

Intercontinental Press

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NOL: Needs U.S. planes and ground troops to stabilize military coup. See page 395.

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'Revolutionary Violence' or Just Plain Putschism?

Kremlin Opens Fire on 'Trotsky in Exile'

Divisions Deepen in Northern Ireland

Exclusion of Gisela Mandel Draws Wide Protest

In Drinking Water

Nixon's antipollution front may soon show a considerable credibility gap.

In a move about six months ago to become known as Mr. Ecology, Nixon had three members of his cabinet announce a decision "to begin" eliminating most uses of DDT. The latest reports are that manufacture and sales of the insidious poison remain as brisk and profitable as ever.

Meanwhile, Britain's Institution of Water Engineers warned in March about a rising new danger that has hitherto escaped detection—arsenic pollution of water supplies.

The urgency of the warning was confirmed within a month when experts at the State Geological Survey of Kansas at the University of Kansas discovered arsenic pollution in the Kansas River.

They reported levels of 2 to 8 parts per billion [ppb]. This is close to the maximum level of 10 ppb permitted by the U.S. Public Health Service.

Arsenic is particularly dangerous because like DDT it is a cumulative poison.

The Kansas experts think that the pollution of the Kansas River comes from detergents. They found 10 to 70 parts per million (that's 10,000 to 70,000 ppb!) of arsenic in several presoaks and household detergents commonly sold in the U. S.

They state that the appearance of arsenic as a pollutant is not new. Arsenic accumulation in human hair after using detergents was reported as early as 1958.

What is new is that arsenic from detergents has grown to such an extent that it has now become a threat to be watched in water supplies.

The threat is particularly grave in areas that are compelled to use "recycled" water, that is, liquid from another city's sewage.

The Institution of Water Engineers points to other possible sources of pollutants. A wide range of "exotic chemicals" now used in industry can contaminate water supplies either from sudden leaks, accidents, or illegal dumping.

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'More Adventurous Policies in Laos and Cambodia'

By Les Evans

As the tide of civil war and revolution threatens to topple the recently CIA-installed government of General Lon Nol in Pnompenh, ominous signs point to a new secret escalation of U. S. involvement in Cambodia. While Nixon maintains a discreet silence on the Cambodian situation, American news correspondents report that American planes have begun bombing insurgent areas of Cambodia while U. S. generals have planned and advised the still unofficial invasion of that country by troops of the Saigon regime.

This policy of deception is all the more sinister in view of the information only now coming to light on the secret U. S. buildup in Laos, a "model" for Nixon's current operations in Cambodia.

While much information had filtered through the press, the first extensive hearings by Congress on Laos, held last October, remained classified until April 19, when a "sanitized" version was made public.

The major escalation in Laos occurred, not under Johnson as the press had previously reported, but under Nixon. "The U. S. bombing of Laos," the April 20 *Washington Post* said in its summary of the Senate transcript, "secretly begun in 1964 by President Johnson, was reported to have doubled in May, 1969, and nearly tripled last August."

In his March 6 speech on Laos, Nixon claimed there were only "1,040 Americans . . . stationed in Laos," and that "No American stationed in Laos had ever been killed in ground combat operations."

Both these claims were shown to be lies in military testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee more than four months before the president's address.

"The hearings disclose," the *Washington Post* said, "as subcommittee sources put it, that 'tens of thousands' of Americans are involved in the Laotian war in air combat, in training, advisory, supply and intelligence work — operating from Thailand, from



SIHANOUK: Ousted while in Moscow.

South Vietnam and from U. S. aircraft carriers at sea. . . .

"The testimony also showed that President Nixon's March 6 statement about the number of Americans 'stationed' in Laos hides the fact that other American personnel — the number was censored — 'drift in and out' of Laos on 'temporary' assignment."

The Senate subcommittee confirms that there have been "something under 200 U. S. military personnel . . . killed in Laos." Many of these were airmen, but at least fifty were listed as civilian and military personnel stationed on the ground.

In passing, the record showed to what extent the regime of Prince Souvanna Phouma in Laos is a creature of the U. S. government, kept in office at the expense of American taxpayers.

According to the *Washington Post*, the U. S. government "is not only pay-

ing more than half the cost of operating the Royal Government of Laos, but until this year it was paying, as well, two-thirds of the costs of operating all of the Laotian embassies in foreign countries."

The Senate testimony also revealed a consistent pattern of lies by the White House not only to the American people but even to congressional committees representing the supposed legislative branch of the government itself. The Foreign Relations subcommittee in October reviewed testimony on Laos the full committee had heard in 1968, when it was told by William H. Sullivan, Nixon's present deputy assistant secretary of state and a former ambassador to Laos, that only Lao planes were engaged in bombing inside that country although it is now admitted that American planes had been engaged in bombing since 1964. The Foreign Relations Committee was also told in 1968, according to the transcript, that ". . . We do not have a military training and advisory organization in Laos."

The shipping of arms to the Cambodian "government" of General Lon Nol is the opening wedge in the same kind of covert expansion of the Vietnam war into Cambodia. Even in their first installment Nixon and his Cambodian front men could not keep their story straight.

Washington announced that three planeloads of small arms, delivered to Lon Nol on April 22-23, were "captured" Soviet and Chinese AK-47 rifles. But the April 24 *New York Times* reported that "Cambodian informants said the arms were American-made."

The White House has tried to picture the deepening crisis in Cambodia as a "foreign invasion of a neutral country." This was the same rationale for the American intervention in Vietnam, and Laos. The reality is that the Vietnam war was spread to Cambodia by the U. S.-inspired military coup that toppled Sihanouk on March 18.

Faced with an impasse in Vietnam, Washington is escalating the war throughout former French Indochina

in the hope of outflanking the Vietnamese revolution. But the puppet regimes in Cambodia and Laos do not have massive numbers of American ground troops to keep them in power.

In desperation, the military junta in Pnompenh is trying to instigate an anti-Vietnamese hysteria to "unify" the Khmer population and to terrorize the opposition. The slaughter of unarmed Vietnamese citizens of Cambodia is part of this strategy.

But the revolutionary resistance is stiffening. When South Vietnamese National Liberation Front troops captured the town of Saang only fifteen miles from Pnompenh on April 13, they distributed arms to the Cambodian inhabitants—hardly a good idea for an "invading" army in the midst of a "hostile" population.

In fact, on-the-spot news reports confirm the fact that of the some 2,000 ethnic Vietnamese civilians who have been murdered during the past few weeks, virtually all were shot to death by regular army troops. Individual soldiers have told newsmen that they were acting under orders. This is a far cry from the image fostered by the American government and many newspaper editorials that the general Cambodian population has gone berserk in an orgy of anti-Vietnamese hatred, with the government only an innocent bystander or at worst an accomplice.

And the bravery and "nationalism" of the troops of Lon Nol find conspicuous proof in their gunning down unarmed civilians with their hands tied behind their backs.

Terrence Smith, writing from Saigon in the April 20 *New York Times*, indicates the extent to which the junta's control is crumbling on all fronts:

"In the month since the coup that deposed the chief of State, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian Army has repeatedly failed in the face of Vietcong and North Vietnamese assaults on Government outposts and positions in the border region. The Cambodian line of defense has been consistently driven back. . . .

"The Pnompenh Government's control over the civilian population also appears to have diminished as the Communists have increased their political agitation inside Cambodia, using Prince Sihanouk as an anti-Government rallying point."

T. D. Allman, one of the best-in-

formed Western reporters in Cambodia, reports in a dispatch published in the April 23 Hong Kong *Far Eastern Economic Review* that the junta's killing of civilians has not been limited to Vietnamese, and that the armed resistance includes a growing number of Cambodians:

"About 200 Cambodians have been shot dead by Cambodian army units putting down communist-supported pro-Sihanouk demonstrations. Hundreds more have been wounded.

"Last week, about 75 Cambodian soldiers were killed in battle with the Vietcong, more than 100 wounded and at least 108 captured. The Cambodians have lost 453 rifles to the Vietcong by official estimate. Hundreds of Cambodian soldiers are missing.

"Territorially the government has lost more ground in its first weeks of rule than Sihanouk lost in the 16 years following independence.

"Four of the six districts of Svay Rieng province now are under communist control. The main road north to the Laotian border is insecure and sometimes cut. Most of the areas of the two provinces of Kratie and Kampong Cham lying east of that road have been lost to the communists.

'Black Power' Is Rallying Cry

The Revolt in Trinidad

Under the headline "Trinidad Reports Control Restored," the April 25 *New York Times* reported that armed rebel soldiers, holding twenty-four hostages, still controlled the headquarters of the Trinidad army at Teteron Bay. A dusk-to-dawn curfew was still enforced throughout the island, and six American ships carrying 2,000 battle-equipped marines were still standing by, off the coast, ready to land if it became "necessary" to evacuate American civilians.

At an April 24 news conference in Port of Spain, Tony May, acting police commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago, said that four persons had been killed since April 21, when a still unknown number of soldiers mutinied in support of a "Black Power" demonstration that was proscribed by the government.

"There have been few reports from the two northeast provinces of Ratanakiri and Mondulakiri but things appear to be going just as badly there. In Takeo, Kampot and Kandal provinces, south of Phnom Penh, villages have been taken over by mixed bands of armed Cambodians and Vietnamese calling themselves 'Sihanouk's Army.'" (Emphasis added.)

Nixon, in announcing the "planned" withdrawal of 150,000 American troops from Vietnam over the next year, has tried to give the impression that the war is coming to a close. The opposite is the case. In Vietnam alone, Nixon's "plan" would leave 284,000 American troops, a year from now, to say nothing of the escape clauses permitting him to slow down or even cancel the announced pullout, "If I conclude that increased enemy action jeopardizes our remaining forces in Vietnam . . ."

The *Wall Street Journal* of April 3, however, suggested that even Pentagon superhawks might have a reason for supporting Nixon's "withdrawal":

"By giving in on troop withdrawals from Vietnam, hawkish officials might win backing for more adventurous policies in Laos and Cambodia."

May said that 149 persons had been arrested, including seventy Black Power activists picked up in an island-wide manhunt and seventy-nine rebel soldiers. There are about 800 soldiers in the Trinidad army.

The government of Prime Minister Eric Williams has faced growing unrest since the beginning of the year. The population of about 1,000,000 is predominantly Black and East Indian. Only 2 percent are whites, but, as the April 24 *New York Times* put it, "White foreign interests do control the oil, natural gas, sugar and tourist industries of Trinidad."

The per capita income is given by various sources at between \$650 and \$800 per year, but a good portion of this includes profits on foreign-owned business that flow out of the country.

American investment totals more

than \$400,000,000, mainly in oil refining, Trinidad's main industry.

Oil and the tourist trade make possible a conspicuous display of prosperity at the top of society. Abject poverty and unemployment are the lot of the masses. In 1968 the government promised a "five-year plan," to begin in 1969, to combat a 14 percent unemployment rate. The hollowness of this promise can be judged by the fact that unemployment has grown to between 20 and 25 percent and is even higher for young people.

Although the slogan of the opposition has been "Black Power," the protest movement has incorporated large sections of the East Indian community as well.

The current crisis began in February with Black student demonstrations in Port of Spain protesting the trial of a group of West Indian students in Montreal, Canada. These demonstrations soon involved a broad layer of unemployed youth, unionists, farm workers, and even civil servants. The issues also expanded to include protest against foreign-owned banks and businesses, and the government.

On April 20 large numbers of East Indian sugar workers joined Blacks in a march through the sugar belt led by Geddes Granger, a well-known Black spokesman now jailed because of his political activities. The march was followed by violent demonstrations in Port of Spain during which firebombs were thrown at the Chase Manhattan Bank and the Singer Sewing Machine Company offices.

A mass march was called for April 21, to include not only the Black Power movement but striking East Indian sugarcane workers as well, and mailmen and utilities workers who are also on strike. The government declared a state of emergency the morning of the demonstration, banning all public meetings and giving the police wide powers of arrest and detention. A roundup of opposition figures, including union leaders, was staged. This is what triggered the rebellion in the army.

Dissident soldiers in the first hours of the mutiny seized the country's only arms depot at Chaguaramas. Nixon immediately sent a planeload of weapons, including mortars and machine guns, to prop up the sagging regime.

Meanwhile, the British government,

which claims formal authority over Trinidad and Tobago as a commonwealth member, placed two guided-missile frigates in the Caribbean on standby alert.

It remains to be seen whether Prime Minister Williams will succeed in suppressing the rebellion without the help of the U.S. marines. A spokesman for the insurgents told the *New York Times* by telephone on April 24: "We are interested in continuing with negotiations at present since we have no intention of seeing bloodshed as far as our brother soldiers and po-

litical members of the public are concerned."

According to the *Times*, the government is negotiating conditions for an amnesty for the rebels if they will lay down their arms.

Whatever the immediate outcome, none of the underlying causes that have brought Trinidad to a boil are going to be solved by the Williams regime under British and American patronage. And the same ferment that has exploded there is building up in several other Caribbean countries.

Bolivia

Ovando to 'Reexamine' Debray Case

General Alfredo Ovando announced April 21 that his government had decided to "reexamine" the case of Régis Debray and the Argentine painter Ciro Bustos, now being held in prison in Camiri.

