

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

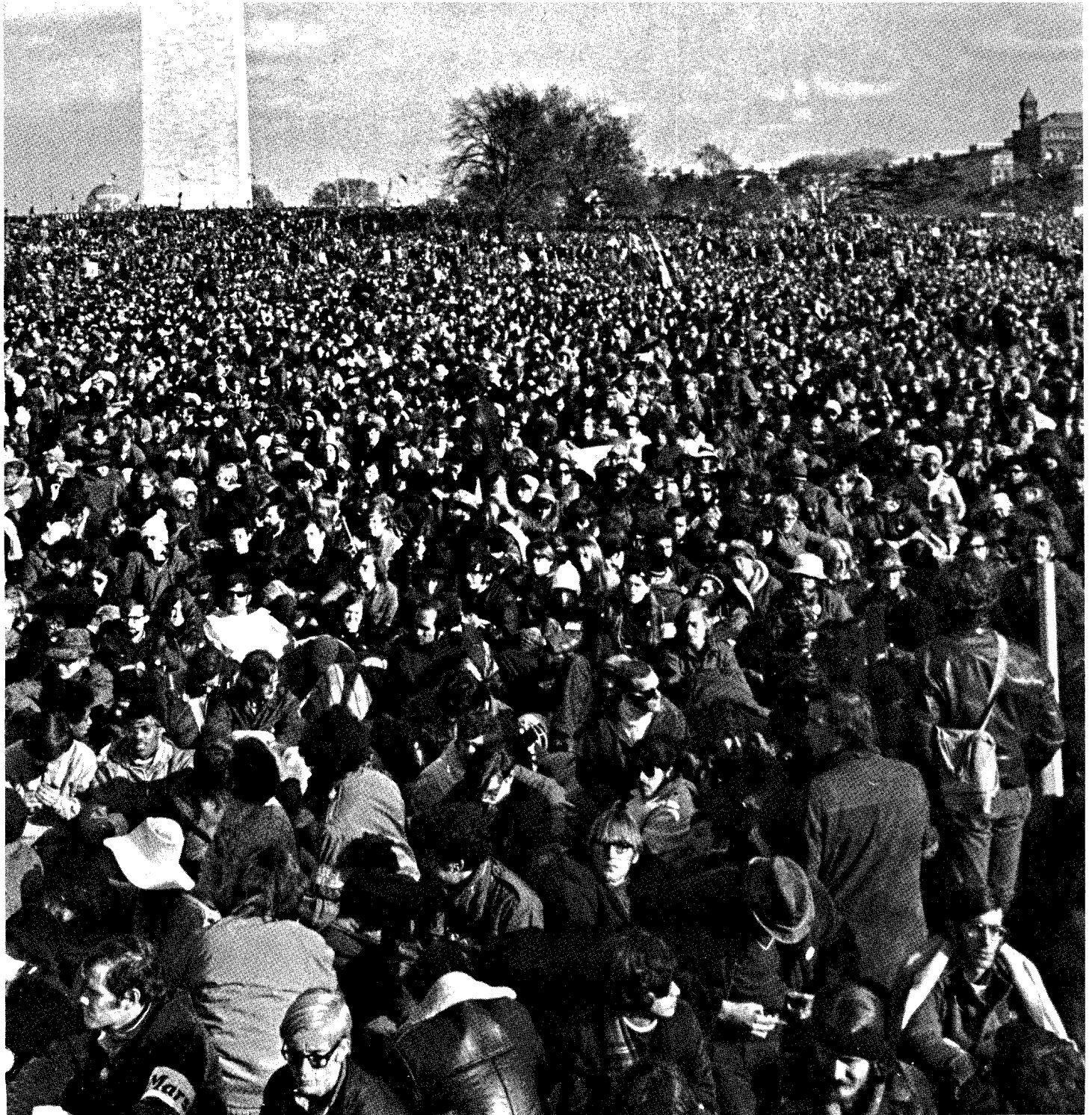
Vol. 7, No. 39

© 1969 Intercontinental Press

November 24, 1969

50c

1,000,000 Antiwar Marchers



Haul 'Em into Court!

Mrs. Carol A. Yannacone of Patchogue, Long Island, filed suit October 14 for \$30,000,000,000 damages against the Montrose Chemical Co., the Baldwin-Montrose Chemical Co., Christ-Craft Industries, Inc., Stauffer Chemical Co., Allied Chemical Corp., Diamond Shamrock Corp., Olin Chemical Corp., and the Lebanon Chemical Co.

The suit contends that it will cost more than \$10,000,000,000 to restore the quality of the environment damaged by DDT sold by the defendants and that under the antitrust laws triple damages should be awarded. The money would go to municipal, state, and federal governments.

Mrs. Yannacone charges the companies with violating the constitutional provision that no person can be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. The DDT producers are charged with having failed to furnish adequate and timely warnings of the dangers of their product, and of having directed their political and economic power against individual scientists who did seek to warn the public.

While applauding Mrs. Yannacone's action, it might be suggested that further steps are in order. If the suit is lost, for instance, it would be well to call for an investigation into the influence which the merchants of DDT may have over the courts.

If the suit is won, it might be asked whether the government, as presently constituted in the U.S., can be trusted to use the \$30 billion to repair the damage done by DDT to the environment. The chemical companies, like the other giant corporations, seem to have thought of the advisability of having their own agents in the seats of power.

What would seem to be most needed is a revolutionary party capable of ousting both the Democrats and Republicans and expropriating the companies now polluting the environment and much else besides.

As a concession to the believers in pesticides, such a party might well select as its emblem the good old Flit gun.

In This Issue

		FEATURES
	1034	The Cockroach Front
		FRANCE
	1040	2,600 Antiwar Demonstrators Arrested
		NEW ZEALAND
	1041	"Troops Home by Christmas," Kirk Promises
		PHILIPPINES
	1041	Marcos Withdraws Filipino Troops from Vietnam
		U. S. A.
Les Evans	1035	1,000,000 March in Washington, San Francisco
	1037	Is It "Trotskyist" to Protest the War?
	1042	The Case of Bobby G. Seale
	1043	No Alarm Over Thanksgiving Bird, But . . .
	1043	"I See Battlefields"
		PERU
Livio Maitan	1044	A Year of "Military Reformism"
		BOLIVIA
	1047	Gulf Oil Declares War
	1048	Release the Political Prisoners!
		CZECHOSLOVAKIA
	1048	Uncover Dangerous Crossword Puzzle
		BRAZIL
	1056	Marighela Killed in Police Ambush
		DOCUMENTS
	1049	Open Letter to the Lanka Sama Samaja Party
	1054	A New Stage in the Palestinian Struggle [Statement of the Fourth International]
		PHOTOS
Shannon	1033	Part of antiwar throng at Washington Monument
		DRAWINGS
Copain	1041	Norman Kirk; 1042, Judge Julius J. Hoffman; 1043, Bobby G. Seale.

Intercontinental Press, Post Office Box 635, Madison Square 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 in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; biweekly in July; not published in August.

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.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 95 rue du Faubourg Saint-Martin, Paris 10, France.

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 first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station, New York 10010. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1969 by Intercontinental Press.

1,000,000 March in Washington, San Francisco

by Les Evans

NOVEMBER 16—More than 1,000,000 persons marched against the war in Vietnam in Washington and San Francisco yesterday in the largest mass demonstrations in the history of the United States. The November 16 *Washington Post* said that the march in Washington "surpassed in size the civil rights March on Washington in 1963 and was easily the largest—and was perhaps the youngest—anti-war crowd ever assembled in the United States."

The *New York Times* called the San Francisco march "the biggest peace demonstration ever seen in the West."

The New Mobilization Committee, the sponsor of the demonstrations, estimated that 800,000 persons took part in the Washington march and rally, while another 250,000 staged a simultaneous demonstration in San Francisco. The central demand of this gigantic throng was the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

Much publicized counterdemonstrations in support of the government failed to materialize. The largest reported was a group of about 1,000 persons in New York. *Washington Post* columnist Nicholas von Hoffman summed it up tersely: "This demonstration, the one here in Washington, is the outpouring and support that the White House wanted for itself, but the other side got it."

Although there was universal agreement on the unprecedented scope of the demonstrations, estimates varied on the exact size of the crowds. The Washington rally was huge. It filled the thirty acres at the base of the Washington Monument, with people standing shoulder to shoulder. District of Columbia Police Chief Jerry Wilson said a "moderate" estimate of the crowd would be 250,000. Other city officials said aerial photographs would show that the assembly exceeded 300,000 persons.

But police estimates have been notoriously understated in the past, usually by a factor of at least 50 percent. One Washington radio station put the rally at over 400,000, while

many participants indicated their belief that well over a million persons might actually have been present.

In San Francisco, antiwar marchers filled the polo field in Golden Gate Park—an area with an estimated capacity of 175,000. Officials of the New Mobilization Committee said 250,000 had taken part during the day. Even the *New York Times* put the crowd at "upwards of 100,000."

The Washington demonstration was larger than the city's entire population (763,000). They poured into the city by every conceivable means of transportation from all parts of the country. Five hours after the end of the rally, traffic was lined up bumper to bumper all the way from Washington to Baltimore, Maryland, some forty miles away, as people made their way home.

It had turned suddenly cold on the eve of the demonstration. Many of the thousands arriving from out of town were not dressed for the drop in temperature. They gathered near the capitol, shivering, on the vast mall that stretches to the Washington Monument and beyond to the Lincoln Memorial.

In face of reported efforts by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to pressure bus companies in many cities to cancel buses chartered for Washington, organizers around the country set up last-minute car pools, rented special trains, or found other buses in time for the pilgrimage.

The first contingents arrived Thursday night, November 13, for a symbolic March Against Death, a prelude to the November 15 mobilization. The forty-hour procession began near the gates of the Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia. More than 40,000 persons, each carrying a placard with the name of an American serviceman killed in Vietnam or of a Vietnamese village destroyed by U.S. bombing, walked in single file, holding candles, around the Lincoln Memorial to the White House, then on to Union Square Park across from the capitol. The marchers came from forty-four of the fifty states in the union, in-

cluding delegations from the West Coast, which was having its own November 15 rally.

This reporter arrived in Washington at 4 a.m. yesterday. The streets, normally deserted at that hour, were filled with cars and buses, arriving in a steady stream. Their license plates showed where their journeys had begun: Texas, Colorado, Missouri, Illinois, Minnesota. . .

We passed the long flickering procession of the marchers against death on Pennsylvania Avenue; young and old walking silently in the bitter night air. The intensity of their faces and the candles disappearing into the distance gave an eerie quality to the lifeless stone fronts of the government buildings looming in the shadows. Two different worlds were face to face.

Walking later near the White House before dawn, small groups of young people could be seen everywhere carrying bedrolls or knapsacks. There was plenty of evidence that Nixon already had been affected by the demonstration which had yet to really begin. Military police stood in front of the White House and searched bundles and sleeping bags of the death marchers before allowing them to pass. On the White House lawn a giant bank of spotlights was aimed at the streets to blind anyone looking too closely—but a light could still be seen burning in the president's mansion.

Before dawn the crowd in front of the capitol began to grow. By 9 a.m. there was a vast sea of flags and banners. For the rest of the day, until late in the afternoon, an almost unbroken line of buses could be seen still arriving on streets nearby, bringing thousands and thousands more.

At 10:30 the marchers set out, up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Treasury Building, down 15th Street, and on to the grassy mall between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial. The *New York Times* described the march as "a solid moving carpet of humanity."

The march lasted until 2:00 p.m., but from noon onwards parade mar-

shals urged most of the crowd to walk directly across the mall to get to the rally in time. The New York buses—a contingent of upwards of 25,000 persons—arrived too late altogether for the march and went directly to the rally. The Washington police still estimated that at least 175,000 persons took part in the march alone.

The demonstration, except for a few minor incidents, was peaceful. Neither provocation by the government nor attempts by organized ultraleftists succeeded in diverting the giant crowd into a futile clash with the police or the army.

The administration had made it plain from its behavior before the march that it would welcome such a clash as a way to discredit the antiwar movement. A heavy mobilization of troops—kept discretely out of sight in government buildings—was on hand to crush any "confrontationist" attempts.

The weight of the ultraleftists in the demonstration was considerably smaller, both relatively and absolutely, than in previous mobilizations. There were only two brief clashes: One was at the South Vietnamese embassy Friday night involving an estimated 2,000 persons under the leadership of the Students for a Democratic Society; the second was at the Justice Department following the final rally. A crowd of some 6,000 gathered there to protest the frame-up trial of eight antiwar activists in Chicago. A few people in the crowd threw paint bombs and rocks at the building and police dispersed the demonstrators with tear gas.

Throughout the march and rally tight discipline was enforced by some 2,500 trained marshals organized by the New Mobilization Committee. No groups were excluded from the demonstration for their political views—all that came were permitted to carry their own banners, form their own contingents, or distribute whatever literature they wished to, but the marshals prevented clashes with the police or unauthorized activities that would endanger the safety of the demonstrators.

Speakers at the rally ranged from liberal capitalist politicians such as Senator Eugene McCarthy, to Carol Lipman, executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and former editor

of the *Young Socialist*, the magazine published by the Young Socialist Alliance, the American Trotskyist youth organization.

Important trade-union endorsement for the rally was indicated by the presence on the platform of Harold Gibbons, an international vice-president of the Teamsters Union.

