

Intercontinental Press

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THE EYES HAVE IT. 5,000 port workers in Colombo, Ceylon, January 16, voting to continue six-week-old strike. Demands include wage increase and payment on monthly basis. The

Joint Front, coordinator of the strike, has called for a general strike. Its seven component unions met with parent federations January 20 for authorization. Four federations agreed.

Nixon's Royal Reception for Harold Wilson

Czechoslovakia:

Moscow Makes Cernik Walk the Plank

'Le Monde' Interviews Trotskyist Leader:

'Hugo Blanco: Peru's Embarrassing Prisoner'

In Hot Dogs, Too

One of America's favorite dishes is Southern Fried Chicken, known in the South, of course, as fried chicken. In November 1969 alone, 176,000,000 fryers were slaughtered in the U.S.

Unfortunately, from the profit angle, inspectors had to condemn 2,000,000 of these birds because they had leukosis, a form of cancer.

To rectify this situation, a panel of "scientists" on the payroll of the Agriculture Department, has recommended that the restrictions be modified.

Instead of condemning fryers showing lesions or tumors, they maintain that it would be all right to simply cut off the unsightly parts. That way, the consumers would be protected from any nausea at what they saw inside the plastic bag.

Wings showing tumors could still be turned to account. Under new permissive regulations, it is now possible to include a certain percentage of chicken in "all meat" hot dogs and still call them hot dogs.

Thus everyone would be benefited, from poultrymen, sausage makers, and the Nixon administration to the consumer whose mouth is watering for another piece of that delicious fried cancer.

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Why Attack on Political Prisoners Was Ordered

By Gerry Foley

When the prison officials at Lecumberri prison in Mexico City incited and led an attack of the common convicts against the political prisoners January 1, it created a scandal that forced even the big American papers to report the repression south of the U.S. border.

Unlike the extraordinarily venal and corrupt Mexican press, the American publications followed a policy of admitting the main facts of the situation. Their reports were calculated, however, to put across some of the Mexican government's essential propaganda points:

1. The common prisoners' attack resulted from resentment over the "special privileges" enjoyed by the political.

2. The masses of the Mexican people are indifferent to the struggle of the political prisoners and the movement they represent.

Washington Post staff writer Lewis H. Diuguid wrote from Mexico City January 18: "Asked why the common and political prisoners should be separated, the Marxist intellectual [José Revueltas] responded: 'We're of a different social class. There has to be discrimination for the good of the jail.'

"The discrimination ended briefly on Jan. 1 when—through complicity of the jailkeepers or a miraculous set of coincidences—the common prisoners broke out of their cellblock and into the garden and cellblock occupied by the political prisoners.

"Still visible on the walls is blood from the fight that resulted. . . .

"There are some ironies to the case," Diuguid wrote. "For example, Eli de Gortari, 52, a leader of the professors who supported the students and a leader of the hunger strike, has published two books from his cell. His university salary has continued uninterrupted."

This case might in fact seem strange to an American reporter, since the U.S. considers all its political prisoners to be common convicts, refusing to allow them to do intellectual work and even denying them the right to read what they choose. The Mexican

revolution, the traditions of which the present regime claims to uphold, established a relatively humane prison system, far in advance of the one in the U.S.

Nevertheless, it is peculiar that this American reporter did not note, for instance, the irony of a Mexican brigadier general, Puentes Vargas, the warden of the prison, commanding convicts, many of them under the influence of drugs, in an assault on a much smaller number of political prisoners weakened by a month-long hunger strike. Wasn't this one of the more unusual military operations in Mexican history? And wasn't it also ironic that the Mexican government used drug addicts and alcoholics to repress a group of prisoners it has accused of "social delinquency"?

In an article published in the January 14 issue of the *Los Angeles Times*, Francis Kent also acknowledged the unsavory facts of the attack on the political prisoners:

"All [the eyewitness reports] agree that convicts described as narcotics addicts and habitual drunkards were released from their cellblock and ordered to attack the so-called political prisoners with clubs and knives, that the guards then opened fire with rifles and pistols, leaving 28 to 30 wounded."

But Kent stressed that the movement the political prisoners were jailed for participating in was isolated:

". . . much of the steam appears to have gone out of the movement dedicated to bringing down the government of President Diaz Ordaz. . . . Efforts to renew the disruptive demonstrations last year achieved almost no success. . . . There is moreover a feeling in student circles that the movement itself is hopeless. . . . That the government will tolerate no further eruption of public disorder seems abundantly clear. President Diaz Ordaz himself has said:

"We can no longer permit the continued, open violation of our legal system."

But if the radical movement that began in July 1968 is as isolated and

demoralized as Kent suggests, why did the Mexican government, as the evidence shows it did,* resort to such scandalous methods of repressing the political prisoners' protests?

The prisoners and their defenders believe the January 1 attack was a desperate move provoked by the increasing expressions of solidarity and the campaign demanding their release, as well as by the revival of the student and popular movement. They believe the shameful attack, inspired and led by the prison officials, has broadened this support still more.

A number of facts back up these conclusions. Many internationally prominent figures have joined in supporting the political prisoners' demand to be released. On December 11, the day after a majority of the political prisoners went on a hunger strike protesting their illegal imprisonment, Bertrand Russell sent an open letter to Diaz Ordaz supporting the protesters.

On December 25, Julio Cortázar, Carlos Fuentes, Gabriel García Márquez, Juan Goytisolo, Norman Mailer, Arthur Miller, Alberto Moravia, Octavio Paz, William Styron, and Mario Vargas Llosa also sent an open letter calling for the prisoners' release.

On January 18, hundreds of individuals and many organizations sponsored a half-page advertisement in the Mexico City daily *El Día* that demanded the release of the prisoners. The statement said in part: "We cannot remain outside this struggle. We are all involved in it. On our attitude will depend tomorrow their [the prisoners'] liberty and ours, or complicity with the unjust posture that threatens us all."

Among the organizations that signed the advertisement were twenty-one unions, mostly in the transportation industry.

On January 10, 2,000 students occu-

* See the eyewitness accounts of the attack and the events leading up to it in the previous three issues of *Intercontinental Press*.

pied the governor's palace in Durango city. According to *Prensa Latina* January 19, the students demanded "the resignation of the Governor, whom they accuse of administrative corruption, and the disbanding of the state security police, whose chief they accuse of severe crimes."

The government shipped one battal-

'Marcos Puppet!'

Manila Cops Kill 5 Students, Wound 157

Five students were killed by police gunfire and 157 wounded when Manila police and soldiers broke up a demonstration of 30,000 persons at the Malacanang Palace, the residence of President Ferdinand E. Marcos, January 30. The students were protesting a police assault on a January 26 demonstration that injured some 300 students, workers, and farmers.

Takashi Oka, writing from Manila in the January 31 *New York Times*, described the most recent clash:

"Some 2,000 students and young people, hoisting revolutionary placards and upside down Philippine flags, tried last night to storm into the grounds of Malacanang. . .and battled with policemen into the morning. . . .

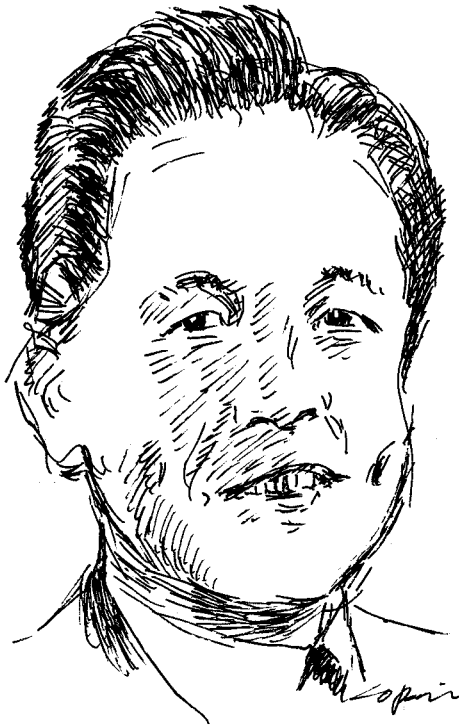
"Seven vehicles, including two fire trucks and a bus, were burned in what was termed the worst peacetime rioting in the memory of Manila citizens.

"Policemen and soldiers, responding to rocks, slingshots and gasoline bombs used by the demonstrators, fired rifles and tear-gas grenades and employed rifle butts, fire hoses, nightsticks and heavy batons and protected themselves with wicker shields."

The students and workers have been protesting what they term wholesale fraud in the November 11 elections that returned President Marcos to office for a second four-year term. They are demanding guarantees that a national constitutional convention scheduled for next year will be free of partisan influence and that Marcos renounce any intention of seeking a constitutional amendment permitting a third term. He is legally restricted to two terms, but it is feared that he will

ion of parachutists and four battalions of infantry troops into Durango to suppress the student demonstrations and put the city under martial law, the Paris daily *Le Monde* wrote January 23.

Prensa Latina reported that the Durango students had gone on an indefinite strike.



MARCOS: Jeered by angry students.

follow the example of South Korean dictator Chung Hee Park and have the constitution changed to suit his aspirations.

Some 20,000 persons took part in the January 26 demonstration outside Congress in Manila during Marcos's "State of the Nation" address. The president was stoned by angry youths as he emerged from the session, touching off a three-hour clash between the demonstrators and club-wielding riot police. Marcos was unhurt, but police reported that 300 students and seventy-three policemen were injured. At least twenty-five demonstrators were arrested. The students shouted,

"Marcos puppet," and burned the president in effigy.

The police attack drew wide protest, finally provoking the January 30 demonstration. Police and military authorities tried to put the blame on "Communist agitators," but this had no effect in dampening the public anger. Three senators, including two from the ruling Nationalist party, criticized police brutality and suggested legislation to curb it. Salvador P. López, president of the University of the Philippines, also protested the use of massive police force.

Marcos himself, under heavy pressure, according to the January 28 *New York Times*, "expressed displeasure with police handling of the students in the riot and directed the Police Commissioner to prepare guidelines for preventing violence at future demonstrations."

The January 30 massacre indicated the worth of these directives. Takashi Oka described the demonstration:

"The day began peacefully. Numerous student groups, including large contingents from the state-run University of the Philippines and the Philippine College of Commerce as well as from several Roman Catholic institutions, scheduled protest meetings in front of Congress and the Palace.

"By early afternoon the crowd had swelled to approximately 30,000, mainly near the Congress building. A sizable group gathered in Freedom Park, a small triangular plot across from the elegant ironwork grille of Malacanang's main gate, that is used as a public forum."

Late in the afternoon, Marcos agreed to meet with a group of the more conservative student leaders. Nationalist party spokesmen told the student representatives that the constitutional convention would be non-partisan, but the guarantees remained vague. Marcos refused to disavow intentions to seek a third term. The most he would concede was a statement that he was "not interested in a third term."

"As the discussion went on for nearly three hours," Oka reported, "students waiting outside whiled away the time with short, humorous, biting and occasionally denunciatory speeches, relayed by loudspeaker to an appreciative throng. . . .

"As time went on, the students grew restive. Some tried rattling the front gates. . . .

"After darkness fell students who had been demonstrating in front of Congress began reaching the palace grounds, crowding those already there.

"Among the new arrivals were militants belonging to Patriotic Youth, who hoisted red flags and placards such as 'Power to the People.'"

When the conservative student leaders finally emerged from their meeting they did not report to the anxious crowd, but "left secretly," according to the *Times* correspondent. Shortly afterward the loudspeaker failed, and the crowd began to disperse.

Some youths threw stones at street lights. Police and soldiers, kept out of sight until this point, used this as a

pretext to attack the people still in the area. The demonstrators tried to defend themselves from the troops, but were slowly driven back to the vicinity of the University of the East, about ten blocks away.

Oka, probably reflecting the views of the *New York Times*, indicated concern for the future stability of the pro-American regime:

"Political observers fear the battle will widen the gap between the revolution-minded younger generation and the conservatives, landowning political and business élite, which has run the country since independence was granted by the United States in 1946."

Czechoslovakia

Moscow Makes Cernik Walk the Plank

Oldrich Cernik, one of the last top figures in the Czechoslovak government who took part in the "Prague spring," was ousted as premier January 28 and replaced by Lubomir Strougal, an unreconstructed Stalinist. Cernik, who became a "realist" following the Soviet invasion, acquiesced in the purges of other reformers, including the removal of Alexander Dubcek as first party secretary in April 1969.

