recent years. In a primarily economic struggle of the trade-union type, the workers movement had created organizations, the Workers Commissions, which were capable of mobilizing tens of thousands of workers. Very important revolutionary nuclei (Young Workers Commissions, Neighborhood Commissions, the student movement) had also developed within the popular movement, which advanced much more radical objectives. And, most importantly, they introduced new forms of struggle which favored action over words and mass work over pacifist acts of individual witness, and concrete objectives over abstract demands.

At the beginning of this year, the oligarchy had to confront the workers over the discussion of the trade-union and collective-bargaining law. The oligarchy's fear of popular resistance was increased considerably by the possibility that the ever more determined action of the revolutionary nuclei -- which were taking the leadership of the Neighborhood Commissions, multiplying in the factories, and totally paralyzing the universities -- would spread to the working class as a whole.

Facing this situation, the most hard-nosed tendencies in the regime, those linked to archaic national monopoly capitalism, momentarily took the initiative to break the popular movement. But they acted with the support of the entire ruling class. Not one representative of the dominant class attacked the repression. But this twofold attempt to throw a lasting scare into the people and to smash the

popular organizations proved a failure. Why?

Popular Resistance

The repression could not get very far. First of all, its spectacular character was more suited to attacking outward appearances, such as public meetings and loosely constructed reformist organizations, than for striking at the realities represented by organized nuclei and clandestinely prepared actions. Secondly, the oligarchy was not ready to let the hards go all the way -- at least for the moment. It wanted to avoid the isolation internally and internationally that would result from eliminating the reformist tendencies, which are easier to deal with over the long run than military primitives.

Moreover, the repressive apparatus misjudged the situation. It believed that the CP was the backbone of the entire people's movement and that it could break the movement by striking at the Communists. But in those areas where the CP has been hard hit by the repression, of which it has been the principal victim, the popular resistance has not diminished.

This is the key to the failure of the regime. The state of emergency would have paid off if it had eliminated popular action for some time, if it had greatly weakened the popular organizations. But the repression had a contrary effect.

Work stoppages, meetings, assemblies, strikes, and sit-ins multiplied in the factories. The red flag was even seen floating above several factories. And most of all, these actions gave birth to more solid and militant forms of organization than the Workers Commissions, which had no vitality within the plants themselves. They produced the Factory Committees.

In the neighborhoods, agitation was stepped up enormously. There were lightning demonstrations, slogans on the walls (the "red campaign" that called for covering everything with red). An underground press developed in the neighborhoods.

Where the commissions were too broad and ineffective, revolutionary programs were developed or consolidated by cadre action committees. Where the commissions were led by revolutionary nuclei, revolutionary programs were expanded.

The student movement, forced off the campuses, which were closed or occupied by the police, organized lightning demonstrations in the neighborhoods (like the UER in Barcelona). And, as soon as it was able, this movement resumed its activity on the campuses stronger than ever, for example, in Madrid, the day of pro-

test against imperialism. The state of emergency has been a failure. The popular movement was able to come out of it stronger than before.

The Aftermath of Emergency Rule

The dilemma of the regime is obvious. More repression would isolate the ruling class; more liberalization would threaten to release uncontrollable forces. It is not difficult to predict that this strongly repressive state is going to try to sustain itself by making some concessions and giving some minimal margin of freedom sufficient to keep the reformist tendencies, the future means of accommodating opposition, from definitively losing hope.

But the dilemma of the left is no less difficult. More radical action would expose it to destruction. A democratic front would threaten to sink it completely in a reformist swamp. The failure of the reformists' analyses (what has happened to those complacent mainstream liberals who were the hope of the CP leadership?) and their inability to respond to the repression or to resist it have not diminished their importance.

The CP leadership may capitalize on the reaction against the government, taking advantage both of the prestige of having so many of its members in prison and of the extremism of the ultraleft elements.

The ultraleftists often play a provocative role by stepping up their abstract charges against the revisionists at a time when the pro-Moscow Communists have fallen victim to the repression (however vulnerable the CP's internal degeneration may make it to police attacks, its losses are as much due to the fact that the police have not spared it despite its moderate character) and by making adventurist appeals for a confrontation with the police.

The objective for revolutionary communist militants now must be to raise the level of popular organization on the basis of activity among the ranks and mass work. In the course of action, they will be able to expose class-collaborationist compromises as well as the infantile leftist deviations that isolate revolutionary nuclei from the mass of militants.

For every action, a mass organization must be created or consolidated. In every mass organization, there must be a revolutionary political leadership. Then, we will really begin to build the communist party.

