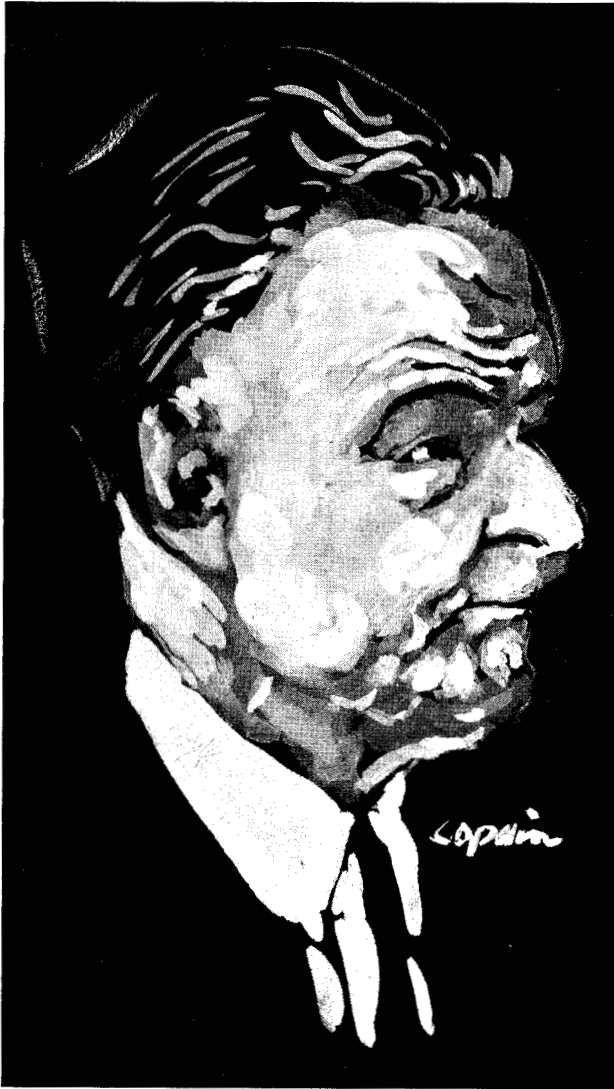


Nixon Sinks Paris Talks



HENRY CABOT LODGE: "Claim everything, concede nothing, and when defeated allege fraud."

Solzhenitsyn's Defense at Writers Meeting

France:

War Protesters Are Released

Denmark:

20,000 in Antiwar March

Bolivia:

Against the Wage Freeze

British Students Hear Mandel

Ultraleft Imbeciles and Defense of China

By Leon Trotsky

For Shame!

What is left of the British Empire was staggered when Prince Philip revealed in the middle of November that the Royal Family can no longer get along on its yearly stipend of £475,000 [\$1,140,000]. Since that was granted in 1952, the cost of living has risen 69 percent.

The Prince said they may have to move from Buckingham Palace. "And I shall probably have to give up polo fairly soon and things like that."

There were cries of "No!" from all over except for the cartoonist of London's *Daily Telegraph*, who sneered: "Let them eat cake."

While tongues were still wagging, the *Daily Mirror* ran scare headlines on another scandal. The horses used by the Queen's guard are sold for slaughter in their old age. Some sixty a year! Yes, they are cast to the knacker's yard where they end up as horse-meat for the trade on the Continent.

Lieut. Col. Iain Cochrane-Dyett rose in defense of the Royal Household. "It doesn't worry me that the horses may end up on people's dinner tables. You can't give a horse an old-age pension."

Corporal of Horse George Kelsall said: "It's going because it's no further use to the army, and it's being done a good turn, rather than turn it out in a field on its own."

Right you are, Corporal. It only stands to reason that horses, which are uncommonly endowed with horse sense, would not want to fend for themselves in a pasture where there's nothing but chlorophyll and daisies. They prefer to go to the horseflesh lovers on the Continent.

But in Britain there is a strange breed known as "animal lovers." They intervened. Within one day the Defense Ministry suspended the policy of sending the horses to the knacker's yard.

And here we were about to commend the Queen for an extraordinary effort in the balance of payments crisis. We were even going to suggest: Frugal housekeeper that she is, why not put Royal Joint of Horsemeat on the Buckingham Palace Menu?

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Nixon Sinks Paris Talks

The Nixon administration has produced its answer to the mammoth November 15 antiwar demonstrations of 1,000,000 persons in Washington and San Francisco. The government's response could be summed up in the slogan, "More war, less complaints."

In a November 20 address to the Montgomery, Alabama, Chamber of Commerce, Vice-president Agnew accused newspapers—that had criticized Nixon—of having "grown fat and irresponsible." In particular, he singled out the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, the country's two most influential papers.

The following day the government announced the resignation of Henry Cabot Lodge, the U.S. chief negotiator at the Paris talks on Vietnam. Lodge claimed that his reasons were "personal," but his chief deputy, Lawrence E. Walsh, resigned at the same time, declaring in a letter to Nixon that because of "the manner in which these meetings are now being conducted by the other side, no purpose would be served by my continuing to hold this office."

White House officials said they had no immediate plans to replace either man, indicating that the talks would be handled on the American side by subordinates.

This downgrading of the Paris negotiations by Washington is a further proof that Nixon does not intend to end the war in the foreseeable future. He is still seeking a military victory over the Vietnamese freedom fighters. This, of course, has been his aim since he came into office in January, but he has not dared before to announce it so publicly by taking the initiative in virtually breaking off the Paris meetings.

The coincidental timing of Walsh's resignation was an indication that Lodge's departure was not accidental. Walsh's role in the talks had been negligible—he was not even in France to confer with Lodge on his decision. C. L. Sulzberger in the November 23 *New York Times* described Walsh as "bored and ill at ease" and said he



WALSH: "Bored and ill at ease . . ."

left Paris "months ago with the feeble excuse that he would return if things began to move."

"Indeed," Sulzberger added, "the mere fact that the White House chose to announce the simultaneous resignation of Lodge and Walsh must only be interpreted as indicating there is no present thought of even trying to keep up the prestige level hitherto so assiduously cultivated."

Washington's claim that it was Hanoi's "intransigence" that deadlocked the talks meant only that Hanoi had "intransigently" refused to surrender to the American invaders.

Lodge himself was very candid in explaining the U.S. bargaining strategy—which he adopted in toto and without a blush from the notoriously corrupt and crooked Tammany Hall politicians who ran New York at the turn of the century. As Sulzberger put it: "To sum up, his [Lodge's] counsel was — 'In the immortal Tammany phrase, claim everything, concede nothing, and when defeated allege fraud.'"

While Lodge made no public statement on the meaning of his departure, several reports have appeared based on conversations he had with friends and associates. The Novem-

ber 22 *New York Times* reported:

"According to the sources, Mr. Lodge sees the present position of the North Vietnamese as virtually frozen, with their eyes fixed on the date of the next Congressional elections [in November 1970]. As they judge American opinion, in his view, it is steadily flowing away from support of the Vietnam war and thus undercutting the United States negotiating position week by week. . . ."

"The answer to that, in Mr. Lodge's opinion, is to demonstrate to North Vietnam that the United States is in a position to wait indefinitely for the end of the war."

It seems improbable, however, that this demonstration is really intended for the Vietnamese who have shown for more than twenty years their readiness to fight "indefinitely" for the independence of their homeland. More likely it is a message to the American people to be prepared to accept years of war to come.

Nixon in fact announced this in his November 3 speech where he vowed to pursue a policy of continued war under the euphemism of "Vietnamization."

When Lyndon Johnson was faced with mounting popular discontent with the war, he came up with three concessions to quiet dissent: He began the Paris "peace" talks; he announced his own withdrawal from the 1968 elections; and he stopped the bombing of North Vietnam.

None of these steps has brought the war an inch closer to its end, because American imperialism has not abandoned its attempt to impose a government on the Vietnamese people by military means.

But these concessions did raise illusions and thereby bought time for the warmakers. Nixon's whole strategy since he took office has been to gain time by any expedient. For the first six months he said nothing about the war except that he had a secret "peace plan." Eventually that wore thin.

Beginning in midsummer he was

forced' to make a number of token concessions—minor troop withdrawals, promised reforms of the draft system, and the removal of the hated Selected Service director, General Hershey.

This period came to an end with the October 15 antiwar Moratorium in which millions participated across the country. The mass antiwar upsurge showed that Nixon's sops had lost their effectiveness. If he was to continue the war at all, Nixon had to make a stand and try to force a majority in the U.S. to acquiesce while isolating the dissenters. That was the significance of the November 3 speech: the definitive statement that Nixon's "peace" plan was "Vietnamization."

Nixon declared that the American people must be prepared to accept a minimum of several more years of war while the conscript troops of the Saigon dictatorship were whipped into shape to fight against the Vietnamese revolution.

There was no real place in this perspective for the Paris talks. If the Thieu-Ky clique is to be sustained until it defeats its domestic opponents then there is nothing to negotiate with the National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese. In scuttling the talks, Nixon is dramatizing that message.

Nixon's strategy is a pipe dream. The Saigon government can never do alone what 530,000 American troops have failed to do, and it is only a matter of time before the most gullible realize that "Vietnamization" means the maintenance of the present U.S. forces in Vietnam.

A corollary of Nixon's perspective for an extended war, however, is his need to crack down on the mounting dissent at home.

Agnew has been the front runner in Nixon's campaign to silence the majority at home, but a covey of other top officials have joined in.

Attorney General John N. Mitchell accused the National Mobilization Committee, the sponsor of the November 15 march of 800,000 in Washington, of having aided "violence." He pointed to confrontations between police and small splinter groups unconnected with the Mobilization Committee during the demonstration. In many cases, neutral observers had re-

ported that even here the police had instigated the violence by firing tear gas at crowds in response to acts by a few isolated individuals.

On November 18 the government announced a more serious threat. Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst said the Justice Department was investigating some of the leaders of the Mobilization Committee for possible prosecution under the so-called antiriot law. Convictions under this act can bring penalties of up to ten years in prison and a \$20,000 fine.

In his November 20 attack on the communications media, Agnew demanded that "a broader spectrum of national opinion should be represented among the commentators in the network news." He said that men "who can articulate other points of view should be brought forward."

The reaction of the communications media was far from inspiring. Most editors and broadcasters made perfunctory protests at the vice-president's "tone" and then hastened to demonstrate how responsible and patriotic they were. The main reason for this capitulation was that the liberal press and the networks have only a tactical difference with Nixon over the war and feel closer to the government than to the mass of the American people who have repudiated the war altogether. A couple of sharp jabs from Agnew had the liberals squirming.

The *Washington Post* was the meekest, calling Agnew's mud-slinging performance "a temperate and thought-provoking speech . . . in no way menacing on its face, it seemed to us."

One of the few forthright answers to the government's witch-hunt came in the less widely read *New York Post*.

James Wechsler, the *Post's* editorial page editor, wrote in the November 18 issue:

"Of course there is nothing infallible about TV or the press. . . . But that is not what the current argument is about, and anyone who falls into the trap of responding with self-reproach and timidity is yielding to intimidation."

The TV networks have already made a major concession to the witch-hunters. They went to the length of giving Agnew's November 13 speech before the Mid-West Regional Repub-

lican Committee in Iowa (in which he criticized the television industry) full live coverage on prime time.

The following day they refused to provide live coverage of the largest demonstrations in the history of the country in Washington and San Francisco. The one event was "news," the other evidently was not.

The antiwar movement has rejected the government's red-baiting and intimidation. They have fixed the blame squarely where it belongs for the violence—and the distortion of the news in the United States—on the government in Washington and its war in Vietnam.

The outcome of Nixon's attempt to silence the American public and buy time to pursue the war remains to be seen. Nixon is seeking to revive the spirit of the McCarthy era, but unlike the early 1950s, the country is now going through a deep radicalization that is not likely to be turned back by an "anti-Communist" crusade.

Even Henry Cabot Lodge was reportedly dubious about Nixon's chances for success in his maneuver. "The Ambassador's view," according to the November 22 *New York Times*, "was said to be that American opinion could be reconciled to an indefinite continuation [of the war] only on two conditions: that the level of United States casualties be reduced to zero and that United States draft calls be suspended and the American force in Vietnam be placed on a voluntary basis."

Both conditions are, of course, impossible if the U.S. is to continue its aggression.

If the antiwar movement continues to fight back, the witch-hunt can be turned aside, as November 15 proved. And as opposition to the war grows, November 15 will be seen as only a preview of the things to come.

