

Argentine Workers Support Students with General Strike

Striking Workers Demand Curacao Government Resign

Fort Jackson Eight:
**How Antiwar GIs
Made the Pentagon
Back Down**

**Rockefeller Gets the Facts
Quick in Latin America**



LAIRD: Tells who prescribed "Hamburger Hill." See page 557.

Interview with Alain Krivine

ARGENTINE WORKERS BACK STUDENTS WITH GENERAL STRIKE

By Gerry Foley

The Argentinian military dictatorship headed by General Juan Onganía is in deep trouble. A series of student demonstrations were met with extreme police violence. This in turn engendered widespread sympathy for the students. The workers sought to demonstrate their solidarity through action. So powerful was this upsurge that the unions, in defiance of threats that they would be crushed by military force and strikers would be liable to the death penalty, staged a one-day general strike May 30 that shut down the entire country.

On May 29 Argentina was placed under martial law and special military tribunals were set up, empowered to hand down death sentences to those who refused to obey the dictates of the military regime. Large contingents of police and troops patrolled the major Argentinian cities.

The workers and their allies appear to have remained firm against the government assault. "By Friday night [May 30] the insurgents apparently held the upper hand," New York Times reporter Malcolm Browne reported about Córdoba, where the sharpest clashes occurred.

Violent fighting swept the automobile center of Córdoba during the day and night of May 30-31. News of the battles there shocked the country. "At the height of the fighting in Córdoba last night," Browne wrote in the Times June 1, "Buenos Aires residents watched dramatic sequences [on television] from the northern industrial city showing waves of policemen firing pistols at close range into an advancing crowd of rock-throwing workers."

Bullets struck indiscriminately throughout the city. "Many Córdoba residents took their afternoon naps on the floor to stay out of range of the gunfire," the Times correspondent said.

Police shot their way into the headquarters of the auto workers' union, where the main labor leaders had gathered.

In the fighting in Córdoba, six persons were killed and more than 400 arrested, according to press reports. On June 1 the special military tribunals began passing harsh sentences on the jailed strikers and demonstrators.

Fierce fighting was also reported in the country's depressed northern province of Tucumán when unemployed sugar workers besieged a government-owned railroad repair shop on the day of the general strike.

In Buenos Aires, as well as the big provincial cities, buses and taxis were halted. The postal system was closed down. The textile mills were silenced. All of the schools were closed.

The railroads -- the country's most vital transportation network -- were also struck, despite the fact that they have been under direct military supervision since 1967 and harsh penalties can be imposed on strikers.

In many areas, shopkeepers closed down their businesses to demonstrate support for the workers and students. In Tucumán, where the strike was reported almost totally effective, an aide to the governor, Miguel Araoz, announced his resignation "in solidarity with the university students and people of Tucumán."

The union leaders warned the military the night of May 30 that if the repression continued "it would lead Argentina into a cul-de-sac of total chaos."

The New York Times said that "the tone of the warning was the strongest by far that labor leaders have yet dared to use in communications with the military leaders who seized control of the country three years ago."

The escalating protests that culminated in the May 30 general strike were touched off in mid-May by student opposition to higher-priced meals in the cafeteria of the Universidad del Nordeste [UNE] in Corrientes.

As a result of the government's decision to turn the student cafeteria over to a private catering firm, the price of meals was raised from 25 to 57 pesos [350 pesos = US\$1]. This means a greater hardship for the students than might appear at first glance. The UNE students are the poorest in Argentina and the cost of their education is a heavy burden for most of their parents. Thus even small extra expenses entail added sacrifices. Furthermore, under the new system the cafeteria would have been closed on weekends, forcing the students to eat at commercial restaurants where the lowest-priced meals cost 200 pesos.

Resentment already ran deep among the students. The dictatorship's purges of the country's faculties had deprived Argentina of a considerable proportion of its qualified scholars. Students feared that the level of education had been so debased that their diplomas would be worthless. New decrees increasingly limited access to higher education.

Banning of independent student organizations and repeated police invasions of the campus had produced a grim atmosphere of repression and reaction. Uniformed policemen were stationed in many classrooms. Government-appointed rectors ruled the universities like imperial pro-consuls, oblivious to the needs of their schools and alien to academic life. The UNE faculty members protested that their rector, Carlos Walker, spent half of every month in Buenos Aires, about 600 miles away from his post.

When the police suppressed a demonstration in the UNE cafeteria, gunning down the medical student Juan José Cabral, the simmering discontent boiled over into violent protests. The student struggles triggered popular opposition to the regime into actions of solidarity.

The poorer classes have suffered from the harsh austerity imposed by the regime. The middle classes have been alienated by the army's arbitrary and primitive methods of rule. The example of students fighting the police had a particularly compelling effect on the Argentinian workers, long demobilized by their vacillating trade-union bureaucracies.

"Now general labor support for the students seems to be developing rapidly," the New York Times wrote May 28. "One small indication of this was a sign posted on a shop window in Rosario after one of the demonstrations there. It read 'Sorry. We should have helped you.'"

Massive fighting broke out May 21 in Rosario, the country's second largest city, when the cops shot and killed a fifteen-year-old youth.

The upsurge brought the divided Argentinian labor movement together in joint action and stiffened the backbones of a number of trade-union bureaucrats. After martial law was clamped down on Rosario May 22, the collaborationist faction of the CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo -- General Confederation of Labor], led by Vandor, joined with the "rebel" faction led by Ongaro in issuing a call for a general strike.

The broad front that shaped up in solidarity with the UNE students in the initial confrontations provided one more example of how a local university struggle can develop into a national conflagration under conditions like those in Argentina.

The shooting of Juan José Cabral drew sharp protest. The provincial governor's administrative deputy (secretario de gobierno) Rafael Marchetti resigned along with two professors at the police school. Two hundred UNE professors tendered their resignations. The Corrientes medical fed-

eration and medical college issued a joint statement expressing their "total and forthright repudiation of the brutal police action."

The shopkeepers' organization, the Asociación de Provisionistas y Comerciantes de Corrientes [Corrientes Association of Grocers and Tradesmen], closed their stores in protest against the government's treatment of the students. The priests in Resistencia across the river from Corrientes offered space in their cathedral for a student cafeteria.

The broad nature of this front showed that the vast majority of the people needed only a vanguard to lead them into struggle against the junta. By the time of the general strike May 30 the generals were faced by a massive array of opposition.

The crisis of the Onganía regime shows what a hopeless perspective faces the military dictatorships in Latin America. They are incapable of solving the economic and social problems facing their countries. Instead they exacerbate them and make them more explosive.

Even the New York Times, while defending the military coup that brought Onganía to power, has put a question mark over the efficacy of military rule in preserving capitalist stability in Argentina. Malcolm Browne, writing in the June 1 Times, summed up the Argentinian experience. He described, in general terms, how the parliamentary regime had fallen into discredit and the normal means of coercion were not sufficient to force the workers to pay the price of the country's economic dependency. "Argentina seemed to most observers on the brink of ruin. Democratic institutions were eroded to the point of paralysis. Industrial production sagged as strikes and instability took their toll."

Browne credited the military regime with success in imposing the required capitalist discipline on the country. "The new Economy Minister, Dr. Adalbert Krieger Vasena, was given sweeping powers to freeze wages and prices, establish monetary stability and breathe new life into the nation's economy. Most experts agree that Dr. Krieger Vasena has achieved remarkable results. The International Monetary Fund recently designated the Argentine peso as fully convertible currency..."

The difficulty was that the rule of naked force undermined the bourgeoisie's mechanism of social control. "A general political malaise began to develop and spread. The trains were running on time, but the political life that had been the mainspring of Argentine existence had ceased."

The elimination of parliamentary democracy removed the essential means of expression for the various elements in the

bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. It destroyed the traditional social buffers; the smallest economic or social struggle was immediately blown up into a challenge to the regime. Under the conditions of arbitrary rule, the government was unable to keep a finger on the pulse of the masses.

Whether or not Onganía has decided to resign, as is rumored, it seems certain that his regime has outlived its usefulness. It is unlikely that a government will survive for long that has shown its incapacity to assure the kind of order and stability the Argentinian capitalists and their imperialist patrons require.

It is hard to see, however, what alternative the bourgeoisie now has to the rule of naked force.

When the junta was installed, the revolutionary Marxists of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores [Revolutionary Workers party] predicted: "This

is probably the last chance the bourgeoisie will have to establish a stable bourgeois government. After this regime, the situation can become openly prerevolutionary."*

Browne, an observer more than sympathetic to the Argentine capitalists, does not offer a much brighter view for them:

"Seasoned Argentine political observers saw the Government facing two alternatives: to yield and liberalize the regime, or to apply the 'mano dura' (iron fist) and start erecting firing squad parapets. Either way, the country faced uncertainty, turmoil and possibly civil war....The weeks that follow seem certain to bring major changes to Argentina with potentially sweeping effects on all of Latin America."

* "A Bonapartist Junta in Argentina," World Outlook (the former name of Intercontinental Press), July 15, 1966, p. 19.

THIEU AND PARK LAY IT ON THE LINE -- NO END IN SIGHT TO THE WAR

Saigon dictator Nguyen Van Thieu while on a state visit to Seoul May 30 joined his South Korean counterpart General Chung Hee Park in proposing a solution for the Vietnam war.

Their declaration drew wide interest, inasmuch as President Nixon in his May 14 speech on Vietnam had remained rather vague about the specifics of his "peace plan," stating only that he was in full agreement with the Saigon regime on how to end the war.

On May 28, the day after he arrived in the South Korean capital, Thieu spoke at the Korean Military Academy. Any settlement of the war, he said, must be carried out within the framework of the South Vietnamese constitution.

This document, adopted in 1967 under American auspices, makes no provisions for special elections and outlaws all "Communist activity." Thieu held up the fraudulent elections by which he became president as proof that no further elections were necessary.

"The people of South Vietnam have already exerted their right of self-determination," he declared, "and have chosen freedom."

In their joint communiqué, Thieu and Park said:

"The two Presidents reaffirm that the imposition of any form of government,

including the spurious coalition advocated by the Communist side, would be incompatible with the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese people, and therefore completely unacceptable."

Park and Thieu stated their "common resolve" to reject any demand for unilateral and unconditional withdrawal of "allied" troops from Vietnam.

They did not make clear whether they were speaking of the 530,000 American troops or only of the 50,000 South Korean invaders of Vietnam.

Withdrawal of "even a part of the allied troops" was opposed by the two generals.

Thieu's most quoted remark of the day was his promise "Never!" to participate in a coalition government with the National Liberation Front.

This did not surprise anyone. The NLF, while calling for a coalition government, has explicitly rejected the participation of supporters of the Thieu-Ky regime.

Thieu's statement thus makes it more difficult for Nixon to convince people that he can achieve "peace" and preserve the Saigon regime at the same time.

Thieu's most revealing statement, however, was on the Saigon regime's attitude toward elections. When asked about the possibility of holding special elections

in South Vietnam, he replied:

"If the Communists are willing to lay down their weapons, abandon the Communist ideology, and abandon their atrocities, they could participate in elections."

This ultimatum from the Saigon puppet should help dispel the lingering il-

lusions that Washington is about to end the war through the negotiation of a settlement acceptable to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Nixon did not dissociate himself from the tin-pot dictator's saber-rattling. Instead, the American president assured the public that he and Thieu see eye to eye.

LYNDON B. NIXON'S ORDERS RESPONSIBLE FOR "HAMBURGER HILL"

The assault that sent eighty-four conscripted American soldiers to their death on "Hamburger Hill" -- not to mention the 480 wounded, or the unknown number of Vietnamese casualties -- touched off a bitter reaction inside the United States.

Senator Edward M. Kennedy's charge May 20 that it was a "senseless and irresponsible" action reflected the rise in the public temper.

"President Nixon," said Kennedy, "has told us, without question, that we seek no military victory, that we seek only peace. How then can we justify sending our boys against a hill a dozen times or more, until soldiers themselves question the madness of the action? The assault on 'Hamburger Hill' is only symptomatic of a mentality and a policy that requires immediate attention."

The Nixon administration responded with immediate attention to Senator Kennedy. Top spokesmen of the Pentagon and the White House rallied in defense of the generals in Saigon.

Senator Hugh Scott, the Republican whip, put it in a nutshell: "If our military are told to contend for a hill, it is part of the strategy which is essential to maintaining the military posture while we talk for peace."

The U.S. command in Saigon briefed the press May 22 on their view. The battle, "while costly," was an integral part of the policy of "maximum pressure" pursued in Vietnam since the bombing of North Vietnam was halted November 1.

The orders on this, Terence Smith explained in a dispatch from Saigon published in the May 23 New York Times, "came directly from President Lyndon B. Johnson, though military sources here have steadfastly refused to confirm that.

"The sources do confirm, however, that they have received no orders of any kind from the Nixon Administration to modify that basic strategy.

"They are still under orders to pursue the enemy relentlessly, using every tactic and weapon at their command..."

Averell Harriman has said that this policy thwarted a good opportunity to de-escalate the war. When the bombing was halted, the North Vietnamese "took 90 per cent of their troops out" of the northern part of South Vietnam.

Instead of matching this by taking 90 percent of the U.S. troops out of Vietnam, General Abrams shifted large contingents to the Saigon areas to "increase our offensive actions there."

The Vietnamese responded with counter-moves, as was only to be expected. In February, their defensive action had stiffened to such a degree that the U.S. press began to talk about "another Tet offensive."

Nixon used this -- slick lawyer that he is -- to claim there had been no change in "U.S. policy." White House press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler said May 23 that the rise in casualties is "largely the result of enemy-initiated actions."

That "U.S. policy" has not been changed is, of course, true. But just who initiated that policy?

In a May 22 dispatch from Washington, New York Times correspondent Hedrick Smith made this clear: "Mr. Nixon has adopted President Lyndon B. Johnson's strategy of maintaining maximum pressure on the enemy."

This was confirmed only three days later by no one less than Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird. "The military commanders," he said, "are carrying out to the best of their ability the orders that were prescribed by President Nixon and President Johnson for the military conduct of the war on the ground in Vietnam."

And to emphasize his point, he added that "these continue to be the instructions" to the U.S. field command.