Cernik was also dropped from the Presidium of the Communist party, although he remains a member of the Central Committee. His new duties include the cabinet portfolio for investment development.

Dubcek resigned from the Central Committee under pressure from pro-Moscow members on the eve of his departure for Turkey, where he will serve as ambassador. His resignation was accepted the same day Cernik was demoted.

In becoming premier, Strougal leaves his posts as party chief in the Czech regions and as a secretary of the Central Committee. He was once minister of the interior under the Novotný regime.

Two other reformers who capitulated to the Husák government were removed from the Presidium as well: Karel Polacek, the trade-union head (who was also stripped of his union

post), and Stefan Sadvovsky, head of the party in the Slovak regions.

The replacements for the three ousted Presidium members are Antonin Kapek, the Stalinist head of the Prague municipal party committee; Josef



CERNIK: Belly-crawling not good enough.

Korcak, chairman of the National Front of the Czech lands; and Jozef Lenart, a former premier, who will now head the party in Slovakia.

Alois Indra, one of the most notorious collaborators with the Soviet occupation forces during the invasion, was made an alternate member of the Presidium.

Israel

Arab Students Seek Release of Kashu'a

[The following appeal was issued December 23 by the Arab Students Committee at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.]

* * *

Student,

You have undoubtedly heard about the student Mohammed Zaddik, who was imprisoned almost two years ago now under the emergency laws which have been in effect since 1945. Every means tried to gain his release proved ineffective. The authorities with jurisdiction over his case used "security reasons" as a pretext to justify his internment.

Almost two months ago, Zaddik was forced to leave the country for the U. S. A. This "voluntary" exile was presented to him as the condition for his release.

Zaddik's de facto expulsion from the country shows the arbitrary nature of his arrest.

Today, it is the student Darwish Kashu'a who has been placed under administrative detention. He was arrested along with other Arab students following the explosion in the university cafeteria [at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem]. Although the persons responsible for the bombing were found and put on trial and the case closed, the student Kashu'a has been neither freed nor tried.

We have already had bitter experience with innocent people being arrested under the (1945) emergency laws. There is no lack of cases like Zaddik's, which prove that the arrests based on these laws are aimed against the Arab population of the country

without any connection with "security." This notion of "security" is so elastic that it can even be used to justify government action against workers striking for higher wages.

Therefore: *We demand that the authorities either bring KASHU'A to trial,*

Hungary

Defender of Che Permitted to Speak

Readers of *Nepszabadsag*, the official newspaper of the Hungarian Communist party, were treated to an unusual item January 24: an article by Miklos Haraszti defending the martyred revolutionary fighter Che Guevara. Previously the Hungarian press, like that of the other workers states under the influence of the Kremlin, has denounced Guevara as a romantic adventurer.

Haraszti, writing in open opposition to the official position, declared that "we ultras, ultraleft-wingers, left-wingers" looked on Che Guevara as one of the "clear-thinking revolutionaries of our period." He was replying to an attack on Guevara that appeared in the same paper January 14 written by Rafis Hajdu. The exchange was reported by the January 27 *New York Times*.

According to the *Times*, "Mr. Haraszti coupled his praise for Guevara with expressions of sympathy for rad-

if there is any charge against him, or set him free.

We appeal to our student comrades to support this democratic action. This case concerns us all. We cannot let students or other citizens be jailed without trial.

ical movements in general. He appeared to mean, particularly, protest groups among students in the West.

"It cannot be refuted, for instance, that in the student movement, as in general in real revolutionary currents, there are many conflicting elements," Mr. Haraszti wrote. "Yet it also cannot be doubted that we cannot refuse fellowship to these movements if we are Marxists."

Haraszti's first published defense of Guevara came in a poem in the magazine *Uj Iras*. It was this poem that was attacked by Rafis Hajdu in *Nepszabadsag*. "Despite the human greatness of Che Guevara's personality and his noble and tragic death," Hajdu wrote, "Marxists must cast doubt on his strategic and tactical concepts."

The *Times* said that the paper's decision to allow Guevara's defender to reply "caused astonishment in Hungary."

Norway

Battle for Soldiers' Right to Free Speech

Efforts to win the right of free political discussion for soldiers in the Norwegian army have met with a panicky response from the brass, the Oslo weekly *Orientering* reported in its December 13 issue:

"A quick poll of the officers on one Norwegian base showed this opinion about Lasse Efskind [a promoter of the soldiers' rights campaign]—a good half said that he should be shot, the rest would be satisfied with putting him in jail. *Offiserbladet* [Officers' Pa-

per] writes in its editorial page about 'infiltration.'"

Orientering interviewed Efskind, a former chairman of the Norsk Studentunion [Norwegian Student Union], asking him about the objectives of the campaign to win political rights for soldiers.

Asked why he did not devote his energies to fighting for draft refusal on political grounds, Efskind replied:

"I see no contradiction between political draft refusal and actions within the armed forces. In the first instance,

people are reacting against the external role of the Norwegian military forces. They are integrated into NATO and thus into an element of imperialist policy that favors repression of poor peoples, and so forth. But the armed forces also have a function in our own society and that is what we spotlighted in the soldiers' report from Sessvollmoen—soldiers are not only deprived of freedom of expression and the right to organize and discuss politics as well as to defend their interests, they are also subjected to a very consistent and effective indoctrination."

Efskind appealed to civilian political organizations to help soldiers win their rights:

"We have called on the political organizations to form contact groups or information centers for recruits. These organizations must help the soldiers by educating them about defense policy and military problems in the army. Further, these organizations must endeavor to prepare draft-age youths for the problems they will face in military service. We hope, besides, that the youth organizations will press strongly for extending freedom of expression and the right to organize into the armed forces."

Nigerian Child Sold into Slavery

A Nigerian man and woman, and two Dahomeyans were found guilty in Lagos January 26, according to Agence France-Presse, for having sold an eight-year-old boy into slavery.

The mother made the sale in December to a man who turned out to be a police sergeant. The price was 700 Nigerian pounds [US \$250].

The two Nigerians and one Dahomeyan were sentenced to three years in prison. The second Dahomeyan was given two years. A third Dahomeyan was acquitted for lack of evidence.

Agence France-Presse did not report what the family's income was, whether they were suffering from unemployment, or how long they might have gone without eating.

New Bureaucratic Mystery in Moscow

U.S. government "cartographers" have discovered that their counterparts in Moscow have issued distorted maps of the entire Soviet Union. Apparently the Kremlin's experts in this field hoped to mislead any powers that might be considering bombing Soviet centers.

The distortions were discovered when the new maps were checked against the old editions and the detailed photographs taken by spy satellites.

The main mystery is how the Kremlin came to think potential foes could be fooled by such idiotic means.

Douglas Bravo Reported to Have Broken with Castro

[The discussion over strategy and tactics in the Latin-American vanguard, which reached a high point at the OLAS conference in Havana in 1967, has continued during the three years since then. At the heart of the dispute is the relationship between armed struggle, guerrilla war, and the necessity of a Leninist-type party.

[This has been somewhat obscured by the involvement of pro-Moscow tendencies that advocate (and practice) "peaceful coexistence," meaning abandonment of the class struggle, and pro-Peking currents that generally tend toward ultraleftism, at least verbally in Latin America.

[The debate appears to have sharpened recently in Venezuela although it remains obscure because the documents have not yet become available abroad. Judgment should therefore be reserved on the following developments until the facts can be established.]

* * *

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported January 15 that Douglas Bravo, the commander of the FALN [Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional — National Liberation Armed Forces, one of the two main guerrilla forces operating in Venezuela] issued a communiqué accusing the Cuban leadership of having abandoned the guerrilla movements.

According to *Le Monde*, Bravo denounced the Cuban leaders for "concentrating exclusively on strengthening their economy and suspending all aid to the Latin-American revolutionary movements." The FALN statement reportedly also accused Fidel Castro of having aligned himself with the positions of the Soviet Union and the Venezuelan Communist party.

The report in *Le Monde* was extremely brief; only two lines were quoted from the FALN declaration. However, the Paris paper considered the news to be of some significance, devoting a front-page editorial to commenting on it. *Le Monde's* interpretation was that "this reversal is not a

simple episode. It is indicative of the evolution of the situation in Latin America and what could rightly be called the failure of the line personified by 'Che' Guevara."

The editorial maintained that in view of Cuba's heavy dependence on Soviet aid, Fidel Castro could not continue to support unsuccessful guerrilla actions, risking an open break with Moscow. It held that the Cuban government had not abandoned the idea of "exporting revolution" throughout Latin America but that its attention was now centered on the anti-imperialist gestures of the military regimes in Peru and Bolivia.

The following day, January 18, *Le Monde* printed an Agence France-Press dispatch reporting that Bravo's attack on the Cuban leadership had been denounced by four leaders of the MIR [Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria — Movement of the Revolutionary Left], the other principal proponent in Venezuela of guerrilla warfare.

According to the dispatch, the MIR said it was breaking with Bravo because of his attack on Havana. The statement was reportedly signed by Simón Sáez Mérida, former general secretary and present national coordinator of the MIR; Moisés Moleiro, also a former general secretary; Héctor Pérez Morcano; and Américo Martín. No more information was given.

On January 24, the Caracas daily *El Nacional* carried a story reporting on the positions held by the guerrilla groups. Two journalists, José Emilio Castellanos, a reporter; and Juan Quijano, a photographer, were kidnapped by young fighters who split from the Antonio José de Sucre guerrilla front. The guerrillas informed the journalists that they had formed the José Félix Ribas guerrilla front, a new front operating independently of the others, and took the two to their camp.

Julio Escalona, the leader of the force, explained that his group had broken with the Antonio José de Sucre command, headed by Carlos Betancourt, because of ideological and strategic differences. He accused Betan-

court of holding a sectarian attitude, and of trying to suppress criticism and ideological debate.

The reporter Castellanos, commenting on Escalona's remarks, described a three-way split among the MIR guerrillas, one faction being headed by Simón Sáez Mérida and Américo Martín; another faction by Julio Escalona and Marcos Gómez; and a third by Carlos Betancourt, Gabriel Puertas, and Américo Silva.

A dispute between Douglas Bravo and his lieutenant Freddy Cárquez was mentioned. Escalona said his group maintained friendly relations with both.

Escalona did not second Bravo's denunciation of Havana. However, he expressed apprehension about a change in the Cuban attitude: "We think that Cuban policy has definitely been shifting away from its original principles. Soviet agents are trying to divert Cuba's course by infiltrating its army, its security forces, its planning and economic bodies, etc.

"In this sense, we express profound reservations. We think that if this new orientation is not rectified grave difficulties will arise."

Ovando Bids for Support by Labor

According to an Agence France-Press report in the January 27 *Le Monde*, the Ovando regime is making concessions to the Bolivian miners.

Various headquarters seized by the Barrientos regime have been restored to the unions. The labor leaders voiced their thanks and said they would support Ovando "provided that the government deepened the revolution."

Ovando responded by saying he would give representatives of the workers posts in the management councils of the government-run enterprises.

Ovando said that in addition his government would "restore integrally" all the properties owned by the unions that were taken over by Barrientos.

This appeared to be a reference to the fifteen broadcasting stations in Bolivia that regional and local unions built with their own funds.

Meanwhile a number of unidentified members of the U.S. diplomatic mission were reported to have left the country.

The Ovando regime had accused them of having close connections with the Central Intelligence Agency.

'Hugo Blanco—Peru's Embarrassing Prisoner'

Marcel Niedergang, one of the top correspondents of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, recently interviewed the imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco. A translation of the interview, entitled "Hugo Blanco—Peru's embarrassing prisoner," appeared in the January 28 issue of the "Weekly Selection in English" published by *Le Monde*.

Niedergang reports that he first sought out high government officials in the military regime and asked them "whether Blanco would be amnestied." He was met, *Le Monde* said in an editorial introduction, "with embarrassed replies."

Niedergang took a prison-administration launch to the island prison of El Frontón, three nautical miles out to sea from Callao, a working-class suburb of Lima.

"Fronton," he writes, "is due to be shut down but it still has about 1,200 inmates, three of them political prisoners. One of these men is Hugo Blanco. A thirty-five-year-old agronomist from Cuzco in southern Peru and member of the Trotskyist Fourth International, Hugo Blanco received a twenty-five-year jail sentence from the

Tacna court in October 1966. This heavy sentence was reviewed and upheld a year later by the supreme military tribunal on the very day that Che Guevara's death was announced in Bolivia."