In San Francisco, according to the November 16 *New York Times*, "Upwards of 100,000 people from many walks of life and widely varying political persuasions staged today [November 15] the biggest peace demonstration ever seen in the West.

"They began to gather in the darkness last night, and some of them marched as far as seven miles through this cool, gray city to the rally in Golden Gate Park. Others drove, hitchhiked or rode buses hundreds of miles to reach here today.

"In their talk, the speeches they heard and signs they carried, they repudiated President Nixon's plea that they quietly follow his leadership toward ending the war in Vietnam. Many of them also specifically repudiated Vice President Agnew's criticisms of peace demonstrations." (Some marchers carried signs reading, "I am an impudent snob," ridiculing Agnew's attempt to smear the organizers of last month's antiwar Moratorium.)

The most prominent signs read, "Bring all the GIs home now!"

The *Washington Post* added, "There were the Japanese and Chinese contingents, the Chicanos [Mexican-Americans], the anti-imperialist front, there were dogs, children in strollers, and a girl, obviously pregnant, asking wearily, 'Where's the nearest bus line?'"

Nixon spent the day in the White House, hidden behind a barrier of bumper-to-bumper buses moved into place by police. He refused to take notice of the gigantic mobilization against his war policy taking place outside his window.

But newsmen, in a first estimate of the impact of today's demonstrations, took a dim view of Nixon's future. In the November 16 *New York Times* Tom Wicker wrote:

"Only an event of the magnitude, timing and impact of this weekend's mobilization for peace could finally label the war in Vietnam as Mr. Nixon's war. . . .

"The 'Mobe' was dramatic recognition—only 10 months after he took

office urging Americans to lower their voice and promising to 'bring us together,'—that the President presided over a war diminished not enough, and a policy to end it differing too little, from those he had inherited; so that he could look across a country as divided as ever, ringing even more loudly with the shouts of the dissident and disenchanted, as bitterly torn as in the worst days of L. B. J."

The *Times* took special note of the more militant character of today's demonstration in comparison with the October 15 Moratorium. While many of the liberal Moratorium organizers were part of the leadership of the Washington march, the New Mobilization Committee also included representatives from the radical Student Mobilization Committee and from such revolutionary-socialist organizations as the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance. Wicker commented:

"The earlier national moratorium, impressively staged across the country on Oct. 15, did not have quite the same air of finally drawn lines about it, because it seemed more generally 'for peace' and less specifically against the Nixon policy."

The press and the government seemed shocked at the fact that a million persons had taken to the streets under the leadership of a coalition including avowed revolutionists—in spite of a vituperative red-baiting campaign mounted by Nixon in hope of dividing the antiwar movement. The massive turnout showed that witch-hunting in the style of the McCarthy period could not make the people swallow their anger over the war in Vietnam.

The *Times* warned Nixon that his posture of airily dismissing the antiwar movement would add fuel to the discontent, with untold consequences. "And there is nothing in his demeanor or theirs to suggest that, therefore, they will not find it necessary to come again."

The determination evident in the immense throng at the Washington Monument contained a promise that they would come back again and again until every last American soldier is brought home from Vietnam. And as the patience of the American people wears thin, they may not be so patient in the future in making their will known.

Is It "Trotskyist" to Protest the War?

NOVEMBER 14—While thousands of antiwar protesters were already arriving in Washington for the impending November 15 mobilization, President Nixon made an unexpected appearance before both houses of Congress yesterday to drum up support for his discredited Vietnam war policy. This eleventh-hour ploy to take the headlines away from the antiwar movement was part of Nixon's effort to demonstrate "visible" support for his administration while trying to intimidate his critics.

The political representatives of the big corporations cheered the president's statement that he was pursuing "peace" in Vietnam, although he could not tell them "the time or the date when that peace comes."

Nixon invited the "advice" of the Senate but warned the legislators not to speak too loudly if they disagreed with his policies. Talking about the so-called disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union, he hinted obliquely at Vietnam.

It is "vitally important," Nixon declared, "that the position of our negotiators not be weakened or compromised by discussions that might publicly take place here [in the Senate], discussions that could weaken or compromise us with those representing the other side."

Nixon studiously ignored the massive outpouring of the American people that had already begun in Washington.

That same evening, on a program televised at prime time to possibly 40,000,000 watchers, Vice-president Spiro T. Agnew damned the national television networks for daring to criticize Nixon's November 3 "indefinite war" speech on Vietnam and for allegedly devoting too much time to "the minority of Americans who specialize in attacking the United States."

Agnew virtually threatened the networks with reprisals if they did not reduce their coverage of antiwar demonstrations. "They can make or break by their coverage and commentary a

moratorium on the war," he said, with the clear implication that they should "break" it.

"As with other American institutions," he added, "perhaps it is time that the networks were made more responsive to the views of the nation and more responsible to the people they serve."

The *New York Post* in a November 14 editorial wrote: "In fact the latest Agnew oration is another sign of a mood of panic in high places, wholly inconsistent with the Administration's confident claims of vast public support. . . ."

"The name of the game is intimidation, as Frank Stanton of CBS bluntly declared last night, and all media have a common stake in resisting it."

And while Nixon and Agnew went after dissenters in the ruling class and in the mass media, lesser figures took on the job of cruder red-baiting in a campaign aimed particularly at the "Trotskyite" influence in the National Mobilization and Student Mobilization committees, the sponsors of the November 15 Washington and San Francisco marches.

The *Christian Science Monitor*, which generally faithfully repeats what is said at briefing sessions in Washington, described Nixon's strategy in its November issue: "The president has sought (a) to rally support for the 'hard line' element in his policy, and (b) to split the peace groups, turning the moderates against the militants. For the first time since his inauguration, the President has come out of his quiet corner and is giving battle."

The scope of this battle was indicated by John Herbers, writing from Washington in the November 13 *New York Times*:

"On Sept. 26, President Nixon said on national television that 'under no circumstances will I be affected whatever' by the antiwar demonstrations then being planned around the country.

"Since then, the Nixon Administration has carried out an extensive cam-

campaign larger than any attempted by former President Johnson to undercut the effectiveness of the demonstrations and mobilize public opinion in support of his Vietnam policy."

This campaign, Herbers wrote, includes "Encouragement of the reactivation of the militant right, which would step up American military efforts against Communism around the world. . . ."

November 11, which began as commemoration of the end of the "war to end all wars," is still observed as a national holiday in the United States—but it is now called "Veterans Day" to honor the troops involved in the subsequent wars. Nixon sought to turn it to account to demonstrate broad support for the current war in Vietnam.

General Winston P. Wilson, chief of the National Guard, issued "instructions" November 3 to the country's 500,000 guardsmen to stage a counterdemonstration in support of the administration November 13-15. The part-time citizen soldiers were told to drive cars with their headlights on and fly American flags.

This unprecedented attempt to virtually order members of the military to participate in a progovernment demonstration aroused sharp opposition.

Representative James H. Scheuer of New York compared General Wilson with General Edwin Walker, who was fired for distributing right-wing propaganda to his troops.

"General Wilson," Scheuer said, "whose much more brazen attempt not only to influence his troops, but indeed to use his troops to influence the American public at large, must be immediately relieved of his command."

One national guardsman from the District of Columbia, in a letter in the November 12 *Washington Post*, declared his belief "that a majority of members of the National Guard in the District are opposed to the war."

The Veterans Day parades and rallies, despite big-name speakers and

official government backing, were small and desultory. In Washington, park police estimated that 10,000 persons gathered at the Washington monument—compared to the 50,000 during the October 15 antiwar Moratorium. In New York, according to the *New York Times*, the crowd ranged "from the official figure of at least 5,000 to unofficial guesses of about 2,000." Some 500 persons turned out in Los Angeles—a city of 2.5 million—to hear General Omar Bradley pump for the war.

Those who did march were overwhelmingly white and middle-aged, with a high proportion in uniform—mainly of veterans' organizations and police.

James Wechsler, in the November 13 *New York Post*, accused the *Times* of being "scared silly by Spiro T. Agnew's outcry against 'the media.'"

The sense was "inescapable," Wechsler wrote, "that Mr. Agnew had drawn a lot of blood with a random stab. . . . it would be truly unhappy news if Mr. Nixon's proclaimed 'silent majority' is accepted as so dominant a threatening a fact of life that it becomes the top story whenever a few of its members emit any sound."

Post columnist Pete Hamill was even sharper, describing the Veterans Day participants as "like members of some shrinking, dimly remembered sect."

On another front—direct attacks on the antiwar movement—the Justice Department issued a statement November 4 denying a permit for the November 15 march on Washington. The government cited "reliable reports" that some of the demonstrators "may be planning to foment violence."

Associate Deputy Attorney General John W. Dean 3d issued a statement to the press November 6, declaring, "A militant group is attempting to bring street gangs to Washington." He refused to name the group, indicating that a number of organizations were supposed to be involved, according to "intelligence reports."

Spokesmen for the New Mobilization Committee accused the government of "mounting a fear campaign. . . to scare Americans into staying home."

The government also announced a massive troop deployment during the demonstration. In addition to 3,800 police; a contingent of 1,200 national guardsmen were to be stationed at the Washington National Guard Armory, while some 20,000 regular

army troops, including units of the 82nd Airborne Division, were on alert for a possible airlift into the capital.

This threat of military repression was widely decried as an attempt by the government to deliberately provoke violence in order to discredit the antiwar movement.

The *Washington Post* said editorially November 8 that the Justice Department had "pushed the panic button. . . to heighten tension, promote hatred and induce confrontation."

The New Mobilization Committee won its battle for a permit on November 11 when the government was forced to back down and agree to a route for the march. The decision, significantly, was made by Nixon himself, who had masterminded the whole operation from the beginning. Washington's Mayor Walter E. Washington met with Nixon November 10 to discuss the demonstration route, and went directly from the White House to a meeting with Justice Department officials who finally announced the permit.

But the government at the same time escalated its red-baiting and implied threats against the march.

Agnew on November 10 called the protests a "carnival in the streets." Transportation Secretary John A. Volpe raised the ante in a New York press conference the same day, claiming the march was being organized by persons who were "Communist or Communist-inspired."

This was followed by a spate of witch-hunting articles by columnists close to the government and its secret police agencies. On November 5 Joseph Alsop quoted an anonymous member of the "Liberal establishment" who had said, "The Trotskyites control the whole show."

Robert S. Allen and John A. Goldsmith wrote in their November 7 nationally syndicated column: "Indisputable evidence is accumulating that the masterminds of these affairs [the November 13-15 antiwar actions] are hard-core Marxists and radical extremists whose real aim is revolution and not political protest. Their primary purpose is undermining and destroying the American system of democracy and free enterprise."

And who are these "masterminds," as described by Allen and Goldsmith? Here is their lurid account:

"Pulling the wires in the background are key activists of the Student Mobilization

Committee to End the War in Vietnam (SMC).

"SMC describes itself as 'the student anti-war organization responsible for mobilizing high school and college youth across the country in opposition to the war, for an end to the draft for self-determination for black America, and for free speech for GIs.' . . .

"Masterminds of these operations in the Washington headquarters set up for that purpose are three hard-core Marxists, as follows:

"CAROL LIPMAN, 24, national executive secretary of SMC, whose national headquarters is in New York City. Last year she was editor of 'Young Socialist,' a monthly published by the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). The latter is the youth affiliate of the Socialist Workers Party, a Trotskyite Communist faction that has been cited as subversive by the Attorney General. Lipman has been a YSA national officer and is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Before coming to Washington, she operated for YSA in Boston, Chicago, Detroit and New York City.

"DANNY ROSENSHINE, 24, another YSA veteran who has functioned in Detroit, Cleveland and New York City. He is currently a full-time YSA national organizer. Previously, he was national field secretary. In 1960, he went to Cuba with a group calling itself the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Two years later, he attended the Soviet-controlled World Youth Festival in Helsinki, followed by a tour of Russia. Early this year he again spent several weeks in Cuba. . . .

"DON GUREWITZ, 23, active in the Washington and Cleveland areas. He has been an SMC leader and has taken part in YSA and SWP affairs. As an SMC national organizer, in charge of its recruiting campaign for the November operations, Gurewitz is a member of the Washington Action Committee of the New Mobilization Committee (NMC) that is spearheading the anti-Vietnam activities."

These "responsible" journalists go on to cite speeches and articles from the SWP and YSA press that struck them as particularly "subversive." A picture of Che Guevara in the *Young Socialist* was one of the sensational tidbits. Their readers are expected to draw their own conclusions from the fact that a Trotskyist youth leader visited "Russia." This presumably implies that

Trotskyism is part of some international "Communist conspiracy" headquartered in Moscow. Readers are expected to be ignorant of the fact that until this month Moscow could claim to be the world center for attacks on Trotskyism. It may be that the Soviet bureaucrats will be superseded in this respect by the Nixon administration in Washington, although since both agree that Trotskyism is a dangerous "subversive" doctrine, there may not be any hard feelings over that.

The two red-baiting columnists conclude their piece with a quote from Arizona's Senator Paul Fannin, from whom they have apparently gotten most of their "information":

"The evidence is clearcut and unmistakable that the backers of the Nov. 15 movement are not sailing under true colors."

These administration spokesmen are trying to drive a wedge into the antiwar movement in the hope of isolating the revolutionists. Fannin's charge is a lie and his own evidence proves it. Virtually everything "revealed" by Allen and Goldsmith is quoted from publications of the YSA and the SWP that can be had in any public library or campus bookstore.