MAOISM AND THE INDIAN REVOLUTION

By Raj Narain Arya

Kanpur

Both factions of the Communist party of India [CPI], right and left,* have sought to install non-Congress party governments in the states in their bid to capture power through a united front with the "national bourgeoisie." This was the parliamentary road and its failure to solve any of the basic problems of the masses led to some disillusionment in the advanced sections of the Communist and revolutionary cadres. These elements are, however, seeking a solution within the framework of the traditional CPs, so that they are attracted to Maoism, which lays stress on a prolonged armed struggle in the villages leading to the capture of the cities and final seizure of power.

They claim that Maoism is the apex of the Marxism-Leninism of the present era. Their concepts of a revolution in stages, of a united front with the "national bourgeoisie" and of the character of the peasantry are common to all Stalinist parties. They appear to be Leninist in origin although they are not so. The tactic of prolonged armed struggle in the villages, from revolutionary bases established under the leadership of the working class, leading to capture of the cities and final seizure of power, is specifically Maoist. It is important to analyse both their strategy and tactics in order to assess the true nature of Maoism.

Lenin and the Russian Revolution

Lenin's concept of the stages of the Russian Revolution differs in an important way from the Stalinist concept. He was not interested either in a bourgeois government or the bourgeois development of Russia although he admitted that economically Russia was a backward country and that its economic development would help the working class to organise itself better.

He was principally interested in the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class, along with its

* Since 1964 India has had two Communist parties, the pro-Moscow CPI, and the CP (M) [Marxist], initially a pro-Peking split-off which has now been deserted by the "true" Maoists because of its parliamentary orientation, especially in West Bengal and Kerala. In both of these states the CP(M) heads the state government through its multiclass "United Front" coalitions. -- I.P.

allies at the different stages of the Russian Revolution. He insisted that the character of the Russian Revolution would be bourgeois-democratic because he knew that the peasant ally of the working class, without whom it would be impossible to make a revolution, was not socialist and it would stop at the stage when its land hunger was satisfied. This difference in approach reveals itself most clearly in the respective attitudes of Lenin and the Maoists towards the "national bourgeoisie," i.e., the section of the bourgeoisie whose interests the revolution is supposed to serve and who are therefore admittedly interested in the change.

The Maoist periodical Liberation analyses the character of the "People's Revolution" in India and the character of the Indian bourgeoisie in its December 1967 and June 1968 issues. It expresses full agreement with the distinction made by the CP(M) between the compradore, bureaucratic, monopolistic big bourgeoisie and the industrial or national bourgeoisie. The distinction is made as follows:

"The national bourgeoisie... [have] no links altogether with foreign monopolists...[and] are not by themselves monopolistic....[They] suffer at their hands in a number of ways, are objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution....This section of the bourgeoisie will be compelled to come into opposition with the state power and can find a place in the People's Democratic Front."*

Lenin also thought that the Russian bourgeoisie were interested in the fight for democracy in Russia, but instead of emphasising the identity of interests between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, he emphasised the conflict in their interests, the instability and possible treachery of the bourgeoisie. Thus he writes in Two Tactics of Social Democracy as follows:

"It is of greater advantage to the bourgeoisie for the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy to take place more slowly, more gradually, more cautiously, less resolutely, by means of reforms and not by means of revolution; for these changes to spare the 'venerable' institutions of the serf-owning system (such as the monarchy) as much as possible; for these changes to develop as little as possible the independent revolutionary

* Paragraph 106 of the CP(M) programme, quoted in Liberation, December 1967, page 76.

activity, initiative and energy of the common people, i.e., the peasantry and especially the workers, for otherwise it will be easier for the workers, as the French say, 'to change the rifle from one shoulder to the other'...

"On the other hand, it is more advantageous to the working class for the necessary changes in the direction of bourgeois democracy to take place by way of revolution and not by way of reform...."*

He also pointed to the basic limitations of the bourgeoisie as follows:

"We must be perfectly certain in our minds as to what real social forces are opposed to 'tsarism'...and are capable of gaining a 'decisive victory' over it. The big bourgeoisie, the landlords, the factory owners...cannot be such a force....We know that owing to their class position they are incapable of waging a decisive struggle against tsarism; they are too heavily fettered by private property, by capital and land to enter into a decisive struggle. They stand in too great need of tsarism, with its bureaucratic, police and military forces for use against the proletariat and the peasantry, to want it to be destroyed." (Ibid., p. 56.)