Nixon, however, is looking for a confrontation and has done his best to further outrage the deep antiwar feelings of millions of Americans. After the November 15 demonstrations, he told reporters that he had not bothered to look out his window at the marchers, but had spent the day watching a football game on television.

"For sheer piquancy," the *Washington Post* commented, "we have not heard the likes of that since Marie Antoinette."

Golda Meir for Nixon's War in Vietnam

Israel's Premier Golda Meir has publicly endorsed President Nixon's November 3 speech projecting continuation of the war in Vietnam.

The Nixon administration, in releasing Mrs. Meir's comments November 16, could cite no other fan mail from abroad. The November 17 *New York Times* reported, "A White House spokesman was unable to discover today whether any other foreign heads of government had sent comments."

Premier Golda Meir said in her message to Nixon:

"The Prime Minister wishes to congratulate the President on his meaningful speech, and express her hope that he will speedily succeed in bringing about peace in Vietnam. The President's speech contains much that encourages and strengthens freedom-loving small nations the world over, which are striving to maintain their independent existence looking to that great democracy, the United States of America."

The timing was convenient as well. The White House released the message the day after the most massive antiwar demonstration in the history of the country. It dovetailed nicely

with Nixon and Agnew's campaign to red-bait the antiwar movement. That the Zionist leadership of Israel sided with Nixon and against the people of Vietnam and against the American antiwar movement is a telling indication of the proimperialist character of the Israeli government.

Mrs. Meir could not even claim that her shameful stand was merely a matter of diplomatic niceties to a military patron. If anything, her message understated the animosity of the Israeli government for the antiwar movement in the United States.

The *New York weekly Jewish Press*, which claims to have "the largest circulation of any Anglo-Jewish weekly newspaper in the world," put it bluntly in its November 21-27 issue:

"The present leaders in Israel and Israeli diplomats here are outspoken in criticism of anti-war protests, although Mrs. Meir herself avoided taking a formal position on the Vietnam war during her Washington visit."

Columnist Joseph Alsop, a notorious "hawk," had high praise for Mrs. Meir's stand. In his November 17 column he contrasted "that mother in Israel" to the "empty-headed" youth of America. He castigated the "mush-headed permissiveness" of those who supported "the kids" who demonstrated in Washington to end the war in Vietnam. Alsop wrote:

"A bearded, unwashed, 25-year-old Trotskyite is not a 'kid.' Neither is a lank-haired 24-year-old harridan of the same persuasion."

The *Jewish Press* drew an instructive parallel between the situation of the Israeli government in the Middle East and that of the Thieu dictatorship in Saigon.

"Mr. Nixon," the paper said in describing the president's November 3 speech, "was pursuing an argument developed by former President Lyndon B. Johnson to link support of Israel and support of the war in Vietnam as similar in purpose, a connection discomfoting to many critics of the war in Vietnam who nevertheless favor a strong stand behind Israel."



PREMIER MEIR: Thinks Nixon is great.

"Two years ago, in a speech at a Jewish Labor Committee dinner, Mr. Johnson complained that many of the doves on Vietnam were outspoken champions of militant support for Israel."

The *Jewish Press* recalled reciprocally that "Saigon's leaders have been unequivocal for Israel."

"I'm for Israel," the paper approvingly quoted Nguyen Cao Ky as having declared during the June 1967 Israeli blitzkrieg against the Arab states. The *Jewish Press* added, "He concurred in the suggestion that the Arabs were backed by 'international Communism.'"

That was, of course, the same period when Ky was telling reporters that his only hero was Adolf Hitler.

The Zionist rulers of Israel have actually long been supporters of the imperialist aggression against the people of Vietnam. Defense Minister Moshe Dayan made an inspection tour of Vietnam in 1967, shortly before the June war. He evidently was impressed by some of the Pentagon's practices although the Pentagon did not originate them.

On November 12, Dayan admitted



DAYAN: For theory of "collective guilt."

using "collective punishment." The homes of Arab civilians are destroyed in retaliation for acts of resistance by the Palestinian guerrillas — whether or not the Arabs in question have any connection with the resistance movement.

"Today," he was quoted by the November 13 *Washington Post* as saying, "we are not only punishing individuals who commit crimes, but also those around them." Any Arab resident of the occupied areas who is accused of failing to inform Israeli officials of activities of the commandos is liable to have his home destroyed. Some 200 Arab families have reportedly asked to leave for Jordan as a result of these policies in the last few weeks.

The November 6 *New York Times* quoted a senior official of the military government on the aims of this policy which was also used by the Nazis:

"There has been more collaboration with terrorists recently. At least it is passive acceptance of terrorism, because the local people are afraid. We are saying to them, 'If terrorism continues, life will be unbearable and our measures will make life unbearable.'"

Arab leaders report that some 7,000 homes have been destroyed since the June war, and while Israeli officials claim that this is an exaggeration, the *New York Times* cited evidence indicating the contrary.

The *Jewish Press* reported a few of the latest incidents of this "collective punishment." In the West Bank area, the twin towns of Ramallah and El Bira have been put under a night curfew "as punishment of Arabs" who witnessed a commando raid but refused to "volunteer information" afterward.

In the Gaza Strip two houses were destroyed as "punishment" for a nearby commando foray.

In a third case, the paper reported that "The Israelis also seized the Falatine Girls High School in Gaza and said they would turn it into a military installation."

Some Insects Practice It Now

An Argentine plant geneticist, Jose Vallega, is urging that mankind use less insecticides and practice "peaceful coexistence" with the insect world. At a meeting of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome, he argued that chemicals kill good insects with the bad. The press did not report his views on international politics.

Japan

Millions Protest Sato's Sellout Trip

Massive strikes and demonstrations were held throughout Japan November 12-17 to protest Prime Minister Eisaku Sato's scheduled visit to the United States to negotiate with Nixon. Trade unions, opposition political parties, and radical youth organizations opposed the trip on the grounds that Sato would further commit the country to American imperialist aims in the Far East in exchange for minimal concessions on the administration of Okinawa.

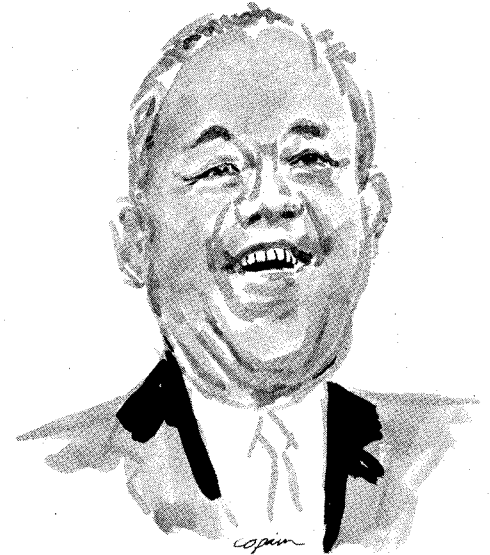
The joint communiqué issued by Sato and Nixon on November 21, after a three-day meeting, showed that these fears were well founded.

Sato promised that no restrictions would be placed on U.S. bombing raids against the people of Vietnam after Okinawa passed formally under Japanese control in 1972. While the agreement contained a clause requiring "consultations" between the two governments before the U.S. could engage in military operations, it also pledged in advance "that reversion would be accomplished without affecting the United States efforts" in Vietnam.

This blank check would also apply for the first time to U.S. bases in Japan. According to the November 22 *New York Times*, "Administration officials" said that while U.S. operations in Okinawa would be "theoretically" curtailed after 1972, "the freedom of the United States to use its bases in Japan itself would be considerably enlarged."

The Japanese government also committed itself publicly for the first time to unconditional renewal of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty in 1970.

Even on the sensitive question of nuclear weapons, Nixon refused to make any real concession and Sato meekly offered no objections. The communiqué stated only that any action taken in regard to the U.S. nuclear stockpile on Okinawa must be "without prejudice to the position of the United States Government." The Japanese government was given the right, on paper, of being consulted if these weapons are to be kept in



SATO: Happy to be of service to Nixon.

Okinawa after 1972. But there was no pledge to remove the bombs and it was not indicated whether Sato's "right" had been waived in advance as it was on the question of the "conventional" bombing of Vietnam.

These concessions by Sato were described in advance in the Japanese press as an attempt to "Okinawa-ize" Japan—to extend elements of the U.S. military occupation of Okinawa to the whole country.

On November 12 more than 4,000,000 workers in at least sixty-seven unions staged token strikes and workshop rallies to protest Sato's trip to Washington. This was the largest political strike in Japan since World War II. The November 14 *Japan Times* said, "The unified action surpassed the scale of a similar protest strike in 1960 opposing the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty." The giant strike went virtually unreported in the American press.

"Over four million transport workers, Government employes, workers of industrial plants, hospital nurses and other unionists took part" in the strike, according to the *Japan Times*. The action was jointly sponsored by Sohyo (General Council of Trade Unions of Japan—the union federation led by the Japan Socialist par-

ty [JSP]) and by Churitsu-roren (Federation of Independent Unions).

In Tokyo, the Tobu Railway was forced to cancel 143 trains; in Osaka the Nankai Railroad canceled 137. Strikes in most industries were for an hour or two, but in some cases workers went out for the full day.

In Okinawa, the November 14 *Yomiuri* reported, some 100,000 persons took part in protest rallies—this is 10 percent of the entire population of the Ryukyus.

Sohyo announced that thirty-two unions from the government and public sector took part in the strikes in addition to thirty-five unions in private industry. The *Yomiuri* said the strike "was staged in defiance of a government warning that employees of central and local governments and public corporations who took part in the 'illegal political strike' would be punished by law."

Sporadic guerrilla-style student demonstrations began November 13 and continued through Sato's departure for the U. S. on November 17. More than 2,000 youths were arrested during the weekend, setting a new postwar record.

An estimated 70,000 persons attended a November 16 rally in Tokyo's Yoyogi Park protesting Sato's U. S. visit. The meeting was sponsored by a committee affiliated to the Japan Socialist party. The huge gathering adopted a resolution reported in the November 17 *Japan Times* as follows:

"The appeal claimed that Prime Minister Sato's real intention of his visit to the U. S. is to make Okinawa a semipermanent nuclear base.

"It said the ralliers cannot condone Sato's secret dealings to be concealed behind the communique to be announced after his conference with President Nixon."

There were similar demonstrations in at least 120 cities and towns the same day with a participation of upwards of 700,000 persons, including the Tokyo rally. The sponsors of the rallies in many cases refused to associate themselves with left-wing students who engaged in sharp clashes with the police.

The heaviest fighting took place in Tokyo — which accounted for more than 1,900 of those arrested. The clashes began on the afternoon of No-

vember 16 and continued through the night until Sato had left the country at 10:00 a.m. the next morning. The following report is taken from the November 17 *Mainichi Daily News*:

"Molotov cocktail- and rock-hurling radicals threw several of Tokyo's railway stations into great confusion late Sunday. . . . About 1,000 students and Antiwar Youth Committee radicals had been arrested by 10 p.m. Scores of citizens were injured.

"Sporadic fighting was continuing near Kamata Station, gateway to Tokyo International Airport, as of 10 p.m., more than six hours after the rioting began.

"The radicals made repeated charges into lines of the riot police with Molotov cocktails and rocks. The police countered with hundreds of tear

gas shells, turning the crowded area into a bloody scene. . . .

"About 8,200 students converged on railway stations in southwestern Tokyo after participating in a rally held at Yoyogi Park. . . . Kamata Station was a scene of utter chaos for hours as several hundred youths repeatedly attacked the police and hurled Molotov cocktails at the station's western and eastern entrances."

Tokyo authorities mobilized 25,000 riot police to cordon off the approaches to Tokyo International Airport.

Sohyo and the Japan Socialist party canceled demonstrations they had planned near the airport to avoid being involved in the confrontations with the police.

Why Nixon Nominated Haynsworth

By a vote of 55-45 November 21, the U. S. Senate rejected the candidacy of Clement F. Haynsworth Jr. for the Supreme Court despite extraordinary

pressure from Nixon in behalf of his nominee. The outcome is viewed in Washington as a serious setback for Nixon although it may pay off in 1972.

Haynsworth is probably no better or worse than the other guardians of capitalist justice who have been seated in the highest court. His record, however, was so unsavory that even a George Meany gagged.

Nixon's purpose in nominating this judicial replica of Agnew was transparent. He sees the 1972 election as a rerun of 1968. He calculates that his best chance of winning is to bid for the voters who were attracted by the ultrareactionary George C. Wallace. Nixon is especially anxious about making an impact in the South.