More of this stuff was provided by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak on November 12. Their aim of terrorizing the liberal wing of the antiwar movement was even more explicit:

"Responsible liberals have been enlisted as foot soldiers in an operation mapped out mainly by extremists. . . ."

The New Mobilization Committee, they said, had an executive committee "dominated by supporters of the Vietcong."

"The executive committee is moderate when compared with the 60-member steering committee, studded with past and present Communist Party members. . . ."

"Far more important than representation by the largely moribund American Communist Party, however, is inclusion on the steering committee of leaders in its [?] newly invigorated Trotskyite movement."

Here again is the suggestion that the American Trotskyists are somehow controlled by the Communist party—coupled with the insinuation that the Communist party should be denied its right to participate in the political life of the country.

Novak and Evans continue:

"The steering committee began eclipsing the executive committee in recent weeks under the leadership of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party and its fast growing youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance. Fred Halstead of the Socialist Workers Party took over planning for a march calculated to end in violent confrontation."

This is nothing but a crude attempt to lay the blame on the antiwar movement for violence deliberately provoked by the White House and the Pentagon. The next logical step in this effort to reactivate McCarthyism is to suggest that the antiwar leadership is taking orders from "the enemy." The columnists write:

"Furthermore, the New Mobe was in closer contact with Communist Vietnamese official circles than is generally realized. Ron Young, a member of the New Mobe steering committee, journeyed to Stockholm Oct. 11-12 for a meeting attended by representatives of the North Vietnamese government and the Vietcong. . . ."

"The link between Hanoi and elements of the New Mobe was again demonstrated Oct. 14 when Premier Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam sent greetings to American antiwar demonstrators. Halstead, the Trotskyite leader, drafted a friendly reply to Hanoi approved by a majority of the New Mobe's steering committee. Its transmission was blocked only by the intervention of Stewart Meachem of the American Friends Service Committee, one of the New Mobe's moderates."

Evans and Novak approve the pressure being exerted by leading capitalist politicians for exclusion of the radicals from the leadership of the antiwar movement:

"Sen. Charles Goodell of New York, emerging as a leading congressional foe of the war, attempted—without success—to reduce extremist influence inside the New Mobe and argued against including far leftists on the steering committee."

Here these pundits reveal themselves as enemies of democracy. They would permit political liberty only to those who agree with them.

Attacks of this kind have not been limited to right-wing writers. Such liberal papers as the *New York Post* have joined in the chorus. James Wechsler, in his November 12 column in that paper, made a concession to

Nixon's red-baiting campaign, arguing that radical speakers be excluded from the November 15 rally in Washington.

"As the program now stands," Wechsler wrote, "there will be disparate time allotted for diversionary sloganeers and there will be fringe contingents asserting their fealty to Hanoi rather than peace."

The following day the *New York Post* published its own slightly more honest "expose" of the New Mobilization Committee. Its account of the committee's development reflects the views of tendencies that have favored excluding the "radicals."

"The storm clouds were there at the very start," wrote Ken Hartnett from Washington. "Followers of Leon Trotsky, who have organized around the war issue since the mid-60s, tried to pack the July 4th meeting in Cleveland that brought the New Mobe into being."

The truth is that the Trotskyists were part of a majority at the Cleveland conference that fought for setting a date for the next national antiwar action: November 15.

"At a planning meeting of the West Coast Mobe in San Francisco," Hartnett wrote, "the explosive radical lawyer, Terence Hallinan, watched in rising anger as Trotskyites maneuvered on the floor."

"Hallinan, another of the New Mobe's eight national co-chairmen, said he finally had enough. He threw a punch because 'I was not going down without a fight.'"

This is another interesting admission by those who accuse the Trotskyists of advocating "violence." Hallinan, who happens to be a trained boxer, "threw a punch" at someone because he was losing a political fight. In fact, he hit a representative of the painters union who had voted against him on an issue which the "explosive" lawyer had lost.

The *Post* correspondent saw the wide variety of political views represented in the antiwar movement as "the ideal swimming place for the Trotskyites or 'Trots,' a slender but highly organized international organization with roots in the historic and eventually murderous split between Stalin and Trotsky. . . ."

"The Trots hold about 10 of the 100 steering committee seats, but neither they nor any other faction controls the coalition."

"'On the campuses they constitute a very important force,' [Sidney] Peck [a New Mobilization Committee leader] said of the Trots, 'particularly in the vacuum left by the demise of the SDS [Students for a Democratic Society].'

"Trots are prominent in the leadership of the Student Mobilization Committee, an organization that claims over 1,000 chapters in the nation's high schools and campuses. Carol Lipman, a former national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance is national SMC secretary.

"For the Washington march, the SMC is producing over 150,000 posters, 100,000 brochures, 550,000 antiwar stickers, 10,000 armbands, 25,000 buttons."

The open attacks and innuendoes were answered in an article by Mary-Alice Waters in the November 14 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*. In explaining the YSA and SMC positions on red-baiting, she wrote:

"To such witch-hunting attacks the YSA answers, 'Yes, we have played a key role in building the antiwar movement, and we're proud of our record.'

"The SMC has answered, in effect, 'Yes, we consider nonexclusion to be one of the cardinal principles on which the SMC has been built and we are proud of it.'"

On November 7 the SMC demonstratively declared its solidarity with the Vietnamese freedom fighters, and rejected Spiro Agnew's October 14 demand that the antiwar movement "repudiate" support from Hanoi. In a public reply to a telegram from the North Vietnamese students, Carol Lipman said, "We welcome the message of support for Nov. 15 from the Vietnam National Union of Students because we both share a common desire to end the U. S. government's aggression in Vietnam and withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam to allow self-determination for the Vietnamese people. . . ."

"We will not be deterred by red-baiting and attempts by the government to divide the peace movement. The American people do not support a war against the Vietnamese people that the administration justifies in the name of 'anti-communism', neither will they support a 'war' on the peace movement by the administration in the name of 'anti-communism.'"

France

2,600 Antiwar Demonstrators Arrested

New York

NOVEMBER 16 — According to newscasts and press dispatches received here, the French police conducted nationwide raids in connection with efforts to crush antiwar demonstrations held in many cities in France in solidarity with the giant marches and rallies in the United States yesterday.

In Paris some 20,000 demonstrators, according to one report, defied the ban decreed by the Pompidou regime against staging marches or public rallies.

The police, mobilized in the largest numbers since the May-June days of last year when the country faced a social explosion of revolutionary scope, charged groups of demonstrators in many parts of Paris.

By the end of the afternoon, the police admitted to having made more than 2,600 arrests, most of them young people.

Early in the morning, before the demonstrations had even begun, the police raided the homes of a number of well-known revolutionary figures and arrested them on unspecified charges.

Pierre Frank, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*, was among those seized.

Another prominent radical figure in the list was Dr. Jean-Michel Krivine, a surgeon who traveled twice to Vietnam to collect evidence for the hearings into the war crimes of the United States conducted by the War Crimes Tribunal sponsored by Bertrand Russell.

Michelle Krivine, the wife of Alain Krivine, the Trotskyist candidate for president of France in the last elections, was also seized by the police.

Among leaders of the Ligue Communiste (the French section of the Fourth International) who were picked up in the raids were Daniel Bensaid, Michel Rothman, Pierre Rousset, Henri Weber, and Mehl.

The November 15 demonstrations in Paris were sponsored by a coalition of twenty-four organizations. These included the Communist party, the United Socialist party [Parti

Socialiste Unifié, and France's largest federation of trade unions, the Confédération Générale du Travail.

Among the prominent individuals who sponsored the call for solidarity demonstrations were Jean-Paul Sartre, Joseph Kessel, Claude Bourdet, Jacques Debû-Bridel, Guy Desson, Claude Estier, and Mme Lucie Faure.

The Pompidou regime, obviously to please the Nixon administration, and also because it stands in terror of any large public marches for any reason whatsoever, banned the demonstration. On November 11, the participating organizations pleaded with the government for a permit but to no avail. Spokesmen of the government advanced the pretext that as a "host country" for the "peace talks," France could not permit any "disturbances."

The coalition, including the Communist party and the CGT, announced that the demonstrations would go ahead just the same. "But," as a special dispatch to the November 16 *New York Times* put it, "they failed to show any aggressiveness or any organized plan of assembly when confronted with Government forces."

Judging from the meager reports, the revolutionary groups went ahead according to schedule. They were left in the lurch by the CP and CGT.

Is Nixon's Psychology Showing?

If you've wondered why Nixon in his recent television appearances has looked like he was made up for display in a casket, perhaps you should not blame the Hollywood specialists for outdoing themselves in getting the president's face ready for the cameras. That ghastly look may be just psychological show-through.

The Harvard sociologist David Reisman explained at the end of October that if the antiwar demonstrations became more vociferous, Nixon might decide to "show them . . . come what may."

The struggle on the home front could then lead to "a discredited, embittered, self-pitying President, who by his lights is doing what is moral and correct, while more and more the country comes to an 'all or nothing' attitude toward the war."

Reisman may be right. Wasn't that what happened to Johnson?

'Troops Home by Christmas,' Kirk Promises

A victory of the Labour party in the November 29 elections is "now in sight," according to Alister Taylor, writing in the November 6 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

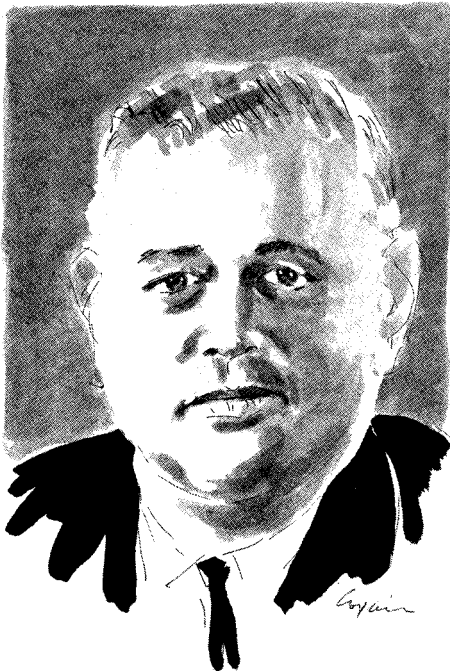
The "image" of Premier Keith Holyoake "has begun to pall," it seems. The political pundits think that maybe his election campaign "started too early." On top of that, New Zealanders "always have been suspicious of his pomposity and stage mannerisms" although they have "regarded him as a skilled politician — something which Labour leader Norman Kirk is not."

To believe Taylor, something of a miracle has been happening to Kirk, regarded up to now as a "colourless partyman."

In early October, Kirk was given little chance of victory. Now he has been aided by a big swing in Australia toward the Labor Party there. Even more important, on a nationally televised "questions and answers" session October 30, "his image began to improve while Holyoake took a dejected backseat."

Wellington's Victoria University students were heckling and jeering Kirk, particularly on foreign policy, that is, on Vietnam. To counter the pressure from the students, he promised to "have our troops home by Christmas."

"Which Christmas?" interjected a student. 'This Christmas!' shouted



KIRK: If elected, will he keep pledge?

Kirk. As the audience stood and cheered Kirk realised for the first time he was now irrevocably committed to a timetable for withdrawal. Later he tried to modify it by stating that 'negotiations on withdrawal would start before Christmas' if Labour took office around December 10. A Labour government, Kirk said, would replace troops with 'substantially increased constructive aid to South Vietnam.'

Kirk's party also passed a resolution at a conference calling for withdrawal from SEATO. "However, a number of Labour politicians are known to be unwilling to face up to the repudiation of the American alliance which a pullout of SEATO would involve. They remain wedded to the American alliance, firmly supporting ANZUS and any new Asian regional defence pact which might be developed. Labour would recognize China and is anxious to keep troops in Malaysia."

Holyoake is sticking tough on a prowar line. He "does not intend to withdraw troops from Vietnam in 'the foreseeable future.' He just wants to be advised and consulted by President Richard Nixon about what's happening in Vietnam, and along with the Americans he too may eventually pull out New Zealand troops. Until longterm policies are decided he remains a strong defender of the Vietnam cause."

The issue of Vietnam has thus become a sharp one in the New Zealand elections. As a Nixon man, Holyoake may not make it. Kirk may win on the promise of getting the troops home by Christmas. If he does win, it would seem that he will owe his victory to the antiwar students who put him on the spot and forced him to take a stand.

Whether Kirk would actually keep his promise, once in office, is something else again.

Marcos Withdraws Filipino Troops from Vietnam

On November 14, three days after being reelected to office, the Marcos government announced that it was withdrawing the 2,000 Filipino non-combat military personnel it had sent to South Vietnam in 1966 as an "ally" of the United States.

The announcement of the troop withdrawal received little publicity in the U.S., perhaps because of pressure from the Nixon administration to ex-

ercise self-censorship in handling any news unfavorable to continuation of the Johnson-Nixon war in Vietnam.

Only last month, the State Department succeeded in blocking the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee from probing into the arrangement by which the Filipino troops were sent in the first place. The subcommittee was reported to have had learned that the \$9 million appropriated by the

Marcos government to cover the cost of sending the troops was not exactly a free and willing gesture.

A secret financial offset to this was made by the Johnson administration. Thus it could be accurately said that the Filipino troops were mercenaries.