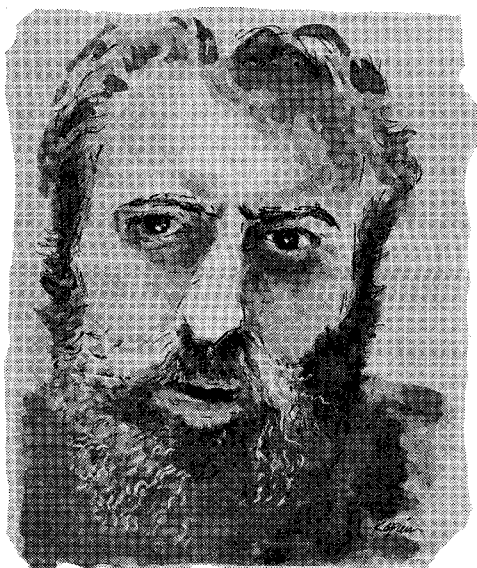
In a drumhead military court November 17, 1967, Debray was sentenced to thirty years. Bustos was given a similar sentence. The charge against the two included "rebellion, murders, assault and robbery."

Debray had come to Bolivia as a journalist to interview Che Guevara, who had opened a guerrilla front. Bustos had visited the camp to make sketches of the guerrillas.

The two were arrested, together with a British citizen named Roth, at Muyupampa April 20, 1967, after they had left the guerrilla front.

The defendants were not allowed to speak during the trial. The judge appointed a lawyer to represent Debray. The lawyer was unsympathetic to Debray's revolutionary views. The police made secret recordings of Debray's conversations with his lawyer and played these in court. Foreign correspondents who voiced criticisms of the procedure were expelled from Bolivia.

Last September 26 General Ovando seized power, exiling the president, Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas. To consolidate his regime, Ovando made a sharp turn to the left, annulling huge concessions made to the Gulf Oil Co. On October 17 he nationalized the company. Since then Ovando has



REGIS DEBRAY

sought to build up support among the workers by easing the pressure on their unions.

The care with which Ovando is putting together a more winning image can be judged from the fact that on April 9 he ordered his troops throughout the country to stay in their barracks in the face of two weeks of student demonstrations involving the universities of San Andrés, Sucre, Potosí, and Santa Cruz.

One of the main demands of the students was immediate release of the political prisoners packing Bolivia's jails.

Behind the 'Guardian'/'Liberated Guardian' Dispute

By Les Evans

"Guardian Office Attacked" was the headline of the April 18 issue of the New York weekly *Guardian*, once the most widely read radical newspaper in the United States. A few days later a rival publication appeared named the *Liberated Guardian*. Its headline read "Workers seize control."

Both papers provide accounts of a split in the *Guardian* staff and a physical struggle for control of the paper's offices. Some nineteen staff members and part-time employees are reportedly grouped on the side of the *Liberated Guardian*, while eighteen members of the "Guardian cooperative," the old administrative body of the paper, including business manager Irving Beinin and managing editor Jack Smith, remain with the *Guardian*.

According to the Beinin-Smith group, the opposing side took the initiative.

"The *Guardian* was published clandestinely this week," they say in the April 18 issue.

"At this writing, the *Guardian*'s tenement office on East 4th St. in New York City's Lower East Side is empty following the violent invasion of about 50 assorted ultra-leftists, anarchists and other self-styled 'revolutionaries' who broke into the barricaded building about noon April 12 in an effort to prevent this issue of the *Guardian* from going to press."

The "invaders" describe themselves as strikers. They initially set up a picket line outside the *Guardian* offices on April 9. The "clandestine" *Guardian* accuses the "strikers" of seeking to impose an "anarchist" political line on the paper: "A recent *Guardian* Viewpoint condemning individual terrorism is known to have inspired some of the invaders to take action."

The April 20 *Liberated Guardian* in its lead story declared: "We had banded together to overthrow an archaic, undemocratic, elitist structure and to make the *Guardian* serve the new left movement it claimed to represent."

Both papers seemed to be in general agreement on the facts involved in the

April 12 confrontation. According to the "clandestine" *Guardian*:

"At around 11 a.m. three men were observed trying to break into the back window leading into a vacant printing shop on the first floor. Shortly afterward, three other men, carrying knives, began climbing the fire escape to the top floor, which is used for storage, in order to break in from the top. They brandished their weapons at *Guardian* defender Steve Torgoff, 23, who tried to intercept them from a window.

"Moments later the mob broke into the top floor. The defenders — Carl Davidson, 26; Marion Munsell, 65; Leslie Sinsley, 24; Rod Such, 24, and Torgoff — raced to the fourth floor landing with improvised clubs to confront the intruders, who were pouring in by this time, outnumbering the *Guardian* workers about 10 to one.

"Such ran half-way up the stairs, followed by the others. Waving a crowbar, he demanded they leave immediately or 'the first ones down these stairs are going to get their heads smashed. . . . Who wants to be first?'

"The mob was held at bay temporarily and a political debate, laced with insults, ensued. Marion Munsell, a wrench in her hand, climbed to the front of the defense line. . . .

"Someone shouted: 'Get out of the way, Grandma.' . . .

"At this point one of the crowd leaned over the railing and began urinating in the direction of the defenders . . ."

After a further scuffle, Davidson, Munsell, et al., were ejected from the building by the invaders.

The account by the "strikers" is not so graphic. One of them, writing in the April 17 issue of *Rat*, took up where the *Guardian* left off:

"After a long, bitter verbal confrontation, we made repeated entreaties to Marion to move. The women moved down the staircase to try to move Marion and Steve began to strike at them with his crowbar, hitting Marion instead. . . . Finally, one of the strik-

ers dropped a rug from the staircase leading to the roof and knocked the crowbar out of Steve's hand. Two women strikers held Marion while others behind them on the staircase rushed and pinned Carl and Steve. The management team agreed to leave the building."

This use of physical violence in a political dispute inside the staff of a newspaper that calls itself socialist and the dispossession by physical force of the *Guardian* from its own headquarters mark the most serious crisis in the paper's twenty-two year history.

On the side of the so-called strikers there is little to be said. Judging from the testimony of various persons who have been "purged" from the *Guardian* in recent years, there is substance to their organizational grievances. But their demands had nothing to do with wages or hours; they wanted a say in determining the political line of the *Guardian*. This puts in question their claim that this is a legitimate strike action and not a political dispute in the staff.

To attempt to physically shut down a radical newspaper because of a political disagreement with its editors is reminiscent of Stalinist methods.

The present crisis of the *Guardian* reflects the disintegration of the forces around the Students for a Democratic Society for whom the *Guardian* had attempted to become a spokesman.

Smith and Beinin were of the opinion that a mass revolutionary party can be built by attracting an amorphous "movement" to a "radical" newspaper. Instead of setting out with a Marxist program and seeking to construct a revolutionary party on the basis of that program, they substituted a vague anticapitalism, the mystique of pure and simple activism without theory, and an exaggerated notion of the revolutionary capacities of all sorts of spontaneous movements of rebellion in the United States and abroad.

They refused to define their politics

in relation to the existing parties on the left. While generally critical of the Soviet bureaucracy, they never analyzed the nature of Stalinism.

The paper was founded in 1948 as *National Guardian* by three left-wing professional journalists, Cedric Belfrage, James Aronson, and John T. McManus. It was the unofficial journal of the Progressive party, organized the same year as an electoral apparatus of the Stalinists and a number of supporters of Roosevelt—notably former U. S. Vice-president Henry Wallace, the Progressive party's 1948 presidential candidate. Its circulation hinged on the benevolence and peripheral influence of the American Communist party.

In a November 15, 1950, editorial the *National Guardian* explained its view of its role:

"The progressive movement of this country is never going to get to first base unless it can get its program before the people and the truth is that the progressive leadership throughout the nation has thus far failed to take the first, simple step in this direction.

"That step is the building of a publication which will be the voice of the whole movement, which will carry its program and directives to all members at least weekly; and which can be placed in the hands of the general public cheaply and regularly . . ."

Significantly, the same editorial was reprinted by the present editors of the *Guardian* for the paper's twentieth anniversary on December 7, 1968. But what had been the experience with this concept? At the time it was launched, the *National Guardian* enjoyed the backing and real material support of both the Progressive and Communist parties. In 1952, however, the CP decided to dump the Progressive party and return to the Democratic fold. The *National Guardian* refused to go along.

With the collapse of the Progressive party after the 1952 elections, the *National Guardian* found itself on its own. From then until now its editors have tried to use the paper to "re-group" a new radical movement as a basis of support.

With the Khrushchev revelations in 1956 the *National Guardian* faced a low crisis. Part of its staff turned sharply away from Stalinism. They sought to take an objective attitude in partic-

ular toward Trotskyism. They went so far as to collaborate with the Socialist Workers party in running independent socialist candidates, and they endorsed the presidential campaigns of the SWP. But they did not go beyond this.

The current editorial team took over in April 1967, forcing the resignation of James Aronson, the last of the founders. The name was shortened to *Guardian* and Beinín, a former member of the SWP, became the leading political figure on the staff.

Facing a disastrous erosion of its former base, the *Guardian* under Smith and Beinín sought in relation to the SDS to repeat the tactics used by their predecessors with the Progressive party.

The *Guardian* pandered to the ultra-leftism of SDS on every important question, albeit sometimes with faint protest. In the 1968 presidential elections the *Guardian* joined SDS in the sectarian demand for an electoral "boycott."

The *Guardian* joined SDS in trying to convert the antiwar movement into a "multi-issue," "anti-imperialist" conglomerate. In a March 30, 1968, editorial, the *Guardian* declared:

"Opposing the Vietnam war in 1968 is not a radical demand. It is a liberal demand, founded on the correct premise that U. S. imperialism is losing in Vietnam."

The *Guardian* advocated meeting the police in an ultra-left confrontation at the Democratic party convention in Chicago in August 1968 when the majority of the organized antiwar movement and such groups as the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance urged the political inadvisability of such a course. After the event, the *Guardian* voiced some mild criticism of those who had become victims partly because of following the advice previously offered them by the paper.

When factional differences in the SDS broke into the open in the spring of 1969, the *Guardian* lined up with the Weathermen in favor of the bureaucratic expulsion of the Maoist Progressive Labor party. In its July 5, 1969, issue, an editorial declared: "We support the expulsion because PL's line and practice on the Vietnam war and the national question is incorrect . . ." Unlike the line of the Weathermen!

This editorial hailed the "growth of Marxist-Leninist politics" in SDS—and

this only months before the complete disintegration of SDS.

In August 1969 the *Guardian* began to draw back from the ultra-left excesses it had helped to foster. It criticized its own past "mistakes," including "attacking certain actions because they were 'just against the war, and not anti-imperialist.'" This did not stop the *Guardian* from giving prior if somewhat critical endorsement to SDS's "Bring the War Home" fiasco in Chicago in October, called explicitly in opposition to the October 15 Moratorium and the November 15 March on Washington.

Afterwards, as usual, the *Guardian* criticized the way the SDS Chicago actions had been conducted.

For a time the *Guardian* supported the Revolutionary Youth Movement faction of SDS against the Weathermen. But now with the collapse of both factions, the paper has reached an impasse.

How did it happen that so many "assorted ultra-leftists, anarchists and other self-styled 'revolutionaries,'" as the *Guardian* describes them, were included in the staff? These were the very people Smith and Beinín catered to and encouraged and presented in their pages as "the movement."

If Smith and Beinín now reject "left adventurism," as they put it, can anyone be surprised that some of their protégés rebel?

Moratorium Gives Up

The Vietnam Moratorium Committee, sponsor of the October 15 antiwar protests that involved millions of people throughout the United States, announced on April 19 that it was disbanding. Some of the committee's leaders will now work to support capitalist "peace" candidates; others have said they will join "community organizations."

The committee's demise comes in the face of indications of a revival of general antiwar sentiment, including a recent Gallup poll that showed support for Nixon's war policy in the U. S. dropped from 65 percent in January to only 48 percent in mid-April.

In a letter to their supporters, the Moratorium Committee said there is "little prospect of immediate change in the Administration's policy in Vietnam."

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, now the largest nationwide antiwar organization, has called for a conference of the entire antiwar movement to "discuss and project further nationally coordinated actions against the war."

'Revolutionary Violence' or Just Plain Putschism?

By Henri Weber

[The following article has been translated from the March 23 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

In its January 16, 1970, issue *Cause du Peuple* [People's Cause] offered an important innovation. Up till that date the organ of the Gauche Prolétarienne [GP—Proletarian Left] had been content to publish a flood of more or less embellished accounts of "tough" workers' struggles. The conclusion emerging from this collection of stories was invariably the same: "You are right to revolt; you have to dare to struggle; and you have to fight anybody who doesn't have the nerve, especially the modern revisionists, those bourgeoisified accomplices of the regime."

Political analysis of the class relationships in France was limited to a few peremptory declarations. As for strategic orientation and tactical directives, there was nothing at all. The content of *Cause du Peuple* was strictly limited to exalting rebellion and exhorting to rebellion as an end in itself.

It seems that the leadership of the Gauche Prolétarienne itself finally came to find this content a bit light. In No. 15 of its journal, it inaugurated a new column entitled "Organize."

In this column it promised to explain its political line to the workers "in various ways but very completely." This is the line of the "new resistance" and the "new partisans."