The defeat of Haynsworth does not spoil this game. Nixon can nominate another judge of the same stripe to deepen the political effect he is seeking to make.

Nixon's decision to drop the image with which he began office ("let's lower our voices") and to push Agnew to the forefront as a red-baiter conforms with this objective. By reactivating McCarthyism, Nixon hopes to counter the opposition to the war, build a strong reactionary base, and win the election in 1972 without withdrawing the U. S. armed forces from Vietnam.



HAYNSWORTH: No ornament for court?

20,000 in Antiwar March

By Richard Wood

Copenhagen

Some 20,000 persons staged a militant demonstration here November 15 as part of the international fall action against the war in Vietnam, NATO, and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. The relative size of the demonstration can be judged in light of the fact that Denmark's population is only four and a half million.

The demonstration, which was sponsored by the Danish Vietnam Committee, began at the U.S. military mission, proceeded to the U.S. embassy building, and then to the parliament. The marchers carried colorful flags and banners supporting the Vietnamese revolution and demanding that the U.S. get out of Vietnam and that Denmark get out of NATO.

The action, one of the largest and most successful yet held in this country, also constituted a rebuff to efforts of the pro-Moscow Communist party to split the antiwar movement and torpedo the demonstration.

After the Danish Vietnam Committee had called the November 15 action, the Communist and Social Democratic parties called an action of their own for the evening of November 14. The splitters rejected all attempts by the DVC to reach agreement on a common action, stating that they refused to allow anyone to carry signs reading, "Down with American imperialism," and "Denmark out of NATO," both of which were carried on November 15.

The splitters' demonstration drew some 7,000 persons, many of whom marched with "USA out" posters pinned to their jackets, advertising the much more massive and militant DVC action scheduled for the following day.

The Danish papers reported that in France Pompidou had banned antiwar demonstrations and that antiwar activists, including leaders of the Ligue Communiste, had been arrested. The big rally at the parliament building in Copenhagen roared approval of a motion protesting the action of the French government and express-

ing solidarity with the victims of the repressive measures.

The Danish Vietnam Committee is a united-front organization of various left tendencies and individuals, including some expelled from the CP because they supported the DVC. Activists of the Revolutionary Socialists, the Danish section of the Fourth International, have been consistent builders and leaders of the DVC from its inception.

On November 14, the DVC helped organize a student strike against the war that succeeded in shutting down the universities in Copenhagen and Arhus, and that affected the high schools, too. All the campuses featured teach-ins, discussions, and films about the war in Vietnam, NATO, etc.

Right-wing groups, including a motorcycle gang called the "Wild Angels," threatened to attack the November 15 demonstration. The numbers involved, along with a well-prepared defense guard, apparently discouraged the fascist-minded elements, however, and they did not show up. The police, too, refrained from engaging in a confrontation with the demonstrators although they have attacked them in the past. Consequently the march and three rallies were peaceful.

Perhaps one reason for the good manners of the cops was their discomfiture over the "bad image" resulting from various disclosures made by antiwar forces in recent months. A secret military "listening post" was uncovered by antiwar students in one of the Copenhagen University buildings. It was near the central post office through which all the international teletype lines go, including lines from the foreign embassies. The listening post was equipped with teletype machines that copied all the messages sent over these international lines. The resulting information is shared with the U.S. military intelligence through NATO agencies.

In October, students at Copenhagen University surrounded the building, carrying placards: "Military intelli-

gence off the university." They tried to break through police lines to get at the secret installation.

A military official, whose identity still remains secret, drove through the police lines, seriously injuring one of the cops. He was trying to "save" secret documents from falling into the hands of the students. The police at first blamed the demonstrators for the incident; but too many students had taken down the license number of the car. The police found the mysterious driver and "tried" him behind closed doors. The outcome remains a state secret.

The rector of the university said that he had not been told about the secret installation. The minister of defense had a similar alibi.

The military tried to counter this embarrassing situation by "uncovering" a plot to conspire against the state and to sabotage Danish firms producing war goods for the U.S. A number of young people were arrested, including members of the Young Socialist Forum and the Revolutionary Socialists. If found guilty on the charges, they face up to twelve years in prison.

However, the police revealed that the matériel to be used in toppling the state consisted of ten pounds of explosives and some smoke bombs. This was so ridiculous on the face of it that the police story backfired. It now appears that the charges will be considerably reduced or dropped altogether.

The two "threatened" firms were the Therma Co. and the Danish Industrial Syndicate. The latter firm was a target of saboteurs during World War II when it produced goods for the Nazis.

The Revolutionary Socialists pointed out in a press release that if the two firms are actually producing goods for the U.S. military it is hardly necessary to bomb them to halt such production. It is unlawful for Danish firms to engage in such production for any warring country, and members of parliament could easily put a stop to it, as has been done in other cases.

Early in November the police suppressed an issue of the newsletter of the Danish Vietnam Solidarity Committee *Vietnam Solidarity*. They claimed that it had published "military secrets." They announced it at a press conference four hours be-

fore raiding the DVC headquarters to seize the evidence. When they arrived, no copies of the issue were to be found.

A few days later they suppressed the magazine *Political Review* for the same reason. Copies of the issue were seized at the printers.

What the two publications had done was to list the cities in Denmark where "listening posts" like the one uncovered at the Copenhagen University were to be found. They also provided further information linking certain Danish firms and the Danish military with the U. S. military command.

The bourgeois newspaper *Information* decided to publish the contents of the two issues that had been banned, along with facts showing that everything in the articles had already appeared in the Danish daily press and was thus already public information.

Now, two editors of *Information*, as well as the editors of the two left publications, face charges that could result in three-year terms. But the flimsiness of the case discredited the police still further in the eyes of the public.

The police have announced that they are looking for Niels Frolich, a leader of the DVC who writes for *Political Review*. Frolich served in the secret service when he was in the army, and the police intimate that he was the source of the military "secrets" made public by the antiwar forces.

However, Frolich marched at the head of the giant November 15 demonstration and the cops did not touch him. They also refrained from interfering with sales of the banned issue of *Vietnam Solidarity* at the march and the rallies.

Czech Journalists Purged

The secretariat of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party stripped six more journalists of their party membership November 14. Among those expelled were three former top staff members of the journalists' union weekly *Reportér*, and the former director of the writers' union weekly *Literární Listy*.

The latest victims of the media purge joined 750 other expelled journalists, all of whom have been effectively denied employment in their occupation by political blacklisting.

Nigeria

20,000 Workers Mourn Slain Striker

By Woki Woka

Lagos

More than 20,000 workers, peasants, and union sympathizers stopped traffic for over six hours here November 4 as they walked in a massive funeral cortege for a striker murdered by hired assassins. The victim, Stephen Ajuwa, was shot October 21 while participating in a peaceful sit-down strike at the Italian-owned Metal Construction (WA) Ltd., based at Apapa, Lagos.

This cold-blooded killing has gripped the Nigerian working class unlike any other event since the Enugu shooting of November 18, 1949. In that historic tragedy, twenty-one Nigerian miners were shot dead, another died later, and fifty-four were wounded in the Enugu coal mine in Iva Valley by the order of a British colonial police officer. Unlike the Enugu massacre, the October 21 episode, which left one dead and another gravely wounded, was ordered by a Nigerian, executed by a Nigerian, against a Nigerian on behalf of a neocolonialist capitalist.

After all peaceful and constitutional efforts to win concessions from the company had failed, owing to the intransigent behaviour of the management, the workers decided as a last resort to press home their demand for a better condition of service and an increase in wages with a strike action—which is the only legal and recognized weapon of the working class.

The entire work force at Metal Construction (WA) Ltd. went out on strike October 21. (Even the management confirmed and commended the orderly behaviour of the strikers.)

At midnight the personnel manager, Mr. M. O. B. Solomon Omage, went to the factory seeking to force the strikers on the night shift into going back to work. When they would not, he threatened to sack them summarily. His threat failed to break the workers' solidarity, whereupon he left and hired some wayward members of the

armed forces for a private shooting spree.

When these soldiers arrived at the factory, it was alleged that Mr. Solomon Omage ordered them to chase the unarmed workers and probably to shoot them on sight. Stephen Ajuwa was killed on the spot, while Sunday Atanda is still lying critically ill in the general hospital, where he is on the danger list.

The union, Metal Construction (WA) Ltd. Workers Union, sent a strongly worded protest to the government October 23.

According to an October 29 police report, a soldier suspected of being connected with the shooting has been arrested.

The giant funeral procession for Stephen Ajuwa wound its way over a seven-mile route from the general hospital in Lagos Island through the busiest roads in the city. The participants, wearing black armbands, carried placards reading:

"The shooting of armless workers is not good," "Ajuwa is our hero," and "Ajuwa to be active is not a crime."

The cortege passed Ajuwa's house in Apapa, where condolences were extended to his mother, his wife with their infant son, and other relatives.

At the graveside a great chorus sang the workers' solidarity song.

Zambia to Control Mines

The Zambian government has announced that it will take control of the copper mines in its territory after January 1, 1970, *Le Monde* reported November 19.

The president of the republic, Kenneth Kaunda, said the government will purchase 51 percent of the stock in the new copper trust being set up to administer the mines. The other stockholders will be the Roan Selection Trust and the Anglo American Corporation. Both companies are joint British and American ventures.

Solzhenitsyn's Denunciation of His Expulsion

[Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, after being expelled from the Writers Union of the Russian Republic, sent the following letter to the organization November 10. Acquaintances of the author made it available to the press and an English translation appeared in the November 15 *New York Times*. We are reprinting this below, including a correction of a small error in the translation which we noted in checking it against the Russian text.]

* * *

Shamelessly flouting your own constitution, you have expelled me in feverish haste and in my absence, without even sending me a warning telegram, without even giving me the four hours to travel from Ryazan to be present. You have demonstrated openly that the decision preceded the deliberations. Was it more convenient for you to invent new accusations against me in my absence? Were you afraid that you would have to give me ten minutes to reply? I am forced to substitute this letter.

Your watches are behind the times. They are running centuries slow. Open your heavy expensive curtains. You do not even suspect that dawn has risen outside. It is no longer that deaf, dim time of no exit that it was when you expelled [Anna] Akhmatova. It is not even that timid, frigid time when you shouted [Boris] Pasternak out. Wasn't that shameful enough for you?

Do you want to compound it? The day is near when every one of you will try to find out how you can scrape your signatures off today's resolution. The blind lead the blind. You don't even notice that you are cheering for the side you have declared yourself against. In this time of crisis of our seriously sick society you are not able to suggest anything constructive, anything good, only your hate-vigilance. Your obese articles crawl about. Your mindless works move flabbily. But there are no arguments. Only voting and administration.

Thus neither [Mikhail] Sholokov nor

all of you put together dared to answer the famous letter of Lidiya Chukovskaya, pride of Russian essayists.

[Lidiya K. Chukovskaya, the author of *The Deserted House*, wrote an open letter to Mikhail Sholokov, the author of *And Quiet Flows the Don*, denouncing him for demanding stiffer sentences for Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel, who were convicted of maligning the Soviet Union in their literary productions and given sentences of seven and five years respectively. The text of Chukovskaya's letter is available in an English translation in the December 9, 1966, issue of *World Outlook* (now *Intercontinental Press*).]

For her the administrative pincers are being prepared. How could she dare to allow her unpublished book to be read? Since the higher levels have decided not to print you, crush yourself, choke yourself. Don't exist. Don't let anyone read you.

They are also driving Lev Koplov [a literary critic] to expulsion—a front-line war veteran, already having served a 10-year jail term although innocent. Now, if you please, he is guilty of standing up for those who are hounded, of going around talking about a holy secret, of violating a cabinet confidence with an influential person.

Why do you conduct such conversations which you have to hide from the people? Were we not promised 50 years ago that there would never again be secret diplomacy? Secret talks, secret incomprehensible appointments and reshuffles, that the masses would know and judge everything openly?

"The enemy is listening." That's your answer. These eternal enemies are the basis of your existence. What would you do without your enemies? You would not be able to live without your enemies. Hate, hate no less evil than racism, has become your sterile atmosphere. But in this way the feeling of a whole and single mankind is

being lost and its perdition is being accelerated.

And if tomorrow the ice of the Antarctic melted and all of us were transformed into drowning mankind, then into whose nose would you stuff the class struggle? Not to mention even when the remnants of two-legged creatures will roam the radioactive earth and die.