The State Department feared that if this information were made public, it would "inflammate" nationalistic, anti-American feelings.

A Pretrial Sentence of Four Years in Prison

The trial of the "Conspiracy Eight"—left-wing figures and antiwar activists held on trumped-up charges of "conspiring" to provoke riots at the August 1968 Democratic party convention—resumed in Chicago November 6; but only seven of the defendants were present. Judge Julius J. Hoffman, in a travesty of judicial procedure, had declared a mistrial the previous day for Bobby G. Seale, the chairman of the Black Panther party, and arbitrarily sentenced the black leader to four years in prison for "contempt of court."

Seale's "crime" had been to insistently demand the right to be represented by an attorney of his choice or to be allowed to defend himself.

Judge Hoffman scandalized the country October 29 by ordering Seale chained and gagged in court to prevent the black leader from cross-examining witnesses.

After three days of chaining and gagging the defendant, Hoffman agreed to recess the trial October 31 while defense representatives flew to San Francisco to consult with Seale's

attorney, Charles Garry, who had recently undergone a gall-bladder operation and was unable to be in Chicago.

Hoffman apparently hoped that Garry could be persuaded to assume legal responsibility for Seale's defense and thus extricate the government from the position of violating the Panther spokesman's constitutional right to defend himself.

Garry replied in a statement which was read to the court November 3. He reminded the judge that he had filed a request before the trial began on September 24 for a postponement until November 15 when he would be able to attend.

"Once the trial had started," Garry said, "Mr. Seale's fundamental American constitutional right to defend himself, which he then demanded to be afforded him, was unlawfully and without cause in law, denied to him by the Government and the trial judge, and in flagrant violation of the Constitution, the Government and the trial judge proceeded with the trial."

Garry demanded that the charges be dismissed against all the defendants and that the government compensate the Black Panther leader "for the brutal, cruel, unusual and unconstitutional punishment inflicted upon him during the past two weeks of his trial." Garry said it would be unethical for him to enter a trial that had already been in progress for more than a month.

Hoffman's response was to yank Seale out of the trial and put him in prison on charges of contempt. In declaring a mistrial for Seale November 5, Hoffman set a new trial date of April 23, 1970.

In his ruling, the seventy-four-year-old hanging judge spent ninety-five minutes reading sections of the trial transcript which, he claimed, documented sixteen different incidents of "contempt." Hoffman sentenced Seale to three months on each count—a total of four years—the longest sentence for contempt of court in the history of the United States.

The statements that drew this un-

precedented sentence included comments such as:

"If I am consistently denied this right to defend myself then I can only see the judge as a blatant racist. . . ."

And: "I am not in contempt—you are the one. You are in contempt of people's constitutional rights. The people of America need to admonish you and the whole Nixon administration. . . ."

When Hoffman announced the sentence, he asked Seale if he had anything to say, warning him that he must limit his answer to the contempt ruling.

"I have nothing to say about that," Seale replied. "You punish black people all your life. They say you own factories that make things to kill people in the war in Vietnam. Ha! I have nothing to say about that. I just want to defend myself."

"I'm not in contempt of court. I know that I, as a human being, have a right to stand up in court and ask for my constitutional rights. I'll continue to ask for my rights as a black man living in the scope of racist, decadent America."

This brave defense drew applause from even the capitalist press. Judge Hoffman's handling of the case had revealed too much of the realities of "justice" in American courts.

The *New York Times* described the trial as a "farce that has been taking place under the guise of a Federal judicial proceeding." In a November 7 editorial the *Times* said:

"The trial raises a number of serious questions. Foremost is the basic right of dissent and the constitutionality of the law making it a Federal crime to cross a state line with the 'intent' to participate or instigate a 'riot.' . . . Punishment instead of trial is outrageous. A glorious chapter in jurisprudence is not being written in Chicago."

Although most newspapers, including the *Times*, sought to depict Seale as a wild man who made unreasonable outbursts in court and had to be restrained, at least one column was a little more honest. J. Anthony



HOFFMAN: In his court, it is verboten for defendants to speak through their gag or to rattle their chains.



BOBBY SEALE: "I'll continue to ask for my rights as a black man. . ."

Lukas wrote in the November 9 *New York Times*:

"Mr. Seale's adamant demand for his constitutional right to counsel of his choice—or, alternatively, to defend himself—stemmed both from his own style and from shrewd calculation. . .

"Mr. Seale . . . knew that he was likely to spend years in jail—if not on the charges here of conspiracy to incite riot at last year's Democratic National Convention, then on a Connecticut charge of conspiracy to commit murder for which he had been in custody even before he entered the Chicago courtroom.

"He knew that the only platform he had, perhaps for years to come, was

the courtroom—and for the past few weeks he has used it with determination and often with simple eloquence."

None of this had any impact on Judge Hoffman, who showed himself determined to carry on the vulgar spectacle with the seven remaining victims. As a last vindictive gesture toward Seale, he denied the defendant the right to be free on bail until he is tried, alone, next April. Hoffman said the Black Panther leader constituted "a major threat to the continued existence of our democratic system."

Hoffman also denied a defense motion to declare a mistrial for the remaining defendants. Defense attorneys insisted that removing Seale from the case at so late a date would prejudice the jury.

The prosecution has completed its "case" against the remaining defendants. The defense will soon have an opportunity to reply. It will show that the real conspiracy in Chicago in August 1968 was not by the defendants, but by Mayor Daley and high officials of the Democratic party who used police to stifle the right of peaceful protest.

On November 10 Daley agreed to appear in response to a defense subpoena to be cross-examined on his role in the police riot of last year. His testimony should provide an illuminating contrast to the forthright and dignified conduct of Bobby Seale. This Democratic party machine boss will long be remembered for his denunciation of those who dared to question his club-swinging cops. "They have vilified me," he said, "they have crucified me, yes they have even criticized me."

No Alarm Over Thanksgiving Bird, But. . .

November 27 will be a dismal Thanksgiving Day for many Americans this year. If they can forget the war in Vietnam long enough to thank the Good Lord for their bounteous blessings in the land of plenty, as they are supposed to, they can hardly forget the roast turkey in the middle of the table. It may be loaded with pesticide.

On November 7, the Agriculture Department announced that it had been compelled to hold 150,000 live turkeys and 4,000,000 pounds of tur-

key meat off the market because it was tainted with heptachlor residue.

It was claimed that all the birds were traced to one company supplied by Arkansas farms. Reassuring statements were issued. But who knows?

Just to be on the safe side, the Public Health Service said that heptachlor poisoning can result in convulsions and quick death if the dosage is high, or loss of appetite, vomiting, headaches, nausea, dizziness, and brain damage if exposure is less.

U.S.A.

'I See Battlefields'

Gen. William C. Westmoreland, the chief of staff of the U. S. army, admitted October 14 in Washington that Vietnam may not go down as "the most glorious chapter in American combat history." He argued, however, that the war was productive in other ways. The lessons were, in his opinion, of extraordinary importance.

"No more than ten years," he said, "should separate us from the automated battlefield."

He predicted sensors in the automated battlefield to keep track of "enemy" movement, tactical computers to "evaluate" the flood of reports, and "heavy firepower" to act quickly on this "intelligence."

"I see battlefields or combat areas that are under 24-hour real or near-real time surveillance of all types," said the general.

"I see battlefields on which we can destroy anything we locate through instant communications and almost instantaneous application of highly lethal firepower."

With mounting enthusiasm for the world of the future, General Westmoreland continued: "On the battlefield of the future, enemy forces will be located, tracked and targeted almost instantaneously through the use of data-links, computer-assisted intelligence evaluation and automated fire-control. With first-round kill probabilities approaching certainty, and, with surveillance devices that can continually track the enemy, the need for large forces to fix the opposition physically will be less important."

Mentioning the radar, infrared, laser, and night-vision devices in use in Vietnam, Westmoreland said that the military had hundreds of new devices in hand or under development. "Our problem now is to further our knowledge, exploit our technology and—equally important—to incorporate all these devices into an integrated land combat system."

Will there be any humans on a planet converted into an automated battlefield? Westmoreland did not say. That question does not compute in the skulls of the Pentagon's robots.

A Year of 'Military Reformism'

By Livio Maitan

It has been nearly a year since President Belaúnde fell. An experiment which had begun under the aegis of reformism and under the auspices of a considerable sector of the national bourgeoisie ended up in the most miserable way in the wake of the scandalous and fraudulent agreement between the Peruvian government and the American IPC [International Petroleum Company].

Any change, however small, had proved absolutely impossible in the framework of a policy that lacked the courage to infringe on the interests of imperialism in any way, that was anxious to avoid any break with the land-holding oligarchy, and that accepted a traditional institutional mechanism enabling the most conservative forces to paralyze any initiative they considered dangerous.

The immediate causes of the military coup which brought General Juan Velasco Alvarado to power were as follows: economic difficulties—above all, an extremely burdensome domestic national debt—a political crisis which among other things led to a split in President Belaúnde's own party; growing outrage among all sectors of public opinion resulting from a series of scandals of every kind; flare-ups of mass movements, which while localized in certain villages and regions still represented very significant symptoms.

Within the framework of the system, a regime based fundamentally on the army was the only possible alternative. But what was this alternative to be more precisely? Was Peru to have a "gorilla" regime like that of Brazil and other Latin-American countries at various times?

A knowledge of the tendencies existing in the Peruvian army would have made it possible to understand from the beginning that there was also another variant, a variant that, with all due sense of proportion, might be characterized as "Nasserite." In fact, since last October the country has been the theater of a nationalist-reformist political operation of unquestionable

scope, which has aroused serious fears in the conservative and proimperialist circles and which has not failed to sow a certain confusion generally in the workers' and revolutionary movement.

Let us remember that already in 1962, at the time of the coup d'etat that brought Pérez Godoy to power, the revolutionary Marxists drew attention to the tendencies existing in the army and the specific character of the military regime which had been installed.¹

It would have been well to return to this analysis when the occasion called for it and not to forget that it was the government of Pérez Godoy that created the Institute for Agrarian Reform (IRA), for example, and that opened the gates of power to the representatives of the more "modern" strata of the national bourgeoisie in the final analysis. The party of these layers of the national bourgeoisie, moreover, was the only one of the big traditional parties that did not express hostility toward the military coup.

It could be said that the progressive wing of the military found Belaúnde deeply disappointing. That is why it decided to overthrow him and assume direct responsibility for an adventurous policy which the civilian governments had proved themselves completely incapable of carrying through.

Several times on other occasions I have stressed that in certain circumstances in underdeveloped neocolonial countries the army may represent the only solid and coherent force, the only instrument of rule which can be used with a minimum of efficiency. This occurs where the traditional ruling classes can no longer play the role they played in the past and where the bourgeois layers remain limited, weak, and insufficiently organized. More specifically, it occurs in situations of social disintegration and political brawling.

This function of the armed forces is the fundamental reason for the veri-

table mushrooming of open or camouflaged military regimes in Latin America as well as in Africa and Asia. But this does not mean that the only possible variant is an ultrareactionary dictatorship dominated by the most narrow-minded and brutal "gorillas."

For some time now tendencies have been developing among the military officers who are concerned about the long-term fate of the system, who understand the need for less irrational and more efficient economic development. And, although these officers most often have been educated in American military schools, they do not entirely lack impulses of national dignity.

These tendencies in the military realize that an improvement in the living standards of the broad masses, and the peasants first of all, is a precondition for averting or staving off revolutionary explosions, guerrilla movements, and civil wars.

At a time when all of Latin-American society is being shaken by an increasingly grave crisis, and even the Catholic Church itself is being shaken by an ever-deepening crisis, the army itself cannot be a homogeneous mass of hate-blinded reactionary "gorillas." This is all the more true because a considerable part of its cadres come from the middle classes, which most often live in difficult and insecure conditions.²

The junta's first spectacular measure was the confiscation of the Talara refinery owned by the IPC. This was a move of greater symbolic value than practical importance.

In fact, the blow dealt to American holdings was minimal, if you bear in mind that all the U.S.'s investments in the petroleum sector come to rough-

2. General Velasco Alvarado himself comes from a family of modest circumstances; and, in a conversation with *Le Monde's* correspondent Marcel Niedergang, he stressed the fact that the majority of the military officers have come from the middle classes.

1. See my article, "Amérique Latine 1962," *Quatrième Internationale*, December 1962.

ly 6 percent of its total investment in the country.

It must not be forgotten either that after the measure against the IPC, the military government granted petroleum concessions to other American companies, including Gulf Oil.

Nonetheless, everyone wondered at the time whether the American government would react on the basis of a violation of basic principles or whether it would prefer to view the affair from the empirical standpoint of its actual importance. It became clear quite rapidly that the imperialist administration had chosen the second alternative.

On December 5, 1968, the junta published a kind of manifesto, which was, so to speak, a programmatic statement. This declaration included discussion of long-term economic objectives, planning, a reform of business institutions with the workers sharing in the profits, a credit reform, the formation of cooperation — and all under state supervision. At the same time diplomatic and trade overtures were made to the European workers states.

An anecdote which I have not been able to verify, illustrates the junta's choice. Two progressive Brazilian economists, who had taken refuge in Peru, were already preparing to leave the country for fear of the military regime when they were brought before General Velasco. He asked them to submit an analysis of the country's economic situation and possibilities to him in the shortest possible time.