Thus what was involved was not a front with the bourgeoisie but a sharpening of the struggle for democracy so that it outgrows the limit of gradualism and reform and steps into the arena of revolutionary struggle; out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, into the hands of the proletariat. Lenin writes:

"The proletariat must carry the democratic revolution to completion, allying to itself the mass of the peasantry in order to crush the autocracy's resistance by force and paralyse the bourgeoisie's instability." (Ibid., p. 100. Emphasis in original.)

He is not afraid of the bourgeoisie recoiling from the bourgeois democratic revolution. He says:

"...The Russian revolution...will really assume the widest revolutionary sweep possible in the epoch of bourgeois-democratic revolution, only when the bourgeoisie recoils from it and when the masses of the peasantry come out as active revolutionaries side by side with the proletariat." (Ibid., p. 100.)

Lenin, therefore, has no use for a "minimum programme" on which a united front with the "national bourgeoisie"

could be built. In fact he would not rely on the bourgeoisie even if they accepted the whole programme of the revolution. He says:

"The bourgeoisie will always be inconsistent. There is nothing more naive and futile than attempts to set forth conditions and points which, if satisfied, would enable us to consider that the bourgeois democrat is a sincere friend of the people. Only the proletariat can be a consistent fighter for democracy. It can become a victorious fighter for democracy only if the peasant masses join its revolutionary struggle...." (Ibid., p. 60.) Compare this with paragraphs 106 and 107 of the CP(M) programme.*

Substitute "imperialism and monopolist bureaucrat compradore bourgeoisie" for tsarism in the above citations and the "national bourgeoisie" for the bourgeoisie, and you have Lenin's view on the Stalinist and Maoist programme of revolution under the leadership of a united front that includes the national bourgeoisie on a minimum programme.

Lenin on the Stages of Revolution

Lenin did distinguish between a bourgeois-democratic revolution and a socialist revolution in Russia in 1905. However, he did so not because Russia had not been fully industrialised or was backward in economic development, but for another reason. He says in 1905 as follows:

"The degree of Russia's economic development (an objective condition), and the degree of class-consciousness and organisation of the broad masses of the proletariat (a subjective condition inseparably bound up with the objective condition) make the immediate and complete emancipation of the working class impossible....a socialist revolution is out of the question unless the masses become class-conscious and organised, trained, and educated in an open class struggle against the entire bourgeoisie." (Ibid., pp. 28-29.)

Lenin modified this view on the basis of the experience of the revolution of 1917. In a later preface to Two Tactics he said that before February 1917 he could not think of a socialist revolution because he considered that the forces of the proletariat were still incapable of making

* 106: "...[the national bourgeoisie] is unstable and exhibits extreme vacillations..."

107: "Every effort must be made to win them to the democratic front...[and] the working class...[should] support them in all their struggles against both the Indian monopolists and foreign imperialist competitors."

* Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, 1962, Vol. 9, pp. 50-51.

this revolution. When the Russian Revolution did break out and he saw the workers actually leading the revolution, he gave up his earlier position and without waiting for a further organisation and education of the workers in anticapitalist struggles he gave the call for a socialist revolution. In the very first Letter from Afar, he says:

"Side by side with this government -- which as regards the present war is but the agent of the billion-dollar 'firm' 'England and France' -- there has arisen the chief, unofficial, as yet undeveloped and comparatively weak workers' government, which expresses the interests of the proletariat and of the entire poor section of the urban and rural population. This is the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Petrograd....

"Ours is a bourgeois revolution, therefore, the workers must support the bourgeoisie, say the [opportunist politicians]....

"Ours is a bourgeois revolution, we Marxists say, therefore the workers must open the eyes of the people to the deception practised by the bourgeois politicians...." (Collected Works, Vol. 23, pp. 304-306. Emphasis in original.)

The letter ends with the words:

"With these two allies, the proletariat, utilising the peculiarities of the present transition situation, can and will proceed, first to the achievement of a democratic republic and complete victory of the peasantry over the landlords... and then to socialism...." (Ibid., p. 308. Emphasis in original.)

In 1919, he writes about this question again in his book, Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, as follows:

"First, with the 'whole' of the peasants against the monarchy, against the landowners, against medievalism (and to that extent the revolution remains bourgeois, bourgeois-democratic). Then, with the poor peasants, with the semi-proletarians, with all the exploited, against capitalism, including the rural rich, the kulaks, the profiteers, and to that extent the revolution becomes a socialist one.

"To attempt to raise an artificial Chinese Wall between the first and second, separate them by anything else than the degree of preparedness of the proletariat and the degree of its unity with the poor peasants means to distort Marxism dreadfully, to vulgarise it, to substitute liberalism in its place." (Collected Works, Vol. 28, p. 300.)

