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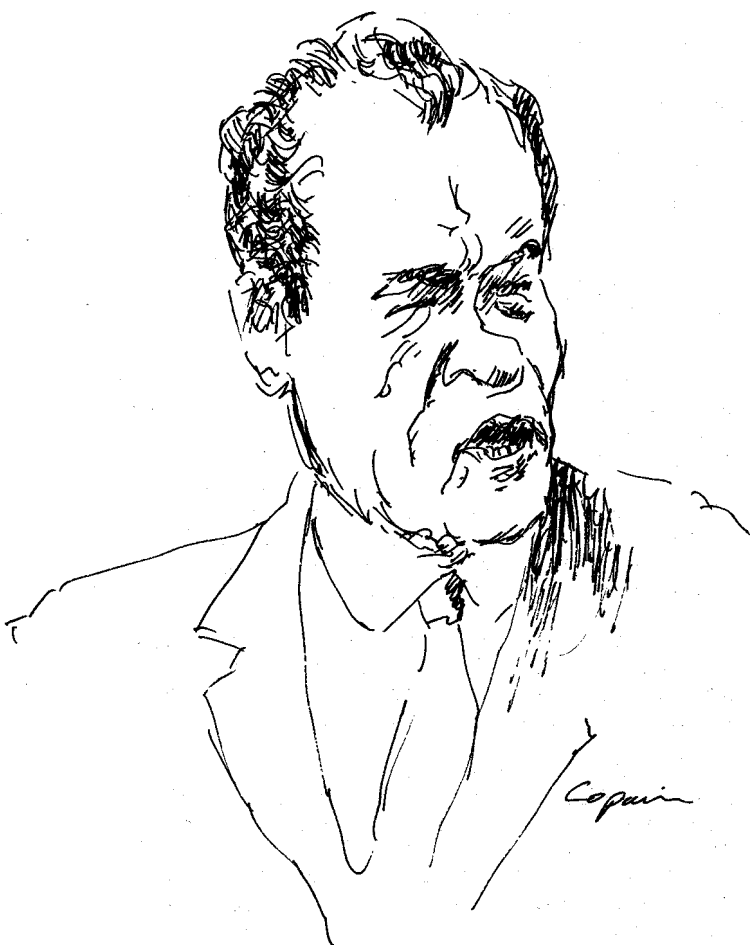
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Fourth International Holds World Congress

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL HOLDS WORLD CONGRESS

Paris

During Easter week, the Fourth International held its Third World Congress since the reunification of the Trotskyist movement in 1963 (the Ninth World Congress since the World Party of Socialist Revolution was founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938). Including delegates with full voting rights, fraternal delegates, and observers, it was attended by ninety-eight persons from thirty countries.

The high point of the congress was the affiliation to the Fourth International of the newly formed Communist League of France. This is the strongest organization, numerically, to join the world Trotskyist movement since its foundation.

The congress reflected in various other ways the progress made by the sections of the Fourth International and sympathizing organizations during the recent period as a result of the worldwide upsurge of a new youth vanguard and the new advance in the world revolution that began last year.

A resolution, "The New Rise of the World Revolution," discussed and voted on at the congress, summarizes the turn in the world situation in six main points:

1. The imperialist counteroffensive launched by American imperialism following the victory of the Cuban revolution, after scoring important temporary successes in Brazil, Indonesia, and a number of African countries, has been repulsed by the heroic Vietnamese people, who took the military initiative with the Tet offensive of 1968.

2. The victorious resistance of the Vietnamese people coincided with a general decline in the rate of economic growth among the imperialist countries, leading in most of them to an intensification of the social contradictions and class struggle.

3. The May 1968 events in France marked the beginning of a new revolutionary upsurge in Europe.

4. The successful defense of the Vietnamese revolution and the rebirth of revolutionary struggle in many imperialist countries have opened up new possibilities for the colonial revolution to overcome the obstacles in its path.

5. Simultaneously with the strengthening of the Vietnamese revolution and the opening of the revolutionary crisis in France, the ripening of conditions for a political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated workers

states led to mass mobilizations in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and political revolution is knocking at the door in the USSR itself.

6. The appearance of a new youth vanguard on a world scale, largely free from the control of the traditional mass organizations, favors the solution of the central task of our epoch -- building a new revolutionary leadership of the world proletariat.

The discussion at the congress centered around evaluating these key developments and around working out a strategic and tactical line to enable the movement to utilize the present favorable conditions for further expansion of the Fourth International. The conclusion was that the revolutionary Marxist organizations themselves are making a major turn. In a series of countries they have already been able to undertake the political initiative and launch effective mass actions, especially on the level of the vanguard.

The main documents adopted by the congress will be printed in various languages. They were taken up in the following order:

● "The New Rise of the World Revolution." This was approved by an overwhelming majority along with the report by Ernest Germain on this subject.

● A resolution on the perspectives of the Latin-American revolution, approved by a two-to-one majority along with the report by Roca.

● A resolution on the "cultural revolution" in China, approved by a majority of more than three to one along with the report by Livio Maitan.

● A resolution orienting the work of the international Trotskyist movement in the coming period toward the radicalizing youth. This was adopted by an overwhelming majority along with the report by Albert as the basis for a discussion to be opened on the problems posed by this orientation.

The delegates adopted a report on activities under the outgoing United Secretariat. This was presented by Ernest Germain. A report on the finances of the movement was likewise adopted as well as resolutions dealing with specific questions in Argentina, Ceylon, Germany, and Great Britain that had arisen since the previous congress.

In Britain, where previously there was no official section, the congress

recognized the International Marxist Group as the British section of the Fourth International.

Resolutions on the tactics of revolutionary Marxists in Western Europe and on the Algerian revolution were referred to the next session of the International Executive Committee.

The delegates elected as honorary chairmen of the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International revolutionists who are suffering repression at the hands of imperialism, its agents, or the Stalinist bureaucracy because of their activities in the service of world socialism.

These included Hugo Blanco, Eduardo Creus, and Pedro Candela in prison in Peru; Daniel Camejo Guancho and Carlos Sevilla in prison in Mexico; the Greek Trotskyist victims of the terror unleashed by the military dictatorship in their country; the Spanish Trotskyists in Franco's jails; Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski in prison in Poland; Neville Alexander and his comrades, imprisoned on Robben Island in South Africa; the oppo-

sitional Soviet communists arrested for protesting against the occupation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic by the armies under the command of the Kremlin's bureaucracy; and two Argentine comrades gravely wounded during a strike of oil workers in their country.

The congress likewise honored the memory of all the cadres of the world Trotskyist movement who had died since the previous congress. These included Rose Karsner and Beatrice Hansen in the United States; Mallikarjun Rao in India; and the leading cadres of the Partai Acoma, killed by the fascist dictatorship in Indonesia.

The delegates also paid tribute to Ernesto Che Guevara as a symbol representing the new generation of revolutionists all over the world.

The last point on the agenda of the congress was the election of a new International Executive Committee of thirty-seven members and nine alternates. An International Control Commission of five members was also elected.

KRIVINE CAMPAIGN WINS WIDE SUPPORT IN FRANCE

Alain Krivine, the candidate of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League -- the French section of the Fourth International] for president of France, has won wide support as the only candidate who is a spokesman for the revolutionary youth in the vanguard of the May-June 1968 revolt. He has been endorsed by such well-known intellectual figures as Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, and by a number of workers and students Action Committees.

On May 13, only eight days after the campaign was announced, supporters of the Ligue Communiste had fulfilled all of the onerous requirements of French election laws for placing a presidential candidate on the ballot. Written endorsement must be secured from 100 already elected officials -- mayors, councilors, etc. The Ligue Communiste filed 231 signatures, more than twice the required number. The French Constitutional Council was forced to rule May 15 that Krivine had met every condition. The council certified his place on the ballot.

The Constitutional Council also assigned emblems to each of the seven presidential candidates for use on overseas ballots. Georges Pompidou was given the Cross of Lorraine. Alain Krivine will be represented by two hands holding a hammer and sickle. The Communist party was assigned two "clasped hands" for its standard-bearer Jacques Duclos.

Even the army was forced to recognize Krivine's candidacy. The young Trotskyist, who was jailed in July 1968 for his leading role in the student-worker upheaval, was drafted into the army when he was released from prison in August. Presently he is serving with the 150th Infantry Regiment in Verdun. His commander refused to give him a leave to campaign. (Although many generals have aspired to national leadership in France, Krivine is the first private in French history to run for president.)

On May 14, the day after the Ligue Communiste officially filed for the campaign, Krivine was given a one-month leave from the army. The Trotskyist candidate went immediately to Paris, where he held a press conference that was covered by a wide spectrum of national and international newspapers, radio, and television. (Before his "furlough," reporters and onlookers frequently gathered in front of the gates of Krivine's barracks in Verdun to get a picture or an interview with the young revolutionist.)

A number of prominent intellectuals issued a statement supporting Krivine's candidacy, although not necessarily agreeing with the platform of the Ligue Communiste. Their declaration appeared in the May 10 issue of the Paris daily Le Monde:

"Parliamentary democracy claims to

give all political tendencies an opportunity to express themselves. The candidacy of Alain Krivine provides an occasion for the new forces that appeared in May-June 1968 to make themselves heard, utilizing, this time, the means provided by bourgeois legality. A large majority are still unaware of the meaning and the scope of the May movement. That is why, whether or not they are in political agreement with the program and ideas of the Ligue Communiste which is running Alain Krivine, the undersigned have decided to support him..."

The signers included Colette Audry, Simone de Beauvoir, Roger Blin, Marguerite Duras, Claude Courtot, Alfred Kern, Dionys Mascolo, Jacques Monory, Michel Leiris, Jean-Paul Sartre, and Maurice Naudaud.