Just the same, it is time to remember that the first thing we belong to is humanity. And humanity is separated from the animal world by thought and speech and they should naturally be free. If they are fettered, we go back to being animals.

Publicity and openness, honest and complete—that is the prime condition for the health of every society, and ours too. The man who does not want them in our country is indifferent to his fatherland and thinks only about his own gain. The man who does not want publicity and openness for his fatherland does not want to cleanse it of its ailments, but to drive them inside, so they may rot there.

Soviet Writers Support Solzhenitsyn

Moscow sources revealed that seven Soviet literary figures have appealed to the Russian writers union to reconsider its expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, according to the November 23 *New York Times*.

The protesters were said to include the popular poet and ballad singer Bulat Okudzhava, Yuri V. Trifonov, Vladimir F. Tendryakov, and Grigory Y. Baklanov.

Solzhenitsyn has the right to appeal the union's action but is reported to believe that the procedure would be a waste of time and effort, since no redress could be expected from the Stalinist leadership which has already violated the organization's statutes.

Solzhenitsyn's Defense at Writers Union Meeting

[On November 12, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the weekly of the Soviet Writers Union, announced the expulsion of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn from its ranks. This exclusion from the official writers organization means that it will be virtually impossible for the dissident writer to get his work published.

[The Soviet writers weekly declared that Solzhenitsyn had been expelled for conduct "of an antisocial character radically opposed to the principles and tasks formulated in the statutes of the Union of Writers of the USSR." *Literaturnaya Gazeta* added that the anti-bureaucratic writer's "works have been used by bourgeois propagandists to conduct a slanderous campaign against our country."

[On November 4 Solzhenitsyn was expelled by the Ryazan section of the Writers Union. On November 7 this decision was ratified by the Russian section of the union. Solzhenitsyn did not attend the second meeting, it was reported, because of too short notice. His only opportunity to answer the charges against him, then, was at the Ryazan section meeting.

[No official stenogram was made of this discussion but a detailed account based on notes is circulating. One version was published in the November 24 issue of *Newsweek*; another in the November 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. The two versions are similar in their general form but *Le Monde's* version seems the most complete and coherent. Our translation of this latter version follows.]

* * *

The novelist Franz Taurin, representing the Writers Union of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], opened the debate. He began the discussion by informing those present of his organization's decisions to strengthen its ideological-education work. These decisions had been made, he explained, in connection especially with the defection of the writer Anatoly Kuznetsov.



SOLZHENITSYN: "No one can bar the road to the truth; I am ready to die so that the truth might advance."

Taurin cited the cases of the writers Kopelev,* Lidiya Chukovskaya, the poet-singer Bulat Okudzhava, and Solzhenitsyn. Because the last named was a member of the Ryazan section of the RSFSR Writers Union, his case was going to be examined specially. Six out of the seven members of the section attended the meeting. Several local writers then spoke. The following is a resumé of their contributions.

* * *

First Writer: We must make our self-criticism. I was the one who recommended Solzhenitsyn. *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* did, however, arouse my suspicions.

After the reports of Simonov and Tvardovsky, we stopped discussing this question. We hoped that Solzhenitsyn would become the ornament of our Ryazan section. This hope was disappointed. He did not participate in our work, he did not help our

* See "Lev Kopelev Expelled From CP" in *World Outlook* (now *Intercontinental Press*), April 15, 1968, page 302.

young authors, he did not attend our meetings. He cut himself off from us. We, of course, are not familiar with his latest works. We have not read them. But they run counter to what we are writing.

Second Writer: I am in complete agreement. The preceding speaker put it very well.

Third Writer: If you don't help the youth, what good is there in belonging to the Writers Union? The story, *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, was painted in dark colors. And "Matryona's Home"? Where has anyone seen such a solitary woman with no one to help her? Where does he publish his works? What is involved? We know nothing about this.

Fourth Writer: I hesitate. There is a pendulum movement. We are going from one extreme to another. Before they vilified Essenin this way. Then they praised him to the skies. Do you still remember 1946 [the Zhdanov period]? It's hard for me to keep things straight. Today, they are expelling Solzhenitsyn and afterwards they will readmit him. I don't want any part of it.

Fifth Writer: If my work were used as a weapon by the foreigners, how would I conduct myself? I would go ask the advice of the writers organization. But Solzhenitsyn isolated himself.

The Director of the Local Publishing House: Solzhenitsyn blackens everything. His insides are black.

[Solzhenitsyn then got the floor.]

With regard to helping the youth: Manuscripts were never submitted to me for criticism. No stenogram is being taken of this meeting. Notes are being taken, for what they are worth.

I want to relieve the conscience of the first speaker. He did not recommend me. He only gave me a questionnaire to fill out.

I have always kept the Ryazan section informed of my letters—I informed them of my letters to the Writers Union, to the Congress of Writers in May 1967, etc. I even offered to discuss *Cancer Ward* with them. The

section did not want to do this. I proposed public readings. They were not authorized. My absence from meetings? I live in a dacha in the suburbs of Moscow and it is not always convenient for me to come to meetings. After the publication of *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, it was proposed that I move to Moscow. I refused. The hustle and bustle of the capital might disturb my work. Recently, I asked permission to live in Moscow. Ilin, the secretary of the Moscow section, did not accept this request.

What did I fail to reply to? To the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* which held up Kuznetsov to me as an example of good behavior?* This was an anonymous article and I was not obliged to reply. Even my rehabilitation was challenged.** Lies were written about my novels. It was said that the *First Circle* was a virulent slander of our reality. But who proved this? They did not read this novel and yet they talked about it. How could *Literaturnaya Gazeta* be familiar with the "Feast of the Victors" [a play Solzhenitsyn wrote while in a prison camp]? How could they have any contact with this play, when the only copy was taken from my desk by the police?

I have rejected some of my works. These are the ones they talk about. There are others that I have asked to be published. They say nothing about these.

Should I reply to the secretariat of the Writers Union? I have answered all their questions. They have not done the same for any of my questions,

* Anatoly Vasilyevich Kuznetsov, an editor of the Soviet youth magazine *Yunost'*, who appealed for asylum in Britain late this July. Kuznetsov admitted after his defection that in order to gain their confidence and be permitted to go abroad, he had given the Soviet secret police false reports about dissident writers. Once in the West, Kuznetsov resigned from the Writers Union, totally renouncing Marxism. On this case, see "Marxism and the Kuznetsov Affair," in *Intercontinental Press*, September 8, 1969, page 775.

** Solzhenitsyn was imprisoned in 1945 after a letter he wrote to a friend criticizing Stalin's conduct of the war came to the attention of the secret police. He was released and rehabilitated in 1953 after the dictator's death. On the question of dissent in the Soviet armed forces during World War II, see "Why Hitler Was Able to Overrun the USSR," in *Intercontinental Press*, November 10, 1969, page 1004.

even after my letter to the congress. They hide it under a bushel.

Let's talk about *Cancer Ward*. In September, 1967, I warned the union secretariat that the novel was circulating in the country and might find its way abroad. I asked that it be published rapidly in *Novy Mir*. The secretariat preferred to wait.

In the spring of 1968 I wrote to *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, to *Le Monde*, and to *l'Unità* to forbid publication of *Cancer Ward* and deny the rights to Western publishers. The letter to *Le Monde* was not allowed to go through, although it had been registered. I entrusted the letter to *l'Unità* to the Italian critic Vittorio Strada. Customs confiscated it. I was able to convince the customs office to send it to *l'Unità*, which published it in June.

Literaturnaya Gazeta was still waiting. For nine weeks, from April 21 to June 26, it kept my letter from the public. It was waiting for *Cancer Ward* to come out in the West.

When the book was published by the Milan house Mondadori in a dreadful Russian edition, then *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published my letter, accusing me of not protesting energetically enough. If it had made my letter known in time, this step could have been effective. The proof is that the American publishers gave up their plans to bring out the book when they learned of my refusal.

The Chairman of the Meeting: Your time is up.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: This is not a matter of speaking time but of life and death.

The Chairman: How much time do you want?

[Solzhenitsyn asked ten minutes. He was given three. He continues:]

I asked the minister of communications to put an end to this piracy. The secretariat did not deliver to me any of the messages of congratulation for my fiftieth birthday which it received in my name. My correspondence is used cynically. I am accused of blackening reality. But in what theory of knowledge is the reflection more important than the object reflected? Perhaps in a philosophy of illusion but not in dialectical materialism. What assumes importance is not what we do but what is said about it.

A pendulum was spoken of. These

oscillations from one extreme to another do not concern me alone. The crimes of Stalin cannot be covered up indefinitely, or the truth opposed forever—because these were crimes committed against millions of human beings, and they demand illumination. What influence does concealing them have on the youth? The young people are not stupid, they understand.

I do not take back a single line, not a single word of my letter to the writers' congress [May 1967]. I said in it: "I am content. I know that I will fulfill my duty as a writer in all circumstances and perhaps after my death with greater success and greater authority than during my life. No one can bar the road to the truth; I am ready to die so that the truth might advance." Yes, I am ready to die and not just be expelled from the Writers Union. Vote. You are the majority, but do not forget that the history of literature will be interested in this meeting today.

[Solzhenitsyn was asked:] Why are you published abroad?

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: Answer first why I am not published in my own country.

The Regional Party Propaganda Secretary: Let's drop the discussion. You are denying the leading role of the party. Everyone is marching in step but you.

The Writer Franz Taurin: The secretariat of the Writers Union of the RSFSR is going to examine your case. The essential thing is that you did not answer the enemy. No one is humiliating you. This meeting is an attempt to help you clear yourself of all that the West has charged you with. The writer Fedin, moreover, implored you, with the authority of his great age, to give in, to answer the West.

[At the end of the meeting, expulsion was decided on. The motion was adopted by five votes for and one (Solzhenitsyn) against.]

Illiteracy on the Rise

The number of illiterates has risen by almost 60 million in the last ten years, according to a soon-to-be-published report by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. There are about 800 million adult illiterates, between 30.5 and 34.8 percent of the total adult population of the world. The most affected are Africa and the Middle East.

Students in Ten Cities Hear Mandel

London

More than 2,500 British students in ten cities turned out between October 28 and November 7 to hear Ernest Mandel, the Belgian Marxist economist and contributing editor to *Intercontinental Press*, speak on the "New Rise of the World Revolution"—the general political resolution adopted by the world congress of the Fourth International held last April.

The tour, which took Mandel to Birmingham, Manchester, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, York, Hull, Nottingham, Oxford, and London, was organized by the International Marxist Group, the British section of the Fourth International.

Mandel outlined the developments in the three sectors of the world revolution today.

The resistance of the Vietnamese to

U.S. imperialist aggression, and the rise of the mass antiwar movement in the U.S., he said, marked a turning point of decisive significance in the international resistance to the counterrevolutionary offensive launched by the U.S. following the Cuban revolution. It was a big factor in the development of a worldwide youth vanguard which is turning toward the traditions of the Russian revolution.

Mandel underlined the importance of the crisis now affecting Stalinism and the Social Democracy on a world scale, and its bearing on solving the key problem of constructing a revolutionary working-class leadership and building mass revolutionary parties of the Fourth International.

This evoked many questions from students concerned with the problem

of relating revolutionary theory to action.

The recent attempt by General Electric workers in Liverpool to take over operations as an answer to shutdowns and mass layoffs was explained by Mandel as a manifestation of the pressures building up within the capitalist economic system. Throughout Europe, workers are driven to raise demands that challenge the basis of capitalist property relations.

Two debates highlighted the tour. In Hull, some 300 students turned out to hear a lively exchange between Mandel and Michael Kidron, a leader of the International Socialism group, which maintains that state capitalism exists in the Soviet Union. The logical outcome of this view was shown in Kidron's contention that the Vietnamese were fighting for a capitalist society in their struggle against U.S. imperialism.

In London, following a lecture at the London School of Economics, Mandel debated Monty Johnstone, a member of the British Communist party and former editor of *Challenge*, the newspaper of the Young Communist League. The subject was "What Is Trotskyism?"

Among other items, Johnstone defended the conservative role played by the French Communist party during the May-June 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France and the British Communist party's position on a parliamentary road to socialism in Britain.

Participants representing various tendencies took the floor during the discussion period. The majority of them were hostile to the views expressed by Johnstone.

Mandel noted that the mere possibility of such a debate reflected the growing influence of Trotskyism among radicalizing youth.