Le Monde's correspondent summarized the charges against the peasant leader:

"Hugo Blanco was sentenced on two counts: for organizing and directing peasant unions in Valle de la Convencion near Cuzco between 1959 and 1962, and for killing two members of the national guard on November 13, 1962."

Niedergang points out that the military junta, for its own reasons, has announced a land reform since taking power in October 1968, making it difficult for the government to publicly condemn Blanco's actions.

"Does this mean he might be amnestied?" Niedergang asks. "Before journeying out to Fronton to see him, I put this question to several ministers and to General Juan Velasco Alvarado, the upright and subtle President of Peru. All seemed somewhat embarrassed. General Fernandez Maldonado, the dynamic Minister of Energy and Mines, gave the frankest reply. 'We can't just confine ourselves to his union activities,' he said. 'We have to consider the two policemen who were killed.'"

Niedergang questions this explanation:

"But Hugo Blanco's lawyer had entered a plea of self-defence on this count. The killings occurred when the policemen arrived to rescue an estate manager accused by workers of murdering a young peasant. Shots were fired in the ensuing scuffle, provoking a panic, and the two policemen fell dead."

"Hugo Blanco, who admits he was at the scene, fled and hid out for six months. He was captured, ill, in May 1963, probably because someone betrayed him. He was tortured and placed in solitary confinement in Arequipa prison until his trial at Tacna in September 1966, which some jurists claim was marked by certain irregularities."

Blanco himself, according to Niedergang, does not expect to be amnestied. "The answer is not even maybe, it is no," the Trotskyist prisoner is quoted as saying. "I know for certain I won't be pardoned. This talk of an amnesty is only a manoeuvre to dampen popular opposition. The government today is neither revolutionary nor nationalist. It is a bourgeois government representing liberal capitalist interests which have close ties with foreign groups. This may seem like semantic hair-splitting, but there is an important distinction."

Blanco discussed the disputes between General Velasco and Washington:

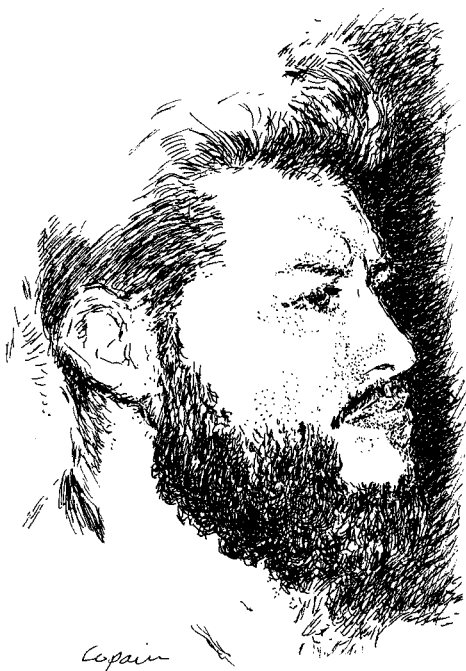
"Take the question of fishing rights and Peru's 200-mile territorial water limit. In Lima there are big American fishing industry magnates who denounce imperialism along with the rest. When Richard Nixon visited Peru in 1958, Cerro de Pasco, a big American company, sent its workers to the anti-imperialist demonstration in trucks!

"We mustn't be fooled by appearances. Not all the foreign interests are outside Peru. They are here among us, like the worm in the fruit, proclaiming their goodwill and their interest in the economic development of Peru . . . How else do you explain the fact that US imperialism tolerates this type of government?"

The prisoner talked about the problems of building a revolutionary movement in Peru:

"The world, I think, is growing a little smaller every day. Everywhere, here in Peru, in Europe and in the United States, the problems are the same."

"Even the methodology of the revolutionary parties is the same in different parts of the world. For years the so-called leftist movements in Peru have called for agrarian reform. The Peruvian Communist Party is still demanding it today. Yet we carried out an agrarian reform and we did it in the countryside. What we did in Convencion Valley is complete and final. The valley is peaceful today because the land belongs to the peasants."



HUGO BLANCO

"But in Peru, as elsewhere, we have to fight the pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and the pro-Soviet Communist Party both at once. Because I was a Trotskyist in Cuzco, I had to defend myself against the intrigues and the smears of the Communist Party for years. There's nothing new under the sun, you know . . ."

Hugo Blanco joined the Trotskyist movement in Buenos Aires, where he was working in a factory after fleeing the Manuel Arturo Odría dictatorship in Peru. He became a union organizer in Argentina and continued this work when he returned to Lima. When he arrived in the valley of La Convención, some 60 percent of the arable land was dominated by giant estates of more than 24,000 acres, controlled by absentee landowners. Tenant farmers, who cultivated their own plots, were forced to work from ten to eighteen days per month on the big estates to pay their "rent." Even these semifeudal conditions, *Le Monde* points out, were somewhat better than in other parts of Peru. In La Convención, peasant holdings ranged from ten to thirty-seven acres of land, while in the Andes a share plot averaged only two and a half acres. Niedergang describes the peasants' conditions and their struggle for union rights:

"When Hugo Blanco arrived in this pioneer region . . . the Indian peasants were mainly interested in working fewer days without pay for their landlord so that they would have more free time to cultivate their plots of land. They had no security at all. The often heartless estate manager who represented the absentee landlord could evict the *arrendires* at will.

"He made liberal use of his power, knowing he had the backing of the local civilian and military authorities..."

There were six trade unions in the valley in 1956. By 1962, this number had grown to 132.

"Under Hugo Blanco's leadership," Niedergang writes, "the peasant unions built dispensaries and schools. They ruled in the valley. Their leaders began meeting regularly at Quillabamba, capital of Convencion."

The government sent a commission of inquiry to ask Blanco what he wanted. "To be allowed to work in peace," he answered.

The peasant movement was opposed not only by the landowners, the government, and the police, but by the pro-Moscow Communist party as well.

Le Monde notes that the Communist party denounced Blanco as a "putschist" and "agent provocateur."

Niedergang questioned Hugo Blanco on the reasons for his arrest and his attitude toward armed struggle and guerrilla warfare.

"We were not opposed to taking up arms," Blanco answered, "but we were opposed to a guerrilla movement which would have remained isolated and powerless. The Cuban 'foco' theory—small pockets of guerrillas—was unsuitable to the Peruvian situation.

"You mustn't forget that of a hun-

Japan

Peking Approves New Maoist Party

A new Maoist party has been formed in Japan, according to a December 28 report by Hsinhua, the official news agency of the People's Republic of China. Dated Peking, the dispatch said:

"The Japanese proletarian revolutionaries and the broad masses of revolutionary people in Japan have risen in rebellion against and broken with the Miyamoto revisionist clique of the Japanese Communist party since the Miyamoto clique betrayed revolution, emasculated and attacked with all its efforts great Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, opposed violent revolution and advocated the revisionist 'parliamentary road.'"

Some of these "proletarian revolutionaries," Hsinhua said, have formed "left revolutionary organizations or groups." Others established societies "for studying and learning Mao Tsetung Thought. . . ."

"The National Council of the Japanese Communist party (Left)," Hsinhua reported, "which is one of these left revolutionary organizations, recently proclaimed that it has formally founded a party. . . ."

"It was reported that the National Council of the Japanese Communist party (Left) recently held a national congress and issued a manifesto on November 30 on the founding of the Communist party of Japan (Left)."

The manifesto of the new party declared:

"U. S. imperialism and its appen-

dred peasants willing to fight, only one wants to become a guerrilla. The rest want to keep on working and join the home guard. The guerrilla has to leave home until the fight has been won.

"Our big weakness was that we lacked the time to organize our party. The revolutionary core wasn't strong enough when we were put to the test, when the government, warned by the big landowners who were concerned by the spread of the movement, took the offensive and the repression began."

dages, the traitorous Japanese reactionaries with the monopoly capitalist class as their centre, are the enemies ruling over the Japanese people. The Soviet modern revisionists and the Miyamoto revisionist clique are the biggest accomplices of the U. S.-Japanese reactionaries. . . . It is imperative to smash these two accomplices in order to overthrow the U. S.-Japanese reactionaries and liberate the Japanese people."

The manifesto had high praise for Mao's thoughts on the threat of world war, presumably including nuclear war:

"Comrade Mao Tsetung has analyzed all the contradictions in the present-day world and pointed out: 'With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war.'"

The thought that a world war might eliminate humanity altogether seems not to have occurred to the Great Helmsman or his disciples in Japan.

Policemen's Ball on Eve of Carnival

On the eve of Rio de Janeiro's annual carnival, the police, in combination with the Brazilian army and navy, carried out 1,600 "preventive" arrests in "Operation Clean Up the Town." Among those caught in the net were 14 escapees from the local prison, 22 dope peddlers, 372 persons who had previously been arrested, and 89 "hippies." The remaining 1,103 were probably suspected of frowning at the round-up.

Demonstration of Workers in Kiev

[The following item appeared in issue No. 8 of the *Chronicle of Current Events*, a clandestine publication that has appeared regularly in the Soviet Union during the past two years. The issue, dated June 30, 1969, recently became available in the West.

[The *Chronicle* is devoted to spreading information on all struggles for democracy and all deprivations of civil rights by the authorities. As such, it provides impressive proof of the breadth of the movement for socialist democracy within the Kremlin bureaucracy's own home base.

[This particular item points eloquently toward independent organizational efforts among workers, with the appearance of obviously capable and exceptional workers' leaders (the figure of Grishchuk). Although this development occurred among Ukrainian workers, probably more radicalized because of their dual oppression by the Russifying bureaucracy, it is surely not an isolated incident in Soviet society at the present stage.]

* * *

In the middle of May 1969, in the Berezka settlement at the Kiev hydroelectric power plant, the workers held a meeting to discuss the housing problem: many of them were still living in barracks and railway cars despite promises by the authorities that housing would be provided.

The workers declared that they no longer trusted the local authorities and resolved to write to the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. After the meeting, the workers went out with slogans [on placards?], one of which was "All Power to the Soviets."

KGB [secret police] agents arrived in vehicles such as are used by veterinarians. They were met by shouts of "What are we, dogs?" Lecturing the crowd, the KGB-men tried to rouse feelings of "class hatred" toward one of the active participants in the events, a retired major, Ivan Aleksandrovich Grishchuk. They explained that he was getting a very big pension, yet here he was stirring up trouble.

Grishchuk declared that he definitely considered his pension bigger than was justifiable and that for two years he had been donating it to a children's home and earning his livelihood, unlike the KGB-men, by working.

On the next day at an official meeting several speakers tried to discredit and smear Grishchuk, but had to leave the platform, for they were literally spat upon by the workers.

The workers sent a delegation to Moscow with a letter about their housing problem, with about five hundred signatures. At the end of June, Grishchuk was arrested in Moscow. The workers sent a second letter, this time with the demand that he be freed.

Before the arrest, on June 24, in the

newspaper *Vechernii Kiev* (Evening Kiev), a satirical article entitled "Khlestiakov's Double,"* by one I. Perelyaslavsky, was published. It contained the standard assortment of slanders, aimed at Grishchuk. He was alleged to be a drunkard and a foul defaulter on alimony payments. Suspicion was cast, by hints and indirection, on his role in the Great Patriotic War [the Soviet term for the war against the Nazi invaders] and on his conduct in the fascist concentration camps.

The author of the article also wrote that the delegation—consisting of certain "neighbors," not a word about the workers of the power plant—having collected nine hundred rubles from gullible people, was spending its time drinking in Moscow restaurants.

* Khlestyakov, the chief character of Gogol's novel *Dead Souls*, is the personification of the sharp operator, the wheeler-dealer. — IP

More on Dissident Naval Officers

[News of the arrest of dissident Soviet naval officers in Tallin, Estonia, was prominently featured in the world press late last year. (See *Intercontinental Press*, November 10, 1969, page 1,008.) The most recent issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events* (No. 10, for October 31, 1969) carries the following passage providing more information on these men.]

* * *

After imprecise and partly contradictory reports about the arrest of officers of the Baltic fleet, the *Chronicle* is able to publish verified information.