University Law 17437 was another manifestation of the policy the junta had chosen. The objective was to reorganize education in the direction of strengthening scientific studies. If we can use European terminology, it was a neocapitalist reform. At the same time, it involved eliminating the old setup of university autonomy, including student participation in the administration (*el tercio estudiantil*—"the student third").

The student organizations were drained of their political content. Later, however, the government made some concessions, including one-third student participation in a university assembly. In a typically Bonapartist maneuver, General Velasco Alvarado himself sought to establish direct contact with the students to discuss the problems of concern to them.

A crucially important problem which the government had to confront was the question of the limit of territorial

waters. (Peru, like other countries in Latin America, has set this limit at 200 miles, that is, a line far beyond the one established by the old international conventions which favor the big imperialist powers.)

Involved in this question was one of the "new" strata of the indigenous bourgeoisie, the section active in fishing and the fish-meal industry. In the last decade, this sector has been one of the most dynamic (Peru is the world's biggest producer of fish meal).³

A reduction of the offshore limit would benefit the American fishing companies, especially the ones operating out of California, which have ordered their boats to violate the line fixed by Peru. It was precisely the machine-gunning of a California fishing boat by a Peruvian naval vessel that touched off sharp tension between Peru and the United States and again raised the question of the 200-mile limit in a sharp form.

But the step of the military regime that aroused the greatest astonishment abroad and led Fidel Castro himself to take a position on it this last July was the adoption of the agrarian reform law. It was in fact an agrarian law which, at least on paper, seemed radical. The law applies to the entire national territory with the partial exception of the *Selva* [tropical forest areas]. By this fact alone, the new law takes on an entirely different character from the previous regime's agrarian reform. Some expropriations have already taken place.

The basic standards set by the reform are as follows:

- For the coastal regions (where the capitalist-type enterprises are located as a rule) the property limit was set at 150 hectares [about 371 acres] in the case of land under cultivation and 1,500 hectares for land reserved for grazing.

- For the *Sierra* [mountainous region] and the *Ceja de Selva* [area bordering the tropical forest], the limit ranges from fifteen to fifty-five hectares but it can be quadrupled in the cases of landowners who pay wages above the necessary minimum, who possess basic capital improvements, or who are in good standing in their tax

payments and who distribute profits to the workers.

- In the case of industrial farms, the economic unit will be maintained through the formation of cooperatives or agricultural companies.

- The owners of expropriated land are entitled to compensation. For livestock, compensation will be paid in cash, while for land, cash compensation will be guaranteed up to a million soles [\$25,580]. For claims above that, the state has issued bonds for 15,000,000,000 soles which will be given to owners affected by the reform. These bonds will be transformable into industrial stocks through state intervention on behalf of those who want to invest in industry and can cover 50 percent of their investment with cash (the other 50 percent will be made up by the bonds).

- The peasants who get land — the minimum land holdings are set at three hectares — will have twenty years to pay the mortgages (the first payment having to be made within five years).

The meaning and objective of the reform are, then, quite clear. These are measures which will favor the richest and most "modern" strata; and, to the extent that they are realized, will produce a restructuring of the ruling classes.

On the one hand, capitalist agriculture will be strengthened and stimulated; on the other, resources will be drained off toward industrial development. The countryside is to emerge more perceptibly than in the past from its relative isolation by breaking the cycle of subsistence farming.

From the social standpoint, the "modern" bourgeois sectors are to grow and at the same time a layer is supposed to emerge of peasants and smallholders who would be less subject to revolutionary temptations than poverty-stricken landless peasants.

So far, American imperialism has adopted a very prudent attitude. Tensions have risen; for example, at the time of the affair with the California fishing boat, but at the same time there have been conciliatory declarations and measures.

For example, this May, while exploring the Peruvian government's decision against a visit by Rockefeller, the State Department let it be known that there was no danger of a rupture between Peru and the United States and continued training Peruvian offi-

3. The greater part of the capital is Peruvian but there is already major American involvement which, according to the estimates, ranges between 25 and 40 percent.

cers in the Canal Zone. After the agrarian reform was passed, Washington declared that the new law was in line with the Alliance for Progress. In August the Interamerican Bank granted Peru an \$80 million loan.

Such an attitude shows clearly that the United States has learned the lesson of Cuba and did not want to precipitate a major crisis by an extreme response. Moreover, this attitude also represents a line of favoring reinforcement of the more modern capitalist sectors, which in the last analysis have the prospect of gaining and not losing from the new course in Peru.

Let us remember that the American interests that have not been touched are incomparably more important than those that are being or will be infringed upon and that compromises are possible on the fishing question. And, finally, let us remember that to a certain extent tensions between the U.S. and Peru dovetail with tensions among different layers of the American capitalist class. (Even in the fishing question, those American investors in the fishing and fish-meal industry in Peru do not have the same interests as certain California companies).⁴

The State Department could be all the more "moderate" because the turn in Peru was not the result of a mass movement whose dynamics might give cause for fear but was carried out under the control of military officers.

In fact, Velasco Alvarado wants to play a Bonapartist role, exploiting the support of the masses while favoring the "modern" sections of the national bourgeoisie. And it is possible that he will maintain himself in power by plebiscitary votes.⁵

But he is carefully trying to avert any independent mass mobilization by alternating paternalistic attitudes with repression (such as the measures against the students in Cuzco and Lima, the repressions against the peasants in Huanta and Ayacucho, and the intervention against the Mala miners and the Cerro de Pasco workers).

Though it is not excluded that the

government may make some spectacular decision with regard to certain prisoners and that it has already apparently made some overtures toward the 1965-66 political emigrés, the regime will not relax its grip.

The answer Velasco Alvarado is said to have given to a foreign journalist who asked him if he considered it opportune to mobilize the masses to block any coups by the oligarchy is an eloquent expression of his attitude. Velasco is supposed to have said: "Why should I do that if I can use the army?"

The plans of the military regime, then, seem clear: a rather radical reformist policy involving restructuring the ruling classes and making possible the creation of a base in the peasantry and some layers of the urban petty bourgeoisie;⁶ giving a new impetus to economic development; a readjustment of relations with the United States, especially with certain sectors of imperialist capital; a move toward certain workers states (the USSR and the East European countries) and an attempt at a détente with Cuba; use of the army as the essential agency of the normal functioning and defense of the system; and isolation of the revolutionary vanguard that inspired the struggles of 1962-64 and 1965.

Under the most favorable variant, Velasco and the wing of the national bourgeoisie which supports him would achieve all these objectives. However, there is a considerable gap between laying out perspectives and realizing them. The military regime will have to confront a series of intricate problems and it is hard now to predict exactly how it will come out on these.

First of all, the economic problems persist. For example, the domestic national debt has not shrunk and remains extremely burdensome. Secondly, the achievement of a new kind of relationship with the United States may not get beyond pious wishes inasmuch as the banks, which are tightly linked to American interests, retain full control over the economic life as a whole.

As for the oligarchy and the conservative currents in general which are fearful of having to pay for the reformist operation, their prudence today — doubtless inspired by the United States — should not deceive anyone.

These forces are only waiting for a favorable occasion to launch their counterattack. For the time being they are retrenching themselves in local positions of strength, which have substantial weight and offer considerable possibilities for maneuver and engaging in provocations (note the role played by the local strongmen in the brutal repression in Huanta).

A similar attitude is held by the traditional political teams, which are not ready to leave the stage. (This is especially true of APRA [Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana — American People's Revolutionary Alliance, an old radical nationalist party turned proimperialist], whose influence persists, especially in certain regions.)

It must also be taken into consideration that in the army itself the conservative tendencies are far from having disappeared; and they might, under certain circumstances, bloc with other right-wing forces and certain imperialist sectors.

Finally, in the specific case of the agrarian reform, enforcement of this law will run up against enormous difficulties. We can rely on the landowners and their lawyers to find all sorts of escape clauses and loopholes, etc., even aside from the economic problems that will arise.

Furthermore, what would happen if, regardless of the wishes of the junta, the masses in general, including the peasants, mobilize and intervene as an active factor? This is an essential point we can bet Velasco Alvarado is the first to wonder about. . .

* * *

The Peruvian revolutionary Marxists face first of all the task — and they are already carrying it out⁷ — of carefully analyzing the changes that have occurred and of strictly defining the nature of the military regime. Any weakness in analysis would inevitably lead either to sectarian and dogmatic attitudes or to opportunistic concessions.

It is evident that some will want — in fact, they have already seized the occasion to do so — to drag out their old line on the so-called progressive

4. This is stressed in an article by Niedergang (*Le Monde*, September 12, 1969). The facts in this article are generally useful.

5. Among the more recent decisions of the government, along with nationalization of the country's water resources, was the decision to undertake a constitutional reform that would give the right to vote to illiterates, that is, the great majority of the population.

6. After the seizure of power, Velasco decided to shorten the workweek of the state bureaucracy. It is true, however, that later he laid off clerks in certain ministries.

7. At this writing, I have a draft document in my hands submitted for discussion in the FIR, Hugo Blanco's organization. As soon as it is adopted in its final form, we will publish it. I have already made considerable use of it in my analysis.

nature of the national bourgeoisie and the necessity of collaborating with it.

At the same time, others will see only the repressive side of the regime, a military government, etc., and limit themselves to empty "denunciations."

It is obviously essential to "denounce" the Velasco regime, exposing its class nature and procapitalist dynamics. But at the same time it is necessary to move into position to intervene in the actual play of the existing forces, striving at all costs to regenerate and revive the mass movement. Velasco's "reformist" paternalism must be broken by the independent action of the workers and peasants.

The appeal of the FIR [Frente de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Left Front, the Peruvian section of the Fourth International] to the students to intervene in the struggle for agrarian reform in the countryside—which was published in the previous issue of *Quatrième Internationale*⁸—is an absolutely correct guideline in this regard.

The revolutionary Marxists will fight to make the agrarian reform bring real changes. They will fight to get it carried through without the peasants having to pay for the land they receive, to have the cooperatives organized by the peasants themselves on the basis of the *comunidad* [indigenous communal] forms.

They will demand the expropriation of the banks and the nationalization of foreign trade, which is the only way to break the imperialist grip. They will demand workers control in the nationalized enterprises.

They will struggle for the right of the working class, the peasants, and the radicalized petty-bourgeois strata to freely organize political parties and trade unions.

And they will fight for the independence of new student organizations, which through their participation in the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle, will avoid any temptation to isolate themselves along professional lines.

Finally, they will demand unconditional release of all the political prisoners beginning with Hugo Blanco, the symbol of the revolutionary peasant struggles in Peru.

September 25.

⁸ See *Intercontinental Press*, September 22, p. 839.

Gulf Oil Declares War

Projects Pincers Attack on Bolivia

Gulf Oil Corporation is lobbying in Washington for retaliation against Bolivia if sufficient "compensation" is not paid for the Gulf holdings nationalized in that country October 17. The company also announced that it would use private means to put pressure on the military regime of General Alfredo Ovando Candia.

This two-pronged strategy was outlined at a press conference held by Gulf's chairman, E. D. Brockett, in Washington October 30. The *Wall Street Journal* reported that Brockett "warned that any effort by Bolivia to sell oil abroad will be countered by an 'embargo.'"

Brockett said he was "confident" his firm could secure an injunction against the sale of Bolivian oil in the United States. The *Wall Street Journal* added that Brockett "indicated he thought it likely similar marketing bans could be enforced in such other potential markets as Japan."

On the second front, the report said, "The prospect of a crackdown by the U. S. government on Bolivia was also invoked. Mr. Brockett remarked pointedly that the so-called Hickenlooper Amendment is 'the law of the land'—and contended that this seizure would clearly call for its application if compensation isn't prompt."

This law requires cutting off all American aid to any country that nationalizes U. S.-owned businesses without "just" compensation. Washington has refrained from invoking the Hickenlooper Amendment in Peru where a military junta also nationalized U. S.-owned oil operations at the end of 1968.

At present, Bolivia, the poorest country in continental Latin America, receives \$15 million per year in U. S. "aid," although most of this has strings attached requiring purchases of certain American goods that could be had at better prices from other countries.

General Ovando has offered to pay Gulf an unspecified amount in installments from the proceeds of Bolivian oil exports. Gulf has refused to accept this, claiming that it still owns all the oil produced at its former holdings.

Gulf's stand is in contradiction even with U. S. law, written to protect the interests of American corporations in their colonial adventures. Washington officially recognizes the right of other countries to nationalize property if "compensation" is paid. The use of revenues from property that has been nationalized is not banned.

Gulf has refused to name a figure it would consider "fair" for compensation. It has indicated it will demand far more than its actual investment in Bolivia. The *Wall Street Journal* reported: "It [Gulf] contends it should recover investment of about \$150 million plus an allowance for profits which could have been anticipated in the future."

The Bolivian oil fields represented only a tiny fraction—1.1 percent—of Gulf's worldwide production. Bolivia, in producing some 2.2 million tons of crude oil in 1968, ranked in eighth place among the ten oil-producing countries of Latin America. Venezuela, with 188.4 million tons of crude oil in 1968, ranked as number one by a wide margin. (Peru, with 4.2 million tons, ranked only slightly higher than Bolivia.)

Bolivia has hoped to export its oil to neighboring Latin-American countries, particularly Peru. The Gulf executive indicated his company would try to prevent this. He also pointed to the fact that Bolivian crude oil is of such thin quality that it is mainly refined into gasoline, while the prime industrial demand in Latin America is for fuel oil.