In a number of areas, members of the Socialist Labour League challenged Mandel's right to speak in the name of the Fourth International. In Birmingham, a group of members of the SLL left the meeting of some 250 persons after a motion by one of them failed to elicit any response.

Throughout the tour, Mandel's appeals for united action and the establishment of a free atmosphere of workers' democracy among the revolutionary tendencies met with enthusiastic response.

CP Calls the Cops in Montreal

Montréal

The Communist party and its pacifist and conservative allies struck two blows at the antiwar forces here November 14 at a rally for representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

When militants started passing out a leaflet announcing an antiwar demonstration the following day in solidarity with the international mobilization, Edward Sloan, organizer of the meeting and long-time spokesman for the CP wing of the peace movement here, intervened to prevent them from being distributed.

First he called on his private guards and then he asked the city police to expel the activists from the premises.

Sloan also blocked persons in the same way from selling the socialist newspapers *La Lutte Ouvrière* and the *Workers Vanguard*.

Those who had been thus ejected returned later in small groups and denounced Sloan before the assembly got underway.

He later admitted calling the cops,

but refused to state that he was in the wrong in doing this. He felt compelled to make some amends, however, by announcing the demonstration to take place the next day.

The other blow against the antiwar movement was the failure of the CP to organize a good turnout for the meeting itself. Scarcely 300 people, for the most part elderly pacifists and CP sympathizers, huddled in embarrassment in a hall that holds 2,500 persons.

Many of those present, particularly the Vietnamese students, commented on how poorly the meeting had been organized. They also noted the absence on the platform of representatives of movements in the forefront of the mass opposition to Bill 63, Québec's hated anglicisation law.

The CP, which supports bilingualism and Bill 63, has claimed that the mass opposition might turn into "fascism." It was generally felt that their attitude had contributed to the failure of the Vietnam assembly.

Students Engage in Campus Confrontations

The Peradeniya campus of the University of Ceylon was scheduled to reopen some classes November 2. Police had expelled all students from the school on orders of Vice-Chancellor E. O. E. Pereira following an October 23 student strike.

The strike included a militant demonstration at the vice-chancellor's campus lodge. Armed police have stood twenty-four-hour-a-day guard on the lodge since October 23.

Meanwhile students at Vidyodaya University have threatened to strike over the closure of the Archaeology Department, and the administration at Colombo University averted a strike only by granting major concessions.

These simultaneous eruptions at three of Ceylon's four universities mark a new revival of radical student unrest.

The struggle at Vidyodaya University was described by the November 6 Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*:

"Last week the students demonstrated opposite the NCHE [National Council of Higher Education — a government body that administers all four universities] premises protesting against the NCHE decision to close the Archaeology Department which had been functioning since 1952.

"Prof. Hettiaratchi [the vice-chancellor] said yesterday that there was a great deal of unrest on the campus because of the decision . . .

"Meanwhile the Student Union too is up in arms against the Vice-Chancellor's decision not to permit student meetings within the campus."

The students at the predominantly Buddhist university have demanded that all undergraduates expelled or suspended from the university during earlier protests be readmitted.

Their other demands include student representation in welfare units; choice of language for instruction (Sinhalese is the most widely spoken common language, with a large minority of the population speaking Tamil, but most instruction is conducted in English); impartial inquiries on disciplinary matters; and improvement of university facilities.

There are deeper questions involved in the student unrest as well. Although educational opportunities have expanded in recent years, job opportunities have not. The result has been a growing sector of educated unemployed. There are some 1,000,000 jobless out of a population of about 12,000,000. Nearly half of these are considered "educated" — 12,000 of them being graduates, according to the September 13 London *Economist*.

The response of the government has been to crack down on the rebellious students. Minister of Education Iriyagolle calls the students a "red rabble." He has sought confrontations with administrations and faculties as well when they have supported student demands. One result of this authoritarian policy has been a high turnover of university administrators who have refused to knuckle under to the government's dictates. The previous vice-chancellor of Vidyodaya University, the well-known Buddhist scholar Dr. Walpola Rahula, resigned at the end of July to take a position at the Sorbonne.

Dr. Rahula refrained from giving his reasons, but the newspapers charged that it was an act of protest against the "management" by the NCHE. The London *Economist* commented:

"The recent Higher Education Act had vested so much authority in the minister that he could in effect hire and fire vice-chancellors, intimidate the teaching staff, determine curricula, clamp down on student activities, control admission to the universities and interfere in their internal administration. Dr. Rahula's resignation was a well-timed sacrificial gesture of warning, in the best Buddhist tradition."

The Peradeniya campus of the University of Ceylon has been a battleground in the past year. With more than 10,000 students, it is by far the largest and most important academic institution in the country. It is located in the village of Peradeniya, just southwest of Kandy in central Ceylon. A major confrontation with the authorities took place there last Febru-

ary 4 — Ceylon's independence day. The *Economist* described the events:

"Parts of the campus were converted into temporary barracks for a regiment participating in the 21st independence day celebrations in nearby Kandy. If ever a red rag was waved at a belligerent bull, this was it.

"The army chose to treat student jeers as a *casus belli* and several pitched battles took place, in which the students, with or without the assistance of Che, Ho and the little red book, stood up exceedingly well to soldiers specially trained in guerrilla warfare. The army's answer was massive retaliation. The result: several students seriously injured and a physics laboratory reduced to rubble."

This clash resulted in the resignation of the university's vice-chancellor, M. J. Perera. It also produced a nationwide dispute in which the government fared badly. The *Economist* reported:

"In parliament the prime minister, Mr. Dudley Senanayake, relied heavily on the army's version of the confrontation. As minister of defence perhaps he had no choice. But he chose to repeat army yarns about ambushed soldiers forced to suffer the ultimate humiliation of watching a girl student peeing on an officer and/or his cap. Unhappily, Mr. Perera, before resigning, had appointed an independent committee of inquiry. It not only dismissed the story as a silly fabrication but held the army more guilty than the students."

The *Economist* made an estimate of the students' mood as of early September, noting the growth of revolutionary ideas, but denying that they represented a majority at that time:

"Though the students are steadily becoming better organized and more vocal, they are neither idealists nor ideologists. Marcuse, Fanon and Debray are known only to a handful. Che and Ho are minority heroes on all four campuses and Mao's thoughts, thanks to an active pro-Peking communist party, are familiar to most students.

"But," the British newsweekly added,

"none of Ceylon's universities can be called redbook."

The latest student upsurge, nevertheless, has revived red-baiting attacks on the campus protesters in the country's press. Without shedding any more light on the precise ideological divisions on the student left, the November 6 *Ceylon News* declared:

"Obviously, those who spearheaded the attack on the Lodge allowed militancy to get the better of their discretion. Most of the student unions are today led by left-wing groups. Several of them derive their inspiration from political organisations more concerned with creating problems for

the Government than with solving those of the student body. They work on the theory that student unrest can help to make a party in power unpopular."

The paper supported the use of police to disperse the strikers:

"Vacillation in the face of rioting delinquents only leads to greater disorder."

Four of the university's faculties were scheduled to reopen November 2 and the Board of Regents was to meet November 7 to decide on reopening the Arts and Sciences faculties. Police were ordered to resume round-the-clock patrols on the road running through the campus when it reopened.

the capitalist system. The youth affiliates of the parties experience the radicalization much more strongly, whereas the parties can still capture and canalize the workers, whose political awareness develops more slowly.

In each case an entirely *new* organization has arisen. From criticizing the political line inside the party, the much different question develops of determining a course of action *independently* based on your own analysis (i.e., the left opposition in the UEC [Union des Etudiants Communistes—Union of Communist Students] which later became the JCR and finally the *Ligue Communiste*).

The most general cause in this development has been the new rise of the world revolution—armed struggle in Latin America (Che . . .), support for the Vietnamese revolution, the French May and the Krivine campaign, and, last but not least, Czechoslovakia.

In Belgium, another factor is present. The CP wants to integrate itself as fast as possible (that is, in an unprincipled way) into Collard's "progressive front." In Flanders the CP is so weak with respect to the BSP [Belgisch Socialistische Partij—Belgian Socialist Party] that the pressure of the CP trade unionists is not sufficient to force the Social Democrats to collaborate.

The BSP, however, is leaving a (cautious) back door open through its youth organization. Thus a regular liaison was set up between the KJ, CVP [Christelijke Volkspartij—Christian People's party, the Belgian Christian Democrats] Youth, and the Jong-socialisten [Young Socialists].

The KJ, which made a left turn after the Antiatomic March (under pressure from the SJW), had won a greater degree of freedom from the CP leadership. But when the Collard front was launched, the KJ again became an *essential* element that the CP wanted to control no matter what. "Better a paper KJ than an independent KJ," they said. The break between the two organizations was therefore logical and inevitable.

The group that left is now seeking to make its own way in the political arena. This is a difficult task, it goes without saying; and all the more so because these militants realize with bitterness their lack of political education, an aspect of work that no longer seems to be in favor in the CP.

Another obstacle is that the political differences with the CP had already de-

Belgium

CP Loses Antwerp Youth

[The following article appeared in the October 31 issue of the biweekly *Rood*, the organ of the Belgian Revolutionaire Socialisten (Revolutionary Socialists), the Flemish affiliate of the Confédération Socialiste des Travailleurs (Socialist-Workers Confederation). The translation from the Flemish is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The majority of the Antwerp section of the Kommunistische Jeugd [KJ—Communist Youth] have decided to disaffiliate from the CP and become an independent political group.

Thus a landmark (the first) has been reached after a process of political maturation extending over the past two years.

The pattern of this crisis in the Antwerp section is almost the same as that in the Communist youth in Ghent, in which the entire Ghent section of the Vlaamse Kommunistische Studenten (VKS) [Flemish Communist Students] broke away from the party. (Some joined the SJW [Socialistische Jonge Wacht—Socialist Young Guard], some joined anarchist or spontanéist groups, others remained active in the university groups, while still others finally became demoralized and left politics. So far no new VKS has appeared in Ghent.)

The two crises went through the same development—at first difficulties with the bureaucratic party representatives in the youth organization; a first awareness of the opportunism of the CP (a witch-hunt against "the leftists" and an "alliance" with the right); various concrete points of conflict in action (e.g., the Antiatomic March): the threat of expulsion, finally a new political consciousness among the youth and an insight into the neo-Stalinist and opportunistic character of the CP.

The conflict between the youth movement and the traditional workers parties is an *international* phenomenon. The SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Union] in Germany, the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Youth] in France, the SUF [Socialistisk Ungdomsforum—Socialist Youth Forum] in Denmark, the Young Socialists in England, Falce e Martello [Hammer and Sickle] in Italy, and finally the Socialistische Studenten [Socialist Students] and the SJW in Belgium are eloquent proof of this.

This *general* character points to a deeper factor. *The radicalization of the youth has become a mass phenomenon and can no longer be controlled by the traditional workers parties, which are increasingly integrated into*

veloped to such a point that the new group has come *very close* to the line of the SJW on all *important* questions. And now an additional difficulty arises. The SJW is well on the way toward transforming itself from a loosely structured regional group to a national youth vanguard organization with selective recruitment, a revolutionary political line, and democratic centralism.

From the political standpoint, nothing prevents these left Communists from joining the SJW. But from the organizational point of view, they are so disgusted with the *bureaucratic* centralism of the CP that they want to throw out the baby (*democratic* centralism) with the bath water.

The "Kommune" group which they are trying to set up is seeking to turn toward the masses without any clear analysis, without a program, without a defined tactic and strategy.

This "all together," which is a proper slogan in *concrete* cases for *concrete* actions with *concrete* objectives, is *entirely ineffective* when seen as a program and the basis for building an organization.

Trying to find a shortcut and making concessions to a certain individualistic political or petty-bourgeois mentality ("enough talk," "to hell with discipline," "nothing but action") does not automatically get you back on the main road—that is, the road toward building a revolutionary party capable of leading the working class to socialism.

The correct road is that of a solid doctrine (Marxism), an unwavering political line, a coherent strategy, cadre training, and political education, as well as *effective* activism.

This road is the most difficult today in view of a certain mentality among the youth.

This is the road the SJW is following. And we are really moving against the stream.

Already Have Enough Dust on Earth

When officials of the University of Pittsburgh put on a display of moon dust brought back by the Apollo 11 astronauts, they thought people would "be breaking down the doors to get in." A spokesman ruefully admitted that the display of the precious stuff is attracting "about as much attention as a sack of coal dust."