Since this line was formulated and put into practice, it has exercised a strong attraction on all the Maoist groups. *L'Humanité Rouge* has been the Maoist current most affected. Today *HR* is literally being torn to shreds. A not inconsiderable part of its activists have already been won over to the Gauche Prolétarienne, especially in the student sector.

But other Maoist tendencies and local groupings like "Vive la Révolution" [Long Live the Revolution] in Nanterre, or informal groupings of the Mao-spontanéist current, are feeling the pressure acutely.

There is nothing mysterious about this. Whatever their specific features, all the Maoist groups unconditionally accept the orthodoxy recorded in the *Little Red Book* and brought up to date every week in *Pékin-Information* [the French equivalent of the *Peking Review*].

These groups have in common a certain number of theses or precepts—capitalism is tottering; the masses are overflowing with enthusiasm for socialism and revolution; the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] is a social-fascist party that must be combated as such; the unions are the best agents of the bourgeoisie, and so forth.

The orientation of the Gauche Prolétarienne best expresses the premises common to all the Maoist groups. It is by no means astonishing then that the GP is serving as a pole of attraction for the Maoist current as a whole in France and accumulating its activists.

The Gauche Prolétarienne originated in the split of the Union des Jeunes Communistes Marxist-Léninistes [Union of Marxist-Leninist Communist Youth]. The UJCML did not survive the test of May 1968. It shared with the ex-FER [Fédération des Etudiants Révolutionnaires—Federation of Revolutionary Students, an ultraleft sectarian grouping allied with the Socialist Labour League in England] the unhappy privilege of having opposed by every available means the May 6-13 test of strength between the student movement and the regime.

Denouncing the "adventurism" of the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Youth, from which the Communist League evolved] and the March 22 Movement, which it said "were sending students in to be butchered," the UJCML repudiated confrontations

with the forces of order and did not participate in the night of the barricades May 10. The political bankruptcy revealed by this decision had violent repercussions internally.

In September 1968 the UJCML split into multiple tendencies. A part of its cells joined the *L'Humanité Rouge* circles. Theorizing that the failure of the UJCML was the failure of all organizational structures, another fragment of this organization became the backbone of the Mao-spontanéist current, which was then in full flower. Many members adopted a wait-and-see attitude and formed local groups. A part of the organization, finally, continued to follow the old leadership.

Although the leaders of the UJCML accepted a very severe self-criticism, they intended to put an end to the general collapse and rebuild an organization. To this end they created their own tendency. A tiny minority, this formation was given the deprecatory name of the "black line" [the anarchist flag is black] or the "militarist line."

This "black line" tendency was the originator of the Gauche Prolétarienne. It owed its title of the "militarist tendency" to the fact that it took over (at that time still with a great deal of circumspection) the anarchist practice of violent action by an active minority aimed at shaking the masses out of their apathy. Overestimating the value of precision commando operations produced a tendency to pose political problems in military terms.

In October 1968 the "black line" published the first issue of the *Cause du Peuple* and became the Gauche Prolétarienne. The anarchist character of the GP became clearly accentuated a few months later when it accepted the remnants of the March 22 Movement into its ranks (December 1968). The anarchist theme of *antiauthoritarian rebellion* became the central theme of the organization. For the editors of the *Cause du Peuple* the principal contradiction was not fundamentally between the exploiters and the exploited but between the leaders and the led.

All persons holding positions of authority (professors, technicians, "petty bosses," etc.) were classified as agents of the bourgeoisie pure and simple, that is, as full-fledged class enemies.

Systematically the anarchist core of the March 22 Movement took over Maoism as the theory of a libertarian revolution (the cultural revolution being the prototype of antiauthoritarian revolution).

Thus, a bold synthesis was accomplished between the thought of Chairman Mao (freely interpreted) and the old libertarian substratum of a part of the student movement. A new product was added to the handbook of political alchemy — anarcho-Maoism, or the anarchism of the age of cultural revolution.

It is impossible to understand anything about the practice of the Gauche Prolétarienne (its faith in the propaganda of the deed, its mystique of exemplary actions, its fetishism of violence, its lack of political analysis, its scant concern with strategic and tactical problems, its spite against the traditional workers movement, and even its written and spoken style imitating *Père Duchêne*) unless you keep in mind the dominance of anarchist tradition over this organization.

The line developed by the Gauche Prolétarienne can be summed up easily. It is based on one implicit postulate. Since May 1968 France has been passing through a revolutionary situation. The revolutionary crisis of May did not go all the way because of the betrayals of the social fascists. But the general strike opened up a revolutionary situation which is continuing. Today the people are systematically utilizing revolutionary violence to impose their will or to break the repression.

"Everywhere among the people, the workers are violating the work tempos, blocking production, kidnapping the bosses. The peasants are breaking into the prefectures and dragging the prefects or the ministers to their farms. One slogan is rallying all the oppressed popular strata — kidnap the tyrannical bosses, the corrupt functionaries, the profiteers! Give them blow for blow!" (*Cause du Peuple*, No. 14.)

Facing this revolutionary offensive the masses, the vanguard groups must assume their responsibilities. Makeshift politics is finished. It is no

longer time for slow and routine propaganda and organizational work. The situation requires new forms of preinsurrectional action. "This is the time for partisans."

"We say to the bosses that we are at war but since you have planted cops on every corner, since you are militarily occupying our cities, we are waging partisan struggles against you. Your moronic cops can't do a thing against the shadowy fighters. In Dunkirk a young worker is killed, two port cranes are immobilized by an act of sabotage — that will give the murderers something to think about. In Hénin-Liétard after the murder of sixteen miners, a fire breaks out in the reconversion offices of the mines — that threw such a scare into the murderers that their whole corrupt press did not say a word about it. In Nice the Brevex workers burn a boss's villa and his car — that is a warning to the murderers of the days to come when blood will cry out for blood." (*Cause du Peuple*, No. 17.)

Today the "new resistance" is the dividing line between the opportunist traitors and revolutionists. Those who, in these revolutionary circumstances, refuse to encourage popular resistance, fear to move on to a qualitatively higher level of struggle, and take refuge in the hustle and bustle of routine political campaigns (i.e., the Ligue Communiste, Lutte Ouvrière, the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié — United Socialist party], *HR*, etc.) are "liquidators."

Those who try to win ridiculously small gains by a policy of pressuring the bosses, when the popular resistance wants *everything* (i.e., the PCF, the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail — General Confederation of Labor, the CP-controlled union], and unions in general) are "collaborators," agents of the class enemy among the people.

"A corrupt element is dividing us, liquidating our hatred and our faith in victory — unionism. The unions are the best agents among us of the occupying power." (*Cause du Peuple*, No. 15.)

In short, the existence of a revolutionary situation characterized by a general offensive of the masses authorizes the French Maoists to begin people's war. At the present stage this war can only be embryonic (sabotage, punitive expeditions, commando

actions). But let no one mistake it — this is already a war of liberation. The occupying power is the bourgeoisie; the *collabos* are the social fascists; the new partisans are the Maoists of the Gauche Prolétarienne.

"We will call the people in Massy as everywhere in France to insurrection to destroy the power of the occupiers. Our present partisan work is preparing the way for these uprisings and the war of liberation." (*Cause du Peuple*, No. 15.)

I have given a long description of the orientation of the Gauche Prolétarienne in order to show clearly the object of our criticism. In these polemics the Maoist comrades claim to believe that there is a simple opposition of two kinds of leftism. On the one side there is supposed to be a scrappy, violent, authentic left; on the other the prudent, legal, timid left.

The second kind of leftism is supposedly perishing from the shame of having started out linked with the former and seeking on every occasion to bury the memory of its unfortunate lineage by invectives and press communiqués. This cleaned-up leftism, they intimate, rejects all recourse to violence out of fear of having its papers, its pamphlets, and its meetings banned. Arguing on the basis of a pretended unfavorable relationship of forces, it is supposedly sticking strictly to the area of bourgeois legality.

In reality, this view of things does not stand up. The UJCM and the FER prudently opposed the street battles of May 1968. That did not prevent the minister of the interior from banning them in one fell swoop. It is not the resorting to violence that we criticize in the orientation of the Gauche Prolétarienne; it is this orientation itself.

Because violent action is not a value in itself. It is a means to serve a strategy or a tactic. *If the strategy is incorrect, the violent or legal actions by which it is implemented likewise become political errors to be taken advantage of by the enemy.* It may be a very good thing to deflate a foreman, an informer, or even a union tyrant. Everything depends on the "way you go about it," that is, the political framework within which you proceed.

Thus, the object of our criticism is not the "violence" of the GP but the political line behind this violence

which, in turn, gives the GP's "violent actions" their style and political meaning.

Seeing the present situation as a pre-revolutionary one in which the masses are on the offensive all up and down the line reveals a singular capacity for self-hypnosis. In fact, the theoreticians of the GP proceed by *extrapolations*. Breton peasants kidnap Olivier Guichard and the prefect accompanying him? Without batting an eye the *Cause du Peuple* concludes: "The peasants are breaking into all prefectures and dragging all prefects and all ministers to their farms!"

During a strike, workers kidnap the bosses and the supervisory personnel? The *Cause du Peuple* immediately concludes, "Let's kidnap the tyrannical bosses, the corrupt functionaries, and the profiteers! *This is the slogan that is rallying all the oppressed popular strata!*"

In reality the political situation is characterized in one respect by a great combativity on the part of the masses. The working class is by no means disposed to permit a deterioration of its living standards and job conditions. It has taken over the new forms of struggle propagated in May by the student movement. This continuing struggle has proved contagious; it is spreading to the small peasants and the small merchants.

But on the other hand, the workers more than ever lack a political perspective. Every worker feels that to get any real change they will have to attack the regime. But none see a socialist alternative. In May 1968 the bankruptcy of the traditional labor movement deprived 10,000,000 strikers of any political perspective. The situation has not changed to this day. Moreover, the workers are not ready to unleash an unlimited strike every two years to win a 10 percent raise inevitably eroded by devaluation.

Hard economic struggles can be anticipated in various sectors of industry. But we should not expect generalized movements to pose the question of power. For still stronger reasons, we should not expect mass movements of an insurrectional type.

May 1968 opened up a period of instability for French capitalism. The relationship of forces between the classes has stabilized at a level barely tolerable for the bourgeoisie. Taking advantage of the passivity of the work-

ers parties, the bourgeoisie has regained the initiative and is striving to restore an equilibrium.

On the political front, the bourgeoisie has reestablished its unity, readjusting its historic ambitions at the expense of General de Gaulle's career. On the social front the regime is trying to co-opt the unions by enticing them with contracts providing for progressive wage increases. It is pursuing its plan of regimenting the youth by its reform of national service, the restoration of the old moral order in the high schools, the faculties, etc. Simultaneously the regime is using unprecedented repressive means.

Since the devaluation, the Gaullist-Centrist regime has scored some points. The mass struggles everywhere are essentially of a defensive type.

For the leaders of the Gauche Prolétarienne "the slightest spark can start a prairie fire." So they are trying to blow every spot that looks like it is warming up into a hot coal. In this view, the essential function of violent action lies in its revelatory, stimulating, exemplary character. The circumstances and the stakes of a confrontation matter little in the last analysis, as long as the cops, or the "petty bosses," get a drubbing in front of the workers.

Since the stakes of the confrontation are secondary to the symbolic value of the action itself, little by little we see a fetishizing of confrontation, confrontation on all occasions and for its own sake.

In a truly prerevolutionary period the multiplication of violent clashes can galvanize the combativity of the masses and precipitate a generalization of the struggles. However, in the present situation "exemplary actions" have no chance of getting the masses to follow. The mentality of the workers faithfully reflects the fluctuations in the relationship of forces. A courageous example by the students is not what the workers need to engage in a general struggle. Once again, what they need are clear perspectives.

The exemplary virtue of violent actions is proving of dubious effectiveness and the Maoist activists are finding themselves forced to substitute their own violence for the violence of the masses. It is not the workers who are taking up revolutionary violence to solve their problems; it is the activists

of the Gauche Prolétarienne who are exercising revolutionary violence in the name and in place of the masses.

In Marxist theory this policy has a name—putschism. Putschist practice has the effect of isolating revolutionary groups and exposing them to repression. In a period of a fluctuating relationship of forces and a vigorous political offensive by reaction, putschists not only endanger the revolutionary movement as a whole—which they help to isolate and discredit—but also the masses where they operate. Putschists expose those workers they do manage to organize to considerable risks of repression without being able to defend them.

The concrete results of putschism in Germany, Italy, and Japan have been massive sentencing of hundreds of activists, a weakened and decapitated student and revolutionary movement. The result has been a crisis of confidence among the working masses called on to engage in adventurist actions and then abandoned to repression.

There is no doubt that the results will be the same in France if the putschism of the Gauche Prolétarienne is not politically defeated. Winning this battle is not the least important task of the front of revolutionary and progressive organizations for which the foundation was laid March 6 in Nanterre.

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Fifty Scholars Discuss 'Trotskyism in Asia'

San Francisco

Some fifty scholars took part in a panel discussion on "Trotskyism in Asia" here on April 3 as part of a conference of the Association for Asian Studies [AAS].* The panel was organized and chaired by Professor Richard Kagan of Boston State College, a national coordinator of the Committee of Concerned Asian Scholars, an antiwar group formed in 1967 after the refusal of the AAS to take a position against U. S. intervention in Vietnam.