Strike Wave in Australia

SOLIDARITY WITH CLARRIE O'SHEA PAYS OFF

By Ivan Dixon

Canberra

What appears to be the biggest industrial upheaval since 1949 is developing at present in Australia.

The issue is the fundamental right of the workers to strike, which has been effectively removed for years under the arbitration system, but which is still recognised by the mass of the workers as their one weapon in the perpetual struggle with the employers and the government.

Under the arbitration system, all strikes are illegal, and disputes over wages and conditions must be settled by a third "impartial" party, namely, a state or federal court. Heavy fines are the penalties for striking.

In recent times, two facts have emerged very clearly as a result of trade-union struggles:

1. Illegal strikes called by the unions regardless of the penalties have resulted in the courts themselves taking notice and awarding higher wage rises than expected.

2. Trade-union officials, from Communists to right-wing Social Democrats, have become accommodated to the relatively easy life the arbitration system offers them. Their work does not involve them in daily face-to-face confrontations with the bosses and prolonged strikes carrying with them the threat of gaol sentences, but rather with the quiet preparation in their offices of legal briefs for presentation to the courts.

As well, there has been a marked tendency recently for wage increases to lag behind increases in productivity, Gross National Product, and inflation, causing a mood of unrest to appear among both blue- and white-collar workers.

The pro-Peking Communist party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) took with it at the time of its formation some of the more militant union officials from the Communist party of Australia. One of these is Clarrie [Clarence] O'Shea, secretary of the Victorian Tramways Employees Union. And while a number of unions owe the courts outstanding fines, and have let it be known that they do not intend to pay, it was O'Shea's union which was selected by the courts for attack, possibly with the hope of splitting the trade unions along sectarian political lines.

On Thursday, May 15, O'Shea was gaoled in Melbourne. The following day 250,000 workers came out on strike in protest, and in the following week about one million man-days were lost through strikes [most unions called twenty-four-hour strikes]. The unions and newspapers all began talking of a general strike, bigger even than the coal strike of 1949.

All major unions with the exception of the Ironworkers and the Australian Workers' Union supported the struggle and called for total abolition of the penal clauses of the Arbitration Act immediately -- many officials doing so with great reluctance, but with no alternative, given the spontaneous mass support of O'Shea.

The president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions, Albert Monk, who has the reputation of being the greatest gravedigger of strikes in the country, immediately began negotiating with the federal government for O'Shea's release. These negotiations came to nought, but the dispute was temporarily settled with the payment of O'Shea's \$8,000 fine by a Sydney philanthropist, followed by the prisoner's release on Friday, May 23.

That same day, Albert Monk left the country on his fifty-fourth overseas trip to attend a meeting of the International Labor Organisation in Geneva. He left many workers wondering how much value they had been getting from such bureaucratic junketing, since it was obvious that only direct action at home paid off.

The chances for a left-wing revival in the ACTU are shown by the fact that Monk was in a minority of five on the fourteen-man executive. The executive instructed all 105 affiliated unions not to pay fines until the talks with the government are concluded.

The upsurge around the penal clauses issue has also consolidated the left turn taken by the CP. The militant CP-led unions, particularly in Victoria, have been in the forefront of the struggle. It is obvious that many CP union officials are not happy with the breakup of their quiet marriage with the arbitration system, but have gone along with it partly under threat of being tipped out of office by the party itself.

CP secretary Laurie Aarons' line of industrial militancy at home coupled with a pro-Czech, pro-South Vietnam National Liberation Front foreign policy is gaining support in the party.

Laurie Carmichael, Victorian secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union and CP National Committee member, stressed the importance of the struggle to a mass meeting of 4,000 shop stewards and delegates in Melbourne.

"The purpose of the penal powers," he said, "is not only to levy fines but to make the unions an arm of the state. The court says to the unions, 'You will not act in the interests of your members but in the interests of the employing monopoly class.'...The time for anger, for reaction, for union action, has come."

Large demonstrations have taken place in the streets of the capital cities over the issue, with the demonstrating workers being treated with great respect by the police. An editorial in the Australian said:

"The timing of Clarrie O'Shea's martyrdom probably owes a great deal to the recognition achieved by youthful radicals for the power of protest."

Abolition of the penal clauses has long been Labor party policy, but no state Labor government has done anything about them. Federal Labor leader Gough Whitlam said during the week that only a Labor government in Australia, not strikes, could repeal the penal clauses.

At World Parley

REVOLUTIONARY PRESSURES DIVIDE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The third congress of the International Union of Christian Democratic Youth, which opened in Montevideo May 13, showed the impact of the revolutionary ferment in Latin America on the Catholic youth movement throughout the continent. The picture that emerged from this meeting, according to a lengthy report by José Manuel Quijano in the Uruguayan weekly Marcha May 16, was one of rapidly sharpening political differentiation under the pressure of developing social struggles.

In the past, the U.S. State Department has fostered and helped finance Christian Democratic parties precisely because of their program of uniting antagonistic social classes on the basis of broad "ethical principles" and reformist rhetoric. Now the most sensitive segment of the Christian Democracy, its youth, seems to be developing acute ideological cleavages that reflect the class struggle. "There is more that divides us than unites us," Quijano quoted a delegate from Bolivia as saying.

The contradictions were symbolized

But with the unions winning the first round of the struggle, it is becoming obvious that the workers do not need a Labor government to get their way: they can exert tremendous pressure on the conservative Liberal-Country party government, so strong and united is the mass feeling on the issue.

There seems to be general agreement in the bourgeois press that the government will have to modify the worst features of the act. But as the Australian said in an editorial calling for both sides to "take stock and consider the national interest":

"The angry unions and their leaders must in these circumstances make the first move. They must see that the Government cannot back down on the legalities of the situation...."

"The unions and their leaders must acknowledge the fact that no government which hopes to rule can submit to pressure of the kind and intensity that is now developing."

So far the unions have given nothing away in the struggle. A union victory on this issue will definitely result in a weakening of the government's prestige and power, and a new period of industrial militancy should begin.

at the congress itself, Quijano noted. Representatives of counterrevolutionary exile groups from Lithuania, Poland, Yugoslavia, and even Miami-based Cuban "gusanos" sat in the same hall with representatives of Latin-American groups that proclaim adherence to a program of socialist revolution.

A strong shift to the left on the part of the Latin-American groups forced the entire congress in that direction. This was reflected in the fact that the congress seated the "rebel" Christian Democratic youth delegation from Chile, relegating the official delegation backed by Chilean president Eduardo Frei to the status of observers.

The most obvious line of cleavage, according to Quijano, was that between the Latin-American groups moving to the left and the rightward-moving European groups. The delegation from the West German Christian Democratic party of Chancellor Kiesinger seemed particularly out of place. An open split would be costly, however, since much of the financing of the Latin-American organizations has come from the

well-heeled European parties, especially the German Christian Democracy.

Several young Catholic leaders told Quijano about the rapidly developing process of radicalization in their organizations. The Bolivian delegate Ríos, who was president of the Bolivian student association at the time of the guerrilla action led by Che Guevara, described the impact of Che's example on the Catholic youth in his country and the lessons they had learned from the failure of past revolutionary movements to solve the country's problems.

"When the 'foco' [guerrilla nucleus] appeared and the first clash with the army became public, the generally accepted version...was that what was involved was a new gimmick by Barrientos to get money out of the Yankees. Afterwards, Lechín* and the Communist party issued declarations of support for the fighters, and only then could we get a clear idea of the ideological orientation of the rising. The story that Guevara was in Bolivia began to circulate. But this was confirmed one day and denied the next... Only when his death was announced did we get confirmation of what we had previously only half believed. There was a lack this whole time of an agitational and propaganda apparatus in the cities. We, the Christian Democratic Youth of Bolivia, were not, in any case, prepared in 1967 to answer a call to struggle, if it had come. Our process of radicalization was only beginning. It was through a deeper pondering of our positions and through our analysis of the experience of the MNR and Che that, I think, we matured."

Ríos gave an example of the sort of lesson that the youth of his country had learned from the MNR's attempt to carry out a bourgeois revolution: "The nationalization of the mines showed that it was not enough to attack the tin barons and imperialism within national limits. England and the USA continued to smelt our tin abroad exactly as they had before. What was needed was a total break with imperialism. But the MNR was not disposed to do this and the country's economic possibilities did not permit it. The Bolivian revolution will be a continental revolution, part of the process of revolution in the great Latin-American nation, or it will not be a revolution."

In the case of the Argentine young Christian Democrats, Quijano reports, it

* Juan Lechín, the leader of the left wing of the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria (MNR) [Revolutionary Nationalist Movement], a petty-bourgeois radical movement that ruled Bolivia from the time of the anti-imperialist revolution of 1952 to the military coup of 1964.

was the military coup of General Onganía that set the process of radicalization going. And this process culminated, according to the Argentinian delegate Rodolfo Díaz, in a clandestine congress of the Christian Democratic party in 1968 where the youth seized the party leadership and initiated an ideological turn. At that time, Díaz said, "We made a class analysis of the party, and we projected a total ideological reformulation. We wanted a principled party which would give an answer based on ethical principles to every problem. We advanced the idea of carrying out a scientific analysis of our history and answering social and economic problems with social and economic and not merely ethical proposals. We were seeking fundamentally to make our party into an instrument of the working class."

The Chilean "rebel" delegation came to the congress fresh from a battle with the dominant faction in the apparatus of the Christian Democratic party in their country, which is headed by President Frei. Frei was the hero of the Christian Democracy throughout Latin America in 1964 when he ran for president on a platform of "Revolution in Freedom" and won a strong plurality. Not only were his promises of basic economic reforms not fulfilled but his term as president has been marked by incidents such as the bloody suppression of striking copper miners in 1966 and most recently by a massacre of slum dwellers in the southern Chilean town of Puerto Montt on March 10. The poor performance of Frei's regime has caused acute problems both for those who took his promises seriously and those sections of the party apparatus most exposed to pressure from below.

The youth, the peasant leaders, and about half the trade-union section of the party walked out of the Christian Democratic national convention in mid-May and declared their intention to build a new "revolutionary" party. The new party, the Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria (MAPU) [Movement of United People's Action] was founded May 21.

Quijano asked the Chilean delegate Vega on what concrete program the youth had waged their fight at the Christian Democratic convention. Vega said, "We asked the party to define itself, to proclaim itself socialist, that it take up a position on the left, that it organize itself as a class party. Our strategy is that of a revolutionary front based on a worker-peasant-student alliance. Our program is popular unity of the ranks -- not formal unity of the parties...."

The delegate stressed, however, that the unity desired by the Christian Democratic youth of his country has nothing in common with the "popular front" proposals of the Chilean Communist party:

"We are not partisans of the sort of alliance the Communist party proposes because this alliance would include the petty bourgeoisie and the 'antimonopoly' bourgeoisie. We think that they are making an analytical error there. There is no bourgeoisie in Chile that is not linked to the monopolies...Our program is unity of the ranks and in my opinion, in order to achieve that, the socialists and Communists will have to go through the sifting-out process that the Christian Democracy has undergone in order to rid themselves of their Social Democratic ballast."

On one key question then -- the impossibility of a bourgeois revolution in Chile -- the Young Christian Democrats now stand, at least verbally, to the left of originally Marxist parties that have undergone bureaucratic degeneration.

A very complex ideological development may be expected among the young Catholics in Latin America, if this congress is any indication. They are being subjected not only to the pressures of powerful popular struggles but to the force of the revolutionary consciousness devel-

oping among Latin-American youth, who have learned compelling lessons from the failure of a whole series of reformist regimes to solve the urgent problems of the continent.

It is doubtful, of course, that all the young Christian Democrats who are now loudly proclaiming their socialist principles will become revolutionary fighters like the Colombian guerrilla priest Camilo Torres. But it is possible that the radicalization among the Christian Democratic youth will contribute to the political crisis of the Latin-American ruling classes.

The development of political debate and differentiation in demagogic formations like the Latin-American Christian Democratic parties cannot help but lead to the more or less rapid disintegration of these parties. And the Christian Democracies have been the strongest bourgeois political organizations to develop in the recent period. They have projected virtually the only reformist and "modernist" alternative to socialist revolution capable of winning more than the most ephemeral support among sections of the exploited classes.

STRIKERS IN CURACAO DEMAND GOVERNMENT RESIGN

Thousands of striking oil workers led a general strike that paralyzed the Dutch colony of Curaçao May 29. Demonstrations erupted into a massive revolt the next day when unemployed youths joined the workers and burned large sections of the white-owned businesses in downtown Willemstad, the capital of the island, located about forty miles off the coast of Venezuela.

At least four persons were reported killed and more than 150 wounded after Dutch marines were flown in from the Netherlands May 31 to suppress the demonstrations. Willemstad was put under a dusk-to-dawn curfew and all persons without special police passes were forbidden to enter the downtown area. Estimates of the damage ran upwards of \$30 million.

The violence began during a May 30 march on Willemstad when police fired on the workers, seriously wounding a union leader named Papa Godet.

Curaçao is part of the Netherlands Antilles. Its population of 137,000 is overwhelmingly black, while government and business positions are monopolized by the Dutch. Curaçao was given formal independence in 1954, but the Netherlands maintains control of defense and foreign relations.

Premier Ciro de Kroon claimed

May 31 that he had "proof" that "foreign-trained Communists" were behind the rioting. Union leaders replied that de Kroon had caused the riots by having the police attack their peaceful march. On June 1 de Kroon went into hiding while parliament debated an ultimatum from the union leaders that the government resign.

The leaders of the workers movement are refinery and dock workers at Shell Oil Company. The company has recently introduced automation that resulted in the firing of a number of skilled workers. Unemployment on the island amounts to 20 percent of the total work force, making it difficult for the men to find other jobs.

Workers in the skilled trades, such as plumbers and electricians, are demanding more than the current wage of 65 cents an hour.

Union leaders have protested open attempts by the government to solicit foreign business by promises to keep wages low.

Government officials have refused to meet with union leaders (there are no workers' representatives in the twenty-two-man parliament). Labor leaders are said to be meeting secretly to plan the new general strike to be called if the government does not grant their demands.