In fact there was a mixing of the elements of the two revolutions. Lenin noted this fact and reported to the First Congress of the Communist International as follows:

"As far as the countryside was concerned, our revolution continued to be a bourgeois revolution, and only later, after a lapse of six months, were we compelled within the framework of the state organisation to start the class struggle in the countryside, to establish Committees of Poor Peasants, of semi-proletarians, in every village, and to carry on a methodical fight against the rural bourgeoisie." (Ibid., p. 473.)

This was what Trotsky had always been saying. He had stated in 1905 that the leadership in the revolution would be that of the working class, and that the government would be the government of the workers and the poor peasants. He had made it clear that the revolution would be bourgeois-democratic in the villages and anti-capitalist or socialist in the cities. Lenin did not accept this at that time, but he had not ruled out the possibility of such a mixing of the two revolutions. Even in 1905 he had written as follows:

"We all contrapose bourgeois revolution and socialist revolution...however, can it be denied that in the course of history individual, particular elements of the two revolutions become interwoven?" (Collected Works, Vol. 9, p. 85.)

Maoists and Stalinists speak of two revolutions on the basis that there has not been enough bourgeois development in India. They speak of a democratic revolution when the working class has already entered the stage of nationwide strikes, when socialism is the conscious goal of the workers, when class struggles are a daily occurrence even in villages; when organisations of poor peasants and agricultural proletarians are developing, i.e., when almost everything is in favour of a socialist revolution.

Industrialisation and the Bourgeoisie

Let us once again turn to the part of the CP(M) programme which is approved by the Maoists.

The CP(M) showed its awareness of the reality of the Indian situation when it stated:

"Disillusionment and discontentment with the policies and attempts at building a capitalist economy grows rapidly among our people....This awakening is seen in the growing attraction to ideas of socialism among the masses. Capitalism as a system is getting increasingly discredited in the eyes of the people." (CP(M) programme,

paragraph 83.)

Yet the CP(M) does not go ahead with an anticapitalist socialist revolution. It visualises that the working class will take the country "along the path of noncapitalist development and go over to socialism by skipping over the stage of capitalism." One wonders what this "noncapitalist" path is which is not yet a socialist revolution. The key is provided by paragraph 87, which says:

"Real and genuine socialism can be built only when all principal means of production in society are owned by the state...."

Compare it with paragraphs 88 (11) and 90 which tell us what will happen to the means of production in a "People's Democracy." Paragraph 88 (11) tells us that taxes on industry, agriculture and trade will be graded and profits controlled. Clearly the means of production remain in private hands. Paragraph 90 (1) talks of a "take over of all foreign capital" and nationalisation of all monopolistic industries, banks and credit institutions, "even of foreign trade."

Medium and small industries, however, are to be given credit, raw materials at reasonable prices and market facilities. No mention is made of the industries owned by the "national bourgeoisie" who are not monopolistic and yet own large-scale industries. Probably they are to survive with profits controlled.

Two questions arise here. Is it worthwhile to spare them when so much of capitalism, the summit of capitalism, is already abolished? Can they survive with the prop of foreign capital and international trade gone? Paragraph 87 tells us:

"While adhering to the aims of building a socialist society the Communist Party of India, taking into consideration the degree of economic development, the degree of political and ideological maturity of the working class and its organisation, place before the people as the immediate objective the establishment of people's democracy based on the coalition of all anti-feudal and anti-imperialist forces headed by the working class."

This is confusion worse confounded. If the working class is mature enough and sufficiently organised to lead a people's democratic revolution, what does it lack that it cannot lead a socialist revolution, especially at a stage when capitalism is discredited and socialism attracts the masses, when a major part of the means of production and foreign trade have already been marked for a take-over by the state?

The political ideas of the masses

are far in advance of the CP(M) because they have already accepted abolition of capitalism and establishment of socialism. What is in fact lacking is the political maturity of the CP(M) itself that it insists on retaining the national bourgeoisie when they cannot serve any useful purpose, and insists on refusing to go over to a socialist revolution when a major part of the means of production is in the hands of the state. The confusion of the CP(M), and Maoists, and all the like is thus marked by this chasing of the "national bourgeoisie" and the refusal to develop anticapitalist struggles, policies, and demands.

It is this confusion in the present leadership of the working class that prevents it from seizing power through a socialist revolution and from going over to socialism. The national bourgeoisie are not interested in making a revolution, for the reasons so clearly stated by Lenin some sixty-five years ago. They can not be interested in a regime in which inflation is prevented, profits are controlled, and international trade is not free.