Other signers, announced a day later, included Mmes. Danièle Delorme, Delphine Seyrig, Marguerite Bonnet, and Christiane Rochefort; and MM. Rancillac, Siné, E. Jaguer, H. Chatelain, Jacques Lanzmann, Emile Copfermann, Jean-Claude Lambert, Jean-Claude Silbermann, and a number of professors at the University of Nanterre.

Many Action Committees in the Paris area signed similar statements, and the May 13 Le Monde reported that Krivine had received the endorsement of the Action Committees at the Renault plants of Billancourt -- one of the centers of the general strike last year. The Renault workers declared: "Aside from any question of agreement with the program and activity of the Ligue Communiste, no one has any right to deny expression to the revolutionary demands which compelled attention so vigorously a year ago."

In addition to the campaigning of the Ligue Communiste and the endorsements

of other existing organizations, support committees have been organized in many parts of France for the revolutionary candidate. At Fontenay-aux-Roses, for example, a committee has been formed which aims at involving broad layers of youth in the campaign. Alain Krivine, the committee said in its founding statement, "is the only candidate expressing a determination to struggle against a society of exploitation and the only one to promote the slogans of May."

"Without necessarily agreeing with all the candidate's political analyses, the support committee of Fontenay-aux-Roses will give unqualified backing to Alain Krivine in his campaign of clarification. The bourgeoisie and the so-called left parties are going to get out the vote. There is no reason why revolutionists should not do the same."

The Ligue Communiste will have exceptional opportunities through the campaign to "make heard the revolutionary voice of May and June." French election law provides that each candidate for president is entitled to two hours of uninterrupted television and radio time. In addition, candidates have the right to speak over peripheral radio stations, such as Radio Luxembourg, Radio Europe No. 1, Radio Monte Carlo, etc.

The government is required to provide millions of leaflets outlining each candidate's program.

Several mass campaign rallies are scheduled. On May 21 Alain Krivine will address supporters at the Great Hall of the Mutualité in Paris. An international meeting is to be held May 28 at the Palais des Sports, and on May 31 a joint meeting will be held by the Ligue Communiste and the supporters of the paper Lutte Ouvrière, again at the Mutualité.

STUDENTS BATTLE POLICE IN BOGOTA

Hundreds of students protesting the arrest of the rector of the Technical University clashed with police May 5 in Bogotá, the capital of Colombia.

After throwing up barricades along the streets, the students stormed the U.S. consulate, chanting slogans against Yankee imperialism.

New incidents occurred in the evening at a press conference given by Belisario Betancur, a prospective presidential candidate of the Conservative party.

Betancur was able to speak only a

few minutes before he was shouted down by students from various political tendencies.

When the police moved in, the different groups of protesters joined together in common defense. Two persons were reported seriously injured in these incidents -- a woman and a policeman.

Extensive student unrest has been reported in the provinces of Colombia in the past two months. However, the May 5 incidents were the first large-scale student actions reported in the capital of the country.

NIXON'S VIETNAM PROPOSAL

By Dick Roberts

President Richard Nixon's first major policy statement on Vietnam, read to a nationwide TV audience May 14, did not take anyone by surprise. The White House had indicated even before the speech was made that there would not be an announcement of U.S. troop withdrawals.

The reaction of most people to the speech was undoubtedly expressed by New York Times reporter Max Frankel, when he wrote May 15, "There was, in fact, very little in the speech that Lyndon B. Johnson had not said many times before, at various stages of the war."

The stock market, which for two years has risen sharply on every peace rumor, actually fell off a few points.

Nixon's speech was praised by Saigon's president Thieu. A statement was issued by the National Liberation Front in Paris, May 15, rejecting Nixon's speech and pointing out that his proposals continue to place "the aggressor and

the resisting victims of aggression on the same footing."

It is evident that Nixon intends to pursue the course adopted by the Johnson administration after the Tet offensive of February 1968. Recognizing that the NLF cannot be crushed militarily, this policy favors maintaining high troop levels and intensive combat operations in South Vietnam in order to exert pressure for political concessions in Paris.

The main purpose of the speech was to gain time -- a tactic Nixon has been following since he won office. The ten-point proposal made by the Vietnamese in Paris May 8 raised hopes that the talks might finally be getting somewhere, and that the next move was up to Washington.

Nixon's speech was designed to parry the Vietnamese move by implying that he was not taking any hard and fast attitude at all.

To strengthen this impression, Nixon ordered Henry Cabot Lodge, his chief representative in Paris, to take a plane for Washington for a special, but mysterious, "briefing."

To counter the mounting impatience at home, Nixon talked demagogically about peace while he at the same time appealed for "patience" from the American people as he ruled out any unilateral withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam.

While Nixon was preparing his talk, U.S. planes scored the heaviest bombing raids of a single day in the course of the war: More than one million tons of bombs were dropped in the area near Saigon, May 11.

Nixon said that his administration had conducted "an intensive review of every aspect of the nation's Vietnam policy." There is no reason to doubt this assertion. What would be interesting to know are the conclusions of that review.

There have been indications that the Nixon team found matters in Vietnam somewhat worse than they had anticipated.

Washington Post columnist Joseph Kraft wrote on May 15 that "American civilian and military officials in Saigon and at the Pentagon may believe that there is a good possibility for major improvement in the performance of the South Vietnamese government and army..."

"But that is not the ruling conviction at the White House. The White



THIEU: Speech OK by him.

with the present administration and its supporters. The Wall Street Journal's Washington correspondent, Henry Gemmill, reported the feelings of a few Nixon men in the May 9 issue of the financial daily:

"One of Mr. Nixon's most trusted political scouts, after a swing through the West, has come back with a report that Republican politicians in that area are inquiring whether the asserted 'progress' toward ending the war is authentic. He is predicting that if the voters haven't seen a 'real dent' in the fighting by the fall, then GOP political fortunes will be in sad shape.

"This adviser's personal view is that the 'dent' must come sooner than that if the Administration is to escape disastrous voter disillusionment."

"Foreign policy advisers," Gemmill also reported, "appear equally concerned. One of these fixes next January as a deadline. He suggests that if the war, or the U.S. involvement in it, is not very visibly winding up by then...Mr. Nixon may face a dilemma as horrid as any ever encountered by Mr. Johnson."

This presidential adviser told Gemmill that if Nixon continued Johnson's policies beyond next January, he would be "running the risk that the country would become ungovernable."

The Wall Street Journal reporter made a perceptive observation of the Nixon administration's central problem: "The tranquility on the war issue that the Administration has generally enjoyed thus far has been bought by raising public anticipations; if unfulfilled, these could heighten waves of popular frustration."

Nixon has not yet become such a target of deep-seated hatred among the masses of American people as Lyndon Johnson finally became. But Nixon has been in office less than half a year. It is quite safe to predict he will end up as discredited as Lyndon Johnson if he pursues his present course in Vietnam. It is hardly a prediction -- it is the opinion of Nixon's own advisers!



LODGE: "Briefing" -- just what he needed.

House has little confidence the South Vietnamese regime can be built into a sturdy barrier against the other side. It is not interested in pulling out American troops merely to fool the American public into supporting a dubious South Vietnamese buildup."

Stewart Alsop, who is also a reporter for the Washington Post, wrote from Paris for Newsweek magazine, "Cabot Lodge, the chief American negotiator here, is in a virtually hopeless bargaining position. He is like a man trying to sell a house for \$50,000 to another man who knows he would be glad to take \$15,000 for the place -- and might even be willing to give it away."

In addition to the military and diplomatic problems raised by continued U.S. aggression in Vietnam, the Nixon administration is under heavy pressure from rising antiwar sentiment at home. Professional politicians are becoming nervous at the prospect of facing elections as the war becomes more and more identified

NEW CLASHES AT UNIVERSITY OF MEXICO

The second violent clash in two weeks occurred on the University of Mexico campus May 12. Several students were seriously injured in fighting that reportedly broke out over the student government elections in the law school. The battle was touched off when a group of students denounced all those on the list of

candidates as "government party hacks and agents of the Federal Security Office." The situation on the campus remained tense in the wake of the clashes. Many student leaders accused the government of using stooges in an attempt to regain their previous gangsterlike control of student organizations.

ARMY REGISTERS GAINS AT CONGRESS OF CHINESE CP

By Li On

Hong Kong

Following a good deal of bickering and haggling behind the scenes, in which the most conservative wing of the bureaucracy seems to have prevailed, the Ninth National Congress of the Communist party of China gave big publicity to three achievements: (1) the naming of a new Central Committee; (2) the designation of Lin Piao as heir to Mao Tsetung; (3) the adoption of Mao Tsetung Thought as the unchallengeable ideology of the party.

Although a few full and alternate members of the New Central Committee remain to be identified, a majority are conservatives. Among the elected 170 full members, 40 percent are professional military men; among the 109 alternates, the figure is 35 percent. They hold either top command in the central military institutions or are in command of military districts.

If members responsible for the political work in the People's Liberation Army [PLA] are included, the figure is about 70 percent. This is something new.

The army is peasant in origin. During the third revolution, it played a key role in overthrowing the decadent, reactionary bourgeois regime of the Kuo-mintang. The peasants' struggles took the form of a liberation campaign in which, with a few minor exceptions, the industrial workers of the cities failed to rise and take the lead. The responsibility for this fell on the bureaucratic leadership of the Chinese Communist party, trained in the school of Stalinism. As a result, China's revolution became distorted, falling into many a zigzag in the course of the struggles against the Kuo-mintang.

As a consequence the PLA became a bulwark of the bureaucracy. Today whoever controls the army is the real master of the bureaucracy.

The broad masses in China and the world at large have been told that both veteran and young revolutionists were included in the new Central Committee. What is the truth?

The "veterans" include those who have given up the principle of supporting democratic rights for dissenters in the party, who have agreed to remain silent about purging dissenters, or who sat on the fence, trying to hang on during the political storm.

As for the young ones, they were suddenly promoted to the highest echelon not because of any previous revolutionary merits but because of their fanatical support of Mao-Lin Piao in smashing the ideological opposition currents.