A number of papers were presented for discussion. Daniel Hemery of the Sorbonne presented a research work on "Trotskyism in Vietnam, 1929-39." Hemery is an assistant to Jean Chesneaux, a leading sinologist who left the French Communist party along with a number of other intellectuals, because of the party's reaction to the May-June 1968 events in France.

George Lerski of the University of San Francisco, the author of *Origins of Trotskyism in Ceylon*, spoke on the more recent history of Ceylonese Trotskyism.

Prof. Kagan presented a paper on Chinese Trotskyism from 1928-32.

Other speakers included Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers party, the American Trotskyist organization; George Fischer, indexer of the Trotsky archives at Harvard University; and Warren Lerner of Duke University, who has made a study of Karl

Radek, the early Bolshevik and one-time Trotskyist executed by Stalin during the Moscow trials.

Kagan is writing a book on Chinese Trotskyism with special emphasis on Chen Tu-hsiu, the principal founder of the Chinese Communist party, who broke with Stalin in 1928 to join the International Left Opposition.

Kagan pointed to the rich cultural and Marxist legacy left by the early Chinese Trotskyists. He described their historical origins in Moscow and Shanghai, the influence of Radek and the Sun Yat-sen University, the emergence of four separate Trotskyist groups that came together in a single organization in 1931, the arrests and trials of 1932, and the later period.

Kagan, who is fluent in Chinese and Japanese, has assembled a rare collection of the early documents, books, and pamphlets of the Chinese Trotskyists, a number of which were believed to have been lost—including an analysis of Chinese history by Radek which he discovered in a Chinese translation.

Daniel Hemery described the Vietnamese Trotskyist movement, which was centered mainly in what is now South Vietnam. This was the largest colonial section of the Fourth International until the adherence of the Lanka Sama Samaja party of Ceylon. Hemery described the origins, mass roots and large following of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, and their prolonged united front with the Stalinists—from 1931 to 1937—long after Trotskyists elsewhere had been ostracized from any common action with the parties of the Comintern. His treatment was sympathetic and eminently fair in describing the struggles led by the Vietnamese Trotskyists.

George Lerski, whose book goes only to the end of World War II, dealt mainly with the 1964 split in the LSSP. At that time the majority broke from the Fourth International to join the bourgeois Bandaranaike government, while a minority maintained the class-struggle principles of Trotskyism.

Lerski spoke highly of the political integrity and Marxist training of the

various LSSP leaders whom he had met while teaching at the University of Ceylon. He suggested that machinations by the Stalinists and the Russian ambassador had possibly played a role in the 1964 defections from Trotskyism.

Theodore Edwards gave a Trotskyist evaluation of the events and movements described by the previous speakers. He pointed out that the Trotskyists in Vietnam and China worked under the most difficult conditions, without any substantial outside aid, attacked from all sides—by the imperialists and the Stalinists and by the Kuomintang—and that they remained steadfast in their dedication to the revolutionary movement and to the program of the Fourth International.

Edwards discussed the historical processes at work in the world today that confirm Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution—in the states that have overthrown capitalism as well as in the colonial sector. He cited the strengthening of the world Trotskyist movement in recent years as evidence of the viability of Trotsky's Marxism.

Edwards analyzed the Sino-Soviet dispute and the Chinese "Cultural Revolution" in some detail, showing how plagiarized caricatures of Trotsky's call for an antibureaucratic political revolution have been adopted by both Moscow and Peking for demagogic or factional purposes.

The discussion that followed the presentations showed that the ideas and the history of Trotskyism have become a subject of serious research and study, particularly by a section of the new generation of radical scholars.

Panaghoulis in Hospital

Alekos Panaghoulis, condemned to death after attempting to assassinate Greek dictator George Papadopoulos in August 1968, was hospitalized April 12, Agence France-Presse has reported. Panaghoulis was said to have suffered burns from a fire in his bedding.

Worldwide protest forced the junta to grant an indefinite stay of execution. But in May 1969 Panaghoulis's brother Stathis said that the young revolutionist had been tortured "to the brink of madness."

* This conference was "infiltrated" by the Academic Advisory Committee for Thailand [AACT], a subsidiary of the Agency for International Development [AID] of the U. S. government. The April 2 issue of the *Student Mobilizer*, published by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, carried an expose of U. S. counterinsurgency projects in Thailand [see *Intercontinental Press*, April 13, page 315], including documentation on AACT's plans to use this conference to pump other scholars for information that might aid the Pentagon in propping up the military dictatorship in Thailand.

Some 500 copies of the *Student Mobilizer* were sold at the AAS conference. The issue made quite an impact, especially since all of the persons named in the expose as secretly working for the government were present with name tags on!

Divisions Deepen in Northern Ireland

By Gerry Foley

The ultrarightist demagogue Ian Paisley and his political and religious associate William Beattie scored important victories in the April 16 by-elections for the autonomous Northern Irish parliament.

The target of the two rightists was the leadership of the Unionist party which they attacked for being too conciliatory to the oppressed Catholic minority. Both men are ministers of the fanatical Protestant sect, the Free Presbyterian Church, as well as members of the Protestant Unionist party, an ultrareactionary split-off from the official Unionists.

The constituencies contested were predominantly rural areas in County Antrim, the most heavily Protestant of the six counties of Northern Ireland. Paisley won the Bannside seat of former Northern Irish Prime Minister Terence O'Neill with a vote of 7,981 as against 6,778 for his official Unionist opponent Dr. Bolton Minford. The Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP) candidate Patrick McHugh got 3,514 votes.

In the February 24, 1969, parliament elections Paisley lost to O'Neill by a margin roughly equal to his present plurality. In 1969 the ultrarightist Bible-pounder got 6,631 votes; O'Neill, 7,745; and Michael Farrell of People's Democracy, 2,310.

In South Antrim, Beattie got 7,137 votes against 6,179 for William Morgan, the official Unionist party candidate; 5,212 for David Corkey, a liberal Unionist running as an independent; and 1,773 for Adrian Whitby, the candidate of the NILP. Beattie won approximately 5,000 votes in the 1969 elections.

None of the candidates in the two by-elections espoused any radical demands on behalf of the traditionally nationalist Catholic minority or opposed the union of Northern Ireland with Great Britain. The conservative clerical-dominated Nationalist party has historically not run candidates in Unionist districts. People's Democracy, which in the February 1969 elections made a point of running candi-



PAISLEY: Ultrarightist Bible-pounder.

dates in "solid" districts, has adopted an antielectoral policy.

The radical nationalist party Sinn Féin has generally abstained from elections. Basing itself on the traditions of the Irish revolutionary war of independence, Sinn Féin recognizes neither the British Parliament nor either of the Irish parliaments established by the Anglo-Irish "compromise" of 1922.

The NILP candidates appear to have conducted essentially "British modernist" campaigns.

A dispatch from Belfast in the April 25 issue of the conservative New York weekly the *Irish Echo* indicated that the entire Catholic vote in Bannside had gone to the NILP candidate, including the votes of conservative Catholics who cast their ballots for O'Neill in 1969.

In the previous election the main hope of the Unionist leadership was to win enough Catholics away from nationalism to provide a more stable base for the Northern Irish regime. Although this attempt failed, a certain number of conservative and moderate Catholics voted for O'Neillite Unionists.

In this year's by-elections the Unionist leadership made little attempt to extend a hand to even conservative Catholics. Its objective seemed to be to hold together its traditional bloc. In this the Unionist leadership also failed.

The official Unionist candidate in South Antrim, William Morgan, had played an important role in bringing down the reformist-appearing O'Neill government. He has opposed all attempts to clean up the image of the anti-Catholic courts and repressive forces in Northern Ireland. Replacing the liberal Unionist Dick Ferguson, who was forced to resign his seat because of conservative opposition in his local organization, Morgan expected to lose the reform-minded vote.

In Bannside the official Unionists called in John Brooke to campaign for Minford. Brooke is the son of Lord Brookeborough, the prime minister preceding O'Neill. Brookeborough is known as a representative par excellence of the hidebound landlord and industrialist class that built the enclave of Northern Ireland into a counter-revolutionary fortress during the Irish liberation struggle of 1918-22.

On April 13 Brooke appeared with Minford on a platform in Rasharkin waving a message from his father. It read "'United we stand, divided we fall,' I ask you to give your support to the official Unionist candidate . . ."

A member of the crowd asked: "Is it true we will always have to depend on the Catholic vote?"

The *Irish Times* of April 14 described the response: "Amid a series of remarks and half-answers, there comes the unmistakable voice of Captain the Rt. Hon. John Brooke, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister and the Minister of Commerce: 'It depends on the Pill.' (Huge Cheers.)"

In Cullybackey on April 14 Lord Brookeborough himself and Prime Minister Chichester-Clark spoke Minford's behalf. Brookeborough told the crowd that every Unionist lead-

er since Edward Carson had warned the Unionist people of the North of the terrible dangers of division in Unionist ranks. This was an obvious appeal to the siege mentality of the Protestant community, most of whose ancestors were settled in Ireland as a garrison-colony during the final wars of the British conquest.

Answering a question on the Orange order, a powerful Protestant secret society similar to the American Ku Klux Klan, Chichester-Clark said: "Nationalists and Republicans call upon me to resign from the Orange Order, and I defy them . . ."

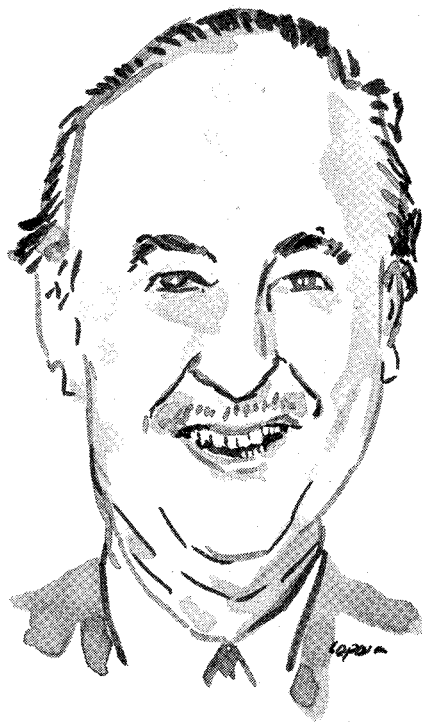
To combat Paisley, the official Unionist leader raised the old bogey of the nationalist peril: "The clever rascals who mastermind Republicanism and the revolutionary elements in our society are hoping and praying that the official Unionist candidate will be defeated here in Bannside."

The small but decisive rise in the vote of the ultrarightist candidates took place in a situation of increasing polarization. In South Antrim the Unionist vote was split almost equally three ways. The result of the elections seemed to be a dangerous narrowing of the Chichester-Clark government's political base.

The *Irish Times* correspondent Fergus Pyle wrote: "The Northern Government is faced with a series of almost insoluble problems, many of them arising from the way in which it decided to approach the by-election campaigns. By choosing to stress the traditional party gods rather than explain and reaffirm the Government's reform policy, the leaders of the Unionist Party have enabled the Right Wing to claim that they have lost the confidence of the people as leaders, while they have also been discredited among many of the Unionist liberals, who have been deeply angered by the traditionalist campaign."

In attributing this result to an error on the part of the Unionist leadership, the correspondent of the liberal Dublin paper failed to consider the real problem of the Belfast regime.

The aim of the dominant sectors of the Unionist ruling class and their British backers is still essentially the same as under O'Neill. Since the bourgeoisie of the formally independent part of Ireland have long ago abandoned any hopes of independent development, and are orienting toward



YOUNG: Seeks "renovated" police force.

closer and closer ties with the United Kingdom, changes are required in the mechanisms of British control over the island.

The conservative apparatus in the British fortress of Northern Ireland has to be modernized at the expense of some of the most antiquated features of Protestant "settler" rule. The religious division in the dominant structures has to be bridged without weakening either the Protestant or Catholic establishments too much or too quickly. This religious communalism has been the mainstay of British rule and Irish conservatism since the completion of the conquest.

Such a reformist operation is extremely difficult. Irish nationalism is deeply ingrained in the Catholic workers and small farmers. On the other hand Unionism represents an all-class bloc of Protestants based on a fanaticism that has few parallels.

The reformist climate created by O'Neill helped to release a dangerously revolutionary ferment. The development of the Civil Rights movement, encouraged by the promise of change and a loosening of repression, shattered the Nationalist party, weakened the hold of the church, and produced a powerful shift to the left on the part of the Northern Irish Catholic community. In the wreck of the Nationalist party, more modern bourgeois

forces did come to the fore in the Catholic community, but revolutionary tendencies also developed.

Now the Unionist party seems threatened with a fate similar to its Catholic communalist counterpart. As for the perspectives of Paisleyism, they depend essentially on its usefulness to the British ruling class. Fascism or theocratic dictatorship in an autonomous province of the U.K. is not very likely. But Paisleyism could be used as a means of pressure against the left and nationalist forces, or as a foil to justify increasing the British garrison.

The political crisis of the bourgeoisie in Northern Ireland is deepening. Concomitantly, the task of upholding the aims of the dominant sector of Unionism and the British ruling class is being shifted more and more to the commander of the British garrison General Ian Freeland and the British overlord of the Northern Irish police Sir Arthur Young.