Marcel Niedergang, in the October 29 English-language weekly edition of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, indicates some of the pressures that have forced the otherwise pro-American dictatorships in Peru and Bolivia to take over U. S. oil companies.

These regimes have traditionally accepted the unfavorable balance of trade imposed by American imperialism, and have allowed U. S. corporate giants to extract millions in profits without significantly furthering local industrialization. Recently, however, the relationship has been altered still

more unfavorably for the oil-producing countries in Latin America.

The "rules of the game between the United States and the oil-producing countries of the Western Hemisphere," Niedergang writes, "are being modified by Washington's need to assure its strategic reserves, and by changes taking place in the international market."

"The east coast of the United States will soon be able to get Alaskan crude oil at \$1 a barrel, and Venezuela's oil is bound to appear very costly by comparison."

President Nixon, in a March 4 press conference, suggested that it was not magnanimity that kept him from in-

voking the Hickenlooper Amendment in Peru: "I hope that is not necessary because that would have a domino effect all over Latin America."

Even without direct retaliation by Washington, the dominoes have begun to fall. The October 17 seizure of Gulf's Bolivia operation was the most dramatic incident, but Ecuador has demanded that Texaco give up two-thirds of its concessions in that country, while left-wing parties in Chile have introduced bills calling for nationalization of the American oil corporations.

These are all small producers. The big dominoes — Venezuela, Mexico, and Argentina — have yet to be heard from.

Bolivia

Release the Political Prisoners!

La Paz

With respect to the recent developments, the La Paz Regional Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] states the following:

1. The nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. is a triumph of the Bolivian people and its revolutionary sectors. It is a battle won in the war of national and social liberation that the Bolivians are waging against capitalist exploitation and imperialist oppression.

In saluting this popular victory and declaring our support to it, we Trotskyists remind the people that this anti-imperialist triumph is bound up with the struggle of the Nancahuazú guerrillas, with Che Guevara, Inti Peredo, and their comrades. It is a result of the struggle of these fighters, who, in March 1967 and later, said, "Enough imperialist exploitation!" and by their example and their heroism touched a responsive chord in our entire Bolivian fatherland.

2. The expulsion of the Gulf Oil Co. is a step forward. But the struggle of revolutionists does not end there, because no other road to civilization and progress for the peoples is possible but the one that leads through socialist construction.

If the capitalist system is retained,

if the oppressive structure continues with the bourgeoisie in power, imperialism will find ways to pervert this conquest and integrate it into its machinery, as was the case with the measures enacted under the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria — Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] regime.

Therefore, we call upon the Bolivian masses to mobilize and close ranks around the consistent revolutionists, who, arms in hand, opened up the road for the liberation of Bolivia. We call upon the masses to remain alert against the machinations of the defenders and lackeys of imperialism and those others who would substitute tinkering and piecemeal measures from above for the great revolutionary march of socialism which is generated from below.

Every step forward, every triumph, must be consolidated; but we cannot stop there, we must go forward.

3. The struggle against imperialism in Bolivia has its martyrs, its heroes, its victims. To those who gave their lives, like Che Guevara, Inti Peredo, and their companions, we pay grateful homage in this hour when the people have dealt a blow to imperialism.

But for the victims of this patriotic struggle, who crowd the prisons, we

demand unconditional release. If we are going to fight imperialism, it makes no sense to continue persecuting and imprisoning the best anti-imperialist fighters.

Together with the revolutionary people, we demand the immediate release of Felipe Vásquez, J. Moreno, Córdova, Chambi, Ortega, Pereja, Orosa, and all the revolutionary patriots imprisoned in the Panóptico de San Pedro.

At the same time, we demand the release of Loyola Guzmán, Tertu T. de Orosa, Geraldine de Coronado, who are being held in the Obrajes women's prison; Régis Debray and C. Bustos who are in the military prison in Camiri.

Together with the revolutionary people, we Trotskyists demand cessation of the furious persecution and the attacks on the liberty of the general secretary of the POR, Hugo González Moscoso, and all our national leaders.

The release of the revolutionary fighters will also be a victory over imperialism!

For the La Paz Regional Committee of the POR:

José F. Mirabel M.; Juan M. Alegría L.; Macario Plata Siles.

October 17, 1969.

Czechoslovakia

Uncover Dangerous Crossword Puzzle

Under the inspiring direction of Moscow's political police, the Husák regime is gradually making Czechoslovakia once again safe for Stalinism.

A recent example of prize detective work was the discovery of a counter-revolutionary crossword puzzle in the pages of *Prace*, the journal of the trade unions.

A definition read: "Name of a national Czechoslovak hero."

The solution was "Palach," the name of the young student who set himself on fire last year to protest the Soviet invasion.

Prace was fined 50,000 crowns [almost \$7,000] for the crime.

Open Letter to the Lanka Sama Samaja Party

[We are publishing below the full text of an open letter, dated August 9, 1969, addressed to the delegates of a congress of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party of Ceylon by the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary).

[The LSSP(R) is the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. It was founded in 1964 by members of the LSSP who, adhering to the principles of Trotskyism, rejected the coalitionist policy adopted at the time by the LSSP leadership.]

* * *

Comrades,

Many of you will recall the Special Conference of the LSSP that was held on the 6th and 7th of June 1964. It was the vote of five hundred Party members at that conference, for a proposal put forward by Com. N.M. Perera and twenty other members of the Central Committee, that led to the formation of the Coalition Government between the LSSP and the SLFP, four days after the conference.

According to Com. N.M.'s proposal, the C.C. was authorized to negotiate with the SLFP for a coalition government to be formed, on the basis of a "minimum programme" of 10 points, with three LSSP Ministers in it. The portfolios of Finance & Planning, Internal & External Trade, and Nationalised Services were to be requested.

The traditional theorists of the Party, Coms. Leslie, Colvin, Bernard and Doric, together with four other members of the C. C., put forward an alternative resolution for a coalition government. They proposed that the coalition agreement should be between the United Left Front, that had not yet been pronounced dead at the time, and the SLFP. The agreement, they said, should be "on a series of measures to be implemented within one year", and these measures had to include "measures which are capable of enthusing the masses and of securing their active participation". What those measures were to be, they did not specify. As regards portfolios, their proposal was the same as Com. N.M.'s. Their resolution was opposed by the overwhelming majority, and only 75 members voted for it.

Fourteen members of the C. C. put forward a resolution rejecting all proposals for a coalition government with the SLFP, "on any basis whatsoever". This resolution declared as follows:

"To agree to accept office in Mrs. Bandaranaike's Government, either separately or in association with the other parties in the United Left Front would be to agree to join hands with the SLFP Government in staving off the rising tide of working class and mass discontent against it, and to seek to provide working class collaboration with its policy of maintaining capitalism in Ceylon within the capitalist constitutional framework.

"The entry of the LSSP leaders into the SLFP Govern-

ment will result in open class collaboration, the disorientation of the masses, the division of the working class and the abandonment of the struggle-perspective, which will lead to the disruption of the working class movement and the elimination of the independent revolutionary axis of the Left. In the result, the forces of capitalist reaction, far from being weakened or thwarted, will be ultimately strengthened".

One hundred and fifty-nine members voted for the anti-coalition resolution, and the majority of them left the conference after the voting on 7th June, and formed the LSSP(R) the same night.

Five years have passed since then. Now, the LSSP(R), striving resolutely to unify the working class on the path of the class struggle against the capitalist class and the capitalist state, extends its fraternal greetings to you on the occasion of your Party's conference, at which the question of the formation of another coalition government, under SLFP leadership, is to be discussed.

We think that it will be useful for you to address your minds to the matters that we have set out below.

The 10-Point Minimum Programme of 1964

The 10 points of the programme, on the basis of which the LSSP entered into the SLFP-led Coalition Government in June 1964, were:

1. All companies registered in Ceylon and all resident individuals should be required by law to maintain their accounts in the Bank of Ceylon and/or the People's Bank only.

2. Legislation should be introduced to control the activities of agency houses.

3. The export of capital, dividends and profits should be restricted still further.

4. New administrative regulations should be introduced to make it possible to retire government officers who hamper work or are inefficient or deliberately uncooperative in pushing forward government work.

5. Workers' Committees, elected by secret ballot, should be set up in every public corporation or utility. Such committees shall be associated with management at all levels. They should have legal powers to check waste, inefficiency and corruption and the right to make proposals to improve the work of these institutions.

Vigilance Committees should be set up by administrative regulations in all government departments and departments of semi-government institutions. Such committees should have powers to check inefficiency and sabotage and to make proposals to improve the work of the department concerned vis-a-vis the public.

In every V. C. or local body, Peoples' Committees should be established to inspect the distributive trade, thereby help-

ing to fight hoarding, the black market, and corruption.

6. The State Trading Corporation should take over all essential imports and gradually extend its activities to exports as well.

The CWE should have the monopoly of wholesale distribution. Retail distribution should be through the co-operatives and private retailers. Where necessary, state retail shops should be opened.

The maximum wholesale and retail price should be fixed by law for each item.

7. The machinery for economic planning should be made effective and proper ways and means devised to associate the trade unions and the people with the preparation and carrying out of economic plans.

8. Special courts should be established to deal expeditiously with cases of bribery or corruption and the legal punishment of profiteering and hoarding should be enhanced.

9. The monopoly of the daily press by the private

capitalist concerns should be ended.

10. The G.P.S. should be cleaned up to ensure that the cultivator gets full value for his product.

The services of the People's Bank should be extended to the rural areas.

The Paddy Lands Act should apply to all paddy lands including those in the colonisation scheme.

Landlords should be removed from cultivation committees. These committees should be given enhanced powers, including the power to put *ande goviyas* back in possession of lands while litigation regarding tenancy rights is pending.

Having regard to what the LSSP aimed to do on the basis of the 10-point "minimum programme", can any of you be surprised that the Coalition Government of 1964 failed to enthuse even the Party's own membership, from the point of view of the advancement of the interests of the working class or of any other section of the people?

What Are the Class Interests to be Served Through the Common Programme?

The Velona Strike

Many of you may recall a small but significant episode in the class struggle that occurred during the term of office of the Coalition Government. That was the strike of several hundreds of workers at the Velona factory in Moratuwa, which took place following the arbitrary suspension of some of the workers who had organised a union in that workplace. They had done so in the belief that the Coalition Government would protect them against victimisation. Instead of doing so, the Government permitted the open use of thuggery and police violence against the strikers on several occasions. In that situation, the LSSP leadership became highly embarrassed by the strike. One Party leader even went to the extent of declaring publicly that the strikers were provoking the police in order to embarrass the LSSP. Thereafter, when the big capitalist owner of the factory dismissed all the workers on strike, the workers demanded that the Government should take over the factory and restore them to employment. Far from supporting this demand, the Party leadership publicly opposed it, since it went beyond the limits of the programme of the Coalition Government.

Does the "Common Programme" offer to workers any more security against victimisation and exploitation by capitalist employers than the Coalition Government of 1964 gave the workers at Velona? The programme itself provides no guarantee in that respect.

Fight Against Bureaucracy, Bribery, Corruption, Etc.

The "Common Programme", like the "minimum programme", contemplates the setting up of Workers Councils in government workplaces, "to associate workers in the management". It also contemplates the setting up of Advisory Committees in government offices "to combat bureaucracy, inefficiency, corruption, sabotage and waste", and People's Committees "to fight the black-market and

also to safeguard their vital interests and promote their welfare."

Under the Coalition Government of 1964, it was the heads of departments who were required to set up the Workers Councils and Advisory Committees, through departmental circulars. Where such councils or committees were set up in this way, they proved to be incapable of serving any of the purposes that the "minimum programme" envisaged. Furthermore, several members of such committees were victimised for their trouble, after the UNP Government took office. The futility of trying to fight the state bureaucracy, within the framework of the capitalist administrative system, was proved to the hilt under the Coalition Government. Even Com. N.M. Perera, as the Finance Minister of that Government, proved to be utterly impotent in the conflicts he had with big bureaucrats, like permanent secretaries and heads of departments, despite the threat of compulsory retirement of such officers that were contained in the "minimum programme". One important reason for his failure was that the Coalition Government, as such, was not prepared to take any action against the bureaucrats whom the LSSP wanted to remove. Will the tale be any different under another SLFP-dominated Coalition Government?

We believe that even the most well-intentioned ideas of fighting bureaucracy, bribery and corruption, black-marketing etc., or any of the other inherent evils of the decaying capitalist system in Ceylon, will prove to be as completely futile as they proved to be under the Coalition Government of 1964.

All talk of associating workers in the management of state enterprises, as the "Common Programme" does, or of associating "trade unions and people in general with the preparation and carrying out of economic plans", as the "minimum programme" did, will also prove to be as empty as it proved to be under the Coalition Government of 1964. It may be recalled, in this connection, that Com. N.M. was so preoccupied with his ministerial duties under the Coalition Government, that he did not even find any time to spare for any discussion with the

trade union locals of the LSSP itself, either in regard to any of his plans or their problems!

Today, the UNP Government also talks of introducing measures to provide for "workers participation in management". This is only intended to secure workers' collaboration *with* the management, and is the very opposite of the concept of "workers' management".