The communiqués issued by the Secretariat of the congress proclaim that democratic centralism was practiced both before and at the congress. This is an outright falsehood.

Political tendencies were denied freedom of expression at the local party congresses where the delegates to the national congress were elected. To talk of democratic centralism while ruthlessly suppressing views that do not conform with Mao Tsetung Thought is the sheerest fraud. The delegates were handpicked by Mao-Lin. Most of them were officials of the various provincial revolutionary committees under direct control of the army.

At the same time, it is surprising not to find a single opposition leader included in the new Central Committee. Previously Mao included one or two of this type to serve as foils.

Mao appears to be more obsessed than ever by the existence of oppositional tendencies within the party. He appears to feel that he cannot afford any kind of challenge from any tendency that might raise disturbing questions. This accounts for his insistence on repeated "future cultural revolutions" -- in Lin Piao's words, "continual revolution" -- to weed out "the roots of revisionism."

Marx and Lenin were averse to any personality cult; and their genuine followers have vehemently condemned such cultism, as in the case of the cult organized by Stalin.

But what has been happening in China in this respect has exceeded all of Stalin's achievements along this line. Before beginning a meal, people are pressured into chanting, "Long live Chairman Mao," reciting "quotations from Chairman Mao," and bowing before his portrait.

The safest way to avoid being harassed by Mao-maniacs is to carry "the little Red Book" in hand. Unless you wear a badge bearing the Chinese character "loyalty," you will be relentlessly criticized or even condemned as a "problem person." The political atmosphere is so oppressive that most people are afraid to complain to their closest friends.

In the first stage of the cultural revolution, Mao turned loose a rebel force of students. But he sought to prevent them from linking up with the industrial workers in the cities. Mao no doubt realizes that the main threat to the bureaucracy lies among the proletariat. That is why, when a workers movement began to gather momentum, raising economic demands, the Maoists suppressed it, branding the demands as "economism."

Mao leans on the army rather than the proletariat in maintaining his rule. This facilitated the role played by Lin Piao and the army in the struggles that unfolded throughout China during the past three years. Lin Piao helped Mao retrieve some of the power he had lost to the Liu-Teng faction.

As judged in the light of the events of the cultural revolution and what occurred at the Ninth Congress, Mao and Lin seem to have reached a compromise on sharing power. The revelations about bickering among "some delegates to the congress" over the assignment of seats in the new Central Committee point in this

direction. If Mao was compelled to share the real power, the gainer was Lin Piao. Chou En-lai has adroitly avoided getting crossed up with either of them.

In the aftermath of the congress, Mao and Lin Piao will probably seek to restore relative stability with the aim of bringing up production.

One thing is certain, however. They will not loosen the tight gag on proletarian democracy. The personality cult will be further intensified. Dissenters will be forced on a mass scale to move to remote areas under pretext of the need to "grasp hold of revolution and promote production." Security officers will again be omnipresent.

While the monolithism appears to have been strengthened, things are no longer the way they were in the decade after the revolution when Mao's authority was genuinely firm. Below the surface, challenges are shaping up from different directions today. The situation is far from stable. The truth is that China stands at a crossroads.

HILDA GADEA SPEAKS IN ENGLAND

[The following are excerpts from a speech given in Holborn, England, earlier this year by Hilda Gadea, Che Guevara's first wife and the sister of imprisoned Peruvian guerrilla fighter Ricardo Gadea. Her brother and other survivors of the 1965 uprising are still awaiting trial. Along with other political prisoners, such as the Trotskyist peasant leader Hugo Blanco, they are threatened with being sent to remote jungle prison camps.

[The meeting was sponsored by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, and was reported in the British weekly The Socialist Leader of March 8.]

* * *

"In 1965, Lobatón and Velando led a rapid and strong movement [in Peru]; they were initially very successful, but failed for the following reasons: 1. The napalm bombing of guerrillas from the air. 2. The defection of traitors who gave away information. 3. The utter ruthlessness of the repressive forces who moved whole communities in order to isolate fighters. 4. The mistakes made by the guerrillas. 5. The C.I.A. veterans from Vietnam who fought the underground movements in the towns....

"The offensive in the South was led by Hugo Blanco who captured huge tracts of land and set up Union H.Q.'s in the Sierras distributing food, medical

supplies and land to the starving peasants. The infuriated landowners forced the Generals to send bloodthirsty troops to shoot children in the neighboring villages and to crush the spirit of freedom....In the same way Comandante 'Che' Guevara, Inti Peredo...in neighboring Bolivia, started a struggle which is still growing and may burst into flames at any time. Their failure was due to the necessity to attack before their plans were ready. Also to the failure of Mario Monje [of] the Communist [party], and of the Maoists to help at a critical time.

"As far as the Russian and Chinese differences are concerned, it is my personal opinion that the quarrel is a burden to the Latin American struggle. The pro-Peking sections of the Peruvian C.P. did little to help the real struggle.

"We must all fight in our own countries for our own liberties and not depend too much on others for all help. It is, however, most important that European spectators take more interest. Everyone of us can now write to: El Comité de Defensa de Los Derechos Humanos, Apartado Postal 10149, Lima, Peru. Write in English asking for amnesty for the many prisoners who fought for a greater freedom, an amnesty which we still await from the Government which calls itself the new revolutionary Junta. Ask for the release of Hugo Blanco and Ricardo Gadea now."

From the Brazilian Underground

TESTING OF REVOLUTIONARIES -- ASSESSMENT OF A YEAR OF STRUGGLE

[The following article is taken from the April 13, 1969, issue of the clandestine bulletin of the Brazilian Partido Operária Comunista (Communist Workers party). It is an assessment of the experience of the POC in the year since its founding, in April 1968, in relation to other tendencies in the workers movement in Brazil.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

In April 1968 delegates elected by the ranks of the Leninist Opposition [the left wing of the Brazilian Communist party] and the ORM [which published Política Operária] decided to form the Partido Comunista Operária (POC). A year has already passed since then but the time has not yet come for commemorations. Reaction has fallen hard on the workers movement, the student movement, and the left as a whole. Nevertheless, sufficient time has passed for us to assess the meaning of the founding of the POC and its role in the class struggles that have taken place. The constant criticism to which we subject our work can only be understood clearly in the light of the role we are playing in the Brazilian revolutionary movement. And a precise understanding of what we represent is indispensable for us to be able to go forward and overcome our deficiencies.

Four basic aspects must be distinguished in the activity of our party in its first year of life.

In the first place, the founding of our party was a reaffirmation of the Leninist principle of a proletarian party against both the revisionist party [the Brazilian CP] that was in chaos and the Debrayists who were trying to substitute "a unified political-military command in the mountains" for the party.

At a time when the majority of the revolutionary left forces had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the party and denied in practice the role of the proletariat, the founding of the POC represented a clearly defined grouping of forces which were ready to build a revolutionary party of the working class in struggle. Precisely because of this, we were able to make progress in the most varied forms assumed by the struggle over the past year -- the student demonstrations, the workers strikes, political agitation among the masses, and, after

December 13,* reorganization under more rigorously clandestine conditions. At the same time, most of the other organizations have followed an erratic course, adapting impressionistically and empirically to the events as they happened.

In the second place, the formation of the POC reflected a determination to consolidate firm and cohesive minorities instead of trying to create fictitiously broad aggregations lacking in ideological unity. We said in our call for the formation of the party that quality would produce quantity, that a few hundred activists who approached their political work as a profession would more surely succeed in building a party than thousands of individuals without clear aims or a clear basis of unity.

Our frankness and determination also shocked some of those who were marching at our side. But a year's practical activity has also provided lessons on this score. The grouping which published a violent criticism of our concept of building a party starting from an activist minority has already traveled a long road from AP [Acção Popular -- People's Action] to the PC do B [Partido Comunista do Brasil -- Communist party of Brazil -- a pro-Peking formation], passing through the Núcleo Marxista-Leninista [Marxist-Leninist Nucleus] opposition in AP and the PCBR without yet finding a mass revolutionary party. The GB opposition, which was looking for a broader unification, exhausted itself in an empiricist policy in the student movement. This policy ultimately provoked internal struggles often badly obscured by pedantry and speculation.

In the third place, the constitution of the POC expressed the victory of a concept of proletarian revolution. While the left was immersed in a conflict between reformism and foquismo [the theory of the guerrilla nucleus], we held very clearly to our program of proletarian revolution and the practical consequences this program entailed.

The downturn in the workers movement facilitated the spread of reformist as well as adventurist views. But when the working class mobilized, it was our slogans that

* The date of the so-called coup d'etat within the coup d'etat, when Institutional Act No. 5 was decreed, imposing complete censorship, abolishing most vestiges of constitutional guarantees even for bourgeois oppositionists, and giving the president the right to rule by decree and to appoint state governors. -- I.P.

served to guide its struggle. The strike against the wage freeze gave the lead to all the militant sectors of the working class, and the formation of the factory committees gave them their organizational perspective.

Precisely because of this, the POC was able to make the greatest political contribution to the advancement of these struggles and at the same time it was the organization most strengthened by them.

In the fourth place, the POC held the banner of ideological struggle very high. It held high the banner of intransigent opposition to a tradition of compromising principles developed during the years of reformist deformation, a tradition that was responsible for disorienting the masses. From the universities to the factories, we kept up a campaign of agitation and propaganda for anticapitalist struggle and proletarian hegemony, for the socialist revolution.

We were called sectarians many times because we demanded a clear definition of the character of the revolution, because we fought against the populist tradition in the name of a clear class position, because we did not compromise with the old routines which derived their sole vitality from years of bourgeois ideological tutelage of the masses helped along by the left. But we knew that this struggle would continue and would form a new revolutionary generation and would fuse Marxist theory with the living workers movement.

We still have much to do to achieve a Marxist-Leninist party in our country.