The immediate objective of these British chiefs is to incorporate Catholics into the repressive forces as a first step toward building a renovated establishment. The Royal Irish Constabulary, which was the pillar of British rule in the nineteenth century, included a good number of "stout" Catholic types. The British army absorbed then, and still does to some extent, restless, unemployed, or ambitious Irish youths. The suave "sporty" language of English officer caste types like Sir Arthur and General Freeland is still "his master's voice" for many a conservatively inclined Catholic in both parts of Ireland.

At a buffet lunch in British army headquarters March 6, officers of the new Ulster Defense Regiment, which is to replace the B Specials as the main prop of the regime, stressed opportunities for Catholics in the new force. An officer said that two Catholics had been promoted to the rank of battalion deputy commander "not because they are Catholics, but because they are jolly good men."

Another officer said that his experience with Irish regiments had shown that the "army was the great unifier of Irishmen." The celebrator of British imperialism, Rudyard Kipling, also stressed in his time that Irishmen made excellent military material as long as they had no land they could call their own.

Exclusion of Gisela Mandel Draws Wide Protest

The U. S. State Department's ban on a visit by Belgian antiwar leader Gisela Mandel has become an important political scandal in Belgium with repercussions in the U. S. as well. Gisela Mandel, wife of the well-known Marxist economist Ernest Mandel, was invited to address an April 15 antiwar rally at Columbia University. On the eve of her departure the American embassy in Brussels canceled her visa and pressured the state-owned Sabena airline into refusing to allow her to board a plane for New York.

On April 18 the *New York Times* ran an editorial entitled "Visa Guilt by Marriage?" which protested this "ban on the importation of ideas." [Reprinted elsewhere in this issue.]

In Belgium the case made headlines because of the exclusion of a Belgian citizen from visiting the U. S. on account of her ideas and because of the collaboration of the state airline in this State Department operation.

De Standaard, a Flemish daily, reported the case on April 16 under the headline "Witch-hunt Keeps Gisela Mandel at Zaventem Airport."

"Mevrouw [Mrs.] Gisela Mandel, formerly an editor on the Berlin staff of the well-known weekly *Der Spiegel* and now the wife of the Marxist theoretician Ernest Mandel," *De Standaard's* Jaak Veltman said, "had all the unquestionably valid documents, a Belgian passport, since she got this nationality by virtue of her marriage, a U. S. visa valid until August 1972."

"Besides this," he added ironically, "she had in her handbag a lipstick and a mirror but neither a Molotov cocktail nor marijuana."

Het Volk declared on April 15: "It is hard for us to understand why in the United States, in the land of freedom par excellence, they are so afraid of letting certain persons express their theories."

La Libre Belgique quoted extensively from the *New York Times* editorial for the benefit of Belgian readers.

In parliament on April 16 Socialist party deputy Ernest Glinne put a number of sharp questions to the government.

"What legal stipulations," he asked,

"enable the Zaventem national airport administration to forbid the departure to the United States of a Belgian citizen carrying the required visa as well as a two-way ticket, in particular on the basis of a telephoned request from the consulate of the United States?"

Was it not true, he asked, that the "American legislation that was invoked by the airport administration to justify its attitude" was "specially restrictive of the rights of Belgian citizens?"

"What precise act passed by the Belgian parliament would require the authorities to forbid Belgians in possession of the required documents from departing for the United States? If it exists does this legislative authorization apply to the consulates of other countries, and if so, which? Does the Belgian consulate in New York have the benefit of reciprocity? Why do American citizens entering Belgium not need a visa?"

The Socialist deputy also demanded to know if the government was "aware of the fact that by forbidding Mme Mandel to depart for the United States, the authorities of the Brussels national airport spared the responsible New York authorities the embarrassment of taking this step themselves.

"This embarrassment would not have been negligible if you consider the disapproval expressed on four occasions by the *New York Times* regarding the rulings on M. Mandel.

"Is it the responsibility of Sabena to break a scandal in Brussels over the question of 'guilt by marital association,' which would have broken in the United States to the detriment of the Republican administration?"

The Brussels daily *Le Soir* of April 16 probed the case further, interviewing representatives of the American embassy, the airline administration, and Ernest Mandel.

"We questioned an American embassy spokesman about the background of this 'incident,'" *Le Soir* reported. The embassy gave the following account:

"We notified Mme Mandel by telephone of the cancellation of her visa. She was not at home and we advised her husband of it. We confirmed the

tenor of our communication on Saturday [April 11] by telegram. This message was in turn confirmed by a special delivery letter giving the reasons for the decisions.

"It was not because the interested party is the wife of M. Mandel, a politician known for his left-wing views, that the visa was canceled. As for the real reasons, we indicated them to Mme Mandel and it is up to her to reveal them if she sees fit."

"The embassy spokesman," *Le Soir* reported, "stressed that it was his duty moreover to inform the airlines of any change in the status of a traveler intending to embark for the United States. 'It was on this basis that Sabena was informed,' he specified.

"When we checked with Sabena, a company spokesman told us: 'We did everything necessary to establish whether the embassy of the United States had really withdrawn the interested party's visa. It was only then that we refused to allow her to board. The American law is very peculiar in that it makes the airlines responsible for disembarking travelers on American soil who are not in good standing with the immigration laws.

"'If the company carries a passenger whose visa is not in order,' the spokesman told us further, 'special provisions apply. They can bring direct sanctions against the company, for example, a severe fine . . . And this is besides the obligation to repatriate the person involved at company cost.'

"Questioned in his turn, M. Mandel confirmed that a special delivery letter indicated the reasons for withdrawing his wife's visa."

A copy of this letter is now in our possession. Dated April 11 and signed by American Vice-consul Murrow B. Morris, the "reasons" it gives are as follows: "The authority for this action is Section 212(a)(28) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952. A copy of this section was transmitted to your husband under cover of a letter of October 30, 1969. The Immigration and Naturalization Service in the United States has been informed of this action, and should you travel to the

United States, your entry will be denied."

Ernest Mandel told *Le Soir*: "The paragraph [of the McCarran-Walter immigration law] applying to me, of course, also affected my wife. . . It mentioned that entry is forbidden to 'Aliens who write or publish, or cause to be written or published, or who knowingly circulate, distribute, print, or display, or knowingly cause to be circulated, distributed, printed, published, or displayed, or who knowingly have in their possession for the purpose of circulation, publication, distribution, or display, any written or

printed material, advocating or teaching . . . the economic, international, and governmental doctrines of world communism . . . or the establishment in the United States of a totalitarian dictatorship.'

"This does not refer to my wife," Mandel said, "since she has worked [only] for the German periodical *Der Spiegel*. I am convinced that after the publication of several editorials in the *New York Times*, after I was refused an entry visa last year, the American administration wanted to prevent a scandal from occurring at the airport in New York."

a Marxist economist from Belgium, was prevented from speaking here after a number of university scholars had invited him.

A few days ago his wife also was barred from coming to the United States at the invitation of the Columbia Student Mobilization Committee, an antiwar group. She held a multiple-entry visa, issued in 1968 when she had visited here, but it was taken away because of unfavorable material in her "record." There has been no hearing and no explanation of the reason for revoking her visa.

Until the State Department says otherwise, the assumption left with the public is that visa guilt by marriage exists. Surely this is not covered in the exclusion section of the McCarran-Walter Act — passed over President Truman's veto in 1952 — whose drag-net restrictions may be applied to anyone advocating what is deemed too dangerous for American ears. At the same time subtle pressure is applied against the effort to issue a visa to Dr. Mandel, whose case is now before the federal District Court in Brooklyn.

When a visa is denied, the case should be open instead of shut; full exposure of the reasons for denying visas will point up the folly of this or any other law that tries to put a ban upon the importation of ideas.

'New York Times' Protests Visa Guilt by Marriage

[The following editorial appeared in the April 18 *New York Times* under the title "Visa Guilt by Marriage?" The *Times*, the country's leading bourgeois newspaper, had previously run two editorials protesting the Justice Department's refusal to allow Ernest Mandel to visit the United States to speak before university audiences. When Gisela Mandel was barred from coming to New York to speak at an antiwar rally April 15 the already angered academic community brought heavy

pressure to bear on the news media to reply to the government's latest attack on elementary civil liberties.]

* * *

At a time when increasing numbers of nations are inviting Americans to visit their lands without visas — and without scrutiny of their teachings and writings — the State Department is using its visa power to deny entry to the United States on political grounds. A few weeks ago Dr. Ernest E. Mandel,

Dominican Republic

Scintillating Performance by Bosch on Tight Wire

Shortly before returning to his homeland from exile in Paris, former Dominican president Juan Bosch described his political views and expectations to Daniel Waksman Schinca, a correspondent of the Uruguayan weekly *Marcha*. The interview was published in the April 17 issue of that publication.

Bosch indicated that he thought revolutionary ferment in the Dominican Republic had reached a critical stage. He said that the failure of the revolution in April 1965 had shown him the weakness of the national bourgeoisie. After that, he explained: ". . . we started from this standpoint . . . that it was not true that a bourgeoisie existed in our country, and

therefore, that it was impossible to practice the bourgeois democratic system in the Dominican Republic."

Bosch said that to accomplish a democratic revolution without a bourgeoisie he had developed the concept of "dictatorship with popular support." Asked if his goal was socialism, Bosch replied: "For the moment, I think that the movement is best defined as a movement of national liberation."

Stressing the weakness of the bourgeoisie and excluding a socialist solution "for the moment," Bosch indicated that his formula means the following: taking leadership of the mass movement and balancing between imperialism on the one side and the revolutionary forces on the other so as to

make space for national capitalist development.

The most recent examples of such an orientation are the "nationalist military dictatorships in Peru and Bolivia." Waksman, who apparently regards these regimes as "transitional" to socialism, tried to get Bosch to say that he thought national liberation was possible along this path. The journalist got a vaguely positive response: "Who can say? We are in a process which is necessarily leading us toward a revolution, at least in the Third World."

Bosch would say nothing that might indicate the limits of his opening to the left. That would reduce his attractiveness as a pinch-hitting "left" bourgeois alternative, if the crisis in his country should deepen.

Conservative-Liberal Deal Begins to Break Down

An unexpectedly strong showing by former dictator Gustavo Rojas Pinilla in the April 19 Colombia presidential elections has created an acute political crisis in the country, threatening to release pent-up social antagonisms.

Returns April 20, although not final, gave the candidate of the ruling National Front, Misael Pastrana Borrero, a thin margin of 49,882 votes over the former strongman. Pastrana Borrero was credited with 1,571,249 votes; Rojas with 1,521,267.

After an early lead by Rojas was suddenly reversed during the night of the nineteenth, the urban poor, whose hopes had been aroused by his demagogic campaign, began demonstrating.

"Thousands of the 70-year-old retired general's supporters massed early tonight in Bogota's main intersection to listen to impromptu orators call for the overthrow of the Government," *New York Times* correspondent Joseph Novitski wrote April 21. That night President Lleras decreed a state of siege and martial law.

On April 22 Novitski cabled: "After crowds supporting General Rojas had left a trail of 20 blocks of smashed windows and partially looted stores in flight from the army in the center of the city last night, Bogota was normal today."

Although the winner of the election would not be officially announced until April 26, Rojas's daughter and political manager Mrs. Maria Eugenia Rojas de Moreno Diaz declared: "We are organizing across the country now." According to Novitski's April 22 dispatch, Mrs. Moreno Diaz warned that her party would start a civil war if necessary to install Rojas in the presidency. "She had threatened guerrilla warfare yesterday," Novitski noted.

The explosion touched off by the April 19 elections indicated a breakdown of the political strategy followed by the two big bourgeois parties, the Conservatives and the Liberals.

Following the overthrow of the Rojas Pinilla dictatorship in 1958, the two parties agreed to rotate the presidency between themselves and divide



LLERAS: Calls Rojas out on points.

the leading government posts, thereby keeping divisions in the ruling class outside the electoral arena. This political cartel was given the name "National Front." Since the incumbent President Lleras is a Liberal, it was the Conservatives' "turn" to choose the president this year.

Conflicts among the various sectors of the bourgeoisie have undermined the arrangement. In this election two independent Conservative candidates opposed Pastrana Borrero, winning nearly 800,000 votes. Evaristo Sourdís, representing the most reactionary big landowners, campaigned on a platform of "decentralization." He got 308,241 votes. Belisario Betancur, a successful young lawyer from a poor background, ran on a reformist program. He posed as "the poor man's candidate," but apparently appealed most to the urban middle class, receiving 460,382 votes.

The greatest weakness of the National Front was that it could not effectively perform the essential function

of a bourgeois electoral machine—that is, serve as a buffer between the ruling class and the masses. Since the results of the elections were obviously predetermined, indifference among the voters rose rapidly. Abstention reached 70 percent in the 1968 parliamentary elections. Thus, an enormous potential existed for a political adventurer with enough of an organization to make a plausible demagogic appeal to the discontented masses.

Rojas Pinilla was well equipped to take advantage of this opening. The deterioration of the people's living standard under the formally democratic government made many nostalgic for the days of the dictatorship.

Rojas enjoyed substantial support in the army. According to an April opinion poll, 50 percent of the high-ranking army officers, 65 percent of the other officers, and 92 percent of the noncommissioned officers backed him. Moreover, Rojas's support among the police was said to reach 99 percent. Thus, although the main body of the bourgeoisie and the army command was opposed to Rojas, his campaign could not be impeded.