The CP(M)'s policy, however, helps it to carry its own ranks on the parliamentary road through united fronts. Maoists may or may not take part in elections but they don't believe in the parliamentary road to socialism. Why should they, then, chase the mirage of a united front with the national bourgeoisie? For the sake of winning the rich peasants? Is it possible to win rich peasants with a policy of fixing a ceiling on landholdings, fixing the minimum wages of agricultural labourers, state trading of food grains, forcible collection of grain, etc.?

Economic development is not possible either on the capitalist road or through capitalists. They depend on foreign capital, technical know-how and collaboration in production and imperialist patronage and generosity in trade. They depend on taxes and inflation for the accumulation of capital at home. Even if the masses don't resist them, there is a limit to such measures. The only potential for real development is through state ownership of all means of production and internal trade and a state monopoly of foreign trade.

Is this how Stalinism or Maoism is a development of Marxism-Leninism?

Maoism and the Peasantry

The above discussion makes it clear that Lenin accepted peasants to be the allies of the revolutionary working class only as long as their hunger for the land was not satisfied. He visualised the outbreak of class struggle in villages between rich peasants on the one hand and the poor peasants and semiproletarians on the other. As far back as 1905, he wrote:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution by allying to itself the mass of peasantry.... The proletariat must accomplish the Socialist revolution by allying to itself the mass of semi-proletarian elements of the population in order to crush by force the resistance of the bourgeoisie and to paralyse the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie."

When the Maoists characterise the coming revolution as a bourgeois or an agrarian revolution, they base themselves on the peasantry as a whole. When they enumerate the contradictions in present Indian society, they mention the contradiction between landlords or feudal remnants and the peasantry, but leave out the conflict of interests between the rich and the poor peasantry.

The CP(M) hopes: "By and large, they [rich peasants] can also be brought into the democratic front and retained as allies in the people's democratic revolution." Yes, say the Maoists.

They cannot ignore the realities. But they refuse to see any conflicts whatever with their schema. The CP(M) programme itself states in paragraph 103:

"The Congress agrarian reforms have undoubtedly benefited certain [only certain!] sections of them [the rich peasants]....They aspire to join the ranks of capitalist landlords and by virtue of their engaging agricultural labour on hire for work on their farms, they entertain hostility to them...." (Emphasis added.)

And yet the CP(M) programme hopes the rich peasants can also be brought into the democratic front. The only way to do it is to refuse to organise and sharpen the struggle of the poor peasants and agricultural labourers -- the firmest ally of the proletariat -- against the rich peasants. Lenin only waited for this class struggle in the villages to break out in order to "paralyse the instability of the peasantry." Stalinists and Maoists refuse to do anything with it because they must have the rich peasants in their front at all costs.

The land hunger of the rich peasants is largely satisfied in India. If they want more land, they can buy it from poor peasants. They are growing cash crops and hoarding food grains. They are the allies of the black marketeers in the cities. They do threaten not to sell their produce at a lower price than they have demanded, e.g., sugarcane, but they are not interested in a revolution which may take away their own land by fixing a ceiling and strengthening the agricultural labourers. The hatred of the poor peasants and semiproletarians is very strong

against them. This hatred has also got mixed up in India with social problems, the problems of caste differences. You cannot have both of them in the same front. The Naxalites* are compelled to raid rich peasants' houses. Yet they do not want to develop this class struggle and organise the rural poor against rich peasants on specific demands.

Rich peasants are not interested in a revolution. At the same time, the rural poor will not join the revolution unless revolutionaries in the villages build movements on their demands and show preparedness to go against the rich peasants also. The Maoist bands in the villages, therefore, are threatened with isolation unless they link themselves up with the rural poor. If they do not, they will carry out raids on police stations, buses, rich peasants' (selected individuals) houses but cannot build a powerful base in the villages.

Revolutionary Bases in the Villages

The specific contribution of Mao is the concept of such bases in the villages. They are to be organised under the leadership of the proletariat. Obviously the workers movement in the cities cannot provide this leadership. More so, because the Maoists have no programme of developing workers movements.

In the absence of a well-organised working class in the cities, petty-bourgeois cadres of even a Marxist party are nothing but petty-bourgeois intellectuals or enthusiasts. They aspire to lead the masses, but refuse to bind themselves to the discipline of such movements. The only counterpart of the proletariat in the villages is the section of the population called the rural poor. The revolutionary base has to be under their leadership if it is to be under the leadership of the working class. If this condition is met, what you have is not an independent movement, but a movement linked with the demands of the rural poor, which has to adopt forms of struggle appropriate to the stage of the development of their class organisation and their struggle.