KRIVINE GETS 239,000 VOTES

A new force was registered in the French presidential elections June 1. For the first time a revolutionary candidate, running to the left of the Communist party, polled a significant, if still not massive, vote. Alain Krivine, the candidate for president of France of the Communist League [Ligue Communiste -- the French section of the Fourth International] won 239,078 votes in the still unofficial totals released June 2 by the French government.

Krivine's vote amounted to 1.06 percent of the total vote cast, indicating that a sizable layer of radicalizing young people had given him their support. The Trotskyist candidate had carried out his promise to make heard the revolutionary voice of May-June 1968, and in so doing he helped create a pole of attraction in French politics that must be taken seriously by all tendencies on the political scene.

Although the traditional Gaullist vote held firm behind Georges Pompidou (10,050,804 votes or 44.46 percent of the total), the heavy support for the Communist party candidate Jacques Duclos at the expense of interim president Alain Poher reflected in the electoral arena a widening disillusionment with capitalist politics.

Poher, who ran only slightly behind Pompidou in the first opinion polls, dropped off sharply in the week before

the vote, and when the ballots were counted he came in even lower than the pollsters had estimated, with 5,268,414 votes or 23.31 percent. Duclos rose from early estimates of 10 percent to a tally of 4,811,037 votes or 21.28 percent -- barely less than Poher.

The right-wing Social Democrats, running Gaston Defferre, took a beating for an old established formation, winning only 1,133,241 votes, or 5.01 percent. Michel Rocard of the Parti Socialiste Unifié [United Socialist party], the "left" Social Democrats, held steady with 816,410 votes or 3.61 percent. Louis Ducatel, the non-party right-wing "free enterpriser," drew 268,481 votes, or 1.27 percent.

From the standpoint of social forces in motion the significant trends in the vote are clearly the growth in the CP vote and the encouraging showing of the Communist League. The repercussions of the May-June 1968 student-worker upheaval are still being felt in France. Two processes are taking place simultaneously. A large section of the masses is moving away from support of the capitalist parties and the right-wing Social Democrats. This layer at present is prepared to vote for the CP. At the same time the most conscious layer of students and young workers is moving beyond the reformist channels of the CP. They found inspiration in the campaign of Alain Krivine and the struggle of the Communist League to build a mass revolutionary party to the left of the CP.

TARIQ ALI, LIVIO MAITAN EXPELLED FROM FRANCE

In the last days before the French presidential elections, several of Alain Krivine's cothinkers from other European countries were abruptly expelled from France. They had come to speak on behalf of the presidential candidate of the Communist League.

The well-known British-Pakistani student leader Tariq Ali spoke along with Krivine at a rally of several thousand young people in Toulouse May 25. As he accompanied Krivine back to Paris May 28, he was picked up by the police, questioned, and immediately expelled from France. The government did not explain its action or give Tariq Ali any opportunity for appeal.

On the night of May 28, Livio Maitan, a contributing editor of Intercontinental Press and the secretary of the Italian section of the Fourth International, spoke at a mass rally for Krivine at the Mutualité in Paris. As Maitan was pre-

paring to leave the country the next day, he was arrested. After being interrogated, he was handed an expulsion order.

Le Monde reported May 30 that two other Italian supporters of Krivine, Alfonso Cascone and Raffaele Chiarelli, were also expelled from the country.

Krivine commented sharply on the lack of hospitality shown by the French government: "Faithful to his policy of continuity,* Monsieur Poher [the interim president] had our English comrade Tariq Ali arrested and expelled yesterday evening. We wanted to show the 10,000 people gathered at the Palais des Sports [in Tou-

* De Gaulle's government expelled a number of foreign nationals whose politics it disapproved in May-June 1968. Some of those expelled were handed over to the dictatorial regimes from which they had fled.

louse] what the celebrated international plot Marcellin* talked about was really like. But the bourgeoisie wouldn't permit it.

"Now they explain that foreigners

* De Gaulle's minister of the interior; he acquired a reputation after May-June for red-scare stories.

have no right to carry on political activities in France. But when the NATO colonels come here from Belgium or Germany, when the politicians come to have discussions with Pompidou or Poher, are they coming to Paris to play pool? Yesterday's example was very revealing about what this lowering of national barriers, the Common Market, means. It is not a lowering of national barriers for revolutionary militants."

ALAIN KRIVINE ON TELEVISION

[The following excerpt from Alain Krivine's final television statement in his presidential campaign May 30 appeared in the June 2 issue of Le Monde. The New York Times took note of Krivine's windup address in its May 31 issue under the sub-heading, "Trotskyite Is Emphatic." The Times did not, however, indicate the gist of his remarks. The translation from Le Monde is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

We know that these elections are a farce that would be grotesque if the workers were not fooled by it. In fact, the elections will solve nothing. But we have been one jarring note in an otherwise perfectly orchestrated electoral scenario. And we are proud of it. While the Pohers and the Pompidous are losing sleep over figures, percentages, and tallies, we are the only ones who are already victors in this campaign today.

We have won this campaign first of all by providing political preparation for new struggles tomorrow. The bourgeoisie's sole program is a policy of austerity, devaluation, firings, unemployment, and speedup in the plants. This is the common program of all their candidates,

although they keep it quiet so as not to take away from the sparkle of their election gimmicks.

The workers must confront this program in different ways than by the ballot. And we think that we have gotten out ideas that will prepare the ground for new struggles. We have won this campaign by rallying the worker militants who did not dare to go against the union bureaucrats and French Communist party apparatus men. Today, revolutionary militants have gotten a foothold in the plants. The Communist party leadership no longer has a political monopoly inside the factory walls.

In voting for the Communist League candidate you will not be voting for a change in personnel in the presidential office, and you will not be abstaining along with the skeptics, the politically indifferent, and the inevitable scatterbrains. You will be speaking out against reformist capitulation and for the victory of the struggle which millions and millions of workers and students began in May and June 1968. Down with parliamentary cretinism. Long live the socialist revolution. Long live proletarian internationalism.

"L'HUMANITE," KRIVINE, AND THE DEVIL

When the French Trotskyists announced that they were entering Alain Krivine as their candidate in the presidential election in France, political experts considered that it would be next to impossible for them to fulfill the electoral requirement of obtaining 100 valid nominating signatures from officeholders, since the Trotskyists did not have a single officeholder in the entire country. Their party, the Communist League, had in fact just been formed.

The Communist party brass immediately seized on this. "If Krivine," said l'Humanité, "despite his sudden respect for the democratic sentiments of elected

officials, has trouble finding a hundred sponsors, Marcellin will provide them."

Marcellin is the head of the Gaullist police apparatus.

The Stalinists got a laugh out of this thrust. If the Trotskyists were unable to get the 100 signatures, this would prove they were only an impotent "splinter group." If they did get them, this would prove that they had some kind of secret connection with the police.

The Communist League responded by publicly asking the Communist party, which has many officeholders, to provide

the needed signatures.

George Marchais, a member of the Political Bureau of the French CP, tried a comeback in an interview May 7 on Radio Europe No. 1. "They can't count on us; they know this very well....I've noticed that Alain Krivine is soliciting support from all political forces, including the most reactionary, the most hostile to the working class....But we are tranquil -- it is obvious that this Trotskyist candidacy will not take any votes away from Jacques Duclos."

On May 13 Alain Krivine filed 231 valid signatures; and the French CP found itself in the unaccustomed situation of having to meet a challenge from the revolutionary left in an election campaign.

Jacques Duclos rose to the occasion in a way to warm the heart of his old boss and mentor, Stalin. On May 22, for instance, the CP presidential candidate was featured on Radio Monte Carlo in a program answering questions from listeners. One of the listeners was Alain Krivine. He called in to ask some questions and challenge Duclos to a debate before the Renault workers.

Duclos lost his cool. "I'm not going to answer any of your questions at all, because I know only too well what you are, who you are, what you think, and I know you belong to the type you don't try to argue with. And as for the meeting you propose, you can take it that I don't intend to make you 'count.' I don't intend to provide you with an audience. You shift for yourself."

Duclos's rudeness may have reflected an experience with Krivine only three days earlier. When the Trotskyist candidate went to a plant-gate rally at the big Renault plant southwest of Paris, the CP organized some 300 persons to try to shout him down.

But Krivine made himself heard despite the raucous heckling; and what he said sank in.

On May 22 the Stalinist high command thought something had turned up that bolstered their slanders of Alain Krivine. In Toulouse, the Gaullist deputy Jacques Moron announced that he had given his name to help put Krivine on the ballot.

"I did it," said Moron, "in the spirit of liberalism which is the spirit of Georges Pompidou, the candidate I am supporting. A country which, in circumstances as exceptional as the election of the president of the Republic, would refuse to listen to the spokesman of those who shook France a year ago would not deserve the name of 'republic.' The principle of democracy permits no exceptions."

The editors of l'Humanité did not bother to ask Krivine about this signature. The May 23 edition proclaimed that now it was possible "to see more clearly who these 'notable' figures were whose signatures enabled the Trotskyist Krivine to run as a candidate."

The Communist League took two actions. When Moron's statement appeared in Le Monde, a press release was issued, verifying that Moron's signature had been received although it had not been solicited. Upon ascertaining Moron's political affiliation, the Communist League had decided not to use it. "Dr. Moron's signature was not included in the 231 names submitted to the Constitutional Council."

The second action was to send an open letter to l'Humanité. This was quoted in Le Monde as follows:

"We did not submit the letter from the UDR* deputy because it seemed to offer an opportunity for provocations by political primitives. But we are not afraid to say that if necessary, in order to be able to carry on our revolutionary propaganda, we would have accepted a signature from the devil.

"Have you forgotten that the Mensheviks, who like you were terrified of the revolution, accused Lenin of being in the pay of the Kaiser because he crossed Germany in a sealed train? What is being seen more and more clearly by the workers is that it was your participation in de Gaulle's government in 1945 and your capitulationist attitude in 1968 that enabled the system to survive. You are just the ones to accuse us of playing the Gaullist game."

The editors of l'Humanité could hardly remain silent after being caught in that one. But how in the devil to squirm out of it? How in the devil...

Next day the Communist party newspaper confessed: "Compromises do become necessary in the long, hard struggle for the emancipation of the workers. However, if Krivine is cheerful about appealing to the devil, if he accepts the idea of compromising gladly, this is because he does it not to serve the cause of the workers but to combat that cause by combating the Communist party."

In supping with the devil, l'Humanité's editor should have used a longer spoon. It slipped his mind that it was Lenin who said he was willing to make a pact with the devil himself if it would help the revolutionary cause.

* De Gaulle's Union Pour la Défense de la République.

Interview with Alain Krivine

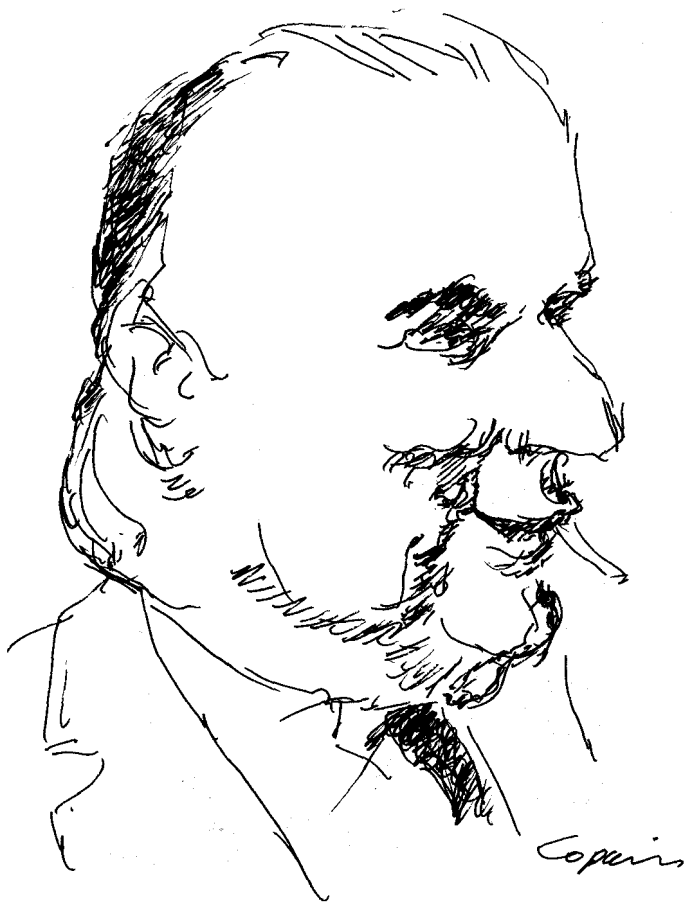
First Trotskyist Candidate for President of France

[The following interview with Alain Krivine, candidate of the Communist League (Ligue Communiste) for president of France, was obtained May 25 by Richard Wood, an American living in Paris.]

* * *

Today I was able to speak with Alain Krivine and other leaders of the Communist League—Charles Michaloux, Hubert Krivine, Daniel Bensaid, and Henri Weber—during a break in the hectic campaign. Eighty major meetings have been scheduled throughout the country for Krivine and other national spokesmen of the Communist League in the two weeks before election day June 1; and many more smaller meetings are being run by local units of the Trotskyist organization.

Alain Krivine, under French electoral law, is entitled to equal time with the other presidential candidates—one hour and forty minutes on the government-run television network and the same on radio; and he has many other radio and TV appearances as well. The Communist League has been given the use of two small airplanes by sympathizers.



POMPIDOU: For continuity with progress.

The newspaper *Rouge*, which reflects the views of the Communist League, has moved from a biweekly to a weekly publication schedule, and its press run has jumped from 30,000 to 50,000.

The meetings already held have been very successful. For example, on May 21 the great hall of the Mutualite in Paris was packed with more than 5,000 persons who came to the rally. Meetings have been held at the Renault plants and at other factories.

In some towns, attendance has run higher than at the election rallies sponsored by the French Communist party for its candidate Jacques Duclos. In Rouen 1,200 turned out; at Montpellier, 1,300.

The members of the Communist League and of the Comités Rouges [Red Committees], which are broad supporting groups, have mobilized for the campaign in an extraordinary way. To get on the ballot, the names of more than 100 elected officials had to be collected. Some 240 brigades were organized to scour the country in search of officials willing to help put a revolutionary candidate on the ballot. More than 230 such signatures were obtained in one week.