We still have much to do to arm the working class politically and materially to lead a revolutionary war in Brazil. But already the short experience of a year has proven the correctness of our positions. We can only achieve a party (and thus lead the entire revolutionary struggle) by beginning to build one. Beginning to build a party means gathering all the available cohesive forces around a revolutionary program and beginning to put this program into practice. There is no other way.

Spontaneous struggle by the workers, or by the students, or by the peasants, will not produce a party. To the contrary, without a leadership an enormous amount of energy will be wasted. Nor will armed struggle by a handful of revolutionists produce a party. Such a struggle would be incapable of linking up with the living struggle of the working masses. And nothing will be gained by lamenting about the size of the revolutionary vanguard, by concealing its smallness behind unprincipled agglomerates that seek to solve the problem of numbers by blurring over political differences.

The AP also tried for a long time to masquerade as a large vanguard by being broadly inclusive, but the inevitable result was a proliferation of splits which revealed the many political parties contained within it. The only way to get a mass of revolutionary workers is to train them in the process of struggle -- to conduct a coordinated struggle for a party starting now. We do not delude ourselves about what we really are and that is one of our strong points.

ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS DRIVE "THE GREEN BERETS" OUT OF DENMARK

Copenhagen

On May 4 "The Green Berets" opened at a major motion-picture theater here. This gaudy American glorification of U.S. "special forces" in Vietnam, starring John Wayne, immediately became the focus for sharp clashes between opponents of American aggression in Vietnam and right-wing defenders of the capitalist status quo. On May 8 the film was shown for the last time in Copenhagen -- perhaps for the last time in all of Scandinavia. In these few days an initial confrontation reached the pitch of street battles between radical workers and students on one side and police and right-wing thugs on the other on a scale not seen in this country for some thirty years.

On May 5 about 100 antiwar demonstrators gathered in front of the theater to express their solidarity with the Viet-

namese. The demonstration included members of Revolutionaere Socialister [Revolutionary Socialists -- the Danish section of the Fourth International], Revolutionaer Aktion [Revolutionary Action -- a militant Trotskyist student group], and the Socialistisk Ungdoms Forum [Socialist Youth Forum -- the youth organization of the Left Socialist party].

Hitherto, right-wingers have stayed away during pro-Vietnam demonstrations. But this time various reactionary organizations went all out to stage a confrontation with the radicals. Supporters of the right-wing monthly magazine Refleks, and a group of about 100 members of a motorcycle gang, the "Wild Angels," were on hand, in addition to the police.

(Refleks is a cheap imitation of Time magazine in the U.S. It has frequently published attacks on the Fourth Inter-

national.)

This coalition of well-dressed, paid and unpaid agents of American imperialism, and the leather-jacketed, swastika-wearing cyclists attacked the peaceful antiwar demonstration with unusual brutality. The cyclists were armed with steel bars and chains. The police joined in, not to aid the outnumbered antiwar protesters, but to take part on the side of the right-wing thugs.

This three-way cooperation was no accidental phenomenon. Many of the "Wild Angels" are members of a youth club initiated and run by the police for "social" reasons. They are well known to the local cops. It was also revealed the day after the incident that many of the leaders of the well-dressed civilian goon squads were members of the State Home Guard, founded after the second world war as part of the NATO "defense" apparatus.

In an interview in the Social Democratic newspaper Aktuelt some of the participants in the assault on the antiwar demonstration declared that they would continue to "defend" the "liberty of expressions" (John Wayne's, of course) against the "red, long-haired terrorists." They also, without any protest from the paper, declared themselves to be Social Democrats.

After these public threats of new violence, no revolutionary could any longer view the problem as only a question of solidarity with the Vietnamese people. Also at issue was the right of self-defense and the right to demonstrate in the streets of Copenhagen without being attacked by the "Angels" or any other would-be fascists. The radical groups decided to hold another demonstration in front of the theater showing "The Green Berets."

This time nearly 2,000 persons took part in the demonstration. All political groups to the left of the Socialist People's party [a centrist party, deeply sunk in parliamentarism], including the Communists, were present.

A large defense guard was organized, the shock troops of which were

manual workers. Some were grouped in brigades, others spread among the crowd of onlookers who had come to see the confrontation. An unusual number of students and workers carried South Vietnam National Liberation Front flags, attached to heavy sticks.

The police moved in to try to clear the street, but this didn't save the "Angels." A number of the motorcycle gang members were on hand, wearing their Nazi emblems and brandishing their chains. They were taken aside by the workers and students and taught why they shouldn't fight against the workers movement. Those who proved to be dense lost their Nazi symbols and some of their clothes and had to slink away without them.

The police, who were trying to intervene, were held off until the class-struggle lessons were over.

Very soon after this demonstration, the theater owner -- who had previously sworn to defend "The Green Berets" -- took the posters for the film down and replaced them with announcements for a French comedy.

Most political circles in Denmark are drawing lessons from these events. The bourgeois press, television, and radio are trying to present it as a question of "freedom of expression." On May 9, the day after the final clash, the State Home Guard held maneuvers in large areas of Copenhagen.

Some of the "Angels," who come from working-class homes, are probably studying the pamphlets given to them as part of their "education." These present the case for the Vietnamese revolution along with an explanation of the need to wage a struggle against capitalism and for a socialist society. Other gang members have organized groups who attack revolutionists in their homes. The police will not intervene to prevent this.

The revolutionary youth are seeking to involve new layers of youth in the defense of the Vietnamese revolution and in the fight against capitalism in Denmark.

BOLIVIAN PRESIDENT SAYS HE FOILED PLOT

The new president of Bolivia, Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas, announced May 10 that a plot against him had been foiled. Siles did not indicate who the plotters were. But he revealed that "on the counsel of a few friends" he took refuge in a military high school on the day of the funeral of former president Barrientos,

who was killed in a helicopter crash.

At the same time Siles made his revelations, General Ovando, Barrientos' rival, declared that he would consider it his duty to force a change of government if Siles "deviated from the path set by the national revolution."

AGAINST ANNEXATIONISTS IN JERUSALEM AND BERLIN

[The following statement was issued April 27 by a number of well-known figures in the radical movement in West Germany and Israel. The signers included Erich Fried, a German-Jewish poet; Daniel Cohn-Bendit, attacked by the right-wing press in France as "the German Jew" (and by the French Communist party as "the German") for his role in the May-June 1968 upheaval in France; Rudi Dutschke, the leader of the German SDS (Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund -- German Socialist Student Union) who was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt last year; Chaim Hanegbi, journalist, affiliated with the Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO), which publishes the journal Matzpen ("Compass"); Khalil Touame, chairman of the Arab Students Society at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, presently under detention in Kafr Ramee, Israel; Dr. Moshe Machover, mathematician, affiliated with the ISO; Akiva Orr, of the

Israeli Revolutionary Action Committee Abroad; and Shimon Tzabar, writer, painter, and the editor of Israel Imperial News.]

* * *

Mr. Axel Springer, West German publishing monopolist, and Mr. Teddy Kollek, mayor of "unified" Jerusalem, celebrated recently in Jerusalem the dedication of a library built by a donation of one million dollars by Mr. Springer.

This alliance between the establishments in West Germany and Israel is in line with the Ben-Gurion-Adenauer alliance of 1955. In return for an enormous "loan" by Bonn to Israel, Ben-Gurion declared the Adenauer-Globke regime as "Nazirein," thus enabling Washington to incorporate the new "Bundeswehr" as a "respectable" ally into NATO. Without this help from Ben-Gurion, Dr. Adenauer would have met massive Jewish demonstrations in New York which would have made it difficult for Washington to present the "Bundeswehr" as respectable.

Ben-Gurion flew specially to meet Adenauer in the Waldorf-Astoria and had himself photographed smiling, and shaking hands with Adenauer, thus "kosherizing" him. Ben-Gurion got his loan, Bonn its respectability, Washington the "Bundeswehr" troops, under "Wehrmacht" officers, into NATO.

During the recent celebrations in Jerusalem, Mr. Kollek read out a cable received from Mr. David Hakohen, chairman of the Knesset committee for foreign and defense affairs, who was heading an official Knesset delegation to West Germany. The cable read:

"Speaking from the top of the Springer building in divided Berlin we greet you in united Jerusalem and express our great hopes for a free, peaceful, and united Berlin."

Those who "unified" Jerusalem by force, thus rendering it unfree for the Palestinians (who struggle to liberate themselves from this "unification"), now call upon the Bonn regime to learn the lesson, and to "unify" Berlin.

Not a single Zionist voice was raised against this widely publicized cable. Obviously, those who insist on imposing the Zionist solution on Palestine (and Jerusalem) are not in a position to oppose a similar "liberation" of the GDR [German Democratic Republic] (and Berlin).

The only demonstrators against the Springer-Kollek-Hakohen celebration in



SPRINGER: "Nazirein" friend of Israel.

Jerusalem were members of the anti-Zionist, revolutionary, Matzpen group, joined by West German students in Jerusalem.

We the undersigned join these demonstrators in the struggle against the policies, and morals, of annexationists in Jerusalem and Berlin.

GREEK JUNTA ACCUSED OF TORTURING PANAGHOULIS

Alexandros Panagoulis, jailed in August 1968 for attempting to assassinate Greek dictator George Papadopoulos, has been reported on the verge of death.

Panagoulis was saved from execution at the end of 1968 by a worldwide campaign of solidarity. He was, however, only given an indefinite stay.

In the second week of May, Stathis Panagoulis, the brother of the young resistance fighter, told reporters that Alexandros was being slowly tortured to death by the junta.

"For 264 days, that is since August 13 last year, Alexandros has been

shut up in a very narrow underground cell, which he is not allowed to leave. He is constantly being subjected to tortures which have driven him to the brink of madness. The lack of light has made him almost blind. His hands are deformed because he is kept handcuffed twenty-four hours a day."

Stathis Panagoulis also said that his brother's cell was dank from seepage.