In May 1969 the naval officers Gavrilov, Kosyrev, and Paramonov were arrested at Paldiski, near Tallin [capital of Estonia], and at Kalinigrad [on the Baltic coast, near Poland]. They were charged with having formed a "Union of Struggle for Political Rights" (*Soiuz borby za politicheskie pravyy*), whose aim was the implementation in the USSR of the democratic rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Declaration of Human Rights. According to reports, KGB agents, in making their searches, discovered a printing press intended for use in putting out uncensored literature.

The investigation is being conducted by the KGB of the Baltic fleet, investigators being Captain Bodunov, Major Drach, and Colonel Denisenko, who work for both the KGB and the military prosecutor's office of the Baltic fleet. The prosecutor in charge of the investigation is Kolesnikov.

The investigative bodies of the KGB credit Gavrilov with the leading role and with the authorship of the "Open Letter to the Citizens of the Soviet Union," written under the pseudonym V. Alekseev. As far as can be determined, Gavrilov bore up quite firmly under questioning. Apparently thanks to Kosyrev's testimony, the KGB has come to the conclusion that the arrested men had connections in Leningrad, Moscow, Tallin, Riga, Baku, Perm, and Khabarovsk. Paramonov, too, apparently cooperated with the investigation in his testimony.

The investigation has been trying especially to establish that the arrested men had ties with Ilya Gabai, who was arrested in May 1969 in Moscow, and with citizens who have signed protests against violations of human rights in the USSR. The arrested officers are at present in the KGB prison in Tallin.

Socialist Position on Pollution

[The following editorial appeared in the January 26 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, published in Toronto.]

* * *

Pesticides are ruining our lands and livestock. Industrial wastes foul our streams, rivers and lakes. Carbon monoxide threatens to make our cities uninhabitable. Strip mining ravages our natural resources.

The evidence is overwhelming . . . terrifying. President Nixon's scientific adviser warned recently that we have only a 50-50 chance of reaching 1980 before pollution effectively kills off the human race. He may exaggerate — but it is indeed a matter of life and death.

Yet pollution continues. And it gets worse and worse.

What's the solution? Is increasing pollution the inevitable accompaniment of industrial society? Is man doomed to wipe out his own species in his constant search for technological advance? Do socialists have a solution to pollution, short of turning our backs on technical innovations—or (as some anti-pollution activists suggest) is the struggle for basic social change itself superseded by the urgent necessity to find a solution to the pollution menace?

The shocking fact is that we *do* have the knowledge to limit or even eliminate pollution. A recent report published by the American Chemical Society — which includes scientists in many of the big corporations that contribute to pollution — said that the science and technology of environmental control are sufficiently advanced to permit enormous strides to be taken toward a cleaner environment. "The crucial requirement is that sufficient energy and support be devoted to the task," the ACS said.

Why no action, then?

The nature of the problem is shown clearly by the Liberal government's recent proposals to fight water pollution. There are already no less than 14 federal government departments and a mass of legislation directly concerned with water pollution — all of them ignored. Now the Canada Water

Act — to stop pollution? Nothing of the sort; it will allow pollution to continue, but (if enforced) will levy modest fines on private industry to make it pay for the "right" to pollute.

Resources Minister J.J. Greene claims the best feature of the bill is that it is "compatible with our free enterprise system."

Exactly! Compatible with free enterprise . . . and profits. But as an anti-pollution measure, "a flop," as the NDP [New Democratic party] pointed out.

But isn't Greene telling us something? That if we really want to end pollution, we must be prepared to move against private industry, the real culprit in the pollution scandal? That nothing short of the abolition of the profit-oriented "free enterprise" system will enable us to do away with murderous pollution once and for all?

A far-reaching conclusion, perhaps.

Cuban Revolution Celebrated in India

Bombay

The Indo-Cuban Friendship Society [ICFS] observed the eleventh anniversary of the Cuban Liberation Day by organizing a discussion meeting on the "Significance of the Cuban Revolution" on January 2. More than sixty persons belonging to various left political tendencies participated in the discussion which was initiated by Bhaichand Patel, a young city lawyer, who represented a pro-"Naxalite" (Maoist) tendency.

Among the others who participated in the debate were Dr. A. R. Desai, head of the sociology department of Bombay University; S. Y. Kolhatkar, secretary of the Maharashtra Committee of the Communist party of India (Marxist); B. S. Dhume of the Communist party of India; S. B. Kolpe, a journalist and member of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International; and Dr. H. P. Sharma, a visiting lecturer from Simon-Fraser University, Vancouver, Canada.

But the pollution menace, like another hideous instrument of mass destruction, the nuclear bomb, dramatizes the great dilemma of our time — the glaring contradiction between man's impressive achievements in the realm of technology and the inability of his existing social structures to control scientific advances for human benefit.

Many ban-the-bomb advocates, like some of today's anti-pollution activists, thought the sheer enormity of the problem placed it beyond the possibility of political — socialist — solutions. It took the Vietnam war before many pacifists were prepared to locate the real threat to world peace in the profit system — U. S. imperialism — and not in uncontrolled technology or individual moral turpitude.

Pollution, too, is a mass killer; and not just potentially. Every day it kills off as many people or more as die in Vietnam. But the seriousness of the problem, far from taking it out of the realm of political action, only reinforces the need for radical — even revolutionary — solutions. And that means socialism. From what the government tells us, can we conclude otherwise?

Balwant Desai, newly elected president of the ICFS, who acted as the moderator, explained that the object of the meeting was to provoke a healthy discussion among leftists on the issues involved in the Cuban revolution and its relevance to the Indian situation. The meeting created so much interest that by common consent it was decided to have another session of discussion on the same subject.

When the meeting was reconvened on January 17, Kolhatkar of the CPI(M) initiated the discussion. Other participants included Dhume, V. Mufayi, Jagmohan Bhatnagar, Mittal, and Gaitonde.

This was the first time in many years that representatives of the various left political tendencies came together to conduct a serious discussion on the ideological issues involved in the Cuban revolution, on its character as a socialist revolution and its lessons to the revolutionary movement in the underdeveloped countries.

Who Rules Canada?

By Ross Dowson

[The following article is from the January 26 issue of *Workers Vanguard*, published in Toronto.]

* * *

The federal government commission's 1968 report on foreign ownership in Canada revealed some startling facts on U.S. takeovers of Canadian industrial and financial institutions. But in reality it only lifted the curtain on what is an ongoing, vastly accelerating process.

The report, called the Watkins report after its chairman, Melville Watkins, found widespread foreign (largely U.S.) control of Canadian industry, including 46 percent of manufacturing (97 percent of auto production), 74 percent of petroleum and natural gas, and 59 percent of mining and smelting. The 87 foreign takeovers of Canadian companies in 1964 was the high point in the process.

But 1968, according to figures now tabled by Consumers Affairs Minister Basford, saw 155 takeovers, with the uncompleted data for 1969 already standing at 103.

Almost 3,000 companies have neglected with impunity to disclose their financial statements or reports on their operations and directors as required under the Canada Corporations Act. Thus the full extent of the U.S. takeover is not fully known. But the effects are becoming more and more clear — and ominous — for the Canadian working class.

Take the case of the U.S.-owned conglomerate White Consolidated Industries. Five months ago "for reasons of economy" it decided to close down its plant in London [Ontario], the former Kelvinator of Canada plant, that had employed 600 workers. This phasing out of certain plants picked up by financial speculators in the process of building up conglomerates, without regard to how they may individually meet their profit demands or their final operational concepts, is to be seen in every area of Ontario.

Of the last 380 to be dropped from



TRUDEAU: Presides over U.S. takeover.

Kelvinator, only 14 had a skilled trade. One hundred of them had been with the company more than 20 years. Two months after the shutdown a survey showed that of the 237 who replied to a questionnaire 49 percent were still out of work. Of those who had found jobs elsewhere 51 percent had had to take less pay than their Kelvinator job.

Or take the case of the phenomenally rich potash workings in Saskatchewan. For the most part these fields have been taken over by giant U.S. chemical corporations. Shipments to the U.S. last year worth 60 million dollars brought the price there down to \$12 a ton from the \$20 level of about three years ago. The U.S. Tariff Commission interceded with the declaration that Saskatchewan potash is being dumped on the U.S. market, by

the very corporations which control U.S. potash production. Saskatchewan's Liberal government responded by establishing a fixed price of \$18.75 (U.S.) per ton — thus doing for the potash companies what they themselves would have been prevented by law from doing.

To bolster up this fixed price the government ordered a cutback in production — the Canadian operations have been placed on an average of 55 percent of capacity. So Canadian farmers working the land on top of the Saskatchewan deposits, to fertilize it with potash, will pay a price artificially pegged to serve U.S. capitalist interests while half of the productive capacity of the mines is wasted and there are drastic staff layoffs.

Prime Minister Trudeau has been talking for sometime now of recognizing China and opening up trade with her peoples, but it is not at all serious, for his government has abided by Washington's 19-year-old ban on all forms of American trade with China. There is no doubt whatsoever that Ottawa's China policy is made, not in Canada, but in U.S.A. U.S.-dominated industries on Canadian soil, which control 94 percent of the auto and truck industry and at least 46 percent of all Canadian manufacturing, are governed, not by Canadian law, but by laws framed in Washington. Ottawa has accepted this situation and in fact actually enforces Washington's regulations.

That is why, now that the Nixon administration appears to be adopting a softer line on China, there was so much interest here in Washington's December 19 statement. Was there to be any change in Canada's trade relations with China?

Washington told Canada that goods which it decides have a military or strategic importance cannot enter into Canadian trade with China. Washington told Canada that the cotter-pin clause persists. Export or reexport of U.S.-origin goods is banned — a Canadian built truck containing a cotter pin manufactured in the U.S. is barred from sale to China.

Canadian big business and its Liberal and Tory political servants suffer this humiliation as junior partners in the exploitation of this country's resources, and as Washington's satellite on the world political arena, in the conviction that their fate as a class is in the hands of the American capitalist

class. They are confident that the overhead costs can be thrust on the backs of the working people.

The growing forces in the NDP [New Democratic party—Canada's labor party] that have rallied around the statement "For an Independent Socialist Canada" have correctly affirmed that there can be no independent sovereign Canada other than through a socialist Canada.

But they have not yet spelled out a program to concretize this generalization in any meaningful way, that can waken the NDP and mobilize new forces in the struggle for socialism. What have we to say to the former Kelvinator workers in London and those who are yet to face the same problem? Why don't we launch a drive to get the Ontario government to allocate funds from its industrial opportunity program or the federal government to allocate funds from its regional development scheme to put the plant back into operation and if necessary to retool it for the production of marketable goods? Why not demand that it be placed under the control of the workers on the job?

And what about the Prairie farmers already in difficulties due to the accumulation of the wheat crop and who will be having to pay an exorbitant price for fertilizer due to the international potash-price cartel instituted by the Thatcher government? Why don't we launch a many-sided campaign to smash the fixed price, initiate a legal assault under the anti-combines legislation, mobilize the miners to end the limits placed on production, and force the selling of the potash through the farmers' co-ops at cost?

Such struggles would build the forces necessary to compel U.S. owned industries to accept all orders from the workers states and the Third World and so provide jobs for Canadian workers or be taken over and placed under public ownership.

Great Britain's Abortion Laws

"In April, 1968, Great Britain liberalized its abortion laws, permitting a woman to abort her pregnancy if its continuance would involve risk of injury to the physical or mental health of herself or her existing children.

"Not long after the law was passed, women from other countries began flying into London for abortions. The stream of arrivals continues unabated. Where do these women come from? Mostly from West Germany, then from the U.S., Canada, France, and Holland, in that order." —December 21, 1969, *Parade*.

February 9, 1970

Royal Reception for Queen's Messenger

Guards Sport New Gold Braid for Wilson

Prime Minister Harold Wilson of Britain exercised his "special relationship" with Washington January 28 by participating in an "extraordinary session" of Nixon's National Security Council. He was the second head of state to be so honored, his predecessor being Harold Holt, the late prime minister of Australia.

The display of pomp and ceremony was up to Nixon's best, as was the secrecy over the purpose of Wilson's two-day pilgrimage.

"There was no final communiqué after the general discussions of the last two days, and officials of both sides said no formal decision on any subject had been contemplated," noted the *New York Times* (January 29).

Nixon displayed a sure touch in making the prime minister feel at home. To give the White House the atmosphere of Buckingham Palace, the president ordered a set of what the *New York Times* described as "comic opera uniforms" for the White House police. The beefy guard stood in formation in their new white double-breasted tunics, gold buttons, and gold braid to greet the queen's envoy. Some journalists said their caps reminded them of West German traffic cops. The press cameras, however, showed that they looked more like trained baboons.