The ex-dictator promised free education and medical care, a reduction in the cost of living, lower taxes and transportation fares, and the nationalization of some businesses.

Press reports indicated that the General's program appealed especially to the urban lower middle class, hard hit by rising taxes and prices, and to the unemployed. In addition to his personal vote, the candidates of Rojas's party, the National Popular Alliance, appeared to have won about one-third of the seats in congress.

The guerrilla movements and radical sections of the Catholic clergy called for abstention in the elections. The Communist party also formally called for abstention. However, the April 22 issue of the weekly English-language edition of *Le Monde* noted: "Yet despite this official position some individual Communists called on their followers to support General Rojas Pinilla, as 'the best of four bad candidates.'"

The ISR—a New Magazine of Theory, Strategy, and Tactics

By Joseph Hansen

The May 1970 issue of the *International Socialist Review* turned out as advertised in *The Militant*: "A monthly magazine for the new radicalization."

By combining their resources, the staffs of the two magazines—*The Young Socialist* and the *International Socialist Review*—have been able to produce something qualitatively superior to either of the former publications. The new monthly, while retaining the name of *International Socialist Review* to clearly indicate the revolutionary Marxist tradition it represents, is genuinely fresh both in appearance and content.

A rather stodgy rival publication got the idea that the merger represented an "abandonment" of the youth field and a "further step along the road of liquidationism." The first issue of the new *ISR* should help rectify that misapprehension.

It should also be noted that topics of an organizational nature, formerly handled by *The Young Socialist*, are now being covered by a new biweekly newspaper sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance *The Young Socialist Organizer*.

A key article in the May issue of the *ISR* "Ten Years of the New Left" by the editor Larry Seigle provides the essential background for appreciating the significance of the new monthly.

The New Left, Seigle explains, for all its ambitious claims and promises, ended in demoralization and defeat; and this despite exceptionally favorable objective conditions. An analysis of the political errors committed by the New Left shows that these stemmed from inadequacies in theory. Instead of developing new theoretical concepts as hoped, the New Left was unable to break out of some very dated concepts. These were crucial in determining the attitude of the New Left toward the class struggle and toward the problem of building a revolutionary party.

But a part of the New Left learned from the experience and began turning

toward a more adequate theory. This is the source of the current recruitment to the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers party; and this is the immediate audience to which the *ISR* is appealing.

George Novack further develops this theme in a more sweeping way in a contribution "The Science of Revolutions and the Art of Making Them." He considers the entire historical background, going back to Plato and Aristotle. He shows that the role of empiricism in making revolutions has declined since it reached its peak in the bourgeois democratic revolutions. With Marx and Engels it was displaced by a scientific outlook, and this means a preeminent role for conscious planning.

Novack provides illuminating examples of his points, and ends up with the concrete example of the theory and practice of the American Trotskyists in the antiwar movement in the United States, beginning in 1965 with the escalation of the war in Vietnam.

An article by Ernest Mandel "The Marxist Theory of Alienation" considers a topic that has been much discussed in the New Left in many countries. Mandel's objective is to offer an easily understood explanation of a subject that has suffered not a little mystification. In passing he polemicalizes against some of the schools that have misinterpreted Marx or considered his appreciation of alienation in a one-sided way.

A short article by Leon Trotsky, published here in English for the first time, deals with a topic of considerable current interest among the radicalizing youth—ultraleftism. The article consists of comments by Trotsky on a speech by Lenin that was suppressed by the Stalinists. In an editorial note, Lee Smith puts Trotsky's article in context. "Nearly forty years after Trotsky prepared the article and nearly fifty years after Lenin delivered his speech," he comments, "the question

of ultraleftism remains a burning issue in the contemporary struggles of the new generation of young radicals in the Third World liberation, women's liberation and antiwar movements."

Elizabeth Barnes in "Building a Mass Movement for Black Liberation" reviews a new book by Robert Allen *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*. Her comments are critical but she finds that the book is a valuable one on the whole. She is especially appreciative of Allen's recognition of the need to build a mass Black political party.

The issue includes a play by Myrna Lamb "But What Have You Done for Me Lately?" This is a dramatic presentation that seeks to bring home to men the abortion problem as felt by women.

By publishing the play, the editors indicate their intention of including in the field covered by the *ISR* at least a certain amount of literary material. It is to be hoped that they can succeed in meeting the standard set by Myrna Lamb.

Some of the liveliest and most interesting material in the issue appears in the various departments. These include editorials, book reviews, notes on other publications, and "Up Front," a column that talks about the magazine itself.

A special note on the layout. It is in the latest style. We especially like the mini, midi, and maxi column lengths.

For a copy of the May issue (56 pages!) send 50 cents to the *International Socialist Review*, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. For a year's subscription (11 issues) send \$5.

Cubans Rout Invaders

Fidel Castro announced in his April 22 speech on the centenary of Lenin's birth that all but four of the group of counter-revolutionary exiles who staged an armed landing in Cuba April 17 had been captured or killed.

Alpha 66, a Cuban emigre organization, claimed "credit" for the invasion. A film released by this organization to American television networks purported to show the departure of the expedition, which appeared to number about forty men. The exiles were armed with latest American-made M-16 automatic rifles and demonstrated them for the cameras. According to the Pentagon these weapons are not for sale to private persons anywhere in the world and not even all U. S. troops are supplied with them.

Three Sandinistas Killed by Nicaraguan Army

A dramatic incident, unreported in the international press, indicates that guerrillas are still active in Nicaragua. Three members of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional [Sandinist National Liberation Front*], trapped in a boardinghouse in the Nicaraguan capital of Managua, were killed January 16 after holding off scores of government troops for an hour and a half.

The three guerrillas died in the ruins of the boardinghouse, which was shattered by high-caliber bullets, grenades, and artillery shells. The government forces were supported by tanks and aircraft.

"The last thing heard from the inhabitants of the boardinghouse," the Managua daily *La Prensa* wrote January 17, "were the notes of the National Anthem which the Sandinistas sang before they perished at the end of the battle against the National Guard."

La Prensa's report indicated that the guerrillas may have been murdered after surrendering. "Seven National Guards and an officer, supported by a barrage of bullets from troops entrenched behind a jeep parked directly in front of the house, made the final assault," Filadelfo Alemán wrote.

"There was silence for five minutes, and thousands of spectators remained tense, waiting for something to happen," the journalist continued. "Nobody knew who was inside answering the army's fire. Later, two machine-gun bursts rang out from inside the house and the silence was total.

"An officer came out with his hands above his head and gave the order to cease fire. He was carrying a machine gun. The situation had been brought under control. 'The three are

dead!' he shouted. Then two trucks and a jeep from the army Red Cross moved up, and the three bodies were taken out.

"One of the bodies was put in a stretcher and lifted into the jeep. All that could be seen were his black shoes and his dark-skinned arms with traces of dirt on them. Later several soldiers opened the back of the jeep, and other soldiers and security agents lifted out the body of a youth wearing blue trousers and a red shirt; he left a splotch of blood on the vehicle."

According to Alemán, the police identified the dead youths as Mauricio Hernández Baldizón, José Leonel Rugama, and Roger Núñez Núñez. All three were said to be "between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one."

The battle began at 3:00 in the afternoon. Alemán wrote: "Agents of the Security Office received information that there were suspicious persons in a blue house facing the East Cemetery.

"A jeep was sent to the spot and there was a brief interchange between the head of the patrol and some women in the house. According to witnesses in the Acapulco barbershop, the National Guard officer arrested a slender young woman carrying a child in her arms. Later another woman was arrested. The woman shouted, 'The Guard is here.'

"A volley of gunfire was heard and a Guard, the security agent Luis Navarrete fell mortally wounded. From very secure cover, the members of the Guard shouted to the Sandinistas to surrender. But they replied with gunfire, shouting 'A Free Homeland or Death!' 'Let Your Mother Surrender!'

"The barrage intensified and the metallic sounds of bullets hitting the side of the house mingled with the shouts of the Sandinistas of 'Viva Sandino! Viva Julio Buitrago!'

"Reinforcements began to arrive. Along the street running past the East Cemetery came jeeps, microbuses of the Transit Authority, jeep trucks of the combat battalion, the private cars of some soldiers, and Security

cars without license plates. In every trip six to twelve Guards got out. . . . Ten minutes after the shooting started, an observation plane appeared to give the position of the guerrillas.

"The order was given to get out hand grenades, and five minutes later a group of Guards appeared in a truck. One of them was carrying a wooden box that he handled very carefully. At about 4:00 the first shots were heard from the tank that had been brought up to the side of the house. The spectators, terrified, flung themselves on the ground as if an immense knife were about to pass over their heads. . . .

". . . silence was broken by a tremendous explosion that shook the ground, and then another and another . . . It was an inferno on the outside. What must it be like on the inside!

"A fourth explosion sounded and a gigantic cloud of dust rose up in the patio and something began to smoke. It was the cannon of the tank! The thousands of spectators meanwhile, flat against the earth, could hear their hearts beating.

"There was another silence and then two feeble shots rang out, probably pistol fire, from the interior. Another silence was followed by a new blast from the tank. A Guard ran across the street, a shot sounded. Again the tank answered. . . . Machine guns rattled. An airplane passed and, flying still higher, an army helicopter. . . . Seen from the side, the house appeared riddled by bullets and artillery shells. The silence of the grave."

Several of the people of the neighborhood and passersby were cut down in the army's display of firepower. *La Prensa* reported: "Besides the three dead Sandinistas, who were easily identifiable because they were the only ones whose bodies were thrown into a truck, some neighbors say that they saw a number of other persons fall. . . ."

That's Not All They've Forgotten

When the "Internationale" was sung in Moscow at the Lenin centenary April 22, the *New York Times* reported that several of the dignitaries on the dais "looked as if they did not know the words."

* Named after Cesar Augusto Sandino, the Nicaraguan patriot who led a guerrilla campaign from 1926 to 1933. His forces engaged in more than 500 actions against the U.S. Marines occupying the country. He was assassinated February 21, 1934, by the National Guard trained by the American interventionist forces and led by the founder of the Somoza dynasty that rules Nicaragua today.

Trotskyists Hold Fifteenth Congress

The Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari [GCR — Revolutionary Communist Groups, the Italian section of the Fourth International] held its fifteenth congress March 19-22. Approximately fifteen cities were represented. The chairmanship of the sessions was rotated among delegates from Venice, Taranto, and Turin.

Representatives of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International] participated in the deliberations.

Two sessions of the first two days were devoted to the presentation and discussion of the general resolution submitted by the outgoing Executive Committee. Two other sessions were allotted for the work of the various commissions.

The second session of the third day was assigned for the reports of the commissions, including those on the party press and student and factory work.

The fourth day the Executive Committee reporter made his summary and the various reports were voted on. The final point of business was the election of a new national leadership.

The resolution of the Executive Committee was divided into two parts. The first section entitled "The Mass Upsurge of 1969: A Prerevolutionary Situation" was an analysis of the present conjuncture in Italy. The second section outlined the tasks and perspectives of the organization in the coming period. The reporter for the Executive Committee was Livio Maitan.

Delegates from Naples, Genoa, Turin, Frosinone, Rome, La Spezia, Bari, Venice, Trieste, Verona, and Milan participated in the discussion of the resolution. Two delegates from Rome expressed reservations which they had previously raised in the pre-congress discussion.

One delegate from Naples raised criticisms regarding some points in the second part of the resolution. Two delegates from Genoa presented an alternative draft for the tasks and perspectives section.

On the final day of the congress an

amendment to the second part of the resolution was accepted overwhelmingly. The reports on student work and the party press were approved by large majorities. The report on activities in the working class was approved unanimously, although reservations on some points were voiced by a delegate from Turin.

The first part of the draft resolution was accepted unanimously. The second section received a very large majority. One delegate from Naples voted against it. Part of the Genoa delegation voted for the substitute draft. Maitan's report was approved overwhelmingly.

After the voting on the resolution and reports, the nominating commission presented a list of twenty-one nominees for the leading party bodies. The list was approved after separate votes in the cases of two individuals. There was one abstention. The three-member Central Control Commission was reelected.

Following the congress the Central Committee elected a national leadership composed of nine members. This body in turn designated a Secretariat of three members for the northern region and one of four members for the central and southern region.

The first part of Maitan's report to the congress dealt with the broad tendencies in the Italian political and economic situation. The reporter noted that in the wake of the worker upsurge of 1968 and 1969 the balance of forces had shifted in favor of the proletariat. He pointed out that the attempt of the ruling circles to stir up a Red scare by taking advantage of the death of the policeman Annarumma and the December 12, 1969, bombings in Rome and Milan had failed. He stressed the crisis of authority within the ruling class itself.

"We continue to believe, moreover," Maitan said, "that an attempt at a military or parafascist coup d'etat is impossible, or too risky, for the ruling classes, for the reasons that we have indicated many times. The perspective before us is continued instability with

the possibility of periodic renewal of explosions at various levels."

The second part of the report dealt with the specific problems of achieving the tasks of the organization in certain areas, in particular in the student movement.

The third and final part of the report was a balance sheet of the previous year's activity. Maitan reported that the GCR had more than doubled its membership, that various groups had been rebuilt and are now on a more solid and active footing than before the crisis that hit the organization at the end of 1968. Moreover, he said, new groups have been formed in important centers.