Under the French electoral law, the government has had to print hundreds of thousands of Krivine campaign posters. These have been put up in every town. The government has also printed thirty million campaign leaflets for each presidential candidate. The Communist League has, in addition, put out many of its own leaflets and posters. Red Committee activists are busy distributing these all over France—in some towns, it appears, from the number of Krivine posters one sees, that he is the major candidate in the election.

In telling me about the election campaign, leaders of the Communist League stressed that they are using the lessons of the May 1968 student-worker upheaval to make their socialist program more concrete.

"For example," Krivine said, "take the idea of workers' power. There are a series of examples we are reminding people of through the campaign, where the strikes of last May developed from a 'passive' to an 'active' stage, where the workers occupying plants began to exercise limited power. In some places strike committees began to take over social functions, like the distribution of food, using trucks and other equipment in the factories where the workers had seized control.

"However, these embryos of workers power were decentralized, local, spread across the country. The power of the capitalists remained centralized in the government and state apparatus. Their power was very much weakened, but it remained centralized. And, although the capitalist class was sharply divided (one of the indications that the situation in May 1968 was truly a revolutionary one), it was saved almost in spite of itself by the Gaullist clique, with the help of the Communist party.

"The CP did everything it could to divide the striking workers, limit the strike movement to nonpolitical demands and finally to disperse it.



POHER: For progress with continuity.

"We do not say that the great general strike of May and June could have immediately led to a socialist revolution. We do say that we could have smashed Gaullism through an insurrectional strike which would have shed very little blood. While we would have still had a bourgeois government with someone like Mendes-France or Mitterrand, the working class would have grown in confidence and seen the power of extraparliamentary mass action by the workers themselves.

"The strike committees would have continued to develop. And this could have led to a struggle for socialism, a struggle by the workers to take state power.

"It's true we are no longer in the situation we were in in May-June 1968, and the question of taking power is not an immediate one. But this doesn't mean that we should just sit around waiting for the 'big day,' as the anarchists say, when there will be another revolutionary situation like May 1968. We have to prepare now. We are not only using the campaign to explain the potential of the 1968 events, but also to project demands and forms of struggle that will reach workers at their present level of understanding and at the same time raise their consciousness and bring them toward revolutionary conclusions.

"For example, we point to what has happened to the gains won in the May-June strike. As a result of the strike, there was an average increase in wages of 12 percent, workers having won even more in some industries. There were many other gains resulting from the strike, including promises about the reduction of the workweek.

"Where does the situation stand today? Price rises have taken away at least three-quarters of the wage gains the workers won in May. The length of the workweek has *increased*. Capitalist rationalization and increased capitalist competition—forcing the shutting down of smaller uncompetitive plants—have resulted in rising unemployment and a whole layer of little capitalists being driven back into the proletariat. Unemployment is hitting the youngest and the oldest workers the hardest.

"The tactic of the government and the bosses is to divide the workers, and the CGT [Confederation Generale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-dominated union] plays along with them. For example, last winter there were auto strikes at Renault in Paris, in Le Mans, and in other towns. The CGT kept all these strike struggles separated and isolated instead of uniting them, and as a result they were lost. Our militants in these factories attempted to begin to counter this policy by issuing a strike bulletin with news about all the strikes.

"In the campaign, we are projecting demands to help unite the workers and direct their struggle against the capitalist government and capitalist class as a whole."

The leaders of the Communist League listed some of these demands:

On wages, they are for: (1) A sliding scale of wages for all workers to compensate for inflation. (2) An immediate readjustment of wages to compensate for the inflation since last June. (3) A national minimum wage of 1,000 francs [US\$200] a month (the average wage at present is about 800 francs [US\$160]).

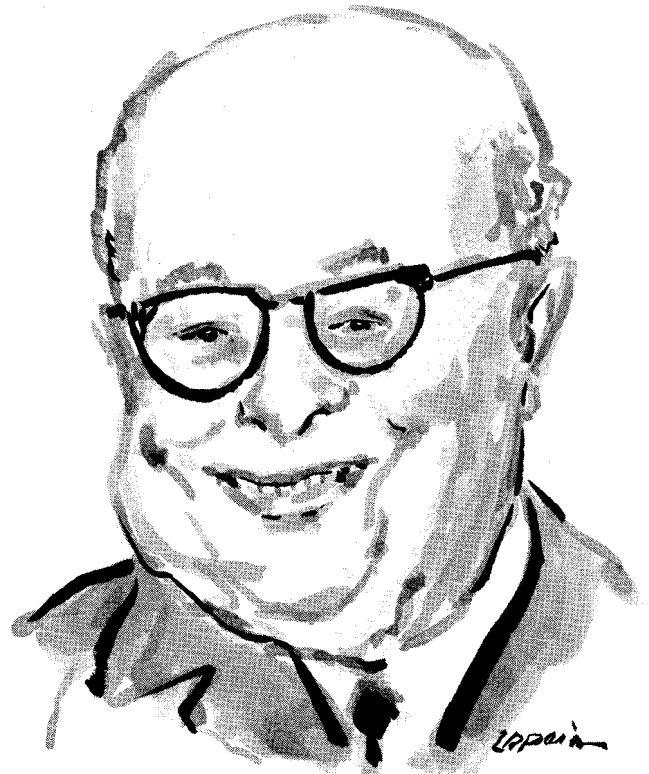
Workers should have veto power over any firings or closing down of plants.

To fight unemployment, the Communist League demands immediate reduction of the workweek to forty hours with no reduction in pay, and a sliding scale of hours to further contract the workweek, if necessary, to provide jobs for the unemployed.

On working conditions, they are raising the concept of workers control over the intensity and speed of work, etc.

"In other words," Krivine said, "we are demanding that everything won in May must be given back to the workers.

"In addition to speaking for these demands, we are using



DUCLOS: For rejuvenation.



DEFFERRE: For a rational capitalism.



MENDES-FRANCE: For Deferre.

the election campaign to publicize local actions where workers have won through struggle some control over the speed of assembly lines, over the amount of time they have for lunch breaks, etc."

"In raising these demands," other spokesmen for the Communist League told me, "we tie them in with the need for a fundamental transformation of society, for a socialist revolution. The central focus of our campaign, against the concept of a peaceful and electoral transition to socialism put forward by the CP, is to explain that it is not possible for the working class to take power without a revolution.

"We cannot make a socialist revolution by electing better people to staff the posts of the capitalist government—in that sense Krivine is not running for president at all. We're using our campaign to explain the necessity of completely transforming the existing society, breaking up the old capitalist state and replacing it with a workers state.

"Under the present system, the tiny minority of capitalists actually control all the levers of power—the means of communication, culture, education, production, and the violence of the police and army. In order to break this power, the workers and farmers will have to organize themselves into a powerful independent force, using the methods of class struggle."

One of the questions Krivine and the other Communist League campaigners are asked time and again is whether the organization advocates violence.

"We are against violence in general," Krivine explains to his audiences, "and want to build a socialist society and socialist world free of violence. Violence is inherent in capitalist society—not only in its police and army, and not only expressed in the horror of war, but also in the daily, continual violence done to individuals in the exploitation of man by man. We want to eliminate the source of this massive violence: capitalism.

"But we warn the workers that the capitalist class itself has absolutely no scruples against using violence to maintain itself in power. It will never allow socialism to be 'voted in.' If it feels its power threatened, it will use its army and police, or, if these fail, fascist gangs to defend its power and privileges.

"And against that violence the workers not only have the right but the duty to prepare to defend themselves. We are using this campaign to help explain this to the workers.

"This is the lesson of Greece and Indonesia, and even of France since 1958. Mr. Marcellin, the minister of the interior, is fond of making sermons to us explaining that power resides in the ballot box. We answer Mr. Marcellin: 'Who made you king? You got your power through the Gaullist coup d'etat of 1958, which violated all the legality of the Fourth Republic. Your post is a result of force and violence.'

"It's worth recalling a statement made by Trotsky on this

subject: 'It is as absurd to attack ballot boxes with machine guns as it is to defend yourself against machine guns with ballot boxes.'

Another question often asked the Trotskyist campaigners is "What kind of socialism do you advocate?"

Krivine outlined the answer: "Neither the 'socialism' of Wilson nor of Husak. Real socialism has nothing to do with reforming capitalism, making it run better, which is what the Social Democrats advocate. It is impossible to do what the 'left' Social Democratic candidate Rocard [Michel Rocard, presidential candidate of the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party—PSU)] advocates, that is, transform the organs of the capitalist state, such as the capitalist parliament, into organs of workers power. Nor are we supporters of the bureaucratic system found in the deformed workers states such as the USSR.

"We advocate the nationalization of all major industries, banking and commerce, and the operation of the economy under a rational plan democratically decided by organs of workers power.

"Here again we use the examples of the May upsurge to show how strike committees and action committees could become the embryos of a new form of state power, based on democratically elected workers councils. The councils on a local or factory level would elect higher councils, and so on up to a central council which would be the highest organ of state power in the workers state.

"We also favor, in addition to such a democratic structure, other measures to combat bureaucracy, such as the right of immediate recall of any official; the limitation of wages for all officials to the level of skilled workers, etc. Such a democratic workers state would be transitional to a truly socialist form of society, where social classes and the state itself would gradually disappear."



ROCARD: For changing capitalism gradually.

In addition to such proposals, the Communist League is using the campaign to explain why the French people should solidarize with the struggles of the Vietnamese against U.S. imperialist aggression.

In contrast to this, the candidate of the Communist party, Jacques Duclos, limits himself to supporting the Paris talks.

Krivine is also the only candidate who supports the Palestine liberation struggle. Letters threatening Krivine's life have been sent by both Zionists, who accuse him of betraying Judaism, and by fascists, who accuse him of being part of the "international Jewish conspiracy."

Krivine is also explaining the Communist League's opposition to the Soviet-sponsored invasion of Czechoslovakia, and his support to such Communist dissidents as Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski in Poland, who call for workers democracy in their countries.

The Communist League has declared its solidarity with revolutionary groups in the French colonies that have urged voters in the colonies to boycott the elections. The colonies should be free of French rule, the Communist League maintains, and therefore should not participate in French elections.

Krivine has also demanded an end to restrictions on democratic rights—specifically lifting the ban imposed by de Gaulle on various revolutionary groups after the May events; returning the scholarships taken from many students for activities in May 1968; and reversing the expulsions and banning from France of foreigners who participated in or sympathized with the May movement, such as student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit; Ernest Mandel, a leader of the Fourth International; Joseph Hansen, editor of *Intercontinental Press*, and others.

The response to the Krivine campaign among university students has been generally favorable. This includes groups in political disagreement with the Communist League. There is a minority of "spontaneists," however, who criticize the Trotskyists for running a candidate. The spontaneists argue that this helps promote illusions in the bourgeois electoral process.

"We did not create the illusions in the bourgeois electoral process," Krivine said, "and, unfortunately, the vast majority of the French people still have these illusions. Since these illusions do exist, however, the masses take the elections seriously. To abstain from them would mean to allow the reformists, who do reinforce illusions in the elections and in capitalism, to go unchallenged.

"We enter the elections, utilizing the democratic rights that are part of the electoral process. These rights themselves were wrested from the ruling powers by the people in past struggles. We then expose the sham nature of these elections. One of our posters, hundreds of thousands of which have been put up all over France, declares: 'Against the electoral farce, for the upsurge of the class struggle.'"

It is also argued in some circles that the Communist League is attempting to monopolize the legacy of the May upsurge. One of the Trotskyist spokesmen told me, "It is true that in May the predecessors of the Communist League were one tendency among many. Millions of workers participated, and dozens of groups.

"One of the key differences between us and almost all of the other groups was our insistence upon the need to build a democratically centralized combat party to lead the struggle of the workers for state power through to victory.



KRIVINE: Against the electoral farce.

We were looked upon as sectarian because of our insistence on this point.

"During the May uprising itself, during the upturn in the struggle, it was understandable that many people should agree with the spontaneists. Cohn-Bendit was the best of them. But the need for serious organization began to be felt as soon as the actual power of the capitalist state began to be felt, especially when the repression began.

"There is no question that in the final struggle itself a combat party will be necessary for victory. We are in the process of constructing such a party.

"If we can present a candidate today despite all the difficulties created by the election law, it is because we have won the battle on the question of organization.

"So, while in May we were just one group—although an important one—among many, our group succeeded in consolidating organizationally the experience of May, putting these lessons into the context of the rich theoretical experience of other struggles which are a part of the Marxist program, and in that sense we are the legitimate continuators of May."

I asked the Communist League representatives to make some comments on the other candidates.

"Well, Pompidou is presenting himself as the 'man of order' and keeps pointing to the 'dangers of May.' He says he is for 'continuity with progress,' which means essentially the continuation of Gaullist policies and the Gaullist Fifth Republic without some of the idiosyncracies of de Gaulle.

"Poher, who says he is for 'progress with continuity,' is an absolute mediocrity. He is fighting for support among the middle layers of the bourgeoisie, who have some grudges against de Gaulle. He would rule in the interests of the big

bourgeoisie just as Pompidou would, only he would be weaker than Pompidou.

"Although Poher is trying to get the support of the middle-bourgeois layer, he doesn't really know exactly what to say to them. So he is trying to say as little as possible, because every time he opens his mouth he loses votes.

"It's just the opposite with us. The mass of workers didn't know about us or what we stood for. The more we speak, the more support we receive.

"There are two Social Democrats running, a left one and a right one. The right-wing one is Defferre, who has the support of Mendes-France. He wants to run capitalism more rationally. He calls for better roads, wants to know the truth about prices, etc. He is pro-Washington.

"The left Social Democrat is Rocard, who calls himself the nominee of socialism. In fact his central theme is reformist. He calls for the gradual transformation of the capitalist state, from the inside, without destroying it. He wants to unite both the revolutionary and the reformist currents. In reality he is squeezed between Mendes-France and Krivine. He says that he has two regrets: that his good friend Mendes-France is supporting Defferre, and that Alain Krivine, who was so good in May, has gone back to Trotskyism, which is an old-fashioned theory.

"During the campaign, Rocard falsely accused Trotskyism of being against independent trade unions. He cited a position taken by Trotsky during the civil war in Russia in 1921.