Bolivia

Against the Wage Freeze

La Paz

In response to the Ovando government's latest decree, the Executive Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] states the following:

1. The wage and salary freeze is directed against labor and against the people. It denies the workers any improvement in their miserable living conditions, while preserving intact the profits of the exploiting bourgeoisie allied to imperialism. It is untrue that an increase in wages would endanger the stability of the currency. This is the standard maintained by the American employers; but a government that proclaims social justice could well raise the incomes of the workers without affecting the currency by redistributing the national income. The price of the crisis must be paid for by the economically powerful and not, as up until now, by the wage earners alone.

2. We remind the people and the workers that the struggle against foreign imperialist oppression is intimately linked to social revolution, that abandoning the revolution for the sake of the anti-imperialist struggle assures, in fact, the victory of imperialism.

The workers support the national-

ization of the Gulf Oil Co. because they associate it with their own revolutionary class objectives. But if these aspirations are deferred, as in the case of the Teopente gold-mining company, as in the leasing system in the mines, and now the wage freeze, instances where capitalist interests were favored, a *de facto* rupture develops between the government and the workers.

Therefore, in order to defend the nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. and widen the anti-imperialist struggle, in order to defend the national sovereignty consistently, it is necessary to revitalize the workers movement and speed the emergence of a vanguard capable of leading the process now in motion. And this vanguard must have a clear understanding of the fact that in the world of today national economic independence is inseparable from socialism.

3. If, in fact, there are difficulties in selling our oil because of an imperialist boycott, we call on the Ovando government to reestablish trade relations with Cuba, whose market is large enough to absorb Bolivian oil production.

For the Executive Committee of the POR:

Eliseo Vásquez Aldana
October 27, 1969.

Nigerian Students Stage Demonstration

Lagos

Students from three universities in Ibadan, Lagos, and Ife staged a mammoth demonstration October 29 to back their demand for the abolition of the present scholarship and indigent scheme and its replacement with a system of government loans.

Students from Ibadan and Ife, after demonstrating on their own campuses, boarded chartered buses for Lagos where they joined in a mass march on the Federal Ministry of Education. The building was heavily guarded by a contingent of armed policemen led by the deputy commis-

sioner of police for Lagos State, Mr. Yisa Lawani. There were no incidents.

The students carried placards reading: "Scholarships Unworkable, Loan Is the Answer," "Indigent Scheme Scrapped, Scholarship Withdrawn," and "Loans Are Not Shameful." Other signs called on the head of state, General Gowon, to support their demands.

A student delegation held a closed-door meeting with Mr. Ade John, permanent secretary of the Federal Ministry of Education, but the outcome of the meeting was not immediately made public.

The Gulf Take-over Is a Victory for the People

Oruro

With regard to the recent developments, the González section of the Miners Fraction of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario [Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] states the following:

1. The Trotskyists salute the nationalization of the imperialist Gulf Oil Co. as a triumph of the revolutionary people of Bolivia and as the first fruit of the anti-imperialist revolutionary war begun in the mountains of Nancahuazú by the guerrillas of Che Guevara and Inti Peredo.

Faced with the new colossal revolutionary ascent that is shaking Latin America and especially Bolivia, faced with humiliating defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, and convinced that reactionary violence cannot defeat a people determined to liberate itself, the mass murderers of yesterday have changed their colors. To halt the revolution from below, they are now offering a revolution from above, kept within the limits of capitalism. The officers have been forced to nationalize the Gulf Oil Co. by the mounting popular insurrection which threatened to sweep them from the political scene as in 1952.

2. This popular victory must be defended, not only against the maneuvers of the imperialists but against the limitations of the rulers themselves. At the same time that Gulf was nationalized, contradictorily, the government was already talking about respecting private investment and keeping intact the imperialist Trojan Horse represented by the El Alto La Paz air base (a little Guantánamo), the Yankee military missions doing advisory or educational work in the military bases, USAID [United States Agency for International Development], USIS [United States Information Service], the Peace Corps, and the missions operating at all levels of public administration.

As a result, the nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. was imperiled from the very moment it was enacted. The government is not capable of carry-

ing this nationalization forward, just as the bourgeois MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria -- Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] was incapable of doing so at the time of the nationalization of the mines.

What is needed to carry through the nationalizations effectively is a revolutionary political leadership interlocked with a profound mass mobilization, which would incorporate the nationalizations of imperialist property into the struggle for socialism and the establishment of workers power.

Neither the political tendencies that declare themselves to be of the left nor the masses can repeat the mistakes made in the MNR decade. The nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. cannot be defended by placing confidence in a bourgeois government and still less by abdicating to it the revolutionary role of the proletariat and its vanguard.

In this regard, it is infantile to propose socialist programs for General Ovando to carry out. The defense of the statization of petroleum can be assured only by the revolutionists following a correct independent strategy of contending for power and creating their own armed political instrument, capable, at the insurrectional high point, of replacing the present government.

Without this revolutionary outcome, we repeat, the nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. risks being emasculated and, after being deprived of its progressive character, incorporated into the functioning of the imperialist apparatus.

3. In accordance with our line, we Trotskyists propose the formation of a great mass front including all the trade-union organizations, the revolutionary political groupings, the progressive sectors of the church, the left intellectuals, the students, and the peasants.

We propose that this front be headed by the Ejército de Liberación Nacional [Army of National Liberation] which by its actions, its heroism, and its sacrifice has touched the coun-

try's most responsive chord and shown that a revolution is not made in a forum hall or at a round table but by firm and combative action in attacking the supports of imperialism. Only a front of this nature, with a clear ideology and backed by arms, will be capable of raising a real and not a utopian governmental alternative.

4. In saluting the nationalization of the Gulf Oil Co. as a popular victory in spite of the generals, we Trotskyists pay homage to some of the great anti-imperialist fighters of recent times. We pay homage to fighters like Che Guevara, Inti Peredo, and their comrades who fell in the struggle for the national and social liberation of Bolivia in their confrontation with the military officers trained by the imperialists' Green Berets.

As part of the anti-imperialist struggle, we call on the entire Bolivian people, its workers, peasants, and student organizations, and on the intellectuals to take a stand demanding the release of dozens of anti-imperialist fighters held for alleged complicity with guerrillas in the Panóptico de San Pedro, the Obrajes women's prison, and the Camiri military prison.

We call on them to demand full civil liberties for our general secretary, Comrade Hugo González Moscoso, and the ending of the furious persecution that has been launched against him.

The release of these revolutionary patriots will be a victory over the CIA and Yankee imperialism!

Ever onward until victory is won!

For the POR Miners Fraction by:
José Luis Vásquez, Juan Pérez Solía, and Federico Herrera Aldana.
October 20, 1969.

Progress Report

"[South] Korea is still in the bottom 20 per cent of developing countries, despite receiving one of the highest levels of aid per head in the world, mainly from its good military ally in the United States." — November 8 London *Economist*.

What the Iranian Students Seek to Achieve

[The interview below was granted to Steve Chainey by several leaders of the Iranian Students Association in the United States of America (ISAUS).]

* * *

Question: For what reasons was the ISA originally organized? What are the major goals and tasks of the ISA today, and have these changed somewhat since the ISA first began?

Answer: The ISAUS was originally organized in 1953 by the Iranian government, with the help of the U. S. to cover up for the dictatorial regimes set up after the CIA-engineered coup of 1953 and further to be used as a propaganda machine for the shah's regime and his U. S. bosses.

The Iranian people's struggle continued in Iran despite the severe repression of all patriotic forces. This struggle reflected itself in a movement amongst Iranian students in the U. S., and a nucleus of progressive students was formed within the ISAUS that continually gave progressive content and direction to the organization. It was in the Michigan convention of the ISAUS that the progressive elements mustered their forces and broke up the domination of the Iranian embassy lackeys in Washington and made the ISAUS an independent and anti-imperialist organization.

The ISAUS is an anti-imperialist, democratic organization with a mass line. It is active in the organization of the masses of Iranian students in the U. S. Its major goals are to participate in the Iranian people's liberation struggle against imperialism (including the neocolonialist policy of the Soviet Union) and the dictatorial regime of the shah. The ISAUS participates in the people's struggle for a free and democratic Iran, and their efforts in smashing the colonial culture and their struggle for the promotion of the culture of the masses. The tasks of the ISAUS can be summarized: to protect and defend the rights of Iranian students, to organize all Iranian students in the U. S. that can be organized. And to support and actively participate in the struggle of progressive, anti-imperialist movements and organizations that are struggling for liberation and freedom.

Q: To the best of your knowledge, what is the state of the student movement in Iran?

A: Student movements in Iran have always had organic ties with the Iranian masses and their struggle. After the CIA-engineered coup of 1953, and the wave of severe repression, the center of the most antigovernment activities shifted to the Tehran University, and on December 7, 1953, when Tehran University students were preparing for a demonstration against a visit by the then Vice-President Nixon to Iran, the shah's troops invaded the University and shot three students to death. After this

incident, and throughout the last sixteen years, in most cases the Iranian students have played the vanguard role. Because of the regime's ban on the real student organizations and their constantly brutal suppression, the student organization has gone underground and spread in secret, student groups operating in and out of universities. A new feature of the movement is the direction of the work among workers and peasants (especially in the new Kurdish liberation movement).

Q: Are there other organizations or movements in Iran which share similar views with the ISA; for example, views on the shah, U.S. imperialism, the CIA, Vietnam, etc.?

A: There are anti-imperialist political parties in Iran that are in operation underground and share our views. Some of the student members of these political parties are active in Iranian student organizations abroad.

Q: Recently, Persian students were active in attempting to thwart a bill in the California legislature raising foreign students' tuition. Could you elaborate on this event?

A: Last July, a bill that was introduced by an Orange County senator, raised the tuition of foreign students studying in state colleges three times. We organized against it and won some tactical victories. But we see this bill as a preconceived plan by the ruling class in the U. S. to introduce a class content among the foreign students studying in California by making it almost impossible for the poorer students to be able to continue their studies or come to the U. S. In collaboration with their reactionary puppet governments, they are planning to steadily weaken and finally destroy the active anti-imperialist foreign students organizations in California. We think the struggle against this bill has not ended and we urge all foreign students studying in state colleges in California to join us in exposing the imperialist nature of this bill and in organizing around it to win still greater victories.

Q: Could you elaborate on the call for an "International Conference for the Defense of Political Prisoners in Iran" in Paris this fall? Are there any particular days of solidarity or slogans projected for this conference? Some people feel the best way to conduct a defense is by only appealing to those people and groups who agree with you politically. Others feel that one's politics should be completely submerged during the course of the trial. Do you see either or a combination of these two concepts as being the most effective?

A: The plan for this conference was decided upon at the Ninth World Convention of the Confederation of the Iranian Students in January 1969. This conference was to serve as an important weapon in exposing the nature of the reactionary puppet regime of the shah and the U. S. imperialist suppression of the struggle of the Ira-

nian masses on one hand and to intensify the internal struggle of all progressive forces lead by the CONFEDERATION in order to lessen the barbaric treatment of Iranian political prisoners and also to play an active role in supporting the struggle of the Iranian people by building an international united front.

In preparation for this conference, we follow two basic tasks; one, a wide political education of the progressive masses in both Europe and U. S. to expose the nature of the regime; and, two, to more readily reach our real allies. Our allies in the long run are not the liberal organizations, but the oppressed masses in Europe and America. We are working to take our people's struggles and the conditions of our political prisoners to them and to reach a common view for a long-run struggle against imperialism and their lackeys around the world, especially the shah's regime.

Q: What role have other foreign students such as the Arab students played in the affairs and defense campaigns of the ISA? What role can Americans in general, as well as leftist organizations, play in the defense against political repression of Iranian people? Does the ISA intend to appeal for support on a broad, mass, and public basis?

A: We consider the Arab students a progressive force and we support their just struggle against imperialism and Zionism. We have struggled with them in many cases and will have a Joint Seminar discussion on the role of imperialism and its lackeys in the Middle East. This seminar will be on October 18.

In our defense campaign we appeal to all progressive Americans and try to unite all American forces that can be united on a specific issue, but in the long run, we consider the American workers and revolutionary intellectuals as our real allies and we are working to relate our people's struggle to the anti-imperialist struggle of the workers and revolutionary intellectuals in the U. S.

Q: What attitude do most Persians take in the U. S. and in Iran on the Palestinian liberation struggle and the Vietnamese revolution? Whom do they support?

A: The oppressed masses of the Iranian people relate to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Palestinian and Vietnamese people against world imperialism headed by the U. S. imperialism, Soviet neocolonialist policy and international Zionism.