This report stirred immediate protests. For example, a group of young Greek exiles began a hunger strike outside the Greek embassy in Stockholm May 9 calling for Panagoulis' release. A few days later, in response to protests, the Greek military officials allowed some Western reporters to view a prisoner from a distance, saying that it was Alexandros Panagoulis. The New York Times reporter wrote May 17 that he "looked pale, but plump and fit."

The Greek authorities, however, refused to issue any statement as to the health of the prisoner and, of course, refused to let correspondents interview him.

While the Greek colonels were trying to quell the disturbing reports about the treatment of Panagoulis, a new series of trials of accused members of the antijunta resistance opened in Athens. On May 14 Grigorios Pherakos, a Communist party leader, was sentenced to life imprisonment.

Three of Pherakos' codefendants -- Moraites, Nilolopolous, and Polites -- were sentenced to twenty years in prison. Lazaros Kyritses was given sixteen years and Tsimekis, eighteen. Two other defendants got fifteen-year terms and one of the accused got twelve years.

On May 15 eleven more defendants were lined up in four trials. Two of the defendants were accused of belonging to an organization of the outlawed Center Union, a bourgeois liberal party. One of these two, Vassilios Papaphilippou, was accused of distributing leaflets and serving as a link between former members of the Center Union party.

Other trials against resistance fighters were reported opening in Salonika and Larissa.



ALEXANDROS PANAGHOULIS

WORKING-CLASS MILITANCY -- WILSON'S HEADACHE

By Brian Gormley

An important element in the current political crisis facing the Wilson Labour leadership in Britain is the increasing militancy of the working class which is moving more and more in the direction of autonomous mass action.

This was clearly seen on May Day this year, when more than 200,000 workers downed tools throughout the country in response to the call by the "unofficial" Liaison Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions for a one-day strike against the government's proposed antilabour legislation. This was the first major openly political strike since the historic 1926 General Strike. (May Day in Britain, unlike other West European countries, is not a national holiday.)

Although the British press tried to play down the importance of the action, the Labour leadership were shaken by the results of the strike. The press reported that a cabinet meeting was devoted exclusively to discussing it.

All the big national newspapers ceased publication. The printing unions declared a twenty-four-hour strike. The London, Merseyside, and Manchester docks were at a standstill. Key engineering establishments such as British Leyland were closed down. The Concord, the much touted British supersonic aircraft project, was also struck.

The Economist, no friend of the trade-union militants, reported "first rough estimates" of around 200,000 workers supporting the strike. Several mass demonstrations and rallies occurred throughout the country, with the largest taking place in London. The Times, which is notorious for dividing by a factor of two or more the numbers on demonstrations it does not support, calculated that 15,000 persons took part in the London march, which ended with a mass meeting in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The Liaison Committees for the Defence of Trade Unions, an ad-hoc rank-and-file formation, was set up shortly after

the election of the Labour government, mainly through the initiative of trade-union militants who are members or supporters of the British Communist party.

The committees are much broader than the Communist party, and include other leftist tendencies. Until recently, the Liaison Committees led a twilight existence, limiting themselves to convening an occasional conference. Their perspectives seemed limited by their desire not to alienate any of the left Labour MPs who were capitulating to the Labour right-wing.

On February 28 of this year, the committees called a national strike and lobby of Parliament against the proposed antilabour legislation.

According to the organisers, the response was greater at that time than they anticipated. More than 100,000 workers, they say, participated. Parliament saw one of the most rambunctious lobbies in years. It was at that time that the idea of the May 1 national strike was put forward.

The working class, which has been politically acquiescent in face of a number of anti-working-class measures, such as the Incomes Policy, is now taking its first important steps in challenging the Labour leadership.

One can pinpoint the beginning of this change as early as October 27, 1968, when London was the scene of one of the biggest mass actions in its history -- more than 100,000 persons massed in the streets to protest American aggression in Vietnam. The demonstration took on an aspect of a more generalized anticapitalist action. It received considerable spontaneous working-class support.

It is this shift to the left in the working class that makes it increasingly difficult for the Wilson leadership to maneuver the government out of its present crisis.

STUDENTS IN TURKEY END THEIR STRIKE

Turkish university students returning to classes in mid-May have vowed to use other means to press the demands raised in their strike. At the height of the April actions some 40,000 students in twenty-three schools were on strike demanding Turkish withdrawal from NATO, the

elimination of imperialist influence from the country, and a common front of progressive forces against the right-wing regime of Premier Suleyman Demirel. The returning students have announced their intention to form teams to conduct agitation among the country's poor peasantry.

NEW SINO-SOVIET BORDER CLASHES REPORTED

New information on the second battle of Damansky Island, which took place on March 15, has reached the West. Travelers arriving in Moscow from the Soviet Far Eastern cities of Vladivostok and Khabarovsk have reportedly said that in the second major clash on the Ussuri River the Soviet border command lured Chinese units into a massacre. According to these accounts, Peking lost 800 dead as against 80 on Moscow's side.

The Paris daily Le Monde reported this story on May 13, giving the description of the battle related by the Soviet travelers.

The heavy Chinese losses were due, the travelers were reported to have said, to a tactic chosen by the Soviet general staff after the first big clash on March 2.

"The tactic adopted by the Soviet forces was, in case of a Chinese attack, to give ground and retreat quite far back on the Soviet bank, thus letting the Chinese troops occupy Damansky Island and deploy themselves far along the frozen Ussuri River. The Soviets intended then to launch a strong counterattack backed up by artillery and to bring in tanks.

"In fact, the garrison covering Damansky Island and the reinforcements that had been sent in fell back gradually. In the course of this maneuver, the Chinese troops inflicted certain losses on the Soviets. But as soon as the Chinese regular troops had occupied the island and deployed themselves there, the Soviet artillery and mortars -- set up, according to local sources, on a four-mile front -- went into action vigorously, cutting the Chinese troops to ribbons.

"The fire was so violent, the travelers said, according to the information they got on the spot, that Damansky Island was 'practically wiped off the map.'"

As these stories became known, rumors of border clashes in April were reported at the other end of the Sino-Soviet frontier, on the line between Sinkiang and Kazakhstan. The principal hot spot in these clashes, Le Monde wrote, was the valley of the Ili River and the mountain chains which separate the Soviet city of Panfilov from the Chinese locality of Kuldja. It was in this area that the first Sino-Soviet border incidents were reported in 1963. Accounts filtering into Moscow said that tension was very high all along the Soviet Central-Asian frontier.

The spread of the border clashes, according to Le Monde, "is interpreted by observers in Moscow as at the minimum an

extension of frontier guerrilla warfare and at the maximum a perilous broadening of a border conflict."

Along with reports of widening and graver clashes, previously unknown incidents have been brought up in the Soviet press. On May 3 the writer Konstantin Simonov wrote in Pravda that the Chinese had already committed serious border violations in the Tien Shan mountains on the frontier between Kirghizia and Sinkiang as early as 1959.

The reported slaughter of Chinese troops in the second battle on the Ussuri would put a new light on Kosygin's unsuccessful March 21 appeal for talks with Peking. Le Monde noted, "It was, then, from a position of strength and on the basis of a military success that the chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers proposed negotiations, which no one on the Soviet side had dreamed of doing after the indecisive battle of March 2."

On May 12 Chen Fa-ping, senior Chinese delegate on the joint Sino-Soviet Commission for Navigation on Boundary Rivers, proposed that the commission meet in June in the city of Poli (Khabarovsk) to discuss settling the disputes that had arisen.

Chen Fa-ping denounced a previous proposal for a meeting in May by the Soviet cochairman. He said that the only word the Chinese members of the commission had of this proposal came from a Tass dispatch in Pravda. Furthermore, the Chinese delegate said, the dispatch falsely accused the Chinese of being responsible for the commission's failure to meet the previous year. The Soviet members, he said, were in fact responsible.

The reports of spreading border incidents came in the midst of preparations for the conference of pro-Moscow CPs slated to convene June 5. More particularly, these reports coincided with a planned trip to North Korea May 12 by the Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny.

On the Chinese side, Mao and Lin Piao have continued their denunciation of the Soviet bureaucrats as "new Czars" and capitalist restorationists. By making no distinction between the Soviet workers state and American imperialism, the Chinese leaders help to deepen the division of the world Communist movement in face of the imperialist onslaught in Vietnam. Their factional attitude lends credence to Moscow's charges that Peking has held up shipments of needed military matériel for North Vietnam. In any case, it is clear that both sides are using the border conflicts to sharpen their factional struggle.

UNREST SPREADS IN SENEGAL

Coming on the heels of widespread student unrest, a general strike of communications workers in Senegal has raised doubts over the stability of President Senghor's government.

The Fédération Nationale des Travailleurs de l'Office de Postes et Télécommunications [National Union of Workers of the Postal and Telecommunications Office] called a forty-eight-hour national strike in mid-May to win government review of wage schedules of its members.

Most of the high-school and university students were still boycotting classes when the communications workers announced their strike.

The student strikes began on March 28, when high-school students in Dakar called a boycott of classes in support of eighteen of their comrades expelled from the Rural Cadres School at Bamby, as a result of a previous strike in February.

The action quickly spread from the high schools. On the same day as the high-school action, the 1,250 Senegalese students of the University of Dakar went on strike. On April 29 the Senegalese students were joined by the 1,250 exchange students at the university.

On May 7, just a few days before the communication workers strike, a massive force of police cleared the students out of the buildings they were occupying.

Le Monde's special correspondent in Dakar reported May 8 that the young dissidents had been politically isolated and decisively defeated.

"All the problems, of course, are not going to be solved by this," the correspondent said. "Notably there remain the problems raised by some union demands to which a speedy solution must be found."

But he considered the prognosis for the Senghor government quite good: "Given the political wisdom which the

Union Nationale des Travailleurs Sénégalais [National Union of Senegalese Workers] has shown throughout the crisis, it can be assumed that these problems will be approached calmly and reasonably."