"This gave us an opportunity to explain our view that under a workers state, the trade unions should not be mere 'transmission belts' for orders to the workers, but in-



DUCATEL: For sending Krivine back to army.

dependent organizations defending the interests of the working class.

"Ducatel [Louis Ducatel, inventor of an unbreakable sewer pipe] is a millionaire running without party backing. He is appealing to the shopkeepers with some echoes of the line of Poujade. He's the only candidate who said Alain shouldn't be allowed to run but should be sent back to the army.

"The CP has put up an old Stalinist hack, Jacques Duclos. He is presenting himself as the candidate of the 'unity' of the left—on a completely reformist program.

"Against all of these stands the revolutionary candidate Alain Krivine, the youngest candidate, on parole from prison, and an ordinary soldier."

I asked Krivine what the reaction to his campaign has been among the soldiers.

"At my camp, and from what I can tell from soldiers elsewhere, the reaction has been very sympathetic, because my candidacy caused the brass so many headaches before they finally gave me a furlough to campaign.

"There is a general politicalization in the French army since May, especially among working-class youth. Besides political discussions, there is a strong antimilitarist sentiment developing. It's this antimilitarism that promotes sympathy for the campaign of a fellow private."

As a result of the campaign, in addition to reaching millions of workers with the Communist League's revolutionary socialist program, Red Committees are growing rapidly. Red Committees are springing up in towns where there are no members of the Communist League.

Smiling, Krivine pointed out, "I'm the only candidate who can say beforehand that he has won the election—that his objective has been achieved."

NOT ACCORDING TO HORATIO ALGER

Some fifty orphans, ranging in age from six to twenty, took over control of their orphanage in Novara, near Milan, Italy, May 24.

They demanded a series of reforms. These included a less authoritarian approach to running the school, an end to compelling older orphans to turn over half their pay to the administration, dismissal of a teacher whom they find incompatible, and an end to the rule requiring them to wear smock-like uniforms.

The orphans distributed mimeographed leaflets appealing for solidarity and support from all students in the city.

They were still in control of the building two days later, according to an Associated Press dispatch, and were getting national publicity.

The city administration, which runs the orphanage, promised a special meeting to consider their demands.

STRIKE WAVE IN CHILE

A seamen's strike in Chile has immobilized the entire merchant marine in the various ports of the country. The principal demands involve wages and social benefits.

On May 28 the engineers and mechanics staged a one-day strike on the country's railways to protest a change in working hours imposed on them.

The government ordered the army to run the trains, but the schedules turned out to be far from normal.

Workers in a number of government departments have been out on strike for some time.

Andres Saldivar, the minister of finances, told the strikers that the government's campaign against inflation made it impossible to meet their demands.

He did not suggest what the workers might do, however, to make ends meet in face of the erosion of their real wages under the continuing inflation.

AND WITH GOOD REASON

"So low was the credibility of official U.S. military and diplomatic spokesmen that nothing -- literally, nothing -- any of them ever said while I was in Vietnam was believed by correspondents. Even the suggestion that an official was

to be believed would bring hoots of derision from one's colleagues." -- Edward M. Fouhy, head of the CBS News Bureau in Saigon from June to December 1967 and in charge of all CBS radio and television coverage of the war in Vietnam.

A DAMAGE SUIT OVER U.S. DEFOLIANTS IN CAMBODIA?

Prince Sihanouk, head of the government of Cambodia, charged May 23 that U.S. planes had dumped defoliants over 15,000 hectares of cultivated land in his country, causing damage amounting to some 250 million riels [35 riels = US\$1].

Neither the Nixon administration nor the U.S. imperialist press paid much attention to the complaint.

After all, it came from only a small, weak country, lacking any nuclear deterrents.

Prince Sihanouk said he intended to demand reimbursement from the U.S. government, and that if the claim was ignored, he would file suit in the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

The ultimatum was hardly calculated to create much fluttering in the hawkcotes on the Potomac. But Sihanouk thought he had a good chance to accomplish something, since three-fourths of the land damaged by the defoliants is the property of French companies and maybe France would be willing to put diplomatic pressure on the Nixon administration.

In view of the fact that adoption of a revolutionary policy -- which might be cause for concern in the White House -- is not exactly to Prince Sihanouk's taste, perhaps his best bet is to check the list of stockholders in those French companies.

If a few of them happened to turn out to be Americans...



SIHANOUK: Ready to slap lawsuit on Nixon.

ATTACKS ON CAMBODIA SECRETLY ORDERED BY NIXON

American planes have been bombing Cambodia since "this spring," according to Newsweek (June 2). The decision to launch the attacks was "President Nixon's."

It was a secret decision taken, of course, without consulting the American people or even Congress (the only body authorized under the constitution of the United States to declare war).

Nixon preferred to avoid any publicity whatever on his decision to play around with escalating U.S. military in-

tervention in Southeast Asia. It became public knowledge only when Newsweek (June 2) described it as "one of the best-kept secrets in Washington."

According to the New York weekly magazine, "Even high-ranking Air Force generals did not know that U.S. bombers were hitting targets in Cambodia. The operations were carefully omitted from the daily Southeast Asia battle reports at the national military command center in the Pentagon. The idea for the bombings came from Presidential foreign-affairs adviser Henry Kissinger's task group -- and had Mr. Nixon's blessing."

ANOTHER CASE OF TAIL WAGS DOG?

"Saigon is hoping that Thieu will handle Nixon as well as he did President

Johnson." -- Edith Rebecca Lenart in the May 29 Far Eastern Economic Review.

FRESHER AIR IN PORTUGAL...

[Few persons expected António de Oliveira Salazar to survive the stroke he suffered last September. The puppet president, Americo Thomas, swore in a new premier, Marcello Caetano, on September 27; and it appeared that the changeover would not affect the dictatorship, which had endured for forty years. Salazar's partial recovery seemed, if anything, to facilitate an orderly transition.

[Caetano played his cards shrewdly. He sought to give the impression that he would end some of the harsher repressive aspects of Salazar's rule. Censorship of the press was eased. Mario Soares, a Social Democratic leader who had been exiled by Salazar, was permitted to return last November. Newspapers like the New York Times spoke editorially about "Fresher Air in Portugal..."

[But signs of opposition began to develop that could easily pass beyond the control of such figures as Mario Soares. Students started to stage demonstrations. Workers began to raise demands. And Caetano's "liberal" stance gave way to something bearing high resemblance to the former dictator.

[Writing from Lisbon in the May 25 New York Times, Richard Eder quoted an "old woman in one village" commenting about Caetano's "careful smile and stiff amiability" as displayed in a political tour he made this spring: "I like this Salazar better than the old one."

[It is true nonetheless that fresher air can be detected in Portugal. But it is not coming from the direction of the new regime.

[According to an article in the April 20 issue of Mondo Nuovo, "the contradictions in Portuguese society have reached the point of explosion." As evidence for the validity of this assertion, Mondo Nuovo, which is the weekly newspaper of the Italian left social-democratic Partito Socialista Italiano di Unità Proletaria (Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity), gave a roundup of the strikes that have occurred in the recent period in Portugal.

[We have translated this listing, which is as follows.]

* * *

● The Struggle of the Portuguese Air Transport Field Mechanics. At Portela de Sacavem in early January, the airfield mechanics of Portuguese Air Transport, the state airline, mailed a petition with 673 signatures (85 percent of the personnel) to the management. The petition de-



CAETANO: "I like this Salazar better than the old one." -- Comment overheard in a small village during tour made by premier.

manded a wage increase, a new system for promotions, and a reduction in the work-week from forty-eight to forty hours.

Through their stool pigeons, the police tried to discover which workers had inspired the move. The mechanics responded with a sharp letter of protest to the management. A pattern of agitation and impromptu actions developed in various departments. At the beginning of February, a wage increase of twenty escudos [28.84 escudos = US\$1] a day was promised.

● The Struggle of the National Electricity Company Workers. At Moscavide at the beginning of January, a petition to the management was circulating among the workers. It demanded wage increases, stressing that the considerable rise in rates over the last four years had not

been reflected in the workers' wages. It was expected that the petition would bear 3,000 signatures.

● The Strike of 2,000 Workers at Lisnave. The 2,000 workers of the most important naval yards in Portugal, the yards on the south bank of the Tago, have made fabulous gains this year. They staged a strike for wage increases followed by on-the-job work stoppages. At the end of January the struggle was still continuing. Police forces were stationed in the neighborhood, ready to intervene.

● The Workers at Parry and Son Follow Lisnave's Example. After hearing about the struggle at Lisnave, the workers at Parry and Son (which is associated with Lisnave), also on the south bank of the Tago, demanded wage increases. They refused to work overtime. In the middle of January about 750 workers suddenly surrounded the director, Masco de Melo (the Melo family is the principal stockholder in the most important Portuguese monopoly, the CUF), and demanded the promised raises. Melo had to agree to meet with a "workers' commission" for negotiations.

● Two Demonstrations by Postal, Telegraph, and Telephone Workers. Still in January a hundred postal, telephone, and telegraph workers -- mostly postmen -- held two spirited demonstrations in front of the Ministry of Communications. They were protesting against an increased work load and low wages. The police intervened brutally and dispersed the workers.

● The Strike at the Avila Metal Cable Factory. At the end of January 600 workers at Avila struck for more than a day after a slowdown lasting over two days. They demanded increases of sixty-six cents a day for men and thirty-three cents a day for women. After being guaranteed raises of fifty cents and thirty-three cents respectively, the workers went back to work. The political police, PIDE [Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado -- International Police for the Defense of the State] intervened during the strike.

● Partial Victory at the CEL-CAT Electrical Conductors Plant. The workers fought for a 15 percent raise and overtime for Sundays. After staging a slowdown and work stoppages, they won the latter demand. Work was resumed but the struggle continues.

● The Struggle at the National Metals Company. The 100 workers in the metal trimming department staged a work stoppage which carried over into the other departments as well. They fought for wage boosts.

● Spirited Struggle at Portugal e Colonias Flour and Flour Products

Factory. In December, after a twenty-four-cent bonus was withdrawn, the workers refused to work overtime. In January disadvantageous shifts were introduced, along with sacking machines that imposed inhuman production line tempos. The workers refused to use the machines.

On January 23 work was suspended for the entire afternoon to back up demands, among other things, for the reinstatement of seven workers fired for slowing down during an intense phase of the struggle. On February 8 the struggle was continuing, primarily in the form of slowdowns, while the distribution workers were on strike.

● Eighteen Hundred Workers Wage a Struggle at the Simoes Knitted Goods Factory. The struggle began February 3 when manifestos were pasted up on the walls advising "the management and its supporters" that if the workers' demands were not responded to there would be a "suspension of work." An initial one-day work stoppage was successfully carried out in the shops. An attempt at a stoppage was also made in the offices.

Following a suggestion from the government for dealing with the situation, the bosses set up a so-called Plant Commission which was supposed to serve as a link between the management and the workers. The commission was constituted by means of rigged elections without benefit of a secret ballot. The workers -- most of whom are women -- were not inclined to let themselves be fooled and the struggle continues.

● The Attempt to Crush the Struggle of 800 Workers at the Barros Knitted Goods Factory in Cabo Ruivo by Repression. On February 3 slowdowns began. On February 6, PIDE agents tried to intimidate the workers but the atmosphere was so highly charged that they withdrew. They returned with an array of police and presented the workers with an ultimatum to resume their normal work within fifteen minutes. The workers refused. Thereupon the "forces of order" cleared the factory.

On the following day the police were present again and, since the workers continued their struggle, the cops forced about 20 percent of the personnel to leave the plant. The fight is continuing since the boss has declared that he is unwilling to give any ground.

● Striking Workers Occupy Ford and General Motors Factories. In Azambuja, about fifteen miles south of Lisbon, some 1,000 workers at the Ford and General Motors assembly plants struck for more than a week. During the strike, they occupied the shops in their factories. The plant managements at first accepted the workers' demands but the government has asked for a postponement of the new wage agreement.

● One Hundred Firestone Workers Down Tools. At the Firestone tire factory in the most important industrial region of the country, the south bank of the Tago, a group of 100 workers downed tools, demanding wage increases.

● Six Workers Arrested During the Fight at UTIC. After a struggle lasting several days to win monthly rather than weekly salaries and a raise of sixty-six cents a day, the workers won a positive response from the boss and returned to work. In the meantime, it was learned that six workers had been arrested. Work was suspended immediately and resumed only after the six had been released and reinstated.

● The Strike of the Intar Workers at Olivais. In February, the workers at Intar struck for three days, although they remained in the plant in front of their machines. They are fighting for higher wages.

● The Slowdown at Automatica. The eighty-eight workers of the Automatica factory waged a struggle in the beginning of February for various demands using the slowdown method.

● Victory at SAPEC. After a long, drawn-out struggle waged by work stoppages, sudden production line halts, and leaving the factory before the end of shifts, the workers at the SAPEC chemical fertilizer factory won higher wages.

● On-the-Job Work Stoppage at Corame. In the last week of January, the workers staged an on-the-job work stoppage in support of their previous demands for wage increases. As a result, three workers were fired.

● The Struggle in the Cimentos Tejo Factory. In mid-January the workers

held up work for several hours. Some 400 workers massed in front of the plant administration, forcing the director to negotiate. Faced with the insistence of the workers, he had to meet with delegations of four workers from every shop. To back up their demands, the workers have staged other demonstrations in regular succession, including work stoppages, which will be repeated until the demands are met.

● The Sensational Struggle of 30,000 Railroad Workers. The fight being waged by 30,000 railway workers, and above all by the 11,000 in the lower grades, has already become a symbol of all the struggles the working class is now conducting in this country. By their level of mobilization, their organization, the clarity of their objectives, and by their combativity, the Portuguese railroad workers have taken the vanguard position in the current struggles.

The railway workers have their own clandestine organization, the Comissão Nacional dos Ferroviarios [National Railway Workers Commission], through which they maintain national communications and consult on forms of action. They have waged a powerful struggle which has been marked by notable episodes -- work stoppages, protests, petitions, etc.