Most important, the reporter stressed, was that the GCR has been able to intervene at the level of broad social forces in a way it has never been able to do in the past.

"Once again," Maitan concluded, "the congress has indicated that we are a national movement and that we have rebuilt an effective fighting organization at all levels. Now more than ever we can appreciate the strength that comes from belonging to an international movement which in recent years has made truly qualitative advances in a number of countries."

The representative of the United Secretariat made a general analysis of the world economic situation. In another section of his talk, he drew attention to the extreme inner contradictions in the Soviet Union at the present time. He also gave an informational report on the activities of the Trotskyist organizations around the world with special reference to North America, some West European countries, India, Ceylon, and Japan.

The Ligue Communiste representative outlined the political campaigns that his organization has developed in order to overcome the contradiction between the enormous tasks facing revolutionists and their limited organizational forces.

The American Way of Life

New York's housing shortage is so bad — the vacancy rate is less than 1 percent — that some people have turned to the police. One detective told the *New York Times Magazine* [April 19], "After a homicide, the apartment hunters call in to find the name of the super [superintendent] so they can get the place before the body is cold."

The Kremlin Opens Fire on 'Trotzki im Exil'

By Gerry Foley

The dramatist Peter Weiss reportedly first offered his play *Trotzki im Exil* (Trotsky in Exile) for staging in Moscow. He has explained that his purpose in writing this work was "to open up discussion with the socialist countries so that a very important matter will be analyzed—the need for discussing not only Trotsky but all that he represented and still represents today."

Weiss explained: "Trotsky is still the scapegoat in the socialist countries, blamed for everything that goes against the party line. He is still considered the greatest enemy of Lenin. This is owing to a lack of analysis of the Stalin epoch."

The dramatist's appeal for discussion of these questions was answered peremptorily in the April 1 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, the weekly organ of the Soviet writers union. Lev Ginzburg, describing himself as a translator of Weiss, wrote: "The Western newspapers are now writing that with this play Weiss hoped to open up a discussion with us. But how could there be any discussion with us over a play we consider to be a crude ideological diversion and an insult to the Soviet people and all genuine Communists?"

Ginzburg's piece is a furious diatribe loaded with themes of the Stalin epoch, which, as the dramatist indicated, have yet to be analyzed in the USSR—at least in the official press.

At bottom, Ginzburg's objection is that Weiss tried to portray the real revolutionary dynamic of our time. Nearly all the great debates in the revolutionary movement from the founding of the Bolshevik party—debates which the Stalinist "cultural" apparatus has falsified and distorted—are presented in dramatic form in Weiss's play.

Ginzburg seems most worried about the effect this will have on the new generation of radical youth. "Abroad Trotsky is now being peddled both *on the left* and *on the right*. An effort is being made to forcibly impose the sinister figure of this renegade on the

left movement, to use Trotsky's ghost to introduce confusion and chaos into the immature minds of the young Western 'leftists.' The critic Wolfgang Ignee speaks of an 'ideological bomb' thrown by Weiss into the ranks of the youth; Hans Schwab Felisch says that with his *Trotzki* Weiss has 'extended a hand to today's rebellious students.'

Ginzburg continues: "Slowly the Soviet Communists, too 'conservative' in Weiss's opinion, are pushed off the stage. And in the midst of a storm of theatrical effects a disheveled personage with Lev Trotsky's beard dashes around."

Perhaps what most upset Ginzburg and his bureaucratic patrons was the final speech of Trotsky in the play. Here, in the deepening gloom and obscurantism of the great purges and the approach of World War II, just before being assassinated by an agent of the GPU, Trotsky declares his undiminished revolutionary confidence, his faith in the future and the young generations to come. It might be said that in this speech it is Trotsky who "extends a hand to today's rebellious students":

"I cannot renounce my faith in reason, in human solidarity. Since my youth this faith has grown only stronger. I have never recognized any personal tragedy. My life is indissolubly bound up with the phases of the revolution. Failures and disillusionments cannot keep me from seeing, behind the present decline, a new upsurge of all the oppressed. This is no utopian prophecy. This is the sober prognosis of dialectical materialism.

"I have never lost confidence in the revolutionary power of the masses. However, we must prepare for a long war. For years, if not decades, of insurrections, civil wars and renewed insurrections and wars.

"If it seems that the class struggle has temporarily slackened because of the blackmail of the bourgeois rulers, their lies, and the fragmentation of political leadership, then new young

generations will come. Students. As in the beginning of the century in Russia. But this time in a broad movement. From the universities of all continents.

"They will take up the struggle and carry it forward. They will learn to find a common language and action with the advanced workers. Just as the privations and sacrifices are borne by the workers, so the burden of revolutions and reconstruction is borne by them. Victory over world capitalism will be possible then if a revolutionary party again stands at the head of the proletariat. If death were to surprise me today, I could say that I have worked for an uninterrupted liberation struggle of the plundered and colonized."

Ginzburg writes: ". . . he [Weiss] clearly indicated that the fundamental driving force of the 'world revolution' nowadays is not the 'conservative' working class headed by the Communist and workers parties but the 'rebellious' students. In other words Weiss cooks up a kind of mixture of Trotskyism, Maoism, and Marxism."

It is hard to know what Ginzburg means by these terms. As Weiss noted, Trotskyism has been used by Stalinists as a label for anything contradicting the party line. Since the Sino-Soviet split, moreover, pro-Moscow writers have sought to identify Maoism as "Trotskyist." The Maoists have thrown the charge back at the "Khrushchevist revisionists." The term Marxism is also vague since Herbert Marcuse has not developed a coherent political ideology.

Certain tendencies in the student movement, much more widespread at one time than they are now, have, however, been identified with Marcuse. The most prominent of these is the tendency to dismiss the working class as a revolutionary force and to rely instead on an anarchistic nonclass youth rebellion basing itself on cultural and psychological themes. Marcuse has to some extent become a hero

to the spontanéist, anarchistic tendencies.

Spontanéism, in fact, appears in *Trotsky in Exil* in the form of Narodnikism, which preceded Marxism as the ideology of the Russian revolutionary movement. Weiss stages the question of organization versus spontaneity and individual terror versus mass action. Along with this he depicts the concept of what the spontanéists derisively call the "external vanguard"—that is, Lenin's idea that the workers need a trained political cadre including educated activists who of necessity must come from outside the working class.

In Act I, Scene 2, Weiss shows Trotsky in the Vercholensk prison camp arguing with Machajski and Luzin, as well as other anarchists and Narodniki. An anonymous prisoner says: "Our planners. Our Narodniks. Our students. They come into the working-class neighborhoods. . . . They want to explain to us how we should take over the factories. They don't even know how to run a machine."

Weiss's Trotsky says: "You doubt the students. Yes, they come from the bourgeoisie? How could it be otherwise. Only they have the time to read, to learn. Workers slave eleven, twelve hours a day. They have no energy left for study. But look at what's going on—for the first time students are not using their knowledge to find a niche in their class. They are turning against the society that raised them. . . . The fact that the students are going over to the workers means that they want to go . . . to the next stage, to the proletarian revolution. In order to advance this revolution, to assure the hegemony of the workers, we need a political leadership, a party."

Machajski objects that "organization is the beginning of the end," that organization results in opportunism and suppressing the initiative of the masses: "Look at the strong party in Germany. The opportunists with Bernstein at their head. Instead of workers power, coalition with the bourgeoisie. Instead of revolution, liberalism."

Thus, Weiss intimates how the conservatism and opportunism of the big bureaucratized workers parties (like the French Communist party in May-June 1968, for instance) promote anarchistic moods among young rebels, even desperate adventurism.

Luzin says: "Firebombs are easy to make. A little nitric acid, potassium chlorate in a prepared bottle, and the courts, the barracks, the Bank of Russia are in flames."

Trotsky's answer is: "Your explosives cannot replace the masses, Luzin. Some of you will burn yourselves out in heroic individual battles. But you will not bring the working class to its feet."

The dramatist is clearly on the side of Trotsky, of Marxism, in this debate. However, his portrayal of revolutionary history is objective and dialectical. He shows how both Lenin and Trotsky learned from debate and experience, revised their ideas, accepted concepts later that they had at first vehemently opposed—in other words he shows them as part of the revolutionary process and not as standing above it.

Weiss presents, in the proper context, Trotsky's early objections to the centralized party. He does the same for Lenin's idea that the peasantry could play an independent revolutionary role, that a peasant party could share power with a workers party in a revolutionary democratic government. This was the concept of the "democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants." It was later revived, in distorted form, by the Stalinists to justify participating in coalitions with the bourgeoisie long after it had been abandoned by Lenin and buried by history.

Weiss shows how, after many heated disagreements, Lenin and Trotsky came together in the pre-October period. For example, he has the two leaders discuss the split that produced the Bolshevik party. Trotsky had opposed this rupture, trying to hold the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks together.

Lenin says: "Opposing political lines neutralize each other. With your [Trotsky's] conciliationism you only betrayed the workers. Who should be conciliated? The party and the liquidators of the party? No compromise was possible."

Trotsky replies: "Yes, I came to realize that the old leaders did not want to go over to the proletarian stage of the revolution. These democrats were completely loathe to base themselves on the workers, did not want their victory. They were afraid of the workers. They wanted only to be the left wing of the bourgeois democracy."

Weiss portrays Lenin's adoption in the pre-October period of Trotsky's view that the coming revolution could only be socialist and proletarian in character. In Act I, Scene 9, Trotsky says: ". . . Sverdlov, Rykov, Bukharin [Lenin's old associates] were thunderstruck in May when you spoke no longer of a bourgeois-democratic revolution but of a proletarian revolution. They thought you were crazy. They thought you had lost your sense of reality in emigration. Lenin replies: 'They said I had become a Trotskyite, ha, ha, ha, ha.'"

Weiss's portrayal of the role of debate in the revolutionary process was evidently very distasteful to Ginzburg and his patrons. Both the Social Democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies would like to convince radicalizing students and young workers that all the questions of the transition to socialism have been solved, or are being solved, by "experienced leaders." What is important, they say, is to involve yourself in the "practical work" of carrying out the policies determined by them.

Any questioning is divisive. It helps the class enemy. In fact, anyone who challenges the bureaucracy may be considered "objectively" a traitor. Even this qualification may be dropped. For example, the Stalinist leaders first called the Trotskyists "objectively" fascist and then fascist agents pure and simple.

Thus, Ginzburg writes: "The endless boring debates with which the play is filled can only weary the audience and arouse a natural chagrin. However, they may gratify some."

"Does Weiss realize whom he is gratifying with this play? Does he understand that von Thadden's Neo-Nazis and the landlords of Strauss's party are rejoicing, that all the reactionary scum is howling, with a coy glance toward the 'Reds'—here is an anti-Soviet 'present' for you from your old buddy! Not just anybody cooked up this play, but Weiss, Peter Weiss, the very same person who loudly and roughly pilloried the 'reactionary pro-American positions' of the German Federal Republic."

Having portrayed the process that produced the Bolshevik party of October, Weiss depicts the destruction of this party by the bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin which, because of

the isolation of the revolution, was able to rise to power in backward Russia.

After showing the development of revolutionary Marxism in the struggle against anarchism and reformism, Weiss goes on to show how Trotsky continued to develop this revolutionary tradition in the struggle against Stalinism.

On his deathbed, Weiss's Lenin says: "Bureaucracy is rampant in the party apparatus. I ask for information, and the general secretary [Stalin], in a shameless manner, has my link with the politburo cut off on the pretext that I am too ill to concern myself with organizational matters. Lev Davidovich, create a commission for fighting bureaucracy in administration."

Trotsky answers: "That is not enough. The bureaucracy is not rooted in the government alone but in the party leadership itself."

Lenin then says: "Bring in the most experienced, the most revolutionary workers. Develop the workers and peasants' inspection. Give such an investigating committee powers equal to the party tops. We must begin the campaign immediately."

The scene ends with Stalin giving the funeral oration over Lenin's grave: "When Comrade Lenin departed from us, he left us a heritage, the unity of the party to defend. We pledge to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will honorably fulfill your commandment.

"When Comrade Lenin departed from us, he left us a heritage, the principles of the Communist International to uphold. We swear to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will give our lives if necessary to strengthen and broaden the union of the workers of the world, the Communist International."

Weiss presents the essential points of Trotsky's polemics against the Stalinist regime and its policies. In Act II, Scene I, Jacob Blumkin describes the degeneration of the regime:

"The revolution now means the struggle to defend Russian soil. The epigone is no longer an epigone. The writers, the film makers, the painters glorify him. The all-knowing father. The great helmsman [Mao has now assumed this title]. The Red Sun. All these eulogies form a picture of universal enthusiasm. He himself [Stalin] plays rather a calming role. 'You are dizzy from success,' he tells the officials

when there are failures on the collective farms. He makes them responsible for his own mistakes. And still it would be wrong to see him solely as a despot. He is convinced that he is acting only in the interests of the workers state, that he is only safeguarding the conquests of the revolution."

Trotsky's answer is: "Yes, the workers state still exists. The conditions for building socialism are present. There are men who still have the revolution in their blood. But the revolution cannot be preserved within the confines of one country. It is part of a single interlocking process. National social-



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ism in Russia can only throw the country back into its old backwardness. Didn't Lenin stress up to the very last our dependence on the international revolution?"