After sitting in the National Security Council meeting, Wilson told the press that he had confidence in the American economy and the political future of Western Europe. But, as the *New York Times* put it, he "disclosed little of substance."

Wilson was escorted out of the White House by a drum and bugle corps dressed as soldiers of the revolutionary army that won America's independence from Britain. The corps regaled the prime minister with "Yankee Doodle," the anti-British marching song of the time.

Some observers considered this to be a breach of diplomatic tact. More likely it was Nixon's tactful way of telling the world that Wilson is a "Yankee Doodle Dandy." Wilson seemed to understand; he has had

long experience with royalty and their quirks.

The prime minister was followed the next day at the White House by Red Skelton. The slapstick comic, according to the *New York Times*, "per-



WILSON: A Yankee Doodle Dandy.

formed a one-man show of his classic pantomimes and monologues: The new baby in the hospital, the politician who inadvertently delivers his son's ABC as a speech, the drunken television announcer, a lady driving a car.

"He freely mixed pratfalls with wisecracks, tossed out a few of his favorite lines ('I'm nuts but as long as I'm gonna make money, they ain't gonna lock me up.'). Some old jokes, some new ones ('It's exciting—and to be the first one to do it, I just hope I'm not the seventh crisis.'). For 50 minutes he had his audience, especially Mr. Nixon, laughing long and heartily."

Spiritual Relief on Way to Nigerians

A proselytizing society in London announced January 27 that thirty-nine tons of the Holy Bible had just been put on a freighter bound for Nigeria. This is in addition to 35,000 bibles already on the high seas and another 34,000 waiting to be unloaded in Lagos. On top of this an order has been placed in Great Britain for 150,000 additional copies. The bibles, of course, are printed in the native tongues spoken by the heathens.

'Do Not Plug in Electrical Appliances'

Spiro T. Agnew's tour of Asian "client" states in early January was a good indicator of the depth of the antiwar sentiment in that area. Almost everywhere he went, he was greeted with protest demonstrations.

To counteract this, the servile press outdid itself in quoting the platitudes Agnew read from his prepared speeches. Some even found meaning in what he said. A notable exception was the *Far Eastern Economic Review* published in Hongkong. In the January 22 issue, the American vice-president's tour received rather sour comment.

In the opinion of the unidentified expert on the Far East, who writes the column "Traveller's Tales," Agnew's visit to Malaysia was "a classic example of how not to win friends and influence people. The Secret Servicemen guarding the Veep left no stone unturned to see that almost everyone they came in contact with would be insulted or offended.

"They wanted to search the King's Palace and the official residences of the Tunku and Tun Razak—until Razak ordered the arrest of any SS men who so much as entered their compounds."

Agnew was scheduled to stay at the "official Government Guesthouse, but the plan fell through when the SS men wanted to cut down trees in its spacious gardens to give more 'security.'"



AGNEW: Do not tip waiters or bartenders.

Some 3,500 armed police lined the streets of Kuala Lumpur when Agnew arrived, provoking one Malaysian officer to ask an SS man: "If you take all these precautions, how was it that your President was shot in your own country?"

The correspondents accompanying the vice-president reportedly found the purpose of the trip something of a mystery. "We have been trying to find a solid reason since it started," one reporter is quoted as saying. "If you find out anything let us know!"

He added, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "that whenever the Veep's jet took off from an Asian capital, Agnew sidled over to the press group in the plane and said, 'I have just delivered the message from President Nixon to those leaders.'"

Agnew apparently had his speeches written for him by the U. S. embassies in each of the countries where he stopped. The exception was Australia, where he publicly credited the State Department and Nixon's team of advisers on national security.

Before his jet landed in Kuala Lumpur, Agnew and his party were handed instruction sheets with tips on how to behave. Along with useful warnings like "Do not tip waiters or bartenders," were such interesting items as "Do not engage in classified conversations in elevators or taxis. Most Malaysians speak and understand English." Warning No. 5 read:

"Do not plug in electrical appliances without first ensuring that they are rated for 220/230 volts, 50 cycles."

"Could that advice be based," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* asked, "on the experience of a quiet American in Singapore who plugged his (very specialised) apparatus in his hotel room and revealed himself—and his extra-curricular activities—when he fused every light in the place?"

Allen Myers in India

Reports on American Opposition to Vietnam War

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

Allen Myers, a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, during his three-day visit to Bombay told a "Meet-the-Press" function at the hall of the Bombay Union of Journalists [BUJ] January 19 that many American students believe that only an international movement of solidarity action with the Viet-

namese people can "force the American imperialists to withdraw from Vietnam." To ensure this objective, he called for international "ties and cooperation with the antiwar forces throughout the world."

Introduced by BUJ Chairman K.D. Umrigar and Secretary Madhu Shetye as a representative of the "new generation" in the U. S., Myers replied to a

number of questions from the Indian newsmen about the role of the American students in the antiwar movement and their impact on the policies of the U. S. government. In a prepared statement, Myers said:

"It is appropriate that a representative of the American antiwar movement visit Asia at this time. Vice-president Agnew, a representative of the

American government, has just completed a tour in which he could see for himself the tremendous opposition among the peoples of the world to the war of aggression which the United States government is waging in Vietnam. Mr. Agnew was met with demonstration after demonstration condemning the criminal policies for which he shares responsibility.

"The purpose of my own journey is quite simple. It is to bring to the people the message that the majority of the American people themselves share in the worldwide revulsion against the Vietnam war. Millions of Americans have recognized that their government has unleashed this war for the purpose of preventing the Vietnamese from exercising their democratic right of self-determination; and the American people are unwilling to continue wasting their lives and resources for such a purpose.

"My trip is being sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam [SMC], a mass organization of antiwar youth committed to organizing themselves for massive actions to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all American troops from Vietnam. The SMC, with 2,000 chapters in the universities and high schools all over the U. S., was the prime organizer of the student participation in the demonstrations of more than 1,000,000 people in Washington and San Francisco on November 15, 1969.

"We believe that the war being waged by the American government is directed not only against the people of Vietnam, but is intended as a warning to the people of the entire underdeveloped world that they will not be permitted to carry out any social revolution which has not been approved by Washington. For this reason particularly, we believe that the struggle against the American aggression must be truly international, and we, therefore, actively seek fraternal ties and cooperation with the antiwar forces throughout the world. We believe that this international movement can force the American imperialists to withdraw from Vietnam. We intend to continue the struggle until victory."

Allen Myers, who was on a round-the-world trip to mobilize popular support for the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam, arrived here on January 17 after visiting New Zealand,

Australia, the Philippines, Japan, Okinawa, Saigon, and Ceylon. In Saigon he was not allowed to get off his plane and was sent back to Hong Kong. The Saigon regime did not want him to meet the American GIs stationed in that country.

Myers addressed a large public meeting—more than 5,000 strong—organized under the auspices of the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee at Napoo Gardens, Matunga, on January 18. The principal speaker at the meeting was V. K. Krishna Menon, M. P., president of the All-India Afro-Asian Solidarity Council.

Menon congratulated the students in the United States for organizing powerful movements against the aggressive policies of their own government and urged the Indian people to identify themselves with the liberation war in Vietnam. He strongly criticized the Indian government for its failure to assert its position as a member of the International Control Commission in Vietnam, and demanded that New Delhi should accord full diplomatic recognition to the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam.

B. A. Desai, a prominent lawyer, presided over the meeting. Other speakers included S. B. Kolpe and S. Amarnath of the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee, and Ashok Parikh, a student leader from Surat, Gujarat.

Earlier in the day Myers addressed a meeting of the student representatives of various city colleges organized by *Student Outlook*, a new student journal at Ruparel College. The meet-

ing was presided over by Principal Misquita of St. Xavier's College.

In the morning he addressed a meeting of the activists of the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee, Bombay, at the Podar College.

On Tuesday, January 20, Myers spoke to a public meeting at Sunderbai Hall under the presidency of Rajni Patel, president of the All-India Insurance Employees Association. His subject was "Why Americans Should Quit Vietnam." Other speakers included Lalit Chari, a city lawyer; B. A. Desai; and S. B. Kolpe. He was garlanded on behalf of the Communist party of India (Marxists).

Myers's visit created big interest among the student community in Bombay. He addressed four different meetings of students in four different colleges. He spoke on "Students in the Age of Revolution" at the Elphinstone College—normally considered to be an establishment college—under the auspices of the *College Wall Paper*, followed by a lively debate. Other student meetings addressed by him were at the Khalsa College (under the auspices of the history seminar and Kerala Association), Ruia College, and the sociology department of Bombay University.

He also addressed members of the Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International, in Bombay.

Although he was invited to visit New Delhi, he could not make the trip in view of his engagements in the Middle East. He left for Lebanon on January 21.

India

Vietnamese Leaders on Goodwill Tour

Bombay

A delegation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which visited India in December was accorded enthusiastic receptions by various workers', students', and youth organizations in different parts of the country. The delegation, headed by Prof. Nguyen Van Thein, paid a three-day visit to Bombay and addressed a public meeting at Sunderbai Hall December 30 under the auspices of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council.

Members of the delegation also met newsmen at the Bombay Union of Journalists Hall.

Addressing a large public meeting of industrial workers on December 31 at Currey Road—a centre of cotton textile mills—two spokesmen of the delegation referred to the tremendous sense of solidarity demonstrated by the Indian working class for the cause of the Vietnamese revolution.

The rally was organized jointly on

behalf of the city trade unions, the Indian Peace Council, and the Solidarity with Vietnam Committee. Speakers at the rally criticized the ambivalent attitude of the Indian government in relation to the U.S. aggression in Vietnam and demanded unconditional recognition of the Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam. The speakers included V. K. Krishna Menon, M. P.; S. Y. Kolhatkar, CPI(M); Vithal Chowdhary, CPI; Datta Deshmukh (Lal Nishan), and S. B. Kolpe, Socialist Workers party,

the Indian section of the Fourth International.

In some states, including Bengal, Kerala, and Delhi, there were reports that the receptions to the delegations were marred to some extent by factional quarrels between the Communist party of India [the pro-Moscow CP] and the Communist party of India (Marxist) [the formerly pro-Peking split-off from the CPI that now maintains an independent course]. Aside from this, however, the visit was a big success.

neither try nor release these people. They are to be exiled to remote islands. About 2,500 have already been moved to the island of Buru. Karnow describes their plight:

"Though government propaganda strives to depict Buru as an island paradise, Western reporters taken there last month describe it as [a] bleak spot in which the prisoners, who have been given provisions for eight months, will be compelled afterward to grow their own food or starve."

The 100,000 remaining C prisoners are to be released, "someday." According to Karnow, "Many of those listed as 'C' prisoners have not even been classified as even Communist 'suspects.'"

He reports that, in contrast to the A and B prisoners, who are given a pound of rice daily, "the 'C' prisoners receive no food and must rely on handouts from their families.

"But with their breadwinners in jail, most of the families are penniless. Those who manage to scrape together enough money to provide food for jailed relatives are often forced to pay off guards running the prison.

"As a consequence, large numbers of inmates here are reliably reported to be afflicted with edema, a disease caused by undernourishment whose main symptom is swelling of the limbs. . . .

"Prisoners are frequently released and recaptured and released over and over again in exchange for bribes until authorities are certain their families can no longer pay. Whether they are in or out of jail when the money runs out is as much of a chance as a roulette wheel spin."

Indonesia

100,000 Prisoners 'Receive No Food'

The Suharto dictatorship in Indonesia is continuing its witch-hunt against political opponents, four and a half years after it came to power in a coup that was followed by the slaughter of 500,000 members and supporters of the Indonesian Communist party [PKI]. Stanley Karnow, writing from Djakarta in the January 26 *Washington Post*, reported:

"Hardly a day now passes here without official reports of army officers, government employees and lesser citizens being uncovered as secret Communists or, equally bad, conspirators plotting to bring Sukarno back to power."

In Karnow's opinion, the shattered PKI is beginning to pull together some of the remnants of its former organization:

"Though they are hounded and hunted," he writes, "the Communists are still reported by reliable informants here and elsewhere in the country to be striving to reorganize.

"According to a well-placed source in Central Java, new Communist cells are being formed among the inmates of the Prison, often with the complicity of troops assigned to guard them. There are 120,000 suspected Communists in more than 300 special jails.