Only a few days after publishing this confident prediction, Le Monde printed an editorial expressing grave concern over developments in Senegal. The communication workers' strike had changed the picture.

What Le Monde feared in particular was a chain reaction. "The persistence of the economic difficulties M. Senghor's government must face," it noted, "is creating a climate conducive to new unrest."

The price of peanuts, the staple crop on which the Senegalese economy depends for its foreign exchange, has been dropping steadily. The result has been a serious decline in the living standards of the rural masses.

It is not clear if the student protests triggered the communication workers strike. But it is evident that agitation has been spreading in several sectors since the student and worker explosions of May and June 1968 in Dakar, which coincided with the French rebellion.

In any case, in April Senghor ramrodded a state-of-emergency law through parliament giving him power to arrest anyone engaging in activities prejudicial to the public security, to transfer or suspend functionaries, to draft persons and requisition goods and services. Although this law was passed during the student strikes, it would have obvious applications in sectors outside of the campus.

In the context of the spreading unrest and growing economic difficulties in Senegal, Le Monde felt that the two-day protest strike gave Senghor cause for serious worry: "The role of the Congolese and Voltaic unions in the ouster of Fulbert Youlou and Yaméogo is still too well known for Senghor not to have drawn the lesson."

"DER SPIEGEL" REPORTS GROWING SUPPORT IN U.S. FOR PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

The mass-circulation German liberal magazine Der Spiegel devoted a page May 19 to the growth of support in the U.S. for the Palestinian guerrillas. Although the German weekly follows a pro-Zionist line, it gave a thorough survey of the organizations supporting the Palestinian struggle. At the top of the list were the American Trotskyists. Der Spiegel

wrote: "With films and lectures the Arabs are enlisting the American universities in their cause. They find sympathizers primarily on the left. Thus the Young Socialist Alliance [the Trotskyist youth] declared, "For us the Arab freedom movement is part of the struggle of all people of the third world...against exploitation and oppression."

POLITICAL CRISIS IN MALAYSIA

Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Razak assumed dictatorial powers in Malaysia May 16 as the country entered its third day of bloody riots. The official death toll on the seventeenth was put at 107 and the injured at 315, although Western reporters put the figure much higher.

The current crisis erupted May 10 when the ruling Alliance party received its worst electoral setback since the country became independent in 1957. When the votes were counted in West Malaysia (the Malay peninsula) the Alliance party had lost 23 seats of the 89 it had held in the 104-seat parliament. The elections in East Malaysia (Sabah and Sarawak in Borneo) were postponed indefinitely after the new crisis developed.

The Alliance is actually a coalition of three communal parties, the United Malay National Organization, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Congress. About half of Malaysia's ten million people are of Malay origin, a third are Chinese, about a million are Indian, and the rest are various minorities.

The country itself is an artificial creation of British imperialism, a federation of the former British colonies of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah. Singapore left the federation in 1965.

The racial divisions in Malaysia have facilitated the imposition of a neo-colonialist regime still closely tied to Great Britain. The majority of the Malays are peasants, living in the countryside. The Chinese make up a majority of the city population. They are a majority of the urban proletariat -- but also of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a large section of the bourgeoisie.

In the May 10 elections the mass of the Chinese population decisively rejected the Malayan Chinese Association, which was little more than a front for a small group of wealthy Chinese who benefited from the government's alliance with British imperialism.

The regime, the titular head of which is Prince Abdul Rahman, went into a frenzy at the loss of control of the state legislatures in Penang and Perak and the threat that in future elections it might lose its majority in the national parliament. This was despite the fact that the opposition Chinese parties were in no respect radical or socialist organizations. Abdul Razak, who evidently holds the real power, found it expedient to whip up the anti-Chinese sentiments of the Malay poor -- which are normally directed against the petty exploitation by

Chinese merchants, pawnbrokers, etc. -- and try to turn these sentiments against the Chinese masses.

Shortly after the election results were announced, groups of Malays entered the Chinese districts of Kuala Lumpur, the capital, where they beat and killed several Chinese. This "spontaneous" riot was backed up by a force of 3,000 police and an unspecified number of army troops, who reportedly fired indiscriminately into the Chinese areas.

As the death toll mounted, a twenty-four-hour curfew was imposed, although it evidently did not apply to the activities of the progovernment terror gangs. Soon these provocations spread into general rioting and racial clashes between Chinese and Malays in various parts of the country.

The government, interested primarily in wiping out its political opposition, initiated a witch-hunt campaign. On May 15 Prime Minister Abdul Rahman declared that "terrorist Communists have worked out their plans to take over power." He attributed the electoral victory of the opposition parties to "intimidation, threats and persuasion." The regime invoked the specter of the revolutionary struggle against the British, led by Chinese Malaysians, in the late fifties.

The home minister, in a nationwide broadcast May 16, said:

"There is no doubt now that democracy is dead in this country." He added that it had died "at the hands of the opposition." He threatened the death penalty for anyone violating the curfew or any other emergency regulation.

The same day, police in Kuala Lumpur began arresting working-class Chinese accused of being "Communist sympathizers."

A May 16 Reuters dispatch from the Malaysian capital said that the government had "discovered" a "terrorist plot" and that troops had been used to make arrests. Prince Abdul Rahman, in a television broadcast to the country, "said that security forces backed by helicopters had stormed a downtown apartment building and arrested 93 terrorists. 'If we had not nipped this plot in the bud I don't know how many people would have been killed,' he said."

On May 17 the government claimed that the situation was "very much brighter," but foreign correspondents who had written critically of the role of the security forces in the riots were restricted to their hotels.

ANATOMY OF THE UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT IN WEST BENGAL

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

Much has been made of the thirty-two-point programme announced by the United Front in West Bengal -- which is dominated by the Communist party of India (Marxist) -- before it was swept into office in the midterm election of February 1969. The programme promised the people of the state -- known to be the most radicalised in the country -- "a clean and honest administration," albeit, within the capitalist framework. It committed the United Front government to steps that "will ensure efficient economy and impartiality in the administration."

The performance of the UF ministry has demonstrated, however, that its constituents, both "leftists" and moderates, have got themselves seriously entangled in the task of defending capitalist property relations even at the risk of alienating themselves from the masses of workers and the rural poor.

The deputy chief minister, Jyoti Basu, of the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], recognised as the virtual chief minister, is now compelled to go on his bended knees before the big industrialists in the country and beg them to invest their capital in West Bengal, ostensibly in the name of creating "new employment opportunities" in the state.

In its first three months in office the UF government had some political luck. It had two opportunities to divert the attention of the masses by working up their sentiments against the central government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi of the Congress party. (The masses had expected quick relief for their social situation from the "leftist" ministry.)

There was a demonstration of workers in the state-owned Durgapur steel plant in West Bengal and a contingent of Central Reserve Police (CRP), posted in the plant, opened fire, causing some casualties among the workers. There was a wave of protest against "central intervention" and popular sympathy went for the UF ministry as a "victim" of the caprices of Central Home Minister Chavan. There was a demand for the withdrawal of the CRP, a special central police force, from the state.

Again on April 8 another unit of the CRP opened fire on a group of security guards of the Cossipur Gun Factory who were demonstrating in support of their trade-union demands. Four demonstrators were killed. This was yet another op-

portunity for the UF ministry to rouse popular sentiment against the centre.

On April 10 there was a statewide strike in which all sections of the working class in West Bengal participated. It was a unique demonstration of solidarity of the working class behind the UF government. The state government took a dramatic step by ordering the general manager and some other officials of the gun factory arrested and placing them on trial -- an event hitherto unknown in India. The central home minister made amends by ordering the CRP units not to interfere in the "internal" law and order problems of the state government.

The sweeping victory of the UF in the midterm poll had indeed unnerved the big bourgeois interests who have large financial stakes in West Bengal. All kinds of attempts have since been made by the reactionary parties, represented by the Congress party, the Jan Sangh, etc., to discredit the UF government.

Hindu-Muslim riots were engineered in at least two suburban towns near Calcutta. There was an incident in Calcutta on April 6 when some clashes took place at the end of a cultural function organised in a large stadium. Some private cars were burnt and several men and women were allegedly molested by hooligans. The bourgeois press, which did not report the events for nearly a week, found it convenient to raise a howl later, after the successful "Bengal Bandh" on April 10. Reactionary rightist parties, both inside and outside parliament, have alleged unheard of atrocities against women -- exaggerating the incidents out of all proportion. A judicial enquiry into the episode has been instituted.

While all these campaigns conducted by capitalist parties can be understood, what is striking about the developments in West Bengal is the total failure of the UF government to take a firm stand about implementing its own electoral promises to the people. The UF ministry has behaved precisely in the same manner as its predecessor Congress party ministry, dutifully playing its role of a faithful defender of bourgeois property in the face of growing discontent among the masses.

It is not as if the UF government is pledged to achieve socialism in West Bengal and transform existing capitalist property relations into social ownership. It had promised to bring about "reforms" like the introduction of a state monopoly of wholesale paddy and rice and imposition

of suitable control over the entire trade in food grains within the capitalist framework. Under the pressure of big merchants and rich landlords represented by some of the constituents of the UF -- notably the bourgeois Bangla Congress -- it has failed to implement even this item of its programme.