At a time when the semiproletariat of the countryside are not fully mobilised even for economic demands, there can be no question of an armed struggle against the

* Maoist dissidents from the CP(M) who split from the party in 1967 because of the CP(M)'s opposition to a peasant revolt in Naxalbari, West Bengal. The so-called Naxalites formed a third, Maoist, Communist party during 1968, presently called the All-India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries. See Intercontinental Press, February 3, 1969, p. 101. -- I.P.

state apparatus as if they were struggling for the seizure of power.

The tragedy of the Naxalbari movement lay in this artificial stretching of a peasant movement to fit a political theory.

Jangal Santhal, the peasant leader of the Naxalbari movement, described the movement as resistance to dispossession from the land that had been cultivated by tillers for decades. (See Darpan, June 1967.) But Charu Majumdar, the theoretician of the movement and of the Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (Maoists), described it as follows:

"The brave peasants of Naxalbari, inspired by the thought of Chairman Mao and Marxism-Leninism, rose to break their chains under the leadership of Communist Revolutionaries." (Declaration, June 1968.)

If the struggle of the rural poor under their own organisation and leadership and on their own demands has not reached a stage where such an armed struggle grows naturally out of it, the mass of the rural poor, who cannot hide themselves and escape the arms of a powerful state, will turn against the adventurists.

The only other circumstances under which guerrilla struggles may be successfully undertaken is when there is no possibility of ordinary movements, and guerrilla bands are organised to take reprisals against the rich peasants, landlords, and state officials. Here these bands are actively supported and helped by the entire population. Till such support is obtained from the rural poor, it is infantile leftism to launch armed struggles in the villages for the seizure of power.

Capture of the Cities

The Maoist armed struggle is supposed to end with the capture of the cities by the village revolutionaries. The question arises: what should the city working class and the city poor do till the prolonged armed struggle in the villages develops to the stage where the revolutionaries can capture cities? Should they confine themselves only to trade-union work if possible, read and reread Mao's thought, raise funds for the revolutionaries in the villages and join them on being dismissed from the mills?

Why can't the urban working class develop their class struggle against the capitalists and build resistance movements in the cities if political conditions do not permit open mass revolutionary work? Why can't they rise in the cities at an opportune moment and assume the national leadership of the armed

struggle? The reply is that the Maoists don't want this revolution to develop on anticapitalist lines, because they must have the national bourgeoisie in the democratic front.

When the Maoists talk of the leadership of the working class, they don't mean the actual working class through its class organisations and on its class demands; they mean the Communist party intellectuals drawn from the middle classes or, if from the working masses, individualised and separated from their class, made into petty-bourgeois idealists.

In fact, Maoism is a petty-bourgeois movement under the cover of a working-class ideology. It is a grouping of petty-bourgeois enthusiasts who are impatient with the slow pace of the development of class struggles, of the political development of the masses in India and with the hopeless division in their ranks on party lines. In their impatience, they want to see an armed struggle begin, irrespective of the actual conditions in the country. This perspective is indeed very attractive to them because they have a feeling of fighting without the necessity of subordinating themselves to the discipline and the leadership of the working and illiterate masses organised in their class organisations.

It should be remembered that a programme of revolution which does not insist on building class organisations of the workers and the peasants under their own control and on their class demands, which does not insist on sharpening class struggle -- which alone can lead to a greater mobilisation and radicalisation of the masses -- places the reins of leadership in a revolution in the hands of petty-bourgeois idealists styled as revolutionaries and communists. They will always retain leadership in the name of maintaining the leading role of the Communist party and will not allow proletarian democracy, which would permit criticism of the party, or freely elected workers committees, which would clash with the bureaucratic state and apparatuses.

The cultural revolution in China shows that the masses have to be called upon to overthrow those in authority. The same lesson may be learnt from the mass revolts in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. They will have to make a political revolution against the petty-bourgeois bureaucrats, to take power in their own hands.

Why can't Indian revolutionaries be wiser and build mass organisations of workers and poor peasants from the very beginning and keep the petty-bourgeois idealists under control?