We consider the struggle of the Palestinian people against U. S. imperialism and international Zionism to be of a high degree of importance to our people's struggle because this struggle is the vanguard of the peoples liberation struggles in the Middle East against U. S. imperialism and the reactionary governments in the Middle East and this struggle is again a vanguard in weakening and finally smashing imperialism in the Middle East.

Q: In what way do you see Iranians contributing to the defense of Vietnamese self-determination? Is the ISA in a position to support the fall antiwar offensive in the U. S.?

A: We think the best way that our people can contribute to the struggle of the Vietnamese masses is to weaken the reactionary puppet regime of the shah in Iran

and to drive U. S. imperialism out; and to give our active support to their struggle by participating in actions taken throughout the world in an international united front in support of the Vietnamese peoples struggle.

The secretariat has not made an official decision regarding the ISAUS's participation in the fall demonstration but we are sure that Iranian students will participate in supporting action throughout the U. S. as usual.

Q: How does the ISA view the recent wave of campus struggles in the U. S. for an end of campus complicity with the war, big business, and racism? Have students participated in these campus struggles?

A: We regard the American universities as tools in the service of imperialism and racism; therefore we support the struggle of progressive American students against their racist and imperialist institutions, especially the struggle of the masses of black students. We think that the American student struggle should break the narrow "student" demands and should relate and give it a content of the struggle of the oppressed American masses.

The Iranian students have actively participated in the American students struggle from Columbia to San Francisco State and have repeatedly been arrested and beaten up by the U. S. fascist police and have been threatened with deportation. We will continue and intensify our joint struggle with the progressive American students against imperialism, racism and for the realization of the basic demands of oppressed American masses.

Q: What do you personally see as the future role of the ISA, in a long- and short-term sense, judging from the heightening struggles in Iran against the government?

A: The struggle in Iran is being intensified every day, and has reached a new stage; i.e., the stage of armed struggle. We feel that, as we have done before, our student movement and its content is directly related to the basic content of the struggle in Iran and its corresponding stage. We are now working throughout the world to analyze and explain the contents of our peoples struggle and to educate the masses of Iranian students regarding the present socioeconomic conditions in Iran and the peoples struggle, so as to never become isolated from our peoples fights. In the long run, when the content of the movement becomes richer, our organizational form, correspondingly, will be changed in order to answer the then basic needs of the struggle.

Q: How can people contact your organization who want more information on the defense of political prisoners in Iran? Are you asking for financial contributions as well?

A: The secretariat and the national office of ISAUS can be contacted through P. O. Box 764, San Jose, California 95106. We now have a special fund for the defense of political prisoners (and for sending an international lawyer to the trial of Iranian political prisoners, and also to defend our active ISA members against the imperialist repression and other defense campaigns throughout the U. S.

We urge all progressive forces to send their contributions to the defense fund through the national office of the ISAUS.

Political Prisoners Appeal to Supreme Soviet

[The open letter to the Supreme Soviet published below was written by a number of political prisoners in the Dubrovlag forced labor camp, apparently some time last spring or early summer. It was widely circulated among Soviet dissidents, and a copy reached the West. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR:

This is not a complaint intended for consideration by those bodies under whose administration the prisons and labor camps fall.

We do not exclude use of our letter for establishing and verifying the facts stated in it and the adoption of the measures justified in the light of these facts. But we beg that *this letter be brought to the attention of all the deputies of the Supreme Soviet*.

Citizen Deputies!

A session of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union is soon to discuss and adopt the Principles of a Corrective Labor Code for the USSR. This was announced in the press and, so far as we know, the draft Principles are already being discussed in certain official bodies.

Inasmuch as the passage of this law depends, to some extent, on you and, as it were, concerns us, we consider it essential to explain to you the facts about the present situation in this area of Soviet jurisprudence, the facts about the interpretation and application of the laws today in the existing camps.

Our personal experience enables us to write to you only about the situation in the strict-system camps where the main body of political prisoners (according to the official terminology, especially dangerous antistate criminals) are being held. Of the practices in the special-system prisons and camps, where as a rule persons convicted more than once of violating the political statutes are sent, we have only secondhand knowledge; and, therefore, we cannot write about them.

We are not now concerned with the right which you, the legislators, grant the

state to imprison (call it what you like—persuade, reeducate, isolate, punish) dissenters who propagate their own views or opinions. What is in question is only the methods of punishment (isolation, persuasion, etc.).

And so to the point. Our situation is regulated now (formally) by one legislative act — the penal code (Article 20, "The Aims of Punishment"), one supplementary statute ("The Rights and Duties of Prisoners"), and many secret (so they tell us) directives. Incidentally, the directives do not agree with the rules and both contradict the direct provisions of the law: "Punishment is not intended to cause physical suffering or degradation of human dignity."

Although the corrective labor code of 1926 has not yet been repealed, it not only does not reflect life in confinement today but some of its provisions even seem pure fantasy — work at your own trade, no restrictions on correspondence, and receiving aid from relatives, etc.

We note, incidentally, that the 1926 code actually became a dead letter and was displaced by secret directives in the unhappily remembered 1930s. And this system of keeping the documents that govern our existence secret has been maintained to this day.

Therefore, we cannot tell anything either about these directives themselves. We cannot tell whether they are really what they are claimed to be, or whether they are an invention to justify the arbitrariness of the camp administration. This means that what we can discuss is the "rules" ("The Basic Rights . . .") that we know about, and, in the first place, the actual practice.

What we have in mind is *restricted rations, cold, and humiliations*. Perhaps jurists will find words to square this with Article 20 of the Criminal Code, but we are not jurists. Here are the facts.

1. The nutritional norm in the camp is 2,413 calories. Such a diet (according to the information in the journal *Zdorov'e* [Health]) is the minimum for a healthy nonworking person under normal conditions.

But we get far less than this norm. Our food is tasteless, monotonous, and

almost entirely lacking in vitamins. If we do not have sufficient basis for saying that there is real hunger, constant vitamin starvation is an unquestionable fact. It is no coincidence that so many in the camp suffer from stomach disorders.

There is a canteen where you can buy necessities, smoking accessories, and tobacco products with the extremely limited sum of five rubles [1 ruble equals US\$.90] a month. The possibility is deliberately excluded for obtaining green vegetables or other vitamin-rich products at the canteen or by any other means.

It is forbidden to obtain food products by mail (*only* books, journals, papers, and written materials may be obtained this way).

According to the official rules, we can receive packages three times a year (after serving half our sentences), but (in accordance with the directives, they tell us) the only ones who get packages are those in favor with the administration.

Altogether, the signers of this letter have been in confinement for more than twenty-two years but in that time not one of us has received even one food parcel in the camp.

So far we have been talking about the "upper limit" of our diet. At any time, any of us can be deprived of the right to use the canteen (this is a favorite punishment here) or be locked up in solitary confinement where the dietary norms can be reduced to 1,300 calories (and, in fact, as in the first case, still lower). That is already outright starvation.

2. A normal temperature is maintained in the dormitories and workshops only in summer weather. In the fall, winter, and spring, the temperature hovers around the low fifties. The temperature could be raised only by a consumption of firewood beyond the capacities of the administration, because the buildings are old and the climate is not exactly like the Mediterranean.

Protection against the cold is provided for in a peculiar way in the camp. They have taken away all our warm clothing—sweaters, jackets, etc.

3. We have already mentioned certain punitive measures. We should add

that the isolation cell means not only hunger but miserable cold because they give you a jacket only at night. All the rest of the time you have nothing but a bare plank-bed and the cement floor.

What are the pretexts for such punishments?

We did not use the term pretext instead of reasons accidentally, because in fact there are no actual violations of the rules in the political prison camps. But "punishment is essential," and they do inflict punishment.

For not waking up after a blow in the ribs.

For not standing in the presence of an officer.

For brewing coffee or toasting bread.

For not going to the political lecture.

For growing a few wild carrots in the area (for vitamins, by the way) or for refusing to stamp them out.

For not fulfilling production quotas, etc.

"In combination" such transgressions can get you a half year's detention in the isolation cell ("the indoor diet") and transfer to a prison for a period of up to three years. The latter is decided by a judge, but in such cases we are deprived of counsel.

4. Denying prisoners their regular visits by relatives is also one of the penalties the rules provide for. Altogether we have the right to one "private" visit a year (up to three days) and three "public" visits (in the presence of a guard for up to four hours.

But three-day or four-hour visits are as much of an exception as packages. Without any formal grounds, the administration can shorten personal visits to one day (and, subtracting work time, this comes to twelve to fourteen hours), and public visits to one hour.

Add to this the restrictions on correspondence (we are allowed to send no more than two letters a month and any one of them, as well as any letter to us, can be confiscated both officially, for example, "in connection with the suspicion of conspiracy between the sender and the addressee," and unofficially — a considerable number of our letters and the letters sent to us disappear without a trace.

Add also the censorship of our letters (we cannot write about our conditions; such letters always "disappear") and you will understand how difficult it is made for us to defend the last pitiful scraps of our rights against any arbitrary action.

5. We should stop separately on each

of the special methods used to persuade dissenters.

The first and basic of these is the regular so-called political lectures. Year in and year out the same elementary political course is repeated. Half-illiterate officers spelling out the handbooks, word for word, or rehashing them in their own words, scandalously butcher even this. On the same level, from time to time, editorials a week or more old are read from the newspapers.

Questions which the officers cannot answer (and that means most of them) can be considered "provocations" and the questioner will be punished in one way or another. The expression of your own views means risking a new trial and sentence. We are required to attend these "political lectures" — also under threat of punishment.

Occasional "lectures" given by the same officers, or lecturers brought in, are as a rule offensive to the religious and national sentiments of the political prisoners.

Among these "educational" measures must apparently be listed the refusal to allow believers (imprisoned for religious activity) to receive religious literature (even a bible is forbidden), the prohibition against receiving or ordering literature and periodicals published outside the borders of the Soviet Union, including the Communist press and the press of the socialist countries, as well as the publications of international organizations (UNESCO, the UN, etc.).

The constant degradation of human dignity and physical violence must, presumably, also be termed "education."

The chief of Section 17A of this camp, Major Annenkov, orders paper taken away from the political prisoners in the isolation cells and recommends that they use their fingers instead of toilet paper.

Officer of the day Lieutenant Tak-tashev ordered handcuffs put on political prisoners and then the guards beat them savagely "in performance of their duty."

None of the victims in any case is ever "punished" — their "education" is being carried on.

We cannot list all such cases here; that would require a whole book. For those of you who are interested in the details, we refer you to the complaints sent by us and others to various official bodies, including the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, over the last two years.

In particular, we refer you to the declarations giving the grounds for the

hunger strike in February of last year, in which some of us took part.

Naturally, all these physical and psychological pressures on the political prisoners do not and cannot produce the intended result, unless the intent is to try our steadfastness and firmness. Privations and humiliations can only break the weakest, but weaklings are not worth the effort.

We use the words "arbitrariness" and "humiliations," etc., in the meaning in which they are used in the Soviet press with respect to similar phenomena in other countries, including countries of the socialist camp.

For example, the newspaper *Izvestia*, reprinting anonymous articles from a Czechoslovak "historian" (see No. 171 for 1968 and No. 6 for 1969) described the censorship of letters, the procedure of sorting out prisoners' complaints, and other "firm and uncompromising consistent educational measures" used in forced labor camps as "inhuman and illegal activities."

Of course, the conditions under which political prisoners are held now cannot in any way be compared with those of Kolyma, Vorkuta, or Taishet in the forties. But those conditions cannot be used as a standard or as an excuse either, although there are still those among us who want to emulate them.

It is no coincidence that the Dubrovlag camp where we are is run by Colonel Gromov, who in 1949 was the warden of one of the most dreadful political camps in Taishet. It is no coincidence that today Lieutenant-Colonel Suchkov, the deputy chief of the political department at Dubrovlag, told a sick prisoner with a temperature of over a hundred, "In my day in *our* camp people with such temperatures worked."

Citizen Deputies!

In appealing to you, we realize that you cannot answer for the present situation. But tomorrow in adopting the Principles of Corrective Labor Legislation, the responsibility for the fate of the persons falling under this law will be shifted onto your shoulders. Therefore, we considered it our duty to appeal to you with this letter. It is in your power today either to confirm and endorse the existing situation or to change it in one or the other direction — to legitimize arbitrariness or restrict it by real guarantees that our rights, our human and civil rights, will be respected.