"Other Communist elements are believed to have withdrawn to wooded mountain regions. . . ."

The army continues to butcher peasants suspected of sympathizing with the PKI. In an article in the January 27 *Washington Post*, Karnow said

that in their sweeps through the countryside, "operational troops have been less than discriminating in their killings of peasants only remotely linked to the Communist movement. . . .

"According to some well-informed sources here, numbers of suspects have been slaughtered during these sweeps because the jails are already overcrowded and the army lacks funds to feed additional prisoners."

The 120,000 officially acknowledged prisoners are classified in categories "A," "B," and "C." The 5,000 A prisoners are accused of complicity in the so-called Communist coup of September 1965 which the generals used as a pretext for the massacre. Only a handful have been tried.

The 15,000 B prisoners are held on "suspicion" of membership in the Communist party. The government will

Indonesian Students Continue Protests

Student demonstrations resumed in Djakarta January 26 after a weekend lull. Some 200 high-school students gathered on the outskirts of the city, then dispersed when troops arrived. The students said they would use this tactic in the future rather than confront the army directly.

The protesters are demanding that the Suharto regime rescind increases in the price of kerosene and gasoline. They have also condemned corruption among government officials.

Troops surrounded the schools Jan-

uary 24. Officers demanded over loudspeakers that the students cease their demonstrations. The January 25-26 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* said the students responded by shouting slogans such as, "Your generals are corrupt."

The students issued a statement January 26 promising more demonstrations. "The struggle will continue," they said, "until the Government reduces the prices of kerosene and gasoline to the level before January 6."

Irish Militants Target of Repression

The restoration of "order" in Northern Ireland after the explosions of August and September 1969 has been followed by a series of prosecutions and harsh sentences against members of the militant wing of the civil-rights movement. The government of the British imperialist enclave seems to be moving hardest against the young socialists of the People's Democracy [PD] group.

This organization has played a leading role in protesting the social and political discrimination against the nationalist Catholic minority, the discrimination that forms the foundation of British rule in Northern Ireland. It was Kevin Boyle, the PD representative on the executive of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association, who gave the appeal August 13 for demonstrations throughout Northern Ireland to divert the police from their attack on the Catholic ghetto in Derry city. These demonstrations led to last summer's insurrection of the oppressed Catholic population.

On December 22, the twenty-two-year-old PD activist and member of parliament for Mid-Ulster, Bernadette Devlin, was sentenced to six months in prison for her work in organizing the defense of the Derry city ghetto in August.

On January 12, the chairman of the Armagh Civil Rights Association, PD member Niall Vallely, was condemned to four months in prison for his part in a demonstration in July 1969.

In Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, twenty-seven members of PD were scheduled to go on trial January 20.

In Dungannon, County Tyrone, the local civil-rights association announced in mid-January that it was starting a special fund as part of a campaign for the release of John Arthurs, a nineteen-year-old youth sentenced to three years in prison for allegedly throwing a Molotov cocktail at a police station August 13. There was extensive fighting in Northern Ireland August 13-14, when the police led mobs of heavily armed pro-British fanatics in brutal attacks on the Catholic ghettos. A number of

ghetto dwellers were killed in these attacks but few pro-British extremists have been arrested.

A statement by the Carrickmore/Beragh Civil Rights Association described the sentence meted out to Niall Vallely as part of a pattern of repression: "This is another case of legal victimisation which follows the recent pattern of selective prosecutions and convictions." The statement asked: "Is this the beginning of a 'softening-up' process which is designed to remove the leadership of protest against the

Senators Hear Psychiatrist

Vietnam Veterans Mentally Scarred

American veterans of the war in Vietnam will have more future mental problems than veterans of any previous war, the Senate subcommittee on veterans affairs was told January 27 by Dr. Robert Jay Lifton, a former air force psychiatrist now associated with Yale University.

"The inability to find significance or meaning in their extreme experience," Lifton said, "leaves many Vietnam veterans with a terrible burden of survivor guilt. . . .

"Finding himself in the middle of a guerrilla war in which the guerrillas have intimate contact with ordinary people, the environment to him is not only dangerous and unpredictable but devoid of landmarks that might warn of danger or help him identify the enemy."

The Yale psychiatrist indicates that for American GIs, atrocities are not exceptional.

"Vietnam veterans I have talked to were not really surprised by the recent disclosures of atrocities committed by American troops at Mylai and elsewhere.

"Virtually all of them had either witnessed or heard of similar incidents, if on a somewhat smaller scale."

GIs, he said, "under the extraordinary stress of an impossible situation come to see all Vietnamese, what-

Unionist [pro-British] mis-government? Perhaps the authorities fondly imagine that, when the time comes to confirm the sentence on Bernadette Devlin, the spirit of the people will have been broken."

On January 14, PD held a meeting in Armagh city to protest the jailing of Niall Vallely. A leader of the organization, Cyril Toman, appealed to the civil-rights movement to "give a reply to Judge Conaghan, who said as he sentenced Niall Vallely to four months that this would end demonstrations in Armagh for a while. We must show that he cannot frighten us with prison. The movement for civil rights is based on courage and sound principles and we will not give in to this kind of repression."

ever their age or sex, as interchangeable with the enemy so that killing any Vietnamese can become a way of coming right back at those responsible for wounding or killing their buddies."

These actions (from which he politely excludes those carried out under orders) require a "psychic numbing—the loss of the capacity to feel—and of general brutalization."

The January 28 *Washington Post* paraphrased the rest of the psychiatrist's testimony:

"This, he continued, will have a profound effect on GIs returning home from the wars.

"Many will continue to be numbed as civilians. . . They will refuse to talk or think of the war and will only work in jobs that isolate them from the rest of the country—often at night because as one veteran told him, 'I couldn't stand looking at those nine-to-five people who sent me to Vietnam.'

"Lifton predicted that psychiatric problems ranging from withdrawal to depression to severe disabling psychosis will appear in many Vietnam veterans."

Built In Obsolescence

The 67,000,000 Americans who own automobiles pay \$20,000,000,000 to \$25,000,000,000 a year for repairs.

A New Effort at 'Effective' Slander

By Michel Lequenne

[We have translated the following book review from the November issue of the revolutionary-socialist bimonthly magazine *Quatrième Internationale*, which is published in Paris.]

* * *

Today's books always carry a blurb on their jacket designed to attract readers. The one on Léo Figuières's book *Le trotskysme, cet antiléninisme* [Trotskyism, This Anti-Leninism] is an example of honest labeling—an prospective reader is told right off that the theory and practice of Trotskyism are going to be elucidated "without blackening them ineffectively." One could not be more straightforward. Trotskyism *must be blackened*, that is, slandered, in order to drive the worker militants away from it, but it must be blackened *effectively*. This means that Figuières thinks that in the past Trotskyism was *blackened ineffectively*. It is true that in historical perspective, calling Trotsky a congenital traitor, a spy, and an agent of Hitler and the Mikado, and the Trotskyists saboteurs, cops, and a band of spies and assassins finally proved ineffective. However, Figuières shows little gratitude toward his elders and predecessors. He also shows a little forgetfulness about his own position. This practice of blackening was not *ineffective*, since it made possible the destruction of the entire Communist vanguard of the generation of October and the one following it, including virtually all of Lenin's companions. And this blackening made it possible to build up the power of the Stalinist bureaucracy over a paralyzed and gagged international workers movement.

Figuières's formula must be understood as an admission that this period is over and that in France in particular these practices are no longer accepted by the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] activists. For it is essentially to them that this book is addressed. In fact, even taking into account the half Jesuitical, half "artful-dodger" finesse that distinguishes this new anti-Trotskyist hack, he still does not escape the lack of balance typical of Stalinist slander. Enormities crop up which subvert his cleverest inventions and give his shabby game away to anyone who merely thinks for himself. Slander too is an art. It requires a very delicate mixture of fact and fiction. Figuières shows himself capable of this in many parts of his work, and his task is made easier because his readers in general share his black-and-white view. Lenin is infallible. He is Good. Trotsky is Evil and perpetual error. The party is the Holy Ghost of the god Lenin, and so forth.

But while it was easy to completely rewrite history by following Stalin's blueprint, it is very difficult to concoct a version intermediate between that and the truth. During Stalin's life, no concession to the truth was made. Trying to defend Stalinism on the basis that its crimes were necessary, as Sartre attempted for example, got you only insults and denunciations. Figuières cannot get around

his difficulty of blackening only partially. Today when hundreds of books and documents make it possible to know the truth about the history of Bolshevism and the USSR, and when the Trotskyist press is no longer utterly isolated, only "hopeless imbeciles," in Lenin's phrase, only those who take the Figuièreses at their word and respect their "index" of tabooed books could be taken in by such a job.*

Once a slanderer starts to argue, to offer quotations, to admit that what is involved is not a "crime" perhaps but an error, he is already backpedaling. A criticism of this book would be pointless. You either have to answer it, which would require a book of equal size at least, because it always takes longer to unravel a body of myths than it does to spin them off; or to limit yourself to considering the significance of such a book. The second is what I propose to do here.

It would be wrong to think that this work represents a step in the direction of opening a debate. Quite to the contrary; it constitutes a desperate attempt to halt the debate, which members of the official CPs are more and more forced to take up, on the past of their movement, its history, and those eternal "leftists," always despised, always on the verge of being pulverized but always the main and most dangerous enemy. This discussion cannot be avoided because everywhere, in the factories, in the shops, in the offices, in the streets, the "leftists," above all those "Trotskyists," often seem to be right, even to be the most resolute fighters. And furthermore, the "leftists" make the same criticisms of the traditional leaderships that the CP militants themselves have in the back of their minds but never dare say aloud.

This book, then, is defensive. It says in essence: "This is what you must think about Trotskyism, and don't talk about it anymore." But, unfortunately for this bureaucrat, his miserable little book will not stop the march of history when it could not be stopped by Stalin's mass graves in which Communists were heaped by the hundreds of thousands.

The attempt to blacken the Trotskyists only by measured dabs of the brush is in itself nonsense. The suc-

* Need I give examples? In his index of names, Figuières provides a list of the principal French Trotskyists—Pierre Frank, Daniel Guerin, Lambert, Molinier, Monatte, Naville, Marceau Pivert, Gerard Rosenthal, Rosmer, Jean Rous, David Rousset, Boris Souvarine, Yvan Craipeau, Gilles Martinet, and J.-M. Vincent. It is as if in making up a list of the principal members of the PCF we were to name Maurice Thorez, Andre Marty, J. Doriot, Barbe and Celor, Gitton, A. Lecoeur, Pierre Herve, Servin and Casanova, d'Astier de la Vigerie, Pierre Cot and Gilles Martinet. And we would still be closer to the truth because men like Marceau Pivert and Monatte never had anything in common with Trotskyism. We should note the presence in his list of J.-M. Vincent as a Trotskyist. Vincent earned this through the crime of running as a PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party, a left Social Democratic formation] candidate in . . . Leo Figuières's district. All this provides a measure of the seriousness of the book.

cess of a lie does not depend, as Hitler thought, on its enormity but on this enormity being an integral part of the apparatus of terror that requires it. Without a defeat of the workers movement, there can be no ideological terror, and without ideological terror there can be no success for slanders. But now we are in a period marked by revolutionary advances which are producing promising, if still modest, gains for Trotskyism, that is, for

Bolshevism, for Leninism against Stalinism, this neo-Menshevism.

In this context, Figuères's book is destined to suffer the most ephemeral and shameful fate. We will take it, then, only for what it is—an interesting sign of the extent of the Stalinist retreat. And we might use it as a starting point for clearing up some historical and theoretical falsifications.

Declaration of the Fourth International

On the "Trotskyite Plot" in Czechoslovakia

[The following statement was issued January 21 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The "normalization" of the situation in Czechoslovakia continues to follow the logic set in motion in August 1968 by the entry into the country of troops from the Soviet Union and its other Warsaw Pact "allies." After Dubcek's elimination from the government, after the purge of the Central Committee, the repression is becoming all-pervasive. Now they have discovered a "Trotskyite plot." The Soviet "historians," who learned their trade in the KGB [Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti pri Sovete Ministrov—the Council of Ministers' Committee on State Security, the Soviet secret police] and who did the scenario for the Slansky trial, have now come to Prague.