The Leninist Way

The Leninist way is still open to the Maoists, if they are willing to:

(1) Stop distinguishing between a democratic and a socialist revolution and get ready to accomplish a socialist revolution in the cities while the bourgeois revolution may still go on in the villages. (2) Give up attempts to win the national bourgeoisie for the democratic front. (3) Stop allying themselves with the rich peasants. (4) Develop the anti-capitalist struggles of the working class and the antirich-peasant struggles of the rural poor. (5) Develop the organisations of the rural semiproletarians and adopt only such forms of struggle as are called for by the stage of development of the struggle of the rural poor. (6) When the stage of armed struggle comes, link it with the struggle of the rural poor and

with their demands, by subordinating the armed struggle to the class organisation of the rural poor. And (7) prepare the masses politically and win their support before launching armed struggles.

It may be remarked here that capture of power by armed bands is possible in certain circumstances but it is not always possible to have a Castro, or even a Ben Bella. We may have a Boumédienne instead. It is therefore necessary not only to be clear about the aim but also to develop the class organisation of the workers and the peasants.

What is the use of revolutionary phrasemongering if the power is to go to the national bourgeoisie and only a bourgeois system is to be enforced? Such a movement is only a bourgeois movement in spite of its revolutionary phrasemongering.

MORE ABOUT MAX EASTMAN

[In our issue of April 14 (p. 365), we published an article by George Novack about Max Eastman, who died March 25. Since then our attention has been called to a letter by Jack Alan Robbins which appeared in the March 31 issue of the Daily Argus of Mount Vernon, New York, paying tribute to Max Eastman. The letter contains information about Eastman's final political views that was not available when Novack wrote his estimate. We are publishing the pertinent part of Robbins' letter below.]

* * *

I met Max Eastman three years ago when I began the research for my doctoral dissertation on American Trotskyism. We became friends and I assisted him in compiling two anthologies of his writings. Max was a valuable guide and critic in my research and on my other writings.

But when I knew Max Eastman he was no longer a conservative. He had broken with William Buckley's National Review after writing a brilliant essay satirizing Buckley's brand of religious politics, in 1965. On two occasions Max told me he had come to regret his ten year association with the National Review.

Max had joined his friend Theodore Draper, who wrote The Abuse of Power, in opposing the American intervention in Vietnam; Max had sent me an essay, "Ignorance at Washington", in which he voiced his criticisms.

The last three years of his life Max spent studying the New Left and the

anti-Vietnam movements, trying to understand them. It's very difficult to understand the New Left; I am a part of it and its politics are far from clear to me. Max sympathized with student rebels, although he was not uncritical of them. He took a great interest in the numerous new little radical journals. Last year Max supported the New Politics of Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy.

After initial reluctance Max came over to agree with me that revolutionary guerrilla warfare was the only hope in the struggle to liberate Latin America from its own military dictatorships and U.S. Pentagon interventionism.

Last summer Max read the books and diaries of Che Guevara in Cuba and Bolivia and expressed admiration for the person of Che; this meant a lot to those of us who had supported Che's efforts in Bolivia and now support the efforts of Inti Peredo to carry on there.

The Max Eastman I knew was no conservative. He certainly did not like the term "conservative" applied to him.

First and foremost Max Eastman was a poet and philosopher. He was proudest of all of his poetry and of his classic study, Enjoyment of Poetry, published in 1913 and still in print. His memoirs, Enjoyment of Living, Love and Revolution, and Great Companions, will endure. Max's literary and philosophical testament was his Seven Kinds of Goodness, a little treatise that sparkles with wit, published in 1967.

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HALLS FOUNDING OF FRENCH COMMUNIST LEAGUE

[The following message was sent by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, to the founding congress of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), which was held on the weekend of April 6. The Ligue was founded by students and workers who stood in the vanguard during the revolutionary events of May and June 1968, and who supported the communist action journal Rouge. Many former members of the JCR (Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire -- Revolutionary Communist Youth) and PCI (Parti Communiste Internationaliste -- Internationalist Communist party -- the French section of the Fourth International) are participants in the new formation. The JCR and PCI were banned by the Gaullist regime in June 1968.]

* * *

Dear Comrades,

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sends you its fraternal greetings and its wishes for the success of your congress.

The revolutionary upsurge of May 1968 in France, which you contributed so importantly to bringing about, has profoundly changed the political and social climate throughout capitalist Europe. For the first time in twenty years, this upsurge has put struggle to overthrow the capitalist system back on the immediate agenda in one of the fortresses of imperialism. It has helped to shake the apparent stability of bourgeois society in several other imperialist countries of Europe, speeding the development of a "pre-May" situation in these countries.

The revolutionary Marxists are convinced that what happened last year in France was not something exceptional but the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge in all of capitalist Europe which will culminate in new explosions of an objectively revolutionary nature in a series of countries -- and most of all in France itself.