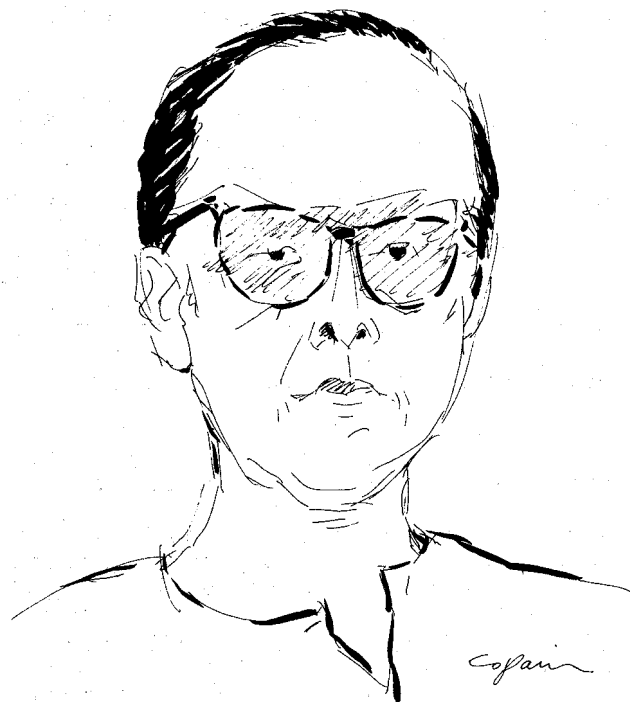
Many of the clauses of the thirty-two-point programme have remained just pious wishes and they are going to remain so. The only convenient excuse the UF ministry has had is that it has no financial resources to carry out the reforms and that the centre is not helping it out of its difficulties.

The striking failure of the government comes on the industrial front. The UF government had promised to take all possible steps "to encourage, assist and cater to all possibility of industrialisation, specially cottage, medium and small scale industries calculated to serve the people honestly and faithfully." It has also promised to set up more agro-industries in rural areas. But its emphasis has been on exerting pressure on the central government for securing licenses, finances, and raw materials for the industry in the state, and taking "effective steps to maintain peace in industry"!

The UF government has certainly retreated from the "fighting stance" it adopted during its earlier tenure in office immediately after the 1967 elections. The "gherao" movement introduced by the (Socialist Unity Centre) labour minister, Subodh Banerjee, of encouraging workers to surround employers or managers to get their demands fulfilled on the spot, has been completely given up and the new CPI(M) labour minister is making an all-out bid to bring about "industrial peace" by appeasing the capitalists in the state.

The UF programme, of course, does not promise the working class anything more than mere "help" in their struggle for (a) a living wage; (b) unemployment benefits; (c) adequate bonuses, including a needed modification of the Bonus Act; and (d) prevention of retrenchment, rationalisation and automation. In practice, all militant trade-union struggles of the working class are being given up and workers find themselves cheated even in their isolated struggles for a living wage or unemployment benefits.

In its attempt to appease the capitalist class, the UF government announced a series of "relief measures," not for the workers but for the capitalist employers, after discussion with "representatives of trade and industry" convened to "consider the problems of industry and measures to facilitate the industrial growth."



JYOTI BASU

On April 24, Deputy Chief Minister Jyoti Basu made an important policy speech while addressing the West Bengal state board of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation. His speech was a pathetic appeal to the industrialists "to give up their feeling of nervousness and lend the UF government their hand of cooperation."

This speech has been widely publicised and gleefully commented upon by the capitalist press to illustrate, if anything, the bankrupt policy of the UF ministry. The Times of India (April 25, 1969) reported Jyoti Basu's speech as follows:

"Addressing the State Board of the All India Manufacturers' Organisation he said that 'if industrialists had a little money to invest they should invest it so that there might be a little more employment in West Bengal.'

"He asked industrialists and businessmen to send their representation to the U.F. Government for a 'fuller, maybe, a little franker and more detailed discussion' so that the situation might be tackled immediately. 'Let us see if we can cooperate.'

"Industrialists and businessmen had to realise that the Government had to work under severe limitations. The U.F. Government had a common minimum programme. There were different parties in the U.F. with various ideologies. In the Government, we are not concerned with the different ideologies of the various parties. The parties

may propagate their ideologies and it was for the people to decide which ideology they will accept."

Thus the CPI(M) leader wants the Indian capitalists not to take his party's ideological profession of communism seriously. This is perhaps a new interpretation of the concept of "people's democratic front" which the CPI(M) as the "vanguard party" of the Indian proletariat seeks to establish with the national bourgeoisie in order to achieve the first stage of an anti-imperialist and antifeudal "people's democratic revolution" in India. To quote the Times of India:

"Mr. Basu did not understand why some people should think that the U.F. Government was 'a sort of communist Government.' This impression had grown, perhaps, because 'some of us who believe in communism are in it.' But the communists in the Government did not strive for advancing their theories of communism or putting into practice their own programme. 'Whatever wish we may have, that is an impossibility. We know our powers and limitations. The Government is a United Front Government with a common minimum programme and we are guided by that programme.'" [Emphasis added.]

And the CPI(M) leader propounded a new strategy of the Communist movement as represented by his party and its allies, including the "Marxist" parties like the CPI [Communist party of India -- the pro-Moscow CP], RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], SUC [Socialist Unity Centre], RCP [Revolutionary Communist party], etc., not to speak of the "nonleft" Bangla Congress, Forward Bloc, etc.

"The Deputy Chief Minister said some of them would like to abolish the system under which they were working for they believed that capitalism was not for an underdeveloped country like India. But only the future would reveal what would happen to India. Now we want the cooperation of everybody, labour, manufacturer, trader, businessmen."

"Mr. Basu said even within the short time the U.F. had been in office, it had meetings with representatives of the business community, industrialists and chambers of commerce. There had been formal meetings and 'we have decided to have business meetings where we can sit across the table and discuss various problems facing West Bengal and India. I have assured the business community that we shall do all in our power for the advance of trade, industry and commerce in West Bengal because, as the situation stands today, there can be no prosperity and no advance if we do not concern ourselves with the interest of trade and commerce.'"

"Mr. Basu said if the U.F. Govern-

ment looked after the interest of labour, [that] was tied up with the preservation of existing industries and industrial growth. The U.F. had to adopt this policy not out of love for any industrialists but it had to take into account the 'sheer reality.'"

In other words, when a working-class party or a Marxist party -- or a coalition of them with bourgeois parties -- undertakes the responsibility of running a bourgeois state it must play the role of armed defender of capitalist property. That is the naked "reality" of a capitalist society, more so in an underdeveloped country like India where the ruling bourgeoisie cannot make any "reformist concessions" to the masses, unlike in the advanced capitalist countries like Great Britain, France, West Germany, or Italy, where certain limited reforms might be extorted from the capitalist class under the so-called left-oriented Social Democratic governments.

Confessing that "he did not know of the problems of trade and industry," Basu said that the government "had a lot to understand so that it could render whatever help it was capable of giving. The U.F. Government could take the problems up with the Union Government."

Jyoti Basu also said he had been told that "a lot of injustice" had been done to West Bengal by accusations that the UF ministry was not sufficiently loyal to the centre. "We are for the unity of India," he said, "not only for its preservation but also its strengthening. We do not want India to disintegrate. We feel this kind of feeling that is being done to a State or group of States has to be obliterated."

A regional chauvinist posture as opposed to the centre had been a gimmick of the left-dominated UF ministries in West Bengal and Kerala to conceal their own failure to deal with the local proletariat classes. But of late the UF governments in both states have given up this anticentre posture to some extent.

To quote the Times of India again:

"Mr. Basu said he wanted to understand the problems and find out how the U.F. Government could help on this process of development and growth. He had some talks with representatives of commerce and industry, and they had given him some material. He was studying how in various States added opportunities were given by the State Governments. He had not yet been able to find any guidelines to induce the business community to invest more capital in West Bengal."

"As far as foreign countries [making investments] were concerned, those

were dealt with by the centre. The U.F. Government could still help in this sphere by discussion with the Central Government. 'The Central Government also represented the various states in India.' It is not a Government aloof from all of us."

This is an allusion to the large plantations and various other industries owned by foreign capitalists in West Bengal. In dealing with them, the UF ministry admits its total impotence. There is not even a threat of nationalisation of the foreign enterprises although the demand occupies an important place in the election platform of all the "Marxist" constituents of the UF, including the CPI(M).

Now Jyoti Basu talks of the need "for the problems of governmental and institutional finance for industries to be studied and pinpointed." He says, "We must start [the] process immediately. We cannot delay, for the serious problems facing West Bengal are problems for the whole of India. The rising unemployment and the complete frustration among the youth who have no future cannot be allowed to continue for long."

About the labour situation, however, Basu told the manufacturers' representatives that there would be "no stability unless they were able to guarantee a minimum living condition for the vast masses of the people. Just because there had been a good harvest it could not be said that the country was out of its difficulties. Could anybody guarantee that unemployment would go down after five years? All of them would have to be conscious of the situation and then alone could they be able to understand the problems arising in today's society. Otherwise, all talks would be one-sided and ideological!"

The deputy chief minister said "industrialists were a little worried as they thought there might be more labour trouble in the State because the U.F. Government was a representative of labour." There were also people "who wanted to invest money in the State but were afraid to do so."

"I do not understand this," Basu continued, "We have been trying to say as soon as the Government was formed that we shall look to the interests of all."

Asking businessmen "not to be nervous," he said they would find that, in actual practice, "the U.F. Government was trying to help trade and industry so that there might be more investment in West Bengal without which the State would go down and down."

The response of big Indian industrialists was also "positive." Naval H.

Tata, president of the Employers' Federation of India, while delivering his presidential address at a meeting of the federation in Calcutta on April 26, assured the UF government of West Bengal that "its political ideology need not cause a change in the employers' attitude to the problem of industrial relations."

Tata said that so long as the government's policies were based on the principle of "peaceful co-existence, giving the management full scope for performing their legitimate managerial functions and not directed towards the annihilation of the entrepreneur through sheer political vendetta, there need be no conflict."

G.D. Birla, India's number one industrialist, who is currently touring Tito's Yugoslavia, exploring investment prospects in that country, has already given a chit of good conduct to the UF government in West Bengal, saying that he can "do better business with communists than Congressmen." He has been given big concessions by the Nambudiripad ministry to start new industries in Kerala.