Thus we see in full bloom the line of cultural, social and political reaction followed by the Brezhnev-Kosygin leadership and its supporters both in the Soviet Union and throughout the countries of Eastern Europe. Here, without the slightest ambiguity, is displayed the underlying reason for the invasion of Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1968. There was no danger of a capitalist restoration; what had appeared was a dangerous example, challenging the rule of the bureaucracy in the East European countries and in the Soviet Union itself, the example of a people seeking socialist democracy and taking serious steps toward establishing it.

The accused cannot be described as "plotters" even in a judicial sense, inasmuch as both during the brief "Prague spring" and in the months that followed they worked in the open, distributing everywhere the documents they drew up first in the name of the Revolutionary Youth and then of the Revolutionary Socialist party. If there was any plot, they were not in it; they were not the ones who in secret prepared and aided the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

The accusation is built on the old Stalinist model, lumping together of trumped-up criminal charges and political allegations. There is no point in spending time on the criminal charges, which have been rehashed from the Moscow trials—sabotage, arson, collaboration with the CIA. It is sufficient to note that the fabulous sums the accused are alleged to have received enabled them to do no more than publish material on a cheap duplicating machine.

The charge that the accused received political publica-

tions (books, pamphlets, journals) from foreign revolutionary groups is particularly piquant, coming from a group that, after being driven from office by the people of their own country, returned to power not as a result of political propaganda but with the aid of half a million armed foreign troops, who entered the country by surprise. This accusation is of the kind to be expected from men who cannot conduct an ideological struggle without first introducing a censorship.

There remains the political program charged against the imprisoned persons. The accused advocated an "anti-bureaucratic revolution." They developed liaisons with students and workers. They wanted to replace the police and army with an armed workers militia in the factories. They thought the program of antibureaucratic revolution was valid for the other East European countries and the Soviet Union. They were for a world socialist revolution. This program, it seems, is "unconstitutional." But it was not "unconstitutional" for the Kremlin and its lackeys to change the Central Committee and the government of a "sister country" by sending in columns of tanks.

In fact, in this program the accused showed that they had drawn the lesson of the Dubcek experience—that you cannot expect the bureaucracy to grant any reform permitting the establishment of socialist democracy, that you have to prepare to overthrow the bureaucratic regime. Their real crime was to formulate this program at a time when the men in the Kremlin are terrified at the process ripening in the Soviet Union itself.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International calls on all the workers, students, vanguard intellectuals, and especially the Communist parties and Communist activists who denounced the invasion of Czechoslovakia, to demand the release of the revolutionary militants imprisoned in Czechoslovakia. They must be alert to the fact that a public or secret trial would only be the prelude to police repression against the majority of the Czechoslovak CP leadership of the January-August 1968 period and against the leadership elected at the Fourteenth Congress of the Czechoslovak CP. This is the immediate action that must be undertaken to block the resurgence of Stalinism and to aid all those in the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe that seek to mount a struggle against the bureaucracy and for the triumph of socialist democracy.

Peru 1965: Notes on a Guerrilla Experience*

By Hector Bejar

[This is the third installment of a translation by Gerry Foley of Héctor Béjar's essay.]

Chapter III: The Political Causes

The social and economic context outlined in the preceding chapters was soon clearly reflected in the political life of the country.

In 1956 the authoritarian regime of Odria could no longer withstand the pressure of the discontented sectors and found itself forced to turn over power to Manuel Prado, an unpopular banker allied with APRA.

Prado governed in a climate of conflict among various sectors of the oligarchy; and, despite the unconditional support of the Aprista party, he had to face a rising wave of social agitation.

While the peasants and agricultural workers were mounting struggles of unprecedented dimensions, the students and the poor strata of the petty bourgeoisie were radicalizing rapidly.

The peasants wanted to regain their lands, liberate themselves from serfdom, and force respect for their unions. The workers, hard hit by the economic crisis, were demanding higher wages, as were broad sectors of the petty bourgeoisie.

In these conditions, the influence of the Marxist left began to grow among the students, the working class, and the peasants. At the same time, new reformist tendencies like *Belaundismo* [of Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who became president of Peru in 1963—*IP*] and Christian Democracy emerged among the petty bourgeoisie.

The situation could be compared with that in 1931, when a similar wave of discontent produced the Aprista and Communist parties. But this time, the magnitude and sweep of the wave were greater, and the sectors affected were broader.

This time, it was impossible to overlook either the broad masses or the forgotten sectors of the peasants, and the importance of penetrating into these sectors was understood more clearly.

The Cuban Revolution and the Twentieth Congress

The impact of the Cuban revolution was very great and it was not long before it was reflected in the political organizations. A group of youth split from APRA, forming first the *Comité de Defensa de los Principios Apristas y de la Democracia Interna* [Committee to Defend Aprista Principles and Internal Democracy], later the *APRA Rebelde* [Rebel APRA], and after that the *MIR* [*Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*—Movement of the Revolu-

tionary Left]. The leader of these youth was Luis de la Puente Uceda.

The impact of the Cuban revolution on the Communist party was still greater and it combined with that produced by the Twentieth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and the polemics with the Communist party of China.

In fact, a whole ideological, theoretical, and practical scaffolding automatically came under discussion. The Stalin cult had been shaken to its foundations and along with it the infallibility of the Party of the Soviet Union. Subjects such as the validity of the positions of the CPSU; when to expect the Revolution—in the immediate or distant future—and the role of the social classes in it; the stages of the revolution and the role of the party began to be debated.

In general, Cuban socialism put the problems of the revolution on the agenda for today and not for a more or less distant tomorrow, gave all the revolutionists of Latin America a precise objective, and offered a certain support for the sprouting "heresies." Without stating it, all of us understood at the time that a new revolutionary stage had opened and that the revolution, in being carried out, would not necessarily develop in accordance with the patterns we had previously had in mind.

The "New Left"

The deep-going impact of the Twentieth Congress, the changes in the international Communist movement, the Cuban revolution, the peasant struggles, and the whole social context described above was to generate various tendencies, disputing, or at least expressing, differences with the left political leaderships. Many people later on gave the name "new left" to these currents.

Who made up this heterogeneous "new left"? It is hazardous to say because, if they were asked, some of them would deny it. But on the basis of what has occurred in recent years, we can list its components as follows:

(a) The APRA dissidents, who, after a complex process of internal struggles, gave birth to the *MIR* and *Vanguardia Revolucionaria* [Revolutionary Vanguard].

(b) The Communist party dissidents, who, after a similar process, turned in some instances toward the *FIR* [*Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario*—Front of the Revolutionary Left, the Peruvian section of the Fourth Inter-

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national] and the ELN, and in others toward the Maoist tendencies which appeared later.

(c) The enormous number of young people, mainly students, who identified in one way or another with these groups without belonging to any of them.

(d) Some Trotskyists like Hugo Blanco, whose dogged work among the peasants clearly differentiated them from the "traditional" Trotskyism, specializing in armchair theorizing and dogmatism.

Many questions about strategy and tactics were not stated explicitly. To a large extent, the "new left" continued to hold the "traditional" positions in theory—the "traditional" characterization of the country and its ruling class and the necessary stages of the revolution. Even today we still find the Communist party's classification of the Peruvian system in the documents of some insurrectionary organizations. What was new, in any case, were the methods of struggle that were proposed and the general attitude taken toward the government of the oligarchy.

How are the opinions of the "new left" to be summarized? That is a difficult task, since they appeared in an eminently diffuse form, in which the conceptions were only half articulated or implied between the lines. Up to now no one in Peru has been able to come up with a solid theoretical conception really encompassing and summarizing everything the "new left" thinks. In those days, more than a theoretical platform, the "new left" projected an attitude.

Let me try to specify here some of the points I consider common to the various components of the "new left":

In the first place, its attitude toward the peasants. Following the Chinese and Cuban examples, all these tendencies agreed on assigning a very important role to the peasants in the initial phase of the revolution, and as a result centered their primary activity in that direction. Thus, Luis de la Puente served as an adviser for a considerable time to the *comunidad* of Chepén and others. Hugo Blanco engaged in union organizing work in the valleys of La Convención and Lares. And other students took part in various ways in organizing peasant unions.

The fact is that the "traditional" political parties, above all the Communist party, also exerted an influence in advising and organizing the peasant unions. But they did not fully integrate their members into the movement. There was, therefore, a great difference between those who tried to influence the peasant movement "from the outside" and those who integrated themselves into it to give it direction "from within."

In the second place, the denial of any possibility of taking power peacefully was a common thread running through these groups. Except for the Socialists, no organization of the Marxist left has ever projected such a possibility in Peru. But the dissidents wanted the methods of action to fit the ultimate objective of a violent seizure of power.

The third feature common to all these groups was their repudiation of the "traditional" parties, APRA and the Communist party, whose records they attacked. All of these new groups were reacting against something. Rather than affirming something, they were born denying. In this area, they all shared a certain lack of analysis, which was the result of gaps in their knowledge of the past.

Particularly in regard to the Communist party, few or none of the dissidents were able to demonstrate any real knowledge about the history of the party, and the

national and international conditions in which it had to operate and which explain the mistakes of its policy.

At first glance, this might seem an observation of no great importance, but in reality there is a reason for it. Only by exhaustively analyzing the history of the party and tying it up with the history of the international Communist movement, can we discover the roots of the errors committed, because the party's national policy always reflected the line of the international Communist movement. Limiting themselves to a vague and sweeping rejection of opportunism, the Communist party dissidents, and those who repeated their arguments, refused to deepen their analysis.

The same can be said with respect to the Trotskyists. It is true that Stalinism is the source of the deformations of the Communist movement, of its errors and setbacks. But is that enough to explain everything? Is it not also necessary to seek the roots of Stalinism, the explanation of why it could arise and triumph in the struggle for leadership of Bolshevism? Why direct the criticism solely at Stalinism and not likewise at Trotskyism, whose claims are not new in our country? In reality, the Trotskyist leaderships shared to a considerable degree in the conceptions and methods designated as "traditional."

Fourthly, the "new left" dedicated itself to action as the means of raising the consciousness of the people. Armed or not, individual or mass, in their eyes action was the only thing that could bring about revolution and unify the revolutionists.

This is the most important aspect and what in the last analysis defined the struggle of these years. This is what distinguishes what is really new from what is not. On the basis of this principle, a certain consistency can be demanded between words and acts, theory and practice, speeches and deeds.

Little by little, this conception took clearer form and was not long in coming to affect the concept that the preexistence of a revolutionary party is essential to any revolutionary process. When the theoretical conception of guerrilla warfare expounded by the Cubans and summarized by Debray began circulating in Peru, it only reinforced what many had maintained in practice—action first, the party later; the party grows out of action.

However, the "new left" had a number of inherent weaknesses, many of which contributed later to its most serious defeats. Without a thoroughgoing examination of these weaknesses, the history of the recent years cannot be coherently explained.

Born out of the impoverished and disinherited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, the "new left" was not always consistent with the principles it proclaimed. It declared the necessity of going into the countryside to initiate the revolution, but—with the exceptions noted—it stayed in the cities. It advocated guerrilla struggle as the only revolutionary solution for the situation in Peru, but only a minority was in the ranks of the guerrillas when they started shooting. It declared its dedication to unity on the left, but it remained fragmented into multiple groups that engaged in violently fighting each other. It centered its fire on the Communist party's tendency to be guided by political conceptions foreign to the reality of the country, but it made no systematic attempt to study this reality and in general it can be said that it was ignorant of it.

It repudiated Stalinism but applied its methods in its internal struggles and splits.

In general, the "new left" lacked a coherent ideological conception and a close knowledge of Peruvian reality that could have resulted only from a combination of two things: theoretical study of the Peruvian economy and society and practical work among the masses.

The deep divisions in the Peruvian left have roots that go way back. After the death of José Carlos Mariátegui, a Marxist of broad and creative vision, the Communist party for long years fell under the leadership of Eudocio Ravines and his heirs. Ravines was possibly the most unscrupulous traitor in the history of Latin America and he had time, while he held the leadership of the CP, to found a school distinguished by his methods of political assassination which recognized no principles and no norms of party legality. Many valuable revolutionists were politically ruined in this process and the struggle against Ravines took up a good many years in the history of the Peruvian CP.

Cooked up accusations, expulsions on no evidence, intolerance of dissent, dogmatism, lack of imagination and boldness, distrust of the masses, and fear of thinking for yourself were all part of the degenerate Stalinist model Ravines transplanted to Peru.