You have already plunged into this process of renewing the drive of the socialist revolution in the imperialist countries. You have done so by the role that your members were able to play in the events of May and June 1968; by the way in which they responded to the Gaullist repression; by your success in launching a mass paper; by consolidating your influence in the high-school and university student milieu; by your systematic pioneering work among the workers.

But most of all, you have become

part of the process of renewing the revolutionary struggle by your conscious effort to build a revolutionary organization capable of capitalizing on the lessons which the vanguard of the French proletariat drew from the experience of May 1968.

You have shown the entire world that the new generation of revolutionists rising up today is no longer content simply to denounce the mistakes and betrayals of the traditional leaderships of the workers movement, nor to give advice to others. You have shown that this generation has gathered the strength and the needed dynamism to go forward at the head of a section of the vanguard of the masses and demonstrate the difference between a revolutionary policy and the reformist policy of the old leaderships.

This is the great contribution you were able to make toward strengthening the revolutionary movement on a world scale. This example is being studied and will be studied in many countries and on all continents. The revolutionary capital gained from your action will bring dividends to you and our whole movement for years to come.

The turn in the world situation, which we will discuss at our coming world congress, considerably increases the responsibilities of revolutionary Marxists throughout the world as well as the risks and the adverse pressures to which they will be subjected. Lenin's teaching to unite our ranks tightly in a structure based on democratic centralism which dynamically combines revolutionary theory and practice, program and organization, on a national as well as international basis will prove more indispensable than ever as a guide for us in this period.

But this new rise in the world revolution, the beginning of which now confronts us, also increases the opportunities for the revolutionary Marxist movement beyond anything open to us in the past. Breakthroughs like the one you have just achieved in France are not only possible, they are inevitable in several countries, if the revolutionary Marxist militants are able to seize the opportunity offered them to play a leading role in the action of sections of the vanguard of the mass movement.

We are not yet on the eve of mass revolutionary parties and a mass revolutionary International. But we are on the eve of a qualitative transformation of the revolutionary movement. In several countries, the revolutionary movement is entering a very important stage on the road toward the creation of mass revolu-

tionary parties and a mass International. And the decisions of your congress will contribute in an important way to speeding up this process on an international scale.

Dear Comrades,

You are faced today with an immense responsibility. You have an opportunity which has not existed for decades, an opportunity to create a large revolutionary organization in a highly industrialized country. You have a chance to spread revolutionary ideas widely among a working class faced objectively with a historic opportunity to take power and organize a workers state based on the democracy of workers councils, a system capable of exercising irresistible attraction to the proletariat of all the other imperialist countries. On the success or failure of your effort may depend the outcome of the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, the fate of tens of millions of workers.

By remaining faithful to the rev-

olutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky, you can successfully carry out this task -- exploiting every opportunity to popularize this revolutionary program, propagating it among the masses, and patiently and perseveringly developing worker cadres capable of winning the confidence of their shopmates in the factories.

The Fourth International and the revolutionary vanguard of the entire world are observing your course. They have confidence in your ability to fulfill your revolutionary mission. They are proud of you and recognize in you the image of their own future, of the communist future of all mankind.

Long live the Communist League, the vanguard of the future revolutionary party of the French proletariat!

Long live the French socialist revolution!

Long live the world socialist revolution!

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
DRAWING: Georges Pompidou	449
Why the French CP Canceled the May Day Demonstrations	450
An Interview with Pierre Frank:	
The Meaning of de Gaulle's Resignation -- by Dick Roberts	451
DRAWING: Charles de Gaulle	452
Thousands in Japan Demand Return of Okinawa	453
New Clashes Between Students and Police in Ethiopia	454
Strike Widens at the University of Dakar	454
The Crisis in Lebanon	455
Adolfo Gilly and Others Sentenced to Long Prison Terms in Mexico	456
The End of Barrientos Spells Trouble for the Bolivian "Gorillas"	456
Australian Left Maps United Action -- by Ivan Dixon	457
Critics of Czech Invasion Purged from Canadian CP Leadership	458
Yakhimovich's Appeal to the Soviet People	459
DRAWING: Ivan Yakhimovich	460
Right-Wing Terrorists Attack a School in Paris	461
Report from the Spanish Underground:	
"The Popular Resistance Has Not Diminished"	462
Maoism and the Indian Revolution -- by Raj Narain Arya	464
More About Max Eastman	470
Documents:	
Fourth International Hails Founding of French Communist League [Statement by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International]	471

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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

New York, N. Y. 10010

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

Martin, Paris 10, France. INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Copyright © 1969 by Intercontinental Press.