Democratic Rights and the Constitution

The "Common Programme" mentions the establishment of a "Constituent Assembly" and the introduction of a new Constitution. When and how and by whom this Constituent Assembly is to be established is not stated. What is stated is that the Constitution "will declare Ceylon to be a free, sovereign and independent Republic, pledged to realise our objective of a socialist democracy; and will also secure fundamental rights and freedoms to all citizens, including their right to work and to personal property".

It should be noted that the only specific reference to a democratic right in the "Common Programme" is contained in the assurance of "full political rights" to employees in the public sector. In view of this specific assurance, the complete absence of any assurance of the removal of any other existing limitations of democratic rights, or existing provisions for the repression of even such rights as now exist, through the use of "emergency powers" under the Public Security Ordinance, or special powers provided under other repressive laws like the Police Ordinance and the Industrial Disputes Act, is very significant.

Even the assurance given to public servants significantly omits to make any reference to the question of the removal of the serious limitations imposed upon their trade union rights, under the special provisions in the Trade Unions Ordinance, which the UNP Government introduced in 1948. Trade unions of public servants, as distinct from individual employees, are also not assured of any political rights, as such.

The promise of drawing up a charter of workers' rights, like the promise of a new constitution, can in no way make up for the complete absence in the programme itself of any section in which democratic rights are expressly defined, let alone guaranteed. This can be ominous for the working class, the minorities and any other sections of the masses that might resort to mass action against exploitation or oppression under a government set up on the basis of the "Common Programme".

The "Bandaranaike Policies" and "Socialist Democracy"

The preamble to the "Common Programme" commences with the statement that it is "in pursuance of the Bandaranaike policies" that the three parties to the Coalition will seek to "establish in Ceylon a Socialist democracy". The real objective of the SLFP-led coalition has thus to be gathered not only from what is stated in the programme, but also from the political meaning of the phrase "Bandaranaike policies".

What the "Bandaranaike policies" were, under the various

Bandaranaike Governments, from April 1956 to March 1965, we all know. What they are likely to be, if an SLFP-led Coalition Government is formed after the next general elections, remains to be seen, both in respect of their "democratic" as well as their "socialist" aspects.

The "Common Programme" contains nothing to assure the working class or the minorities or any other sections of the people that their democratic rights will be respected any more than they have been under any capitalist government up to now, whether it has been headed by the SLFP or the UNP. In fact, one of the most hated features of capitalist rule in Ceylon, under the conditions of the continuing worsening of mass living standards, has been the use of the police, the military and other means of repression, against any active manifestation of mass discontent.

The economic aspects of the "Common Programme" only confirm that the "Bandaranaike policies" are primarily intended to promote the interests of the Ceylonese capitalist class, within the framework of existing capitalist property relations, and subject to the continuing domination of Imperialism over the economy as a whole.

The so-called "Socialist aspect" of the "Common Programme" really means no more than that the *capitalist* state is to continue to play an active role in the economy, through state-owned industries, state-banking, state-import of essential commodities, and extension of state-trading in the export sector. Such state enterprise or activity has as little to do with Socialism as the bank nationalisation recently decided upon by Indira Gandhi's Congress Government in India, or the nationalisation of the Katanga mines in the Congo (Africa), by the reactionary Mobutu Government, or the take-over of the property of the American oil companies in Peru (South America), without compensation, by the militarist government of that country. All such measures are intended to preserve capitalist rule and *not* to overthrow it. To call them Socialist, would be as much a mockery of the term as to call the UNP Government "Socialist", because it nationalised the Trincomalee Port, or because it also pursues "Bandaranaike policies", to the extent of maintaining and even extending state activity in certain sectors of the economy, whilst promoting the interests of the Ceylonese capitalist class as it sees best.

The "Common Programme" declares that the Government that is sought to be established by the Coalition parties, in pursuance of the "Bandaranaike policies", is to be called the "People's Government". The only role that is assigned to the people, according to the programme, is to work for national development and to collaborate with the Government in carrying out its programme. Those who do not do so, will be liable to be denounced as "enemies of the people", in the style of all Governments that describe themselves in the same way, whilst actually serving interests that are alien to those of the people.

The Position of the LSSP Today

Dominance of the SLFP

When the LSSP took its original decision to enter a coalition government under the leadership of the SLFP,

most of you genuinely believed that the LSSP would thereby *increase the political influence of the LSSP* in the mass movement, and especially on the SLFP following amongst the masses. The SLFP leadership was considered to be not only politically immature but also so weak that once the LSSP entered into a coalition with the SLFP, the political relationship of forces within the Coalition would be transformed to the political advantage of the LSSP. Many believed, in other words, that the LSSP was adopting a political *tactic* only, and was not abandoning its own political programme, which was still believed to be revolutionary and Trotskyist.

Today, the position of the LSSP within the Coalition is anything but what those who voted for the formation of the Coalition Government of 1964 expected it to be. Far from succeeding in winning over even a sizeable section of the SLFP's following to the LSSP's political leadership, the LSSP has become completely subordinated to the "Bandaranaike policies" of the SLFP leadership. In this situation, the LSSP has lost its own distinctive Samasamajist character, and has assumed more and more a political character that is hardly distinguishable from that of the SLFP. One clear symptom and consequence of this unfortunate development is that the political following of the SLFP is increasing at the expense of the LSSP, within the Coalition, and several LSSP members have crossed over to the SLFP to better their own prospects.

Decline of the LSSP's Political Influence

The fundamental reason for the steady decline of the LSSP as a distinctive political force in the country, despite its deep roots and once proud position in the mass movement, is that the Party has abandoned its own programme, with its formerly clearly distinguishable working class stamp, and has subjected itself to the political leadership of a section of the Sinhala-Buddhist bourgeoisie and petit-bourgeoisie.

Many of you will remember the days when the LSSP was the fearless champion of the working class and all the oppressed sections of the Ceylonese people, irrespective of their race or religion or caste, or whether they were voters or not. Those were the days when Samasamajists were respected throughout the length and breadth of this land, and even in the international revolutionary movement. Today, can any of you deny that the LSSP is looked upon as little more than a supporting party of the SLFP? At the same time, it has lost the respect it enjoyed amongst important sections of the working class and the minorities before it subordinated itself to the politics of the SLFP.

Even from the electoral standpoint, can any of you honestly say that the LSSP has *improved* the position it had in June 1964? Then the Party held ten seats in Parliament, and was free to do political work in and contest any electorate in the country. Today, the Party cannot contest any more than the strictly limited number of seats allowed to it by the SLFP. For all *practical* purposes, it is virtually impossible even to build youth leagues in most of the electorates that the SLFP has reserved for itself. If an LSSP youth league is formed in any such electorate, it is immediately regarded as being

a rival to the SLFP in the area, and the Party will find it hard to give any satisfactory political explanation to the SLFP for its formation. The LSSP has not only lost its international character, but also its national character. For all practical purposes it has been reduced to being the Sabaragamuwa, Pasdun-Korale and Western Province sea-board section of the SLFP-led Coalition.

In the trade union field, the LSSP has not merely failed to gain anything worthy of mention, as a result of joining the Coalition. On the contrary, the LSSP has ceased to be an effective fighting force of the organised working class in any major sector of the trade union movement. This is a direct consequence of its abandonment of the 21 demands in 1964, which was the immediate political price that the Party had to pay for securing portfolios in Mrs. Bandaranaike's government, and for its virtual abandonment of the road of the class struggle thereafter. Even when LSSP-led trade unions have fought important battles under the UNP regime, they proved to be ineffective. This is because the LSSP has lost the confidence it previously enjoyed in the field of the class struggle. It is also because it can no longer secure the participation of those sections of the working class that belong to the minorities in the country.

The Throat-cutting by the CP

Apart from the major political disadvantage that the LSSP has suffered in relation to the SLFP and the mass movement, a continuous and even open, but more often insidious attack upon its positions and following is being carried on by the CP, under cover of the Coalition.

It must be borne in mind that the subordination of the LSSP, first to the class collaborationist programme of the United Left Front, then to the "minimum programme" of the SLFP-led Coalition Government, and now to the 25-point "Common Programme" of the SLFP-led Coalition, has brought the LSSP into conformity with the Stalinist politics of class collaboration with the so-called national bourgeoisie in the maintenance of bourgeois rule.

From its very inception in Ceylon, under the auspices of the British Imperialist regime of Admiral Layton in World War II, a major task that was assigned to the CP by its bosses in Moscow was to secure a broad based political front of so-called "progressive forces". To begin with, the CP joined the Ceylon National Congress, to this end. Then it decided to support the UNP against the LSSP, in the first parliamentary elections of 1947. Thereafter, the CP switched over to the support of the SLFP, as the representative of the "progressive national bourgeoisie", and began a continuous drive to break the LSSP away from its revolutionary Trotskyist programme, or to break it up as a political force in the country.

In 1953, after the 12th August Hartal, the CP succeeded in breaking away a section of the LSSP, some of whom were rewarded with top positions in the CP, as full-time bureaucrats. It was 10 years later, after the LSSP had travelled far along the parliamentary road, that the CP succeeded in inducing the LSSP leadership to abandon vital aspects of the Party's programme, especially in the matter of the defence of the democratic rights of the minorities, in order to seek to secure parliamentary office in

alliance with Philip Gunawardena's Mahajana Eksath Peramuna, through the so-called LSSP/MEP/CP United Left Front. It was for this reason that Philip Gunawardena himself publicly acknowledged the fact that it was the CP that had brought about the political agreement on the basis of which the United Left Front was inaugurated on 12th August 1963. This was a major breakthrough for the parliamentarist "popular front" politics of the CP, as against the former class struggle politics of the LSSP.

In passing from the United Left Front with Philip Gunawardena's MEP to the SLFP-led Coalition of 1964, the LSSP finally broke with its former revolutionary Trotskyist programme. Now that it is in the political trap of the SLFP-led Coalition, together with the CP, the LSSP has become subject to typical Stalinist methods of political corruption and attack, with a view to its liquidation as a distinctive political force.

On the trade union front the CP is resorting to open

throat-cutting. On this front, as well as on the youth league and student front, it is resorting to the grant of trips and scholarships to Moscow, and similar inducements to opportunists and careerists, to undermine their loyalty to the LSSP. Even leading party members are silenced from any criticism of the CP's methods within the Coalition, by being given holidays, free medical treatment and other amenities given to bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and other East European countries.

What you have to ask yourselves seriously at this important juncture is whether the CP is doing all this in the cause of World Socialism or in furtherance of the foreign policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. This primarily requires, if not a pro-Moscow government in Ceylon, at least a government that will be willing to turn to Moscow for economic assistance, in exchange for political alignment with its foreign policy?

In other words, has the CP changed its Stalinist spots or has the LSSP lost its Trotskyist complexion?

Back to the Class Struggle and the Revolutionary Road

Comrades,

We of the LSSP(R) address you directly at this juncture, because we believe that there are many amongst you who are seriously disturbed about the way things are going, not only for the LSSP, but for the mass movement itself.

The SLFP-led Coalition Government of 1964 was formed when a general election was due to be held, in any case, within the next 12 months. Whatever the leaders of the Coalition Government may have said in regard to the defeat that their Government sustained in Parliament, on a throne speech amendment, in December 1964, none of you should shut your eyes to the fact that the Coalition Government did nothing to enthuse the working class or any other sections of the masses, during the 9 months that it was in office. Its narrow defeat *in* Parliament, as a result of the breakaway of the C.P. de Silva group, enabled the Coalition leadership to appeal to the masses of the voters *outside* Parliament, for the return of the Coalition parties with a decisive majority through a general election, on the ground that the Coalition Government had been stabbed in the back. It was for this reason that Mrs. Bandaranaike decided to dissolve Parliament straightway, even though she could have tried to carry on the Coalition Government for another 6 months, as the LSSP and CP leaders advised her to do so. She and her SLFP advisers believed that the Coalition was sufficiently attractive to win a 5-year mandate straightaway from the people, for it to continue in office. The election results of March 1965 proved that the Coalition Government was not so popular as Mrs. Bandaranaike and others believed it to be.

Today, once again you are being given high hopes of the chances of success of the SLFP-led Coalition at the next general elections, which are not far away. What you must bear in mind is that whatever may be the outcome of the elections, the LSSP is doomed, in advance, to occupy a very minor place, at best, in a predominantly RIGHTIST parliament. Even if the Coalition does win a decisive majority, the question of what portfolios the LSSP will be permitted to hold, will depend entirely

on the relationship of forces *in* Parliament. The LSSP cannot count on anything but a completely subservient position within a coalition government that may be formed. It will have hardly any bargaining position amongst the masses *outside* Parliament, as it did have, to a considerable extent, in June 1964. In such a situation, and with its hands tied to the "Bandaranaike policies", as set out in the 25-point "Common Programme", does even the most optimistic amongst you seriously believe that the LSSP will be able to mobilise any significant section of the people to advance "*in a Socialist direction*"? On the contrary, do you not think that the LSSP will be forced to play the role of watchdog of the Coalition *against* the working class, the landless rural masses, and the ever mounting numbers of the unemployed, when they demand adequate wages, land, jobs and the like, and resort to any mass action in pursuance of their demands?

What will happen to the Coalition, if it fails in its effort to oust the UNP Government from office? What will happen if another section of the SLFP breaks away from the Coalition after the election, on any issue? What will happen if the CP switches over to the open support of the UNP, once again? Have any of you considered such eventualities?

What Is to Be Done?