But "Russia is encircled by capitalism," Blumkin objects.

Trotsky replies: All the more necessary to break the circle. Precisely because the world working class is subjected to the most widely varying conditions, because it cannot rise everywhere at the same time, we must keep in close touch with all sections of it. While the Soviet state has been isolating itself, overlooking the danger in Germany, betraying the revolution in China, and failing to consider what was going on in South America, imperialism has been growing stronger."

Later in the same scene, Trotsky says: "The Soviet Union must be defended at any price. Our task is to strengthen the International."

In Act II, Scene 12, Trotsky answers

a German student disillusioned with the decay of the Soviet system under Stalin. The student says: "According to Lenin, it was supposed to be made possible for any cook to run the state. But the workers are being run by the directors of the state. What became of the smashing of reactionary family institutions? Return to the family hearth, to the sacred basic unit of society, to the joys of motherhood. Instead of independent thinking through education and knowledge, obedience through administration. Instead of revolutionary art friendly to innovation, fear of the new, sentimentality, empty ideology. Where is the new socialist man, without egotism, ambition, rivalries, and low aims?"

Trotsky replies: "I have often had to struggle hard against this nostalgia, comrades, this individualist view limited by the brevity of the human lifetime, by futile exertions. But I still see before me workers, soldiers, sailors, peasants, women, men, old and young activists. These faces. These actions. And if I think of the abortions of socialism, if I think of my own inadequacy, this continuity becomes clear. Despite its deformations their society still represents the greatest advance man has ever made. In the struggle against fascism it will bear the main burden. You must support it."

Weiss also sketches Trotsky's criticisms of the strategy of the Stalinized Communist International in the pre-war period. A French student says: "You called for a united front in Germany, the Comintern blocked it, fascism triumphed. In the general strike in France the workers of various parties spontaneously closed ranks. The students and the intellectuals were at their side. But you, Comrade Trotsky, have now turned against the Popular Front Government."

Trotsky answers: "The popular front is not the same thing as a united front. A united front means a united struggle of the workers, not an alliance with bourgeois parties. The workers must arm themselves. Form their own committees, their militias. Occupy the factories. The only effect of the French Popular Front is to put a brake on the impetus of the workers and prevent a socialist revolution."

Weiss's portrayal of the battle against Stalinism was, naturally enough, interpreted by Ginzburg as a direct attack on the bureaucratic

caste of which he is a representative. This aspect of Weiss's play draws his heaviest fire.

Unlike the earlier opponents of Marxism, Stalinism does not admit its true positions. It maintains itself by deception and intimidation. The power of the Soviet bureaucracy and its followers in the world workers movement is considered sufficient answer to all criticism. All critics are to be read out of the workers movement as "anti-Sovieteers."

Ginzburg raises the old cry against Weiss: "Behind all this stands an essentially profoundly anti-Soviet concept, that the flame of October has 'temporarily' moved from the Soviet Union to other parts of the world, the slanderous Maoist 'version' about a 'bourgeois degeneration' of Soviet society. Moreover, as before, every time there is even a mention of the personality of Trotsky it is inevitably used by our enemies for anti-Soviet objectives, for violent attacks and assaults on the Soviet order . . ."

The Stalinist critic makes a two-pronged attack on the play—arguing first that it is not literature and secondly that it distorts historical fact.

To support his first line of attack, Ginzburg quotes the opinion of the conservative bourgeois daily *Christ und Welt* [The Christian and the World] that the play "had little in common with dramatic art." Apparently Ginzburg did not realize that there was a certain contradiction in associating himself with the attacks on *Trotsky in Exil* in the bourgeois press and claiming at the same time that any mention of Trotsky is "inevitably used by our enemies for anti-Soviet aims."

Furthermore, shouldn't a "genuine Communist" question the value of the opinions of bourgeois critics about a play that presents the great debates of the Marxist movement from a passionately revolutionary point of view?

In fact, the bourgeois critics did not seem to know quite what to think about Weiss's play, as Walter Acosta indicated in an article in the March 13 issue of the Montevideo weekly *Marcha*, "Two German dailies ended their reviews . . . in open contradiction to each other. One said: 'There were no disturbances at the showing—only scattered applause.' The other said: 'The heavy applause from the public showed that bourgeois society

felt secure and could absorb anything thrown against it.'"

In his attack on the historical validity of Weiss's presentation, Ginzburg's article took two tacks. One was to repeat the standard Stalinist slanders and distortions. The second, however, was something of an innovation both for Stalinist historiography and literary criticism. Ginzburg opposed Weiss's "overgeneralizing."

"Yes, the struggle [against Trotsky] was hard and wearying, the paths of history were difficult and obscure, the destiny of Russia complex, often incomprehensible to superficial intellects. But is Peter Weiss interested in the past destinies of Russia, in concrete 'human material' made of flesh and blood? In him we find schemata, geometrical, dry politics, proclaimed by puppets appearing in the masks of governmental and political figures."

Ginzburg complains that Weiss does not observe the real historical sequence of events in his plays. For example, Ginzburg says Weiss puts Kennedy on stage at a point in time when he was already dead. Different opinions, of course, are possible about Weiss's techniques of dramatizing historical situations and problems. However, to be fair, the Stalinist critic should at least have noted the objective of the dramatist's technique. Surely he is familiar with this, since he says he is Weiss's Russian translator.

In a theoretical exposition recently published in Latin America under the title *Fourteen Theses on Documentary Theater*,* Weiss says: "The power of documentary theater lies in its capacity to construct, on the basis of fragments of reality, a useful example, a model of the actual events . . . It uses real material which it projects from the stage without changing its content but shaping its form." This "shaping," Weiss explains, means "removing everything accidental . . . for the sake of a strict representation of the essential problem."

But Ginzburg accuses Weiss of something more serious than failing to observe the proper sequence of history: "Besides the dramatist is not very interested in historical truth—what does it matter to him what actually happened? But in reality there was the

* This book was reviewed by Walter Acosta in the March 13 issue of *Marcha*. Our quotations are from Acosta's article.

'Judas,' the Brest 'No Peace, No War,' which almost endangered the fate of October, there was the slogan of 'Tightening the Screws . . .'

"There was the political testament of Lenin, his 'Letter to the Congress,' in which he frankly spoke of Trotsky's non-Bolshevism, there was the stern, uncompromising struggle with Trot-

* These references concern respectively the following:

1. An epithet found by the Stalinists among manuscripts presumably written by Lenin but never published during his lifetime. Said to have been "written early in 1911," it was first published in the January 21, 1932, issue of *Pravda*. It can be found in an English translation in Lenin's *Collected Works*, Vol. 17, page 45 (1963 edition).

Trotsky replied in the June 17, 1933, issue of *The Militant* to Stalin's "find." Trotsky noted that Lenin's reference was not to the Biblical Judas but to the character Judas Golovlyov in Saltykov-Shchedrin's novel *The Golovlyov Family*. Judas Golovlyov was a fast talker, not an archetype of treachery. Lenin was angry over Trotsky's attempt to reconcile the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks and his charging the Bolsheviks with factionalism. Lenin's use of the same literary allusion in the same way (to mean fast-talker, not traitor) may be found in an article he published in 1914 (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. 20, page 335). Again attacking Trotsky's efforts to reconcile the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, Lenin wrote: "These efforts are futile, but we must expose the arrogantly conceited leaders of intellectualist groups, who while causing splits themselves, are shouting about others causing splits. . . . These are entirely the methods of Nozdrev [a character from Gogol's *Dead Souls*] or of 'Judas' Golovlyov." (There is no way of verifying whether the quotation marks were Lenin's or were added by the Stalinist editors.)

It should be noted that Trotsky long ago repudiated the wrong position he had held on the organizational question in the period of these disputes with Lenin. Lenin himself warned in his last testament that "non-Bolshevism" before 1917 should not be used against Trotsky. This does not prevent the Stalinists from constantly doing just that.

2. The controversy within the top leadership of the Bolshevik party concerning the Brest Litovsk peace treaty with Germany. (See Chapter 11 of Deutscher's *The Prophet Armed*.)

3. Trotsky's proposal for "militarizing" the unions in the crisis following the civil war. Trotsky made this proposal after Lenin refused to accept Trotsky's conclusions concerning the need for a retreat on the economic front such as was later embodied in the "New Economic Policy." Lenin rejected the alternative of militarizing the unions. Then as the crisis reached alarming proportions Lenin proposed his "New Economic Policy" retreat. This, of course, was supported by Trotsky.

skyist adventurism and capitulationism."

These allegations are part of the standard Stalinist repertoire and are, in general, not taken seriously any longer wherever free debate and access to the sources are possible.

The last point Ginzburg makes is formally correct. Lenin did "frankly speak of Trotsky's non-Bolshevism" in his testament. This document was suppressed in the Soviet Union in Stalin's time but was published in the early 1960s. It is available in English in the pamphlet *Lenin's Last Letters and Articles* put out by Progress Publishers in Moscow. The full quote reads as follows:

"I shall not give any further appraisals of the personal qualities of other members of the C.C. I shall just recall that the October episode with Zinoviev and Kamenev [their opposition to the revolution] was, of course, no accident, but *neither can the blame for it be laid upon them personally, any more than non-Bolshevism can upon Trotsky.*" (Page 7, our emphasis.)

Documents

Statement by the 'Black Dwarf'

[In our April 6 issue we published an editorial statement of the *Red Mole*, explaining why the new London journal had been started by a part of the staff formerly with the *Black Dwarf*.

[Below we are reprinting the reply by the *Black Dwarf*, which appeared in the March 7 issue.

[Since we published in our April 6 issue the names of the staff of the *Red Mole*, we will list the names of the new staff of the *Black Dwarf*: "EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE: Anthony Barnett, Vinay Chand, Clive Goodwin, Fred Halliday, John Hoyland, Mike Newton, Sheila Rowbotham."]

* * *

Five members of the Black Dwarf editorial staff, of whom four held full time jobs on the paper, have resigned. Our comrades in the IMG [International Marxist Group], the British section of the Fourth International, have

Such arguments are used to justify condemning Weiss's play in the following terms: "Thus the political speculation offered by the dramatist as attempts at a 'revolutionary theater' and his disregard of political and human ethics led Peter Weiss to write a disreputable anti-Soviet play." No comment is necessary; the moral level of Ginzburg's essay is evident.

However, the Moscow critic's final remark is interesting. He writes: "One of the reviews of Peter Weiss's new play has a very apt headline—'Weiss in Exile' . . . Yes, in 'exile' and he went there of his own free will . . ."

This remark is a heavy-handed reference to the opening scene of the play where Weiss showed how the bureaucracy wanted to represent Trotsky's exile as voluntary. Apparently, as a spokesman for this bureaucracy, Ginzburg intended to let Weiss know that if he does not abandon the positions he took in writing *Trotsky in Exile*, he can expect the same kind of anathematization from the Kremlin and its followers as the hero of his play suffered.

left us to start a paper of their own.

The split did not take place over an issue of political principles, but on a question of political practice.

On the three most major issues the Fourth International takes a revolutionary stand. Like them we know that the revolution is ultimately determined by proletarian insurrection in the advanced capitalist countries. That the armed fight for socialism in the terrible conditions of the three continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America must be led by workers parties that will have to transform the political, economic and cultural levels of their countries, even while their proletariats are still a minority—in the words of Trotsky, they will have to make permanent revolution. Thirdly, that the countries of the Soviet bloc are not capitalist, yet their ruling bureaucracies will have to be overthrown by violent political revolution.

We stand for the overthrow of the bureaucracies, for political freedom

and the right to tendency within communist parties, for the defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism, for international revolution, for the de-idolisation of Lenin, for the rehabilitation of Trotsky, who stands with Lenin and Mao as one of the great revolutionary fighters of our time.

Black Dwarf was born and grew with the small genuine revolutionary movement that has jolted the oppressed and battered people of Britain. Our first issue came out in May 1968. We have been a leading voice in the Vietnam and student movements. We represent, with all its strengths and weaknesses, the hesitant new and indigenous forces that will persist and grow and contribute to making the revolution in Britain. Above all the political conjuncture of our birth means that we stand with the international struggles that have shaken US imperialism across the globe. This is what distinguishes us from all other revolutionary papers in Britain, and this is what makes the bourgeoisie fear us.

Origins and rhetoric are not enough. A paper must be produced on time, it must be edited, it must be sold and paid for. The Black Dwarf has failed to live up to these standards in the past. It was on this question, of how to produce the paper, that fundamental disagreements emerged.

Just as the best revolutionaries are professional revolutionaries, so the best revolutionary papers must be professional revolutionary papers; well produced, and to schedule. It is their job to reach the maximum possible audience, in order to argue and demonstrate with the greatest effect the necessity and the possibility of overthrowing capitalist society.

The Black Dwarf is a fighting, revolutionary marxist, paper.

Labour Party Gains in Polls

The British Labour party's sagging rating in the public-opinion polls took a turn for the better April 22 when, for the first time in three years, Labour was favored over the Tories.

The Harris poll, published in the *Daily Express*, showed 46 percent of the votes going to the Labour party, 44 percent to the Conservatives, with the rest going to minority parties.

The Gallop poll still registered a Tory lead of 49 to 42 percent. But a Marplan poll published in the April 23 *Times* of London showed Labour ahead with 46 percent to the Tories' 45.