In December and January they won their first results, wage increases of 12 percent. These are, however, less than what the workers demanded. Strengthened by the organizations created in the struggle, they are continuing their action. PIDE and the other repressive forces have intervened on a number of occasions. Many workers have been arrested and we can cite the conductor Firmino Martins, who was arrested in the Lisbon central station, as an example of those who have been barbarously tortured.

DUVALIER COURTS NIXON

"For the first time since his rise to power, President Duvalier is really threatened." This statement, reportedly by "a personality close to the American embassy in Port-au-Prince," was quoted in an article by Le Monde's special correspondent Patrick Boucher which appeared in the June 1-2 issue of the Paris daily.

There have been reports of an armed revolt against Duvalier in the northeastern part of the country and of sporadic gun battles in the capital. As Duvalier's difficulties deepen, the Haitian dictator's devotion to the "free world alliance" is showing a marked rise. Boucher wrote: "Facing the threat -- now very real -- from the...left, President

Duvalier is multiplying his vows of friendship to the new White House chief."

To judge from the official Haitian government newspaper Nouveau Monde, Duvalier's attempt to ingratiate himself with Washington has not been subtle:

"Under the government of President François Duvalier," the paper wrote recently, "Haiti will never be a Communist spearhead pointed at the heart of the United States." Boucher wrote: "Once again 'Papa Doc' is calling on the American government for the means to pursue his 'work of pacification.' And it is reported in generally well-informed circles that the president's 'appeal' has been heard."

Report from the Underground

THE PERUVIAN JUNTA ATTACKS THE PEOPLE

[The ruling military junta in Peru, headed by General Juan Velasco Alvarado, has continued to maneuver with American imperialism for a more advantageous "contract" since it came to power in October 1968. On May 28 Nixon's Latin-American envoy Nelson Rockefeller met with President Carlos Lleras Restrepo of Colombia in Bogotá to discuss the "crisis in United States relations with Peru."

[General Velasco won the first round of the negotiations when Washington postponed the April 9 deadline for the invocation of the Hickenlooper Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1962, requiring the termination of U.S. aid to any country that confiscates property owned by U.S. companies. The junta held onto the International Petroleum Company, a direct subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, while the deadline for American sanctions was put off until August.

[In recent weeks Gen. Velasco's representatives have talked with representatives of other governments in Latin America, particularly the dictatorial regimes in Bolivia and Argentina, about creating a Latin-American "common market" in opposition to the United States. The New York Times, itself the spokesman for powerful U.S. capitalist interests, indicated its assessment of this threat to American imperialist interests on May 2:

"One experienced delegate remarked at one of the recent conferences that most of Latin America would limit its attacks on the United States to 'private chatter.'"

[Rockefeller did not seem particularly perturbed over Gen. Velasco's rebuttal to his visiting Peru during his Latin-American tour. Rockefeller told reporters, "I regret the development, but it was understandable under the circumstances." (Velasco's need to take a public slap at Nixon in reprisal for the suspension of sales of U.S. arms to Peru which was announced to the public May 23 but which went into effect last February.)

[If the junta has been unusually polite in its "anti-imperialist" campaign abroad, it has taken a very different attitude toward popular opposition at home. The following article, describing the political repression under the junta, is taken from the April 1 issue of Voz Rebelde, the bulletin of the MIR (Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria -- Movement of the Revolutionary Left). Since the press of the revolutionary organizations is proscribed in Peru, this bul-

letin is published clandestinely in Lima.

[The translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

In only five months of power, the military junta has made four flagrant and violent attacks against the people. This shows that the military intends to keep itself in power -- like all the governments that preceded it -- by using armed power to intimidate the masses.

Massacre of the Peasants

In Cajamarca the police gunned down a group of seven peasants who were fighting to recover their land. As always, the judges and the landowner conspired to rob the peasants, and later the police served to cover up or whitewash the facts. Not only were the peasants prevented from taking back their lands but public knowledge of the robbery is on the way to being buried along with the new victims of the bourgeois regime.

Repression of an Anti-Imperialist Meeting

The police forcibly broke up a big popular demonstration February 12. The meeting was taking place in "Javier Heraud"* (previously University) Park with about 5,000 people in attendance. This was the first anti-imperialist popular demonstration since the coup and the biggest so far. It was organized completely independently of the junta and even in spite of it.

Because of the combative tone the demonstration was assuming and the radicalization that was rapidly developing among the masses, the government looked with fear and distrust on this popular mobilization. It neither controlled nor exercised any real influence over the action and the situation threatened to expose its lukewarm and contradictory nationalism.

Facing this situation, the police unleashed an attack. Without warning, police from the Unidad de Servicios Especiales (USE) [Special Services Unit] began a ferocious assault on the meeting. Dozens of tear-gas and vomiting-gas bombs were

* A brilliant and popular young Peruvian poet killed in 1963 when the Ejército de Liberación Nacional [National Liberation Army], a guerrilla movement which he joined, was caught in an ambush at Porto Maldonado by government forces.

fired and about 200 demonstrators were arrested and beaten up. Women and children were not spared in the unbridled attack, and many were injured.

The Attack Against the Workers of the Raúl Mine

The workers at the Raúl mine in the Mala section of Cafete decided to crown the long series of actions in support of demands for higher wages with a march on Lima. They wanted only to hold a peaceful march in protest against the government's silence and its delay in answering their demands. With a permit from the Lima police, the miners began their planned procession.

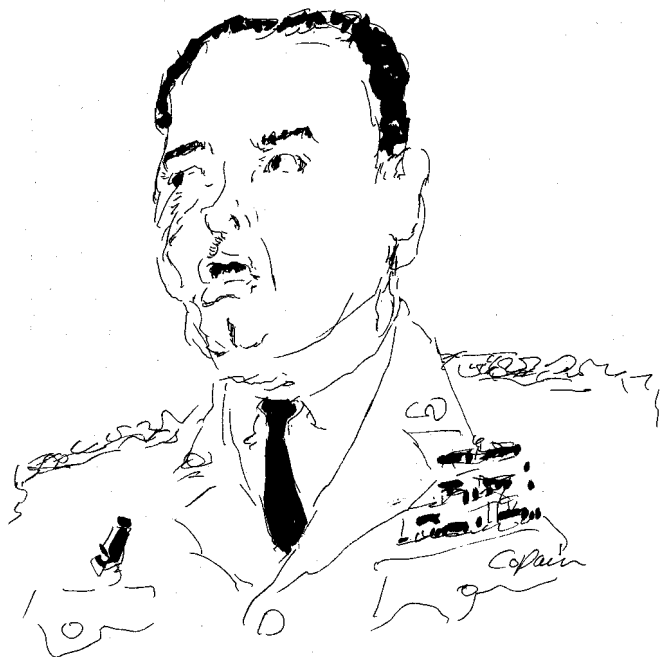
They were shocked to find themselves suddenly surrounded in a police ambush as soon as they left Cafete. Police from the USE launched an all-out attack on them with birdshot and tear gas. Unarmed but determined, the miners retreated to the hills. There, they decided to fight back and they did for three days, armed only with stones.

This determination and militancy of the workers produced results. The authorities retreated and once again gave permission for the march.

With several of their men wounded as a consequence of the clash, the workers resumed their difficult project. Finally, after great exertions, many actions, marches, countermarches, casualties, etc., they won a raise of three soles [37.7 soles = US\$1] a day.

The Attack on the Universities

The rape of the universities was already formally perpetrated with the regressive law recently decreed. All that remained was to consummate it in practice. And this was not long in coming. San Marcos was the first university to have to suffer under the police boot. Dozens of students there have already felt the consequences. The police do not have to invent pretexts any more. To show that now they can do it, the USE invaded the grounds of the university and with the license provided by Law 17437, they committed all the vandalistic and bestial



GEN. VELASCO: Slams door on Rockefeller.

acts they were capable of.

The students at Arequipa and Trujillo have also had to suffer the consequences of this military bullying. And, besides this, of course, the students have had to endure a declining intellectual level with the introduction of reactionary teaching methods.

Conclusions

As is evident, the junta, in its few months in power, has not hesitated to attack the peasants, the workers, and the students. Thus, there is no real anti-imperialism in this regime. Nor is there the desire for change which was proclaimed from the rooftops when the military took power. What is revealing itself clearly is a timid bourgeois reformism, a nationalism limited to the case of the IPC [International Petroleum Company -- a branch of the Rockefeller oil empire, which was expropriated by the junta], and total isolation from and fear of the popular masses, whom they are trying to forcibly exclude from participation in determining the destiny of the country.

AMERICA'S "PUBLIC HEALTH IN REVERSE"

"At Fort Detrick, Md., one of the Army's six major CBW [Chemical-Biological Warfare] centers...2,800 military men and civilians are at work on what they call 'public health in reverse' -- propagation of disease mutations for which there may be no cures. These include: pneumonic plague, an even more deadly version of the so-called Black Death that claimed

the lives of a fourth of the human race during the Middle Ages; pulmonary anthrax, a fatal lung infection so tenacious that a British island on which it was tested during World War II may not be habitable again for another 100 years; and botulism toxin, a single ounce of which, properly administered, could take the lives of 60 million people." -- Newsweek, May 19.

C. G. SHAH -- A TRIBUTE

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

In the recent death of Comrade C.G. Shah, an outstanding Marxist scholar, the revolutionary socialist movement in India lost one of its teachers and theorists. He died on February 23, 1969, at the age of seventy-four.

Born in 1896 in a middle-class family in Ahmedabad (Gujurat), he belonged to the first group of intellectuals who were influenced by the writings of Marx and the 1917 revolution in Russia. He was initiated by his father into the rationalist and democratic thought of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe during his high-school and college days.

A turning point came in his life in 1916 when, as a brilliant student in college, he was selected to be sent to England to prepare for the Indian Civil Service -- a coveted post for the educated youth of those days. Already under the influence of Mazzini, the ideological leader of the Italian national liberation movement against Austrian domination, Shah's nationalist sentiment developed rapidly.

He renounced the offer to become "an integral part of the apparatus of foreign oppression of my people." After graduating in 1918, he broke with his family and settled in Bombay, the political and cultural nerve centre of India. The October Revolution had just triumphed and Shah was one of the few Indian intellectuals who reacted sympathetically to the Bolshevik victory. He joined the first group of Communists formed by S.A. Dange in Bombay in 1922. From that time onwards he made the study of Marxism and dedication to the cause of socialist revolution his life's objectives.

Shah was essentially an intellectual. His principal activity during the last five decades of his life was to propagate the ideas of revolutionary Marxism through his well-known "study circles." A prolific writer, he contributed to a number of journals, both Indian and foreign. One of his early books, The Hundred Percent Indian, a Marxist critique of Gandhism written in 1925, won him admiration not only from Marxist intellectuals of the period like M.N. Roy and Philip Spratt but also from bourgeois liberals like Rabindranath Tagore and Jadunath Sarakar.

Except for some time during the twenties, Shah was never a formal member of any political party or group. He was closely associated with the Communist party of India [CPI] until 1942, when he

finally broke with it.

It was in 1934 that Shah became aware of the Stalinist degeneration in the international Communist movement and the various national Communist parties. His difference with the CPI started over the "popular front" policy adopted by the Stalinist movement in the thirties.

Shah came in close touch with the initial small Trotskyist groups in India in this period. One of the early Trotskyist leaders, M.G. Purdy, a South African who had migrated to India, was responsible for shaking Shah's faith in the traditional Stalinist parties. Since the forties, Shah had been associated with the Indian Trotskyist movement, although he did not formally join any party. He considered himself a Trotskyist and in several of his later writings he made it abundantly clear that he considered Trotskyism to be "Marxism-Leninism of the period of bureaucratic degeneration of workers states."

Comrade Shah's development in the theoretical field can be seen in the recently published book, Marxism, Gandhism, Stalinism. It is in fact a compilation of important articles written by him during three or four decades. A treatise on Marxist philosophy by him, Ends and Means, is to be published soon.

Shah's contribution to the Indian Marxist movement would have been much greater had he tried to build a revolutionary party. Instead he preferred to remain a free-lance propagandist of Marxist thought. A large number of the leading cadres of various left parties in India, including the Communist party of India, Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], Revolutionary Socialist party, and the Socialist Workers party (the Indian section of the Fourth International) were among the "pupils" of his study circles.

Because of his "Trotskyist" sympathies he was subjected to a campaign of character assassination by the Stalinist leaders of the CPI. One of his early recruits to Marxism, B.T. Ranadive, is now a leading theoretician of the CPI(M).

Friends of Comrade Shah, among whom are members of the Socialist Workers party, have decided to organise a Marxist Study Centre and a library of Marxist literature in Bombay as a memorial to C.G. Shah.

Shah was rightly considered the "most learned Marxist" in India. But he lived a life of utter simplicity. His humanism prevented him from marrying. He thought it would be "cruelty" to a woman

if he married her when she did not agree with him fully. He died a bachelor.

His "family" was a small circle of political comrades. Despite his age, he always inspired the youth, and his single-room tenement served as a centre of intense political discussions among active cadres of Marxist parties till the time of his death.

The life of Comrade Shah represented the various vicissitudes of the communist movement in India -- from its early start, through its Stalinist degeneration and disintegration, to its recent revival and regroupment. Despite his "failure" to

build a revolutionary party, Comrade Shah will remain a source of inspiration -- through his writing -- for the new generation of revolutionary Marxists in India.

With the growing disintegration of the international Stalinist movement, especially after Khrushchev's revelations in 1956 about Stalin's crimes, Shah was becoming a pole of attraction for honest revolutionaries among the ranks of the traditional Stalinist parties -- since 1964 the CPI and the CPI(M). Had he lived longer, perhaps he could have contributed considerably towards the consolidation of a new revolutionary Marxist leadership of the Indian working class.

ROCKEFELLER GETS THE FACTS QUICK IN LATIN AMERICA

Sending New York's millionaire governor Nelson Rockefeller on a "fact-finding mission" to Latin America proved to be an ill-considered decision on the part of the Nixon administration.

It was thought that the smooth scion of the Standard Oil fortune would favorably impress the Latin aristocracy. It was forgotten what the effect would be on Latin-American students.

On the first leg of Rockefeller's trip, police shot and killed a student in Honduras May 14 while some 500 youths demonstrated outside the presidential palace where the governor was lunching with President Osvaldo López Arellano.