There have been some rumours about traditional Marwari and Gujarati capitalists shifting their capital investment from West Bengal to their home states of Rajasthan and Gujarat because of fears that their industries will be nationalised by the UF government. These hitherto backward states are indeed undergoing a quicker rate of industrialisation of late. But the farsighted section of the Indian capitalist class realises that its class interests are better protected under a left-dominated government, especially in a period of crisis, than under a traditional capitalist party government.

If Jyoti Basu's speech has been welcomed by the capitalist press, it has caused consternation among the ranks of the CPI(M) who consider it a total surrender to the capitalist class.

Virtually the only positive thing the UF government did after it assumed office was to release all political prisoners including the Maoist "Naxalite" leaders like Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal who were arrested last year in connection with the peasant revolt in Naxalbari. But, according to the Naxalite journal Liberation (April 1969) "several peasant militants, both convicted or under trial, are still languishing in jail."

Liberation, true to its Maoist spirit, has characterised "Jyoti Basu and Co." as a "bunch of counter-revolutionaries masquerading as Marxists." The journal says: "Hypocrisy is said to be the tribute that vice pays to virtue. Lies and falsehood are today the political stock-in-trade of these counter-revolutionaries!"

We are not yet prepared to call the leaders of the CPI(M) "counter-revolutionaries" although objectively they play the role of defenders of bourgeois property. That is a logical consequence of their opportunist class-collaborationist policies emanating out of their erroneous and unhistorical strategy of a "people's democratic revolution" in India.

But then the Naxalites, despite all their fiery pronouncements regarding armed action and "guerrilla warfare," are also committed to the strategy of a four-class "people's democratic front" -- a front of the proletariat with the peasantry, middle class, and the national bourgeoisie to achieve a "people's democratic revolution."

What is worse, the Naxalites under-rate the role of the urban proletariat as the leaders of the coming socialist revolution in India. Their emphasis is on a peasant-led revolution against "imperial-

ism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucrat capital"! -- whatever that might mean.

Indeed the "Naxalite" revolt against the leadership of the CPI(M) reflects to an extent the growing revolt of the rank and file against the opportunist sins of the leadership. The ranks react in a blind and often adventurist manner to the betrayals of the masses by the traditional Stalinist parties.

For the present, Maoism, with its slogan "power flows from the barrel of a gun," has a romantic appeal to these revolutionary romanticists. But the honest revolutionaries among them will be convinced in the course of emerging mass struggles that the alternative to the opportunism of the CPI(M) is not Maoist adventurism but a consciously planned revolutionary struggle of workers and peasants, aimed at overthrowing the capitalist state and achieving a socialist revolution in India.

THE "NAXALITE" MOVEMENT IN INDIA

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar

ing the Naxalite "evil."

It has been reported in the press that at a May Day meeting in Calcutta, Kanu Sanyal, the leader of the peasant struggles of Naxalbari (in the Darjeeling District of West Bengal), had announced the formation of a third Communist party, styled as the "Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist)." It is reported that Mr. Sanyal had openly proclaimed the need for an armed insurrection based on the peasantry. Asit Sen, another theoretician of the "Naxalites," who presided over this meeting, hailed the Chinese Communist party and said they will be guided by Chairman Mao's thoughts.

This reported constitution of the Naxalites into a single all-India party has raised a veritable war cry amongst the bourgeois spokesmen and papers. The matter was raised in parliament and many members, mainly from the rightist Swatantra party and the ruling Congress party, urged Home Minister Chavan to take a serious view of this development and nip it in the bud. (Indian Express, 8 May 1969.)

Chavan has assured the members by observing that the government is against armed revolution, no matter who it came from -- Mao, Marx, or Manu (a reactionary ideologue of the Indian patriarchal system -- S.J.). Chavan also stated in parliament that he was trying to meet the leaders of the opposition parties with a view to evolving the strategy of combat-

It is reported that Chavan has already written a circular to various opposition leaders informing them that the government is thinking of amending the Unlawful Activities Act so as to cover the case of the Naxalite party also. It is significant that the pro-Moscow Communist party has opposed this move while there are obvious differences amongst the leaders of the Communist party (Marxist) of India. Mr. Jyoti Basu, deputy leader of the West Bengal United Front government and leader of CPI(M), views the Naxalite movement merely as a "law and order" problem, while Mr. Namboodiripad, another CPI(M) leader and chief minister of the Kerala United Front government dominated by CPI(M), is inclined to treat it as a political problem.

At present the strength of the Naxalites is estimated at 4,500.

In West Bengal during the midterm elections [in February 1969], they launched a boycott movement which proved a total failure. So far not a single systematic approach to create revolutionary bases in rural areas has been reported.

In Uttar Pradesh [UP] and Bihar the Naxalites have the support of an influential section of the leaders who have left the CPI(M). They are active in ten districts of Bihar-Ranchi, Dhanbad, Palamau, Singhbhum and Bhagalpur. They have penetrated into the tribal areas where

tribals are being organised by Hirenroy Roy, who pleads for a separate tribal state with the right of secession.

In Andhra Pradesh, a large chunk of the CPI(M) has joined the movement led by T. Nagi Reddy who is fully committed to Chinese strategy.

The Naxalite movement is distinguished by its uncritical and absolutely blind admiration for Mao and by its wholesale importation of Mao's strategy of partisan warfare in India, in total disregard of the specific dialectic of the Indian situation (well-developed network of transportation and communication deeply entrenched, highly centralized administrative and state apparatus, lack of traditions of protracted armed civil war, still unexhausted parliamentary reformist potential of the Indian bourgeoisie, etc.).

The Naxalites regard the state as representing the comprador-bureaucrat bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords; whereas in reality it is purely and simply a state of the Indian bourgeoisie. Sanyal considers that the principal contradiction is between the people and feudalism (Liberation, Vol. 2, November 1968, p. 30, "Report on the Peasant Movement in Terai Region"). Thereby the entire capitalist growth of India since 1947 is wiped out.

According to Sanyal, the peasants are the basis and main force of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggle. He predicates the liberation of the other oppressed classes on the liberation of the peasants. Thereby the role of the Indian proletariat (so aptly and graphically delineated in the programme of the Socialist Workers party of India [Trotskyist]) is obliterated. By centering their attention entirely on rural areas, in accordance with the Chinese model, the Naxalites overlook several factors of

vital import.

These include: (1) The vital importance of the cities in the present context of the Indian economy. They are being increasingly industrialised in contrast to the forcible dismantling of the coastal cities of China by Japan after the defeat of the Second Chinese Revolution. (2) The increasingly indispensable role of the Indian proletariat in the process of production under the bourgeoisie's ever-increasing emphasis on industrialisation. (3) The impossibility of maintaining isolated zones of liberation in India in view of the highly developed science of counterinsurgency placed at the disposal of the Indian bourgeoisie by the experiences of American imperialism, and in view of the easier accessibility and penetrability of such zones under Indian geographical and social conditions by counterinsurgents as compared with the Latin-American countries, etc.

The Naxalites have still to evolve a correct orientation on the question of the nature of the next Indian revolution. Is it bourgeois-democratic or socialist? Or will it be socialist, under proletarian hegemony, but solve first the unfulfilled tasks of a bourgeois-democratic revolution, such as the agrarian question? The Naxalites have not even raised these questions.

The Socialist Workers party of India has viewed the adventurist activities of the Naxalites as a reaction of petty-bourgeois radicals who still accept the theory of a four-class alliance.

The danger at present is that of deliberate exaggeration of the activities of this tendency by the bourgeoisie, out of all proportion, to justify its own repressive throttling of the remnants of bourgeois liberty operative in India.

IS SCOTLAND YARD OUT TO GET THE "BLACK DWARF"?

Scotland Yard has begun what the London Guardian described May 7 as a "blitz" against the radical and "underground" press in Britain. "After raids last week on 'International Times' and 'Oz,'" the Guardian said, "plainclothes men have paid a couple of less than friendly calls on the distributors of 'Black Dwarf.'"

The pretext for these visits is said to be the August 14, 1968, issue of the paper, which contained a brief report on a public meeting where a prominent social worker made "certain allegations" against a police sergeant, implying he was guilty of brutality. The Black Dwarf

merely reported the meeting without editorial comment. The Guardian reported that a Scotland Yard detective "hinted that they were considering a prosecution for criminal libel, a rare forensic bloom that could mean prison rather than damages for Tariq Ali, hero of the barricades and editor of the day."

"Criminal libel," the Guardian added, "is defamation so damaging that it might provoke a breach of the peace. The last prosecution we could find was in September, 1965, when a man was sent to prison for three years for accusing a detective inspector of stealing £10 while interrogating him."

GREEK CP PLENUM DISAVOWS KOLIGIANNIS LEADERSHIP

The split in the Greek Communist party has hardened as a result of a Central Committee plenum held secretly in April. At this meeting a new Politburo was elected, made up entirely of leaders living clandestinely in Greece. The old-line Stalinist faction led by Kostas Koligiannis refused to attend.

The April plenum represented a coalition of the two anti-Koligiannis factions -- the United Central Committee led by Partsalidis, said to represent a majority of Greek Communists exiled in the West; and the Bureau of the Interior, which claims to represent the great majority of CP militants in Greece.

The organizers announced that the plenum was attended by "the majority of full members of the Central Committee living in Greece and abroad, as well as the majority of candidate-members and members of the Control Commission."

The plenum declared that its election of new leading bodies "deprives all the former bodies -- the Central Committee and the Political Bureau, as well as the chairman and secretary general, of any right to represent the Greek Communist party." A letter was sent to all the Communist parties claiming for the new leadership the right to represent the Greek CP at the international conference of "sister parties" scheduled for June 5 in Moscow.

The division of the Greek CP first became public in February 1968 when the East European-based Koligiannis faction tried to expel a group of Central Committee members led by Partsalidis. In the fall of the same year, the party leaders inside Greece denied the legitimacy of the Koligiannis Central Committee. The Koligiannis group approved the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia; Partsalidis and the Bureau of the Interior condemned it.

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