Signed: Y. Galanskov, Moshkov, V. Kalnin'sh, Y. Daniel', A. Ginzburg, Ronkin.

Ultraleft Imbeciles and the Defense of China

By Leon Trotsky

[The letter below, written by Leon Trotsky to Diego Rivera, is taken from the October 1937 issue of the *Internal Bulletin* published by the "Organizing Committee for the Socialist Party Convention." It may be of special interest to radicalizing youth today as an example of Trotsky's way of thinking politically. As will be seen, the principal architect of the October insurrection in czarist Russia in 1917 was not of the school that believes anyone can make a revolution by simply waving a little red bible or by initiating a violent action regardless of the actual relation of class forces, the size of the initiating group, its experience and political capacities, or its immediate resources.

[Of similar instructiveness is the careful distinction Trotsky draws between the bourgeois forces of the colonial and imperialist sectors and the need for revolutionists to observe this distinction in certain situations. Trotsky did not proceed by mechanical formulas. On the basis of Marxist principles, that is, the generalized theory and experience of the working class in its struggle to supersede capitalism, Trotsky's method was to *try to think things out*.

[Trotsky's letter to Diego Rivera was written before Rivera broke from the Trotskyist movement. It was not directed against Rivera, being merely a convenient way of recording some things that Trotsky had to say with which Rivera was in agreement at the time.

[The discussion was occasioned by a statement which Trotsky made to the press on July 30, 1937, when Chiang Kai-shek resisted the efforts of Japanese imperialism to take the northern provinces of China. Trotsky declared himself on the side of China as against Japan.

[This caused an uproar among the ultraleftists of those days. They maintained that revolutionary Marxists should not make any distinction between the two countries since both were capitalist. Trotsky's position, they contended, represented nothing less than "capitulation."

[Hugo Oehler, one of the figures against whom Trotsky directed his remarks, was the leader of an ultraleftist group that split from the Workers party, the American Trotskyist organization, about November 1935. The Oehlerites maintained that the Trotskyist movement, especially the Workers party, had "degenerated" and "gone over to reformism."

[One of their "proofs" at the time was the merger of the Workers party with the Socialist party, where a sector of the youth were becoming radicalized. Despite Oehler's strong convictions as to the fate of these cadres, they emerged from the Socialist party in 1937, greatly strengthened in numbers, to found the Socialist Workers party.

[Paul Eiffel, the other figure named by Trotsky, was a would-be theoretician who split from Oehler's "Revolutionary Workers League" early in 1936. The Eiffelites proved to be highly ephemeral. The Revolutionary Work-

ers League, however, lasted a few years before completely disintegrating.

[The translation of Trotsky's letter, evidently from Spanish or French, is the one made by E. Deren in 1937. We have corrected what appear to be a few typographical errors.]

* * *

Dear Comrade Diego Rivera:

During the past few days I have been reading some of the lucubrations of the Oehlerites and the Eiffelites (yes, there is a tendency of that sort!) on the civil war in Spain and on the Sino-Japanese war. Lenin called the ideas of these people "infantile disorders." A sick child arouses sympathy. But twenty years have passed since then. The children have become bearded and even bald. But they have not ceased their childish babblings. On the contrary, they have increased all their faults and all their foolishness tenfold and have added ignominies to them. They follow us step by step. They borrow some of the elements of our analysis. They distort these elements without limit and counterpose them to the rest. They correct us. When we draw a human figure, they add a deformity. When it is a woman, they decorate her with a heavy moustache. When we draw a rooster, they put an egg under it. And they call all this burlesque Marxism and Leninism.

I want to stop to discuss in this letter only the Sino-Japanese war. In my declaration to the bourgeois press, I said that the duty of all the workers' organizations of China was to participate actively and in the front lines of the present war against Japan, without abandoning, for a single moment, their own program and independent activity. But that is "social patriotism" the Eiffelites cry! It is capitulation to Chiang Kai-shek! It is the abandonment of the principle of the class struggle! Bolshevism preached revolutionary defeatism in the imperialist war. Now, the war in Spain and the Sino-Japanese war are both imperialist wars. "Our position on the war in China is the same. The only salvation of the workers and peasants of China is to struggle independently against the two armies, against the Chinese army in the same manner as against the Japanese army." These four lines, taken from an Eiffelite document of September 10, 1937, suffice entirely for us to say: we are concerned here with either real traitors or complete imbeciles. But imbecility, raised to this degree, is equal to treason.

We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutionary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the Czar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy . . . at all

events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abd-el-Krim rose up against France, the democrats and social democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a "savage tyrant" against the "democracy." The party of Léon Blum supported this point of view. But we, Marxists and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Riffians against imperialist domination as a progressive war. Lenin wrote hundreds of pages demonstrating the primary necessity of distinguishing between imperialist nations and the colonial and semicolonial nations which comprised the great majority of humanity. To speak of "revolutionary defeatism" in general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists.

In the Far East we have a classic example. China is a semicolonial country which Japan is transforming, under our very eyes, into a colonial country. Japan's struggle is imperialist and reactionary. China's struggle is emancipatory and progressive.

But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of the independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.

Let us use the example of a strike to clarify the question. We do not support all strikes. If, for example, a strike is called for the exclusion of Negro, Chinese or Japanese workers from a factory, we are opposed to that strike. But if a strike aims at bettering—insofar as it can—the conditions of the workers, we are the first to participate in it, whatever the leadership. In the vast majority of strikes, the leaders are reformists, traitors by profession, agents of capital. They oppose every strike. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the objective situation forces them into the path of struggle. Let us imagine, for an instant, a worker saying to himself: "I do not want to participate in the strike because the leaders are agents of capital." This doctrine of this ultraleft imbecile, would serve to brand him by his real name: a *strikebreaker*. The case of the Sino-Japanese war is, from this point of view, entirely analogous. If Japan is an imperialist country and if China is the victim of imperialism, we favor China. Japanese patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive. To place the two on the same plane and to speak of "social patriotism" can be done only by those who have read nothing of Lenin, who have understood nothing of the attitude of the Bolsheviks during the imperialist war, and who can but compromise and prostitute the teachings of Marxism. The Eiffelites have heard that the social patriots accuse the internationalists of being the agents of the enemy and they tell us: "You are doing the same thing." In a war between two *imperialist* countries, it is a question neither of democracy nor of national independence, but of the oppression of backward nonimperialist peoples.

In such a war the two countries find themselves on the same historical plane. The revolutionaries in both armies are defeatists. But Japan and China are not on the same historical plane. The victory of Japan will signify the enslavement of China, the end of her economic and social development, and the terrible strengthening of Japanese imperialism. The victory of China will signify, on the contrary, the social revolution in Japan and the free development, that is to say unhindered by external oppression, of the class struggle in China.

But can Chiang Kai-shek assure the victory? I do not believe so. It is he, however, who began the war and who today directs it. To be able to replace him it is necessary to gain decisive influence among the proletariat and in the army, and to do this it is necessary, not to remain suspended in the air, but to place oneself in the midst of the struggle. We must win influence and prestige in the *military* struggle against the foreign invasion and in the *political* struggle against the weaknesses, the deficiencies, and the internal betrayal. At a certain point, which we cannot fix in advance, this political opposition can and must be transformed into armed conflict, since the civil war, like war generally, is nothing more than the continuation of the political struggle. It is necessary, however, to know when and how to transform political opposition into armed insurrection.

During the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 we attacked the policies of the Comintern. Why? It is necessary to understand well the reasons. The Eiffelites claim that we have changed our attitude on the Chinese question. That is because the poor fellows have understood nothing of our attitude in 1925-27. We never denied that it was the duty of the Communist Party to participate in the war of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie of the South against the generals of the North, agents of foreign imperialism. We never denied the necessity of a military bloc between the CP and the Kuomintang. On the contrary, we were the first to propose it. We demanded, however, that the CP maintain its entire political and organizational independence, that is, that during the civil war against the internal agents of imperialism, as in the national war against foreign imperialism, the working class, while remaining in the front lines of the *military* struggle, prepare the *political* overthrow of the bourgeoisie. We hold the same policies in the present war. We have not changed our attitude one iota. The Oehlerites and the Eiffelites, on the other hand, have not understood a single bit of our policies, neither those of 1925-27, nor those of today.

In my declaration to the bourgeois press at the beginning of the recent conflict between Tokyo and Nanking, I stressed above all the necessity of the active participation of revolutionary workers in the war against the imperialist oppressors. Why did I do it? Because first of all it is correct from the Marxist point of view; because, secondly, it was necessary from the point of view of the welfare of our friends in China. Tomorrow the GPU, which is in alliance with the Kuomintang (as with Negrin in Spain), will represent our Chinese friends as being "defeatists" and agents of Japan. The best of them, with Chen Tu-hsiu at the head, can be nationally and internationally compromised and killed. It was necessary to stress, energetically, that the Fourth International was on the side of China as against Japan. And I added

at the same time: *without abandoning either their program or their independence.*

The Eiffelite imbeciles try to jest about this "reservation." "The Trotskyists," they say, "want to serve Chiang Kai-shek in action and the proletariat in words." To participate actively and consciously in the war does not mean "to serve Chiang Kai-shek" but to serve the independence of a colonial country *in spite of* Chiang Kai-shek. And the words directed against the Kuomintang are the means of educating the masses for the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek. In participating in the *military* struggle under the orders of Chiang Kai-shek, since unfortunately it is he who has the command in the war for independence—to prepare *politically* the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek . . .

that is the only revolutionary policy. The Eiffelites counterpose the policy of "class struggle" to this "nationalist and social-patriotic" policy. Lenin fought this abstract and sterile opposition all his life. To him, the interests of the world proletariat dictated the duty of aiding oppressed peoples in their national and patriotic struggle against imperialism. Those who have not yet understood that, almost a quarter of a century after the world war and twenty years after the October revolution, must be pitilessly rejected as the worst enemies on the inside by the revolutionary vanguard. This is exactly the case with Eiffel and his kind!

L. Trotsky
September 23, 1937.

Paris Police Release Opponents of Vietnam War

In an attempt to block the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations scheduled for Friday and Saturday, November 14 and 15, the Pompidou regime mounted an extensive repression, carrying out nationwide raids against the revolutionary organizations, turning downtown Paris into an armed camp, and staging mass arrests of demonstrators.

However, the display of police force and arbitrariness provoked vigorous protests.

Under pretext of investigating the alleged reconstitution of banned organizations, the police raided the homes and offices of revolutionists the night of November 13-14 in Paris, Bordeaux, Nice, Rennes, Dijon, Lille, Roubaix, Douai, and Tourcoing.

An estimated 200 persons were put under preventive arrest, including Michèle Krivine, the wife of Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International] leader Alain Krivine, and Pierre Frank, a contributing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.

"The operations were directed essentially against the 'Mao-Spontanéists' and the Ligue Communiste," *La Libre Belgique* reported. Quantities of books, pamphlets, leaflets, and papers were impounded as "evidence."

Lightning demonstrations in defiance of the ban were begun Friday by groups of young revolutionists. About 1,000 youths, according to *France Soir*, succeeded in gathering at the Basilique du Sacré Coeur in Montmartre, where they held a short meeting, dispersing before the police could round them up.

Smaller actions were staged in other places, and protesters on motor-bikes circulated, shouting slogans. Seventy-five demonstrators were reported arrested and thirteen booked.

Although the demonstrations of November 15 were formally supported by a broad coalition of thirty-two organizations, including the huge Communist party and the CP-dominated Confédération Générale du Travail [General Confederation of Labor], the masses were not mobilized to challenge Pompidou's arbitrary ban.

The CP and the CGT apparently made no effort to bring out large numbers, leaving the young militants, including their own youth, to face the repression alone.

The police arrested 2,651 protesters on November 15, but released them after questioning. In one skirmish, the cops pursued demonstrators

into the *Paris Soir* building, interrupting the work of the staff. Two reporters were arrested. The administration of the newspaper and the printing workers union issued sharp protests.

Michèle Krivine's fellow teachers at the Lycée Paul-Lapie in Courbevoie announced a half-day strike to protest her arrest. Other protests against the arrests came from the U.S. Student Mobilization Committee, the Canadian Vietnam Mobilization Committee, and the French Human Rights League.

At 4:30 p.m. on November 15, Michèle Krivine, Pierre Frank, and about seventy others were released. It was not reported if the other jailed revolutionists were released or whether the government would bring charges against any of those arrested in the raids.

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