These methods prevented any discussion of principles, any confrontation of arguments. This situation, which was maintained for many years and in large part has persisted until today, is reflected in all of the left. There is no precedent on the left of collaboration in spite of differences or of comparing experiences.

Divided by manifold quarrels, fragmented and refragmented, retaining many vestiges of the "traditional" politics, this new left had, it must be said, much of the old in it. In these conditions it obviously was not equal to the great days awaiting it, and worse, as I will show further on, it let slip many opportunities for linking itself to the masses.

The Left and the Unionization of the Peasants

We have seen previously how, in some instances under the influence of the left and in others spontaneously, peasant unionization broadened from 1956 up to 1962. The peak of this great wave, because of the political quality of its leaders, was in the valleys of La Convención and Lares, and the most outstanding figure was Hugo Blanco.

But Hugo Blanco was a disciplined Trotskyist militant. This fact presented a serious problem for the left. Hadn't it been said for many years that the Trotskyists were agents of imperialism? Hadn't it been repeatedly claimed that Trotskyism was a counterrevolutionary current? The years of Stalinism were not long in the past, and in any case, even with the idol of Stalin fallen, the supreme anathema against Trotskyism had not been withdrawn by anyone; it remained in full force.

This, on the one hand. On the other, the left as a whole did not become fully incorporated into the peasant struggle. It directed the organizations "from above," advised the unions, sent organizers temporarily into the field, but it did not lead "from within" the way Blanco did.

On the one hand, its still existing political prejudices prevented it from giving Blanco the collaboration he

merited. On the other hand, its inertia kept it locked within the old urban molds.

At the end of 1961, Juan Pablo Chang and a group of cadres who were not members of any political organization, formed the APUIR [*Asociación para la Unificación de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*—Association for the Unification of the Revolutionary Left] and proposed the formation of a *Frente de la Revolución Peruana* [Front of the Peruvian Revolution].

Very quickly, the following common points were defined: "Unconditional support for the land occupations; reorganization of the CTP [*Confederación de Trabajadores Peruanos*—Peruvian Workers Confederation] and struggle for a Unified List of Demands; amnesty for all those imprisoned or sought for political or social crimes; unconditional defense of the Cuban revolution; confiscation of all the large estates and distribution of the land free to the peasants, nationalization of the imperialist companies; urban reform and a workers government."²⁸

The objective of the *Frente* was to build a *Partido Unico de la Revolución* [United Party of the Revolution]. Its call was addressed to all the left organizations—the Communist party, the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria*, the *Partido Socialista* [Socialist party], *Partido Comunista Leninista* [Leninist Communist party], the *Movimiento Túpac Amaru*, the Trotskyist factions grouped around *Voz Obrera* and *Obrero y Campesino*, and the *Movimiento Social Progresista* [Progressive Social Movement].

In fact, the reason for the call was to mobilize energetic political backing for the land occupations led by the peasant federations, and particularly for Hugo Blanco at a time when he lacked such support.

The call was responded to by all the Trotskyist factions, except the *Posadistas* [followers of Juan Posadas], and by the *Partido Comunista Leninista*, a grouping of PCP dissidents. The great majority of the left ignored the appeal, and the support for Blanco was at best purely verbal. However, what Blanco needed was not declarations, but money, men, arms. . .

The upsurge of the peasant masses was too rapid and extensive to permit indifference. If the other political tendencies, besides the Trotskyists, had supported Blanco, a solid and powerful movement would have developed, capable of spreading to the other regions of the country and defending itself successfully against the repression that was looming up.

On the other hand, Blanco himself was not prepared to face these difficult moments because he remained subjected to a dogmatic leadership which had little knowledge of the national reality and was ignorant of practical work. This leadership could not offer a coherent and logical solution for the movement that had been initiated.

Blanco wanted "the Peasant Union to develop gradually into a real organ of democratic *people's power* which at every step would more vigorously confront the *power of the bosses* represented by the ranchers and all the state forces in their service."²⁹ For him this meant *Dual*

28. Editorial in *Revolucion Peruana* (the organ of the *Frente de Izquierda Revolucionario*, FIR). Lima, September 25, 1962, page 3.

29. Blanco, Hugo. *El camino de nuestra revolucion*. Ediciones Revolucion Peruana. Lima, 1964, page 50.

Power: "two contending powers, the power of the exploiters, the representatives of the shameful past; and the power of the exploited, the standard-bearers of the future."³⁰

The basic instrument of armed struggle, according to this thesis, was the union militia led by the party.³¹ But this did not mean that the moment had come for struggling for power: "The objective in this stage," Blanco said in 1964 from his prison in Arequipa, "is not an immediate struggle for power or to overthrow the Belaúnde government. More modest and defensive objectives are on the agenda — defending the peasant land occupations from attack by the armed forces and the landlords."³²

The thesis of dual power and militias could have achieved success as a mass slogan and could have been propagated and followed under a bourgeois regime like that of Prado, which alternated repression with negotiation. But after the military coup of 1962, this proposition was of no use in confronting the army, which had taken power to "establish order" and to settle accounts, among other things, with the peasants of La Convención.

Anyone who wanted to keep in close contact with the masses despite the repression had to resort to the guerrilla tactic. But this decision required absolute clarity on the methods to be applied.

This condition was not present. And at the beginning of 1963, after the clashes in Pucyura, Blanco, alone and abandoned, fell into the hands of the police. For this the left in general, and especially the revolutionary left, bore a serious responsibility.

As a result, the masses in La Convención and Lares did not go over into guerrilla struggle, which was the logical culmination of the process that began in 1956. To the contrary, they had to suffer repeated punitive incursions in 1963.

What could have been the starting point of a powerful revolutionary movement got no further than mere reforms. The *Junta Militar* [Military Junta] soon recognized the peasants' "de facto" control of the plots they had occupied, in a decree issued in March 1963.

The land had been won. . . This did not solve all the problems of the peasants, because they were supposed to pay the landlords, which they have not done up till now and probably will not do. Still, a part of the objectives for which the struggle had been waged was won. The movement would not succeed in regaining its old momentum, because the common interests which had welded together diverse social strata no longer existed. And still more, the organizations were weakened, undermined by the disagreements between Blanco's followers and the FTC and by the disputes between the *arrendires* and the *allegados*.

The "Invasions" of 1963-64

The capture of Hugo Blanco did not mean the end of the peasant movement since, as we have seen previously, La Convención was only one of the centers of insurgent activity.

30. *Ibid.*, page 50.

31. *Ibid.*, page 31.

32. *Ibid.*, page 23.

For almost seven years the architect Fernando Belaúnde had campaigned across the country, spreading promises of agrarian reform in order to hustle votes. It was natural for the peasants to expect the fulfillment of these promises once he had been put in the president's chair after elections held under the aegis of the army. . .

In fact, his two-faced attitude had led him into a dangerous game. While he was promising the masses an agrarian reform sufficiently vague to arouse their enthusiasm and make them believe what they wanted to believe, he was proposing a reform to the oligarchy, in concrete terms, which would be limited to the most turbulent sectors. It was to leave the most productive *latifundios*, which are also the most powerful in the country, untouched. To the masses, he liked to present himself as an incendiary. For the oligarchy, with which he maintained old political and family ties, he posed as a fireman, warning them of a conflagration if he were not elected.

In the middle of 1963, the land occupations began to spread threateningly. What happened? It was obvious that the architect's rise to power had instilled confidence in the masses that they would not be punished when they took back their lands.

Already in October of the same year the "invasions" were multiplying in the central part of the country and spreading to the entire southern region. It is estimated that no less than 300,000 peasants of differing status but fundamentally *comuneros* [members of village collectives, the *comunidades*], *colonos de hacienda* [tenant farmers], and landless workers took part.

This great wave of invasions had its own characteristics, all of them indicative of the high level the peasant struggle was reaching, a level that was thus alarming to the "upper classes."

In the previous stages, the peasants limited themselves to peacefully occupying uncultivated areas, preferably natural pastures. And they always presented incontrovertible legal arguments for their action. They were not only peaceful but also law-abiding. The violence came strictly from the enemy camp.

Now the situation had changed. They no longer had any great interest in legal arguments; it was enough to say that the land belonged to them and that they had already paid for it with the unremunerated or poorly paid labor of several generations. And, moreover, they occupied cultivated areas, under crops or lying fallow.³³

For the first time, the slogan of "Land or Death" spread throughout the *Sierra*. "With the exception of Puno, all the Departments of the *Sierra* were the scene of land invasions — Cajamarca, Ancash, and Jánauco to a minor extent; Apurímac, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, and Arequipa moderately; and Pasco, Junín, and Cuzco to a very high degree."³⁴

The growing relation between the city and the country contributed a great deal to bringing these land occupations under conscious leadership from students, discharged soldiers, provincial lawyers, people with special interests, etc. This was a movement springing from the most pro-

33. CIDA. *Op. Cit.*, page 397.

34. *Ibid.*, page 398.

found desires of the masses but not an entirely spontaneous one. There was a leadership, although fragmented and without a definite center.

The left was not present in an organized way in this tempestuous movement. It had been suppressed in 1963 and almost all of its leaders were in jail. Some elements remained active but isolated and cut off from their leaderships.

Because it had not been capable of linking up with the peasants in time, the left was unable to anticipate the gigantic mobilization or to defend the peasants from the massacres that followed.

At the end of December 1963, Minister of the Interior Oscar Trelles was censured by the right-wing opposition (APRA-UNO [Unión Nacional Odrista—Odrist National Union]). He was replaced by a new "tough" minister, who gave the go-ahead to the army and police to restore order.

The wave of land occupations was halted by a blood-bath.

Because of its lack of audacity, the left had of its own will isolated itself from the popular upsurge and as a result it was unable to take advantage of these favorable circumstances to link up the peasants' demands with the objectives of the Revolution. In this instance, as in 1962, it lost a revolutionary opportunity. It could have integrated itself into the peasantry in 1961-62 and it had sufficient means for doing so, but it lacked initiative and imagination. In 1963-64, it was already too late to attempt it.

[To be continued]

Wolf Biermann

Ballads to Redden a Bureaucrat's Ears

Wolf Biermann, East Germany's most famous protest singer, has defied a government ban on his recordings. A new tape of his caustic political ballads, according to a January 4 report from Berlin in the London *Observer*, is circulating in both East and West Germany. In the West it has been made into a record.

"At 33," the *Observer* said, "Biermann—who has a droopy red walrus moustache and is never pictured without his guitar—has produced a new group of the ferocious, haunting songs which have made his reputation both as poet and as political *chansonnier*. The new songs are as inflammatory as those which got him expelled from the East German Communist Party in 1963."

Biermann, who was reared in Hamburg, emigrated to East Germany when he was seventeen because of his Communist convictions. His father, a worker-Communist, was executed by the Nazis.

In recent years, he has not been permitted to work in East Germany. He has survived on the income he receives from the circulation of his ballads in the West. His latest recording was made in his East Berlin apartment.

One of his poems, entitled "After-Dinner Speech of the

Poet in the Second Lean Year," expresses his revolt at the bureaucratic and conservatized mentality of the members of the East German Communist party:

*You who are not yet drowned, comrades,
In the lard barrel of the privileged caste,
Alas, how long I have not reached your ears.
When they feed you with their damned
Ideological watery soups, the fat cooks,
Then I am, I must admit, tortured by ravenous
hunger . . .*

*Strictly among ourselves: does our next
Big feast really begin, comrades,
With the funeral banquet
At the grave of the revolution?*

In a song written shortly after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, Biermann compared the resistance against Russian tanks in Prague to the Paris Commune, and called for a return to the communism of Lenin and Trotsky. The text appeared in the left-wing West German monthly *Express International*, and is given below for the first time in English:

*Prague is the Paris Commune; it still lives.
The revolution regains its freedom.
Marx himself and Lenin and Rosa and Trotsky
Stand behind the Communists.*

*Communism once again holds freedom in its arms
and makes it a child that laughs.
Life will be, without desk-dinosaurs,
free from exploitation and the tyrants' sway.*

*The pharisees, the fat ones, twitch;
their sharp noses smell the truth: The day
is not far off.
On the bottom of the Vltava the stones are shifting;
four emperors lie buried in Prague.*

*We breathe again, comrades. We laugh the
rank sadness out of our lungs.
Man, we are stronger than rats and dragons.
And had forgotten it and always knew it.*

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