If you wish to lead the masses forward in a Socialist direction, the only correct road is the road of the class struggle, and the class you have to turn to on that road is the working class.

The problems of decaying capitalism are multiplying faster than it can cope with them. The threat of racialist and, in any case, reactionary solutions is thus an ever present danger. The tragic example of Indonesia, where a huge mass movement was destroyed by reactionary forces, in conditions where the working class was led to believe that it was advancing towards Socialism under Sukarno's leadership, must serve to warn you that merely hoping for a favourable turn of events, can, un-

der certain circumstances, be fatal to the entire Left movement.

The time to act is now! Let us confront the capitalist UNP government and the capitalist class now with a UNITED FRONT OF WORKING CLASS FORCES, at the head of the mass movement, including the masses of the urban and rural poor and the unemployed youth. Let us mobilise mass action on the most urgent issues of today, the issues of the cost of living and the ruthless exploitation of the whole economy through the Imperialist stranglehold on the export trade, the continuance of uneconomic production on plantations owned by Ceylonese capitalists, whilst tens of thousands of Ceylonese rural dwellers are landless, the gross failure of the Government to provide adequate avenues of employment for the youth and the like. None of these matters has been

or will be dealt with in the interests of the masses, without mass action on them.

A call to action on issues of serious concern to the masses will undoubtedly rouse their enthusiasm. They will gladly endure any sacrifices in struggle on such issues if they have a resolute and revolutionary leadership. Let us join forces to provide that leadership! Let us go forward once again under the revolutionary Socialist banner of the Fourth International!

Yours fraternally,

LANKA SAMA SAMAJA PARTY (REVOLUTIONARY)
Ceylon Section of the Fourth International

P. B. TAMPOE
Secretary.

Documents

A New Stage in the Palestinian Struggle

[The following statement was issued November 5 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The outbreak of the armed conflict in Lebanon between the Palestinian forces and the army of that country is part of a systematic policy followed by the reactionary Arab states of liquidating the danger that extension of the Palestinian resistance creates for them. The conflict represents a new and more acute stage in the repeated attempts of the proimperialist Lebanese government to destroy the fighting vanguard of the Arab revolution—the Palestinian resistance.

Of the four Arab states bordering on the Zionist state—Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon—the latter two have never supported the struggle against Israel. However, they have been the theater of a gradual but powerful establishment of the Palestinian resistance.

This effectively armed and strongly motivated force is eluding the control of these regimes and confronting them with an increased and permanent risk of reprisal from the Zionists.

These two governments fear such an eventuality above all else. The Jordanian army has never protected or aided the resistance fighters when they have been the target of bombings or harassment by the Israelis.

When the Beirut airport was attacked by Israeli special commandos in December, 1968, the Lebanese army, while taken by surprise, made no attempt at a response.

Each of these governments has conducted a policy of undermining the Palestinian resistance. Since November, 1967, when the Palestinian resistance first began to develop a mass base, Jordan has sought to smash it or at least keep it within the framework of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, as it was led and defined at the time of Ahmed Shukeiry.

But on two occasions, in November 1967 and November 1968, mobilizations by the popular masses in Jordan, an essential support for the resistance, blocked the counterrevolutionary maneuvers of the Jordanian King Hussein. In face of the mobilization of the people, he retreated.

The establishment of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon assumed a massive character at the beginning of this year. The attack on the Beirut airport was intended by the Israelis to intimidate and pressure the Lebanese government to take action against the resistance, which was conducting operations directed at the Israeli border areas from south Lebanon.

The attack achieved its objective, but the consequences of the Lebanese leaders' maneuvers were to prove

very serious for all of the Palestinian organizations, revealing the real positions of the Arab states.

The events in Lebanon have far-reaching importance because they have exposed the real political nature of the governmental forces directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The insurrectionary wave spread from the Palestinian refugee camps, despite their systematic isolation from the surrounding population by the authorities. The refugees responded with an energetic offensive against the attempts at encirclement and surveillance by the Lebanese army, which presumably intended to bring the fedayeen to heel or to liquidate them outright.

As a result of this, the situation in Lebanon was transformed. As in the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan, the Palestinian commandos almost totally escaped the control of the official institutions such as the army, and built up a parallel military and administrative apparatus alongside them.

As in Jordan previously, the growth of resistance in Lebanon stirred the masses into mobilizing, and lifted the young, combative elements in the Palestinian refugee population to a higher political level. The intermixing of the Palestinian refugees and the Lebanese population, as in the case of the Jordanian people before, made it possible to draw broader Arab masses into supporting the resistance.

Because support for the Palestinian resistance arose from the people and drew its power and determination from the exploited masses, it assumed a marked class character. And, in an objective sense, it opened up a period of class struggles against those Arab regimes, which, like the Lebanese, had clearly unmasked themselves as counterrevolutionary by trying to stab the Palestinian resistance in the back.

The Lebanese crisis highlights the rapid spread of the Palestinian revolutionary enthusiasm among the Arab states which border Israel and which are thus most directly affected by the resistance.

This crisis confirms the eminently revolutionary role which the dynamics of the Palestinian resistance is playing in the Arab world. The resistance organizations collectively constitute the present driving force of the Arab revolution, even though this is unconscious on the part of some of their components, since certain resistance movements do not pose the extension and culmination of the resistance in terms of an international socialist revolution.

The Palestinian insurrectionary spirit, which is now rife in Lebanon and which will soon spread to other parts of the Arab world, threatens the bourgeoisie and the parasitic "comprador" elements. As a result, this development disturbs the American imperialists, for whom Lebanon occupies a strategic and economically decisive place in the Near East.

Contradictory international forces are converging to smash the resistance. The Soviet Union is intervening in the Arab world through the states over which it has a measure of control, Egypt principally, and obstructing every extension of the resistance. The proposal which the Soviet Union advanced for a peace plan to be underwritten jointly with Egypt illustrates this policy.

Nasser's hypocritical policy of operating on two levels, that is, supporting the resistance and the search for peace, has just been demonstrated once again. The Lebanese events brought the revolutionary process to its highest stage. Nasser's proposals for negotiations, putting the Palestinian resistance fighters and the Lebanese army on an equal footing, show the erosion of the Nasser who helped

to revive the Palestinian mobilization.

As the arbiter between the fedayeen and the Arab bourgeoisie, Nasser is striving to halt the revolutionary process. He clearly represents a middle ground between revolutionary dynamism and proimperialist conservatism. He can only continue to play this game with the support of the Soviet bureaucracy. Without their support he would not amount to very much today.

On the other side, in accordance with their customary counterrevolutionary policy, the imperialist forces wanted to strike a blow by forcing the Lebanese army to act. This advice was given publicly by an American representative, Sisco, when he declared his support for the Lebanese government. The American Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean ready to intervene, as it did in 1958, to prop up the ruling classes.

But the state of Israel, which comes within the American orbit, remains the force that refuses to subscribe to any peace. As a result, the East and West, which are collaborating to freeze the situation in the Near East, find themselves obliged to control and restrict totally the activity of the belligerents.

But the Soviets and Egypt find themselves unable to block the resistance completely. And the Americans and the British at present find themselves incapable of getting Israel to accept a peace.

The British minister of foreign affairs declared that Israel should return the occupied territories. The peace plan is taking form around a pseudo solution that would consist of considering only the situation since June 1967 and not since 1948.

The aim of this approach would be to remove the general problem by concentrating on some of its individual aspects. The objective would be to force Israel to return the occupied territories in exchange for recognition by the Arab states. In this way, the Zionist state would get what it has sought for twenty years and what the Arab states have refused to give.

But today this situation is reversed. Israel does not want to make peace and the Arab states are waiting in conjunction with the "Big Four." Making peace would be dangerous for the Zionists today. They cannot keep up their massive collecting of funds

in the imperialist homelands except by shouting about the dangers of "war" and "genocide" that threaten the Jewish people. The Zionist leaders create this situation deliberately.

This peace operation of the Arab states and the Big Four is a perilous undertaking. And everything indicates that it is impossible on the basis of the present situation unless there is a massive repression of the Palestinian resistance or capitulation by its leaderships. The expansionist and militarist inner logic of the Israeli state is a stumbling block for this policy and objectively benefits the Palestinian resistance fighters, who have understood how to exploit this factor.

But with the events in Lebanon, a higher stage of struggle opened in the resistance. The Palestinian liberation struggle assumed a new international dimension with the Lebanese crisis. In this sense, the liberation struggle turned into a conflict with the proimperialist Lebanese government which assumed the social form of a class struggle for which the resistance was not yet prepared. The Lebanese crisis represents a revolutionary awakening of the masses in Lebanon within an internationalist frame that reveals the real face of the Arab revolution.

The Cairo agreement between Arafat and Bustani, the commander of the Lebanese army, is a compromise between the resistance and the Lebanese government. Given the nature of the Lebanese government and army, its durability remains limited. Sooner or later, presumably sooner, these mainstays of American imperialism will recommence their counterrevolutionary maneuvers.

After their attempts to corrupt the Lebanese regime, going as far as to threaten armed intervention, the American imperialists will now increase their pressure. The period we are now entering will see the revolutionary forces of the resistance and the forces of the Arab and imperialist counterrevolution prepare for new clashes.

Thus, the Palestinian resistance fighters bear a considerable responsibility for the development of the Arab revolution, whose vanguard they are today. Nothing in fact was settled at Cairo. The so-called progressive Arab states, headed up by Nasser, have

done nothing but temporize and gain a new reprieve by playing the conciliationist card.

The revolutionary Marxists must give firmer political support than ever to the Palestinian resistance, defend the historic and inalienable rights of

the Palestinian population, and assist the new advances of the Arab revolution.

Down with the Arab reactionaries and the intrigues of imperialism!

Long live the Arab socialist revolution!

the growing rightist and legalistic tendency of Luis Carlos Prestes, the main leader of the PCB. He did not like the party's position, particularly during the government of João Goulart, when Prestes practically 'lined up with the national bourgeoisie.' A ready in open rebellion against the official line of the PCB, Marighela collaborated with the revolutionary organization of the sergeants and sailors who were advancing the nationalist movement. Prestes, on the other hand, maintained that it was not necessary 'to foment the class struggle within the barracks.'

"With the military coup of April 1, 1964, Marighela was arrested by the police after resisting them and being seriously wounded. Later he was freed, during one of those rare moments in which civil liberties were recognized during the Castel Branco regime. At that time, he went definitively underground, and he was seen in public again only in Havana, during the conference of the Organización Latinoamericana de Solidaridad (OLAS). He had separated completely from the PCB. With part of the former regional committee of the party in São Paulo as a base, he had built an independent faction, initially designated as the 'Grupo Marighela' and later as 'Ação Libertadora Nacional' [Liberating National Action]. From then on, this group undertook numerous direct actions, bank 'expropriations' and dynamitings. A few months ago Marighela announced the beginning of rural guerrilla war as a complement to action in the cities. . . ."

Brazil

Marighela Killed in Police Ambush

The São Paulo city political police [Divisão de Ordem Política e Social] announced November 4 that they had succeeded the previous day in killing Carlos Marighela, 58, a former leader of the Brazilian Communist party and one of the guerrilla leaders said to have been responsible for the kidnapping of U. S. Ambassador Charles Burke Elbrick in September.

In a dispatch from Rio de Janeiro, *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Leonard Greenwood said that the police discovered that Marighela had friendly ties with some Dominican friars. Seventeen of them were arrested. Out of these, two were "persuaded" to telephone Marighela and arrange a meeting.

"Last Tuesday night," Greenwood continued, "the two brothers drove in a blue Volkswagen van to the rendezvous, a building site in the luxury São Paulo suburb of Jardim Paulista.

"Police already were stationed there. Some were dressed as building workers. At least two women agents sat with men colleagues in cars to give the appearance of a quiet street dotted with 'loving couples.'

"Marighela and at least two companions drove into the street, Alameda Casa Branca. Marighela got out and approached the van.

"A policeman shouted that Marighela was surrounded and ordered him to surrender. Marighela dived for the van. But police opened fire with sub-machine guns, hitting him in the head and body. He was dead before he could open his black briefcase to get out his own guns.

"His companions, firing rapidly, raced their car out of the ambush and escaped."

The November 7 issue of the Montevideo weekly *Marcha* said that ac-

ording to some reports several of Marighela's comrades had likewise been killed, along with a few policemen. These sources said that the police raided a headquarters where they had been tipped off that a "subversive" meeting was taking place. There they found the revolutionary leader. He was killed in the ensuing battle.

"Marighela," *Marcha* continues, "was a former outstanding member of the Brazilian Communist party (PCB). Imprisoned at the time of the 'New State' [the dictatorial Vargas regime], he was freed in 1945, at the time of the democratization, and elected a federal deputy in the elections held at the time. Later Marshal Eurico Gaspar Dutra banned the PCB and Marighela went into the underground until Juscelino Kubitschek softened the harsh pressure against the Communists.

"In the Central Committee of his party, Marighela stood in the sector farthest to the left, in opposition to

MEMO	to:	Intercontinental Press	
		P.O. Box 635, Madison Sq. Station New York, N.Y., 10010	
from:	Name		
	Street		
City		State	Zip
Country			
<input type="checkbox"/> \$15 enclosed for a one-year subscription. <input type="checkbox"/> \$7.50 enclosed for a six-month subscription. <input type="checkbox"/> Send information about first-class and airmail rates.			