After a brief return to the U.S., Rockefeller set out again. On May 23 Peru announced that his visit there was being canceled. Such a move was big enough news for the New York Times to run an editorial entitled "Peru Heads for the Brink." The U.S. might break relations if such behavior continued, said the Times.

Rockefeller, undaunted, arrived in Colombia May 27. Students shouting "Down with Rockefeller!" stoned stores and cars and battled police in Bogotá, Medellín, Bucaramanga and Barranquilla. At least fifteen persons, including eight police, were injured. Rockefeller was burned in effigy.

He hastened on to Ecuador. There, on May 29, bands of student, after an all-day battle with riot police, broke into the U.S.-Ecuadorian Cultural Center in Quito and set fire to the building. Banks, stores, and schools were closed in the Ecuadorian capital. Battles continued the following day. One man was killed in Quito, and ten students were killed in the port city of Guayaquil in a reportedly "unrelated" clash.

On May 31 the peripatetic governor proceeded to Bolivia, where he hoped to find the student movement under firmer control.

When he arrived, some 3,000 students were marching in La Paz, shouting "Bolivia, si! Yankees, no!" President Siles Salinas met Rockefeller at the airport, told him he would not be responsible for the consequences if he tried to enter La Paz, and hustled him onto a plane and out of the country as though he were the carrier of a contagious disease.

Nixon's special envoy had scarcely recovered from this affront when he was told that he need not bother stopping in Venezuela either. Venezuela's president Rafael Caldera sent his suddenly unwelcome guest a telegram saying that the visit "should be postponed to a more propitious moment." The New York Times noted: "There was no indication of when that might be." The Times added that Caldera's decision had "stunned" the Rockefeller party.

Rockefeller attributed his reception to "forces" receiving direction from "inside and outside the hemisphere." The only evidence the governor was able to cite was the arrival of a Swiss student in Colombia two days before the demonstrations. This person, the governor averred, was able to produce the massive and militant demonstrations on such short notice because he was a "leader of the Paris student uprising with instructions to organize student protests."

Rockefeller added that he planned a new trip, starting June 16, to Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. As for Caldera's refusal to allow him to visit Venezuela, he said, with his usual perspicacity, "I regard this as a signal -- a sign that there are problems that have not been dealt with adequately."

The Fort Jackson Eight

How Antiwar GIs Made the Pentagon Back Down

By Dick Roberts

"Anyone who has grievances or doesn't agree with the war in Vietnam, listen to me. I have something to say." With those words, according to army informer John Huffman,* Private Eugene Jose Rudder called together a meeting of his fellow GIs at Fort Jackson, South Carolina, late in the afternoon of March 20, 1969.

That meeting, declared illegal by the Fort Jackson authorities, plummeted eight GIs into the most important battle of the Vietnam war for the constitutional rights of soldiers in the U.S. army.

Three of the "Fort Jackson Eight," including Private Rudder, were imprisoned in the base stockade for sixty days. The others were variously imprisoned for a shorter period, confined to their barracks, discharged from the army—or a combination of these.

But the victimized Fort Jackson GIs fought back; they were strongly supported by the antiwar movement which launched a national campaign in their defense. The Fort Jackson case got the attention of the major press besides receiving daily publicity in the local newspapers. Articles sympathetic to the Fort Jackson GIs appeared in the influential *New York Times*.

Soon the Pentagon began to retreat. By stages it dropped charges against the eight GIs. On May 20 it released the three men, who had been held in the stockade for two months. The significance of this victory was summarized in a press release issued by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee,** May 21:

"The fact that not a single one of the Eight was brought to court-martial is an admission before the American public that the Army had no case against them that could stand the scrutiny of any court, even one convened and staffed by the Army itself.

"It is an admission that the Army illegally and unjustly confined these men to the stockade and other forms of detention.

"And finally, it is an admission that the activities of the GIs United Against the War in Vietnam, and in particular the large antiwar meeting on post the evening of March 20, were all perfectly legal within Army regulations and constitute no grounds for trial or punishment."

The roots of the "GIs United Against the War in Vietnam," the March 20 meeting, and the army attack on the Fort Jackson Eight can be traced back to an antiwar news-

paper which began appearing on the 23,000-man base in October of 1968: *The Short Times*.

* * *

"Joe, I understand that at the present time you are restricted to barracks."

"Right. Yesterday my company commander called me into the orderly room and told me that he was giving me a direct order not to distribute *The Short Times*, which is the GI newspaper here at Fort Jackson. He said failure to comply with this order would result in a court-martial.

"The other part of my talk with him—or rather his talk with me—was that I was being confined to company area and he defined exactly what the company area was: from the walkway to the orderly room and the walkway to the mess hall."

Private Joe Cole, Headquarters Detachment, 14th Battalion, Fourth Brigade (B-14-4), was explaining his restriction to barracks. The date was December 8, 1968. The twenty-four-year-old GI from Atlanta, Georgia, was talking to Howard Petrick, himself an ex-GI who had been discharged from the army for antiwar views.

Cole was confined on the previous day when company officers discovered his locker filled with copies of the second issue of *The Short Times*. Typical of base antiwar papers that had begun to appear around the country—*Fun, Travel and Adventure*, Fort Knox, Kentucky; *Last Harass*, Fort Gordon, Georgia; *Logistic*, Fort Sheridan, Illinois—the mimeographed newspaper took up everything from local base complaints, local antiwar activities, to national and international politics. It gave the latest information on antiwar activities at other bases.

Looking at *The Short Times*, No. 2, dated December 6, 1968, it is hard to tell what annoyed the base commanders most. Perhaps it was the capital letters quoted from the Declaration of Independence on the cover followed by the statement:

"An early American patriot said, 'I may not agree with what you say. . . . But I'll defend to the death your right to say it.' That was Patrick Henry. During your next 10 minute break pull out a copy of this paper and start reading it in front of some of the lifers [career soldiers]. See how many rights you have."

The newspaper also explained that on the following day, December 7, an antiwar march was going to be held in the nearby city of Columbia to which GIs were invited. That, according to *The Short Times*, was why the entire base had been restricted to the base for "Post Beautification Day."

Cole told Petrick: "When they were told by other GIs that the reason for their restriction was because of the march, they took the attitude—'Well, I'm a grown man, I can make my own decisions.' And so I had people coming up

* Huffman, an agent for Military Intelligence by his own admission, quoted Rudder in pretrial hearings that are described below.

** This organization, established in the fall of 1968, offers aid to GIs whose constitutional rights have been violated. It was instrumental in obtaining public support and legal counsel for the Fort Jackson Eight.

to me and saying this was another indication of the way that the Army doesn't have any respect for the rights of GIs."

But Private Cole was released the following day. While he was on confinement, other antiwar GIs on the base had been busy. They had typed petitions to send to the commanding general and had been busy gathering signatures from other GIs. The petition declared, in part:

"We, as citizens and members of the military, would like to protest against the treatment of Pvt. Cole . . . Such unwarranted harassment is a clear violation of the constitutional rights of all GIs."

The petition was never delivered to the commander, but there can be little doubt that he knew about it and this influenced him in the decision to release Cole. Petitioning became one of the antiwar GIs' most effective weapons against the military brass.

* * *

"GIs United Against the War in Vietnam" is the name that a group of the GIs in B-14-4 began to call themselves as they organized to fight back against mounting harassment. Private Joe Miles, a black GI and one of the founders of "GIs United," explained its evolution in a talk to the Militant Labor Forum in New York, April 11.

Miles did his "basic training" in Fort Bragg, North Carolina. He was transferred to Fort Jackson for "advanced training" at the time trouble was building up for Cole and his friends.

"The majority of the GIs in the Army are draftees, conscripts, who don't want to be there. The alternative of five years in jail and \$10,000 [fine], in fact, is the only reason that most of us are there.

"These are the GIs who are beginning to think . . . who are beginning to question events in the world, especially the Vietnam war. . . . GIs United is a result, an outgrowth of this new type of GI.

"GIs United got started the last week of January, when a bunch of us — all Puerto Ricans and blacks — got together and were listening to some tapes by Malcolm X. We dug what he had to say and began to discuss our whole role as black GIs and our relationship to the war in Vietnam and our relationship to the rest of society.

"Well, we decided to get together and do something about the war in Vietnam, about the racism in the Army and the racism out here in the outside world too. We decided that the best way we could get the maximum amount of people involved, so as to reach a lot of people, was to organize around ending the war in Vietnam."

On Friday, February 14, at 11 a.m., Private Miles was handed an order to get out of Fort Jackson by 2 p.m. the same day and report back to Fort Bragg. According to the officer who handed Miles these orders, Fort Bragg had "requested" his return.

The Fort Jackson military authorities used every device they could come up with, from petty harassments to imprisonment in the stockade, to crush GIs United. After several meetings of up to 30 GIs in the B-14-4 barracks to listen to tapes of Malcolm X speeches and to talk about the war, the company was informed that this was "upper respiratory infection season" and that therefore no more than eight soldiers at a time could congregate in the barracks rooms.

The brass followed this up by arresting three black soldiers — Privates Davis, Madison and Toomer — and preparing courts-martial against them on phony "assault charges." Private Lawrence Hart was falsely accused of assault, disrespect to a noncommissioned officer and attempting to defraud the U.S. government. He was sentenced to the stockade in January and released in March. Private Andrew Pulley was given a suspended sentence for allegedly disobeying an order to go to bed, even though he was already in bed!

But GIs United grew. It began to be thought of not as a formal membership organization but as including any and all GIs against the war and against the harassment they are subjected to by officers. It spread beyond B-14-4 and it included white GIs. A statement of aims appeared in the second week of February:

"We, as GIs, are forced to suffer most of all in the Vietnam fiasco. Many of us were drafted into the Army against our will — nearly all of us are kept in its grasp against our will — all in order to carry out this illegal, immoral and unjust war. We are forced to fight and die in a war we did not create and in which we don't believe. . . .

"It is our right to be human. No one can take that from us — no one has the right to rob us of our dignity, like the Army tries to do every day. It is our right to think and to speak out against an unjust war, to demonstrate our opposition if that is necessary. We are citizens of America even if the Army would like to forget it, and these rights are guaranteed in the Constitution of the U.S."

The antiwar GIs were fighting back, and on a number of fronts. They circulated a new petition addressed to the commanding officer. It protested the harassment of GIs and it requested "permission to hold an open meeting on the post on Feb. 26th, at which all those concerned can freely discuss legal and moral questions related to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens within and outside the armed forces. . . .

"One of the purposes of the meeting will be the preparation of a petition to the Department of the Army and to Congress expressing the sentiment of the GIs attending about the war in Vietnam." This petition was eventually signed by more than 300 soldiers on the base.

* * *

David Thorstad, a correspondent for the *Young Socialist*, visited Fort Jackson the first week in March and talked to some of the members of GIs United.

Private Tommie Woodfin, he learned, had been arrested March 1 for distributing the new petitions — the brass called them "unauthorized flyers" — and a court-martial was impending against him. In fact, the military authorities had tried to court-martial Woodfin the same day he was arrested; but he obtained a civilian lawyer who won a postponement of the trial.

"This is typical of the Army brass," Jose Rudder told Thorstad, "trying to twist and distort things, not realizing that when a piece of paper has signatures on it, it is no longer a flyer, it is a petition. And to petition is a constitutional right; and every GI, like every other American citizen, has the right to redress grievances against the government."

Eugene Jose Rudder, a twenty-year-old Puerto Rican,

had come to understand politics long before he was drafted—since the age of fourteen when he joined the civil-rights movement and drove a radio car for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC] in the deep South. He joined the Young Socialist Alliance [YSA] at Fort Jackson.

"The day that Joe Miles got shipped out [see above] I began to think about where I was, and what would happen to me. . . . No matter how much I had tried to forget it for a whole year, I was a Marxist, a communist, and I believed in revolution. . . . I needed to belong to a revolutionary organization. . . . The only organization that I could see that was involved in the movement, and was concerned about seeing revolution take place in this country was the YSA. So I decided to join."

Private Andrew Pulley—he celebrated his eighteenth birthday May 5 while he was in the stockade—is a black GI from Cleveland, Ohio. "Over the past 10 months, the time that I have been in the service, it has been the most dreadful, the most inhuman experience of my life. I never dreamt of the army as being so corrupt, so far as racism, so far as illegal action. . . . The last 10 months have proven to me that the army is based on lies."

Pulley explained to Thorstad, "Most of the V.C. that the American soldiers kill are not from the North. They're from the South. So what this amounts to is a civil war, at least that's what it was until the United States came in. . . . Any country, any race of people, any nationality of people should have the right to govern, as they see fit."

On March 3 Privates Cole and Steve Dash attempted to hand the signed petitions to Fort Jackson Public Information Officer Lt. Col. Paul R. Stickel. They were surrounded by members of the press.

Stickel had handed reporters a statement to the press: "The Army does not recognize a collective bargaining unit representing members of the Army. . . . Since the petition is considered an instrument of collective bargaining, it will not be accepted."

Cole and Dash marched down to the post headquarters, according to Thorstad, saluted Stickel, and Cole then stated: "Private Cole reporting to present petition signed by enlisted men at Fort Jackson, sir." In reply, Stickel ordered a staff duty officer to repeat the statement about collective bargaining. The officer then stated:

"I hereby order all military personnel to remove themselves to their barracks. All civilian personnel will remove themselves from this reservation."

"It was over very rapidly," Thorstad reported. "The GIs, unable to make any statements without violating his orders, marched off into the darkness."

Pulley told Thorstad: "By their refusing to accept the petition, they have actually made a mistake. The public will really know what the Army is all about, and not only will the public know, but the rest of the GIs. . . ."

* * *

From the beginning, the GIs at Fort Jackson were anxious to get the support of forces in the antiwar movement outside their base. Joe Cole, a Young Socialist himself, explained this at the National Convention of the Young Socialist Alliance in November, 1968, less than two weeks before his own first confinement to the barracks.

Cole was speaking at a panel of GIs attending the YSA convention.*

"Any guy who openly speaks out against the war, who goes around and does his job as an antiwar activist in the army, is going against a lot of risks. . . .

"In a real sense the Army doesn't have to worry about committed socialists or committed antiwar activists, people who were involved in antiwar committees before they came in. What they have to worry about are the masses of GIs themselves because the masses of GIs don't support the war. . . .

"The job of the antiwar movement is to get information to them, to tell them what their legal alternatives are, and show them if you stay in the [legal] framework, they can harass you, they can do a few things to you, but if you stay in the framework, you win a victory."

Legal and financial support, as well as publicity for their struggle, has been provided to the Fort Jackson GIs by the GI Civil Liberties Defense Committee [GI-CLDC] based in New York.

By May 2 the GI-CLDC, which supports a number of GIs in different bases who are struggling for their constitutional rights, had over 150 sponsors, including noted faculty members, leaders of the antiwar movement, and active-duty GIs. Lord Bertrand Russell became the defense committee's honorary chairman.

A large legal staff aided the Fort Jackson GIs, some staying semipermanently near the base to act on any harassment. Lawyers involved with various aspects of the Fort Jackson case include David Rein of Washington, D. C.; Dianne Schuldners of New York City; Michael Smith of Detroit; Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, South Carolina; Howard Moore of Atlanta; and Laughlin McDonald of Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The well-known constitutional authority, Leonard Boudin, is acting as "general overseer" of the case from New York.

A significant legal victory was won on March 18 when Tommie Woodfin was acquitted in the court-martial prosecuting him for distributing "flyers." This cleared the way for further petitioning.

On the same day, Leonard Boudin announced that one of his clients, Private Dash, was going to sue the secretary of the army and the commanding general at Fort Jackson to prevent further infringement by military authorities of antiwar GIs' constitutional rights.

This suit, which was filed in May, may develop as one of the most important aspects of the Fort Jackson struggle.

The national antiwar demonstrations that were held on Easter weekend, April 5-6, also helped to call attention to the Fort Jackson case, among others. Joe Miles participated in the march of 30,000 in Chicago, April 5. Private Charles Morgan of Fort Jackson read a statement from the GIs United to the antiwar demonstration in Atlanta, April 6. On the same day, Ken Shilman, editor of the GI paper *Task Force*, read a message from GIs United to the demonstration of 40,000 in San Francisco.

The San Francisco demonstrators sent petitions signed by thousands of marchers to support the Fort Jackson GIs and the "Presidio 27" (servicemen facing a "mutiny" trial in San Francisco).

*Members of the YSA are given leaves of absence like other soldiers during their terms of service in the army.

The Fort Jackson GIs appeared on the nationally televised Huntley-Brinkley news program March 15. The March 16 *New York Times* carried an account of their case. They had thus become nationally known. It was just at this point that General James F. Hollingsworth, commander of the Fort Jackson base, decided to arrest eight of the leaders of GIs United and throw four of them in the stockade.

* * *

About the first week of June, 1966, Nicholas Tomalin, reporting for the London *Sunday Times*, had the unfortunate experience of accompanying General Hollingsworth on a helicopter chase of National Liberation Front guerrillas. At that time Hollingsworth was stationed at Di-Na, 20 miles north of Saigon.

He prided himself on killing more of "the enemy" than his men killed. He told the British reporter: "There's no better way to fight than goin' out to shoot VCs. And there's nothing I love better than killin' Cong. No Sir."

Here is an excerpt from Tomalin's description of the helicopter "mission":*

"The pilot shouts: 'General half right, two running for the bush.'

"'I see them. Down, down, goddam you.'

"'But General how do you know those aren't just frightened peasants?"

"'Running like that? Don't give me a pain.'

"We circle now above a single-story building made of dried reed. The burst of fire tears open the roof, shatters one wall into fragments of scattered straw and blasts the farmyard full of chickens into dismembered feathers. 'Zap, Zap, Zap,' cries the General."

* * *

On March 21, 1969, Privates Pulley, Cole, Rudder and Edilberto Chapparro were ordered to the stockade. They were charged with "disrespect," "holding an illegal demonstration," "breach of the peace" and "disobeying an order."

Four days later, March 25, five other members of GIs United were placed under barracks arrest on the same charges: Privates John Huffman, Dominick Duddie, Curtis E. Mays, Delmar Thomas and Tommie Woodfin.

What was the nature of the "demonstration" that resulted in the arrests of nine participants? A month after the confinements, April 22-25, the authorities conducted an investigation that heard a dozen witnesses and produced nearly 300 pages of testimony.

This was a pretrial hearing to review evidence against Privates Pulley, Cole, Thomas and Rudder. By this time, the Fort Jackson authorities had already retreated on some of the charges:

Private Huffman, the army disclosed, was an informer, acting "on behalf of command." He was released from barracks confinement April 9.

In the cases of Privates Chapparro, Duddie, Mays and Woodfin, the brass decided that it could not bring a general court-martial against them. Chapparro, originally in the stockade, was remanded to barracks arrest April 18.

For Private Thomas, however, things were worse. The twenty-two-year-old black GI from Cleveland had been placed in the stockade March 29, after being assaulted by a sergeant. Thomas was now charged additionally with "threatening a noncommissioned officer."

The key witness in the hearings against Thomas, Cole, Rudder and Pulley was Lieutenant Melwyn Austin, the brigade officer at the time of the March 20 gathering. Austin explained why the meeting must be considered a demonstration. A demonstration, the lieutenant stated, is "a gathering of individuals for the mutual purpose of an accomplishment."

Significantly, Austin admitted that he had not actually given orders for the "demonstrators" to disperse.

None of the witnesses was able to explain what the "mutual purpose" was. It was evident that to the officers one of the most disturbing things was the GIs United salute, the symbolic raising of a clenched fist. One witness was asked if he had observed this "defiant gesture" that evening:

"I don't remember, sir. I might have. It's like this—I see it all the time. It's no big deal. I saw it yesterday. I'll see it tomorrow. It happens all the time around here."

The army's agent-informer was brought into the hearings under heavy guard. Huffman testified that the speakers in the "demonstration" were Rudder and Pulley.

"What was the nature of Private Pulley's talk?" the investigating officer asked.

"Mainly on poverty, sir; he talked about poverty."

"Was he for or against it?"

The question was too much even for agent Huffman: "Sir?"

"I say, was he for or against it?"

"Against it. . . . He said the only man—the man who has all the money now is the man—the low man doesn't have money and will never have money. . . ."

Question after question brought out what the GIs United were really on trial for: talking about racism, poverty and the war—and raising the clenched fist. Apparently this was enough evidence against the GIs to send them to prison for five years so far as some of the officers in Fort Jackson were concerned. But there were disagreements.

On May 16, after reviewing the testimony for nearly a month, the investigating officer in charge of the hearings, Lieutenant Colonel Miller, recommended that there be no court-martial. His opinion was overruled by Colonel William de Broeke, the convening authority. The final decision was left to General Hollingsworth.

* * *

Between Colonel Miller's recommendation that the Fort Jackson GIs not be court-martialed and General Hollingsworth's decision May 20 to follow Miller's advice, a significant article appeared in the May 18 *New York Times* entitled: "Must the Citizen Give Up His Civil Liberties When He Joins the Army?" Its author, Robert Sherrill, had talked to a number of military officials both at Fort Jackson and in Washington, and he was sharply critical of their handling of the Fort Jackson Case.

Describing the case against the Fort Jackson Eight as "very rickety" and its attack on the GIs as "clumsy," Sherrill placed the blame on a "military elite [which] has lived in

*See I. F. Stone's *Weekly*, June 20, 1966.

a delicious world of arbitrariness, unchallenged until hit by this new wave of restlessly independent young people. . ."

Sherrill called attention to the suit against the army filed by Leonard Boudin in behalf of Private Dash: "It is thought to be the first suit of its kind in American military history and Army attorneys not only take it seriously but some believe that the U.S. District Court could rule in favor of the servicemen."

In its May 23 issue, which was placed on newsstands May 19, *Life* magazine devoted an article to the "Extraordinary Military Dilemma": "a widespread new phenomenon in the ranks of the military: public dissent."

Life showed no sympathy whatsoever for the dissenting GIs; in fact, the publishers turned over a few pages to General Lewis Walt, assistant commandant of the U.S. marine corps, and former commander of the marines in Vietnam, to reply to the GI dissenters.

Walt insisted that the GIs who are speaking out against the war are "an infinitesimal minority" of the armed forces. Significantly, however, he held that "even that tiny minority is more than the military can afford. . . ."

On May 20 the decision came down to drop all charges against Privates Cole, Pulley and Rudder, who were about to begin their third month in the stockade. By this time the five other members of the Fort Jackson Eight had already been released: Private Edilberto Chapparro was given an undesirable discharge from the army on May 1; all charges were dropped against Privates Dominick Duddie

and Curtis E. Mays, May 2; Private Delmar Thomas was released from the stockade May 12 and given an undesirable discharge on May 17; all charges were dropped against Private Tommie Woodfin, May 16.

Consequently by May 20, two months after the arrests, the army had backed off on every single charge against the Fort Jackson Eight in relation to their alleged demonstration of March 20. The retreat is probably as unprecedented in U.S. military history as the case itself.

This does not mean that the Fort Jackson GIs have won for servicemen the right to exercise freedoms guaranteed by the U.S. constitution. The struggle is still at the very beginning. Most of the Fort Jackson Eight were subsequently given "undesirable" discharges. Privates Cole and Rudder are fighting against attempts to give them such discharges at the present time. Private Dash is fighting a court-martial which alleges that he "advocates the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government" and that his presence in the army is "not in the interests of national security."

But these GIs have done an important service in the fight for constitutional rights because they have shown that one of the greatest oppressors of civil liberties, the military officialdom, can be opposed; they have shown how to fight them and how to make them retreat.

The Pentagon no doubt hopes to retrieve its defeat by discharging the Fort Jackson Eight. But the whole history of this struggle shows that there are many other GIs "ready, willing and able" to continue the struggle.

UGANDA STUDENTS BATTLE POLICE

Students in Uganda, it appears, are alert to what is happening in the rest of the world and have decided to join the march of progress.

At St. Mary's College in Kisubi, near Entebbe, the student body "rioted" over the weekend of May 9-11, according to a dispatch from Kampala.

Their two key complaints involved school food and hours of study.

When the administration sought to quell the demonstration, the students resorted to stones. The administration followed the example set in the metropoli-

tan centers and called the police.

"The students fought back, hurling stones at the police. As police entered the quadrangle, a hail of stones and other missiles rained down upon them from windows."

The police eventually managed to take the school building and "many of the students panicked and fled."

On May 13 the headmaster of the college, one Brother Anthony, declared college closed "until further notice."

All 700 students were sent home.

'ANTI-REVISIONIST' DRILL MADE IN CHINA

A main exhibit at the Canton Fair is reportedly an "Anti-Revisionist Model 40 Radial Drill." It appears to be a good machine tool -- another example of the progress made in China since the revolution that overturned capitalism.

However, besides its capacity to drill a hole, which would seem to be achievement enough, the model on exhibit has other features of a more novel kind.

When the operator presses the button a large bust of Mao Tsetung lights up and flashing neon lights play on it.

In addition, a metal contraption inside the machine clanks out the first two bars of the song "The East Is Red."

Sales of the machine are so brisk in China that it is not available as yet for the export trade.

UNIVERSITY OF ABIDJAN CLOSED IN IVORY COAST FOLLOWING STUDENT STRIKE

Ivory Coast President Félix Houphouët-Boigny closed the University of Abidjan May 24 for an indefinite period. The presidential decree followed a student strike May 21 that emptied the university campus and spread to nearby high schools in the capital of the small Afri-

can country.

The communiqué from Houphouët-Boigny declared that all university students, both Ivory Coast citizens and foreigners, had been remanded to their families.

In this issue

	<u>Page</u>
DRAWING: Melvin Laird	553
Argentine Workers Back Students with General Strike -- by Gerry Foley	554
Thieu and Park Lay It on the Line -- No End in Sight to the War	556
Lyndon B. Nixon's Orders Responsible for "Hamburger Hill"	557
Strike Wave in Australia:	
Solidarity with Clarrie O'Shea Pays Off -- by Ivan Dixon	558
At World Parley:	
Revolutionary Pressures Divide Christian Democratic Youth	559
Strikers in Curaçao Demand Government Resign	561
Krivine Gets 239,000 Votes	562
Tariq Ali, Livio Maitan Expelled from France	562
Alain Krivine on Television	563
"L'Humanité," Krivine, and the Devil	563
Interview with Alain Krivine:	
First Trotskyist Candidate for President of France	565
DRAWING: Georges Pompidou	565
DRAWING: Alain Poher	566
DRAWING: Jacques Duclos	566
DRAWING: Gaston Defferre	567
DRAWING: Pierre Mendès-France	567
DRAWING: Michel Rocard	568
DRAWING: Alain Krivine	569
DRAWING: Louis Ducatel	569
Not According to Horatio Alger	570
Strike Wave in Chile	570
And With Good Reason	570
A Damage Suit Over U.S. Defoliants in Cambodia?	571
DRAWING: Prince Sihanouk	571
Attacks on Cambodia Secretly Ordered by Nixon	571
Another Case of Tail Wags Dog?	571
Fresher Air in Portugal... ..	572
DRAWING: Marcello Caetano	572
Duvalier Courts Nixon	574
Report from the Underground:	
The Peruvian Junta Attacks the People	575
DRAWING: Gen. Juan Velasco Alvarado	576
America's "Public Health in Reverse"	576
C.G. Shah -- A Tribute -- by Kailas Chandra	577
Rockefeller Gets the Facts Quick in Latin America	578
The Fort Jackson Eight:	
How Antiwar GIs Made the Pentagon Back Down -- by Dick Roberts	579
Uganda Students Battle Police	583
Anti-Revisionist Drill Made in China	583
University of Abidjan Closed in Ivory Coast Following Student Strike	584

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS

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

New York, N. Y. 10010

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen. **CONTRIBUTING EDITORS:** Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack. **MANAGING EDITOR:** Les Evans. **TRANSLATIONS:** Gerry Foley, George Saunders. **BUSINESS MANAGER:** Reba Hansen. Published each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July; not published in August. **TO SUBSCRIBE:** For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York, N.Y. 10010. Write for rates on airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries. **PARIS OFFICE:**

Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10, France. **INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS** specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, and black liberation movements. Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Copyright © 1969 by Intercontinental Press.