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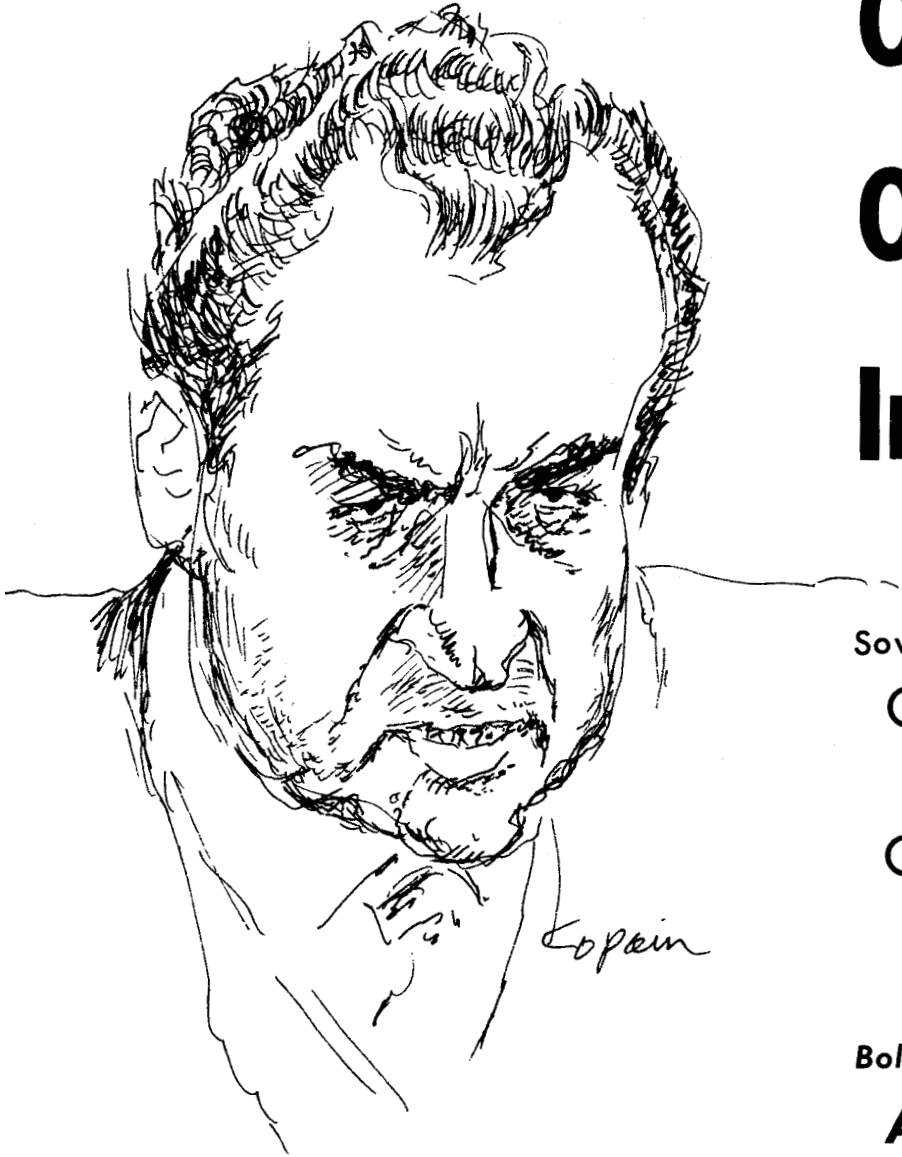
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May 11, 1970

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For Once the Truth

Outrage Rises Over Nixon's Indochina War



NIXON: I may be only a one-term president.

Soviet Union:

Crackdown on Dissidents

China's Space Satellite

Bolivia:

**Appeal for Imprisoned
Trotskyist Mine Leader**

Interview with Jagdish Jha:

Bengal Village Workers Press Demands

Soviet Problem, Too

The government of the Soviet Union announced April 27 that a comprehensive ban on water pollution would be submitted to the next session of the Supreme Soviet. The new law, according to the government newspaper *Izvestia*, provides criminal and administrative penalties for enterprises and individuals found guilty of contributing to industrial pollution, improper sewage disposal, and the contamination and dehydration of lakes.

According to the April 28 *New York Times*, "Individual enterprises found guilty of polluting the water with fertilizers or chemical insecticides can be closed down and the water supply of offending enterprises can be curtailed.

"Enterprises found guilty of violating the law would be required to repay for the damages incurred. The draft law does not specify scale of fines, nor does it say for what period the water supply might be shut off."

Local sanitation organizations are to be set up in each of the fifteen union republics.

The action follows a number of reports in the Soviet press of damage to the environment through industrial pollution or the use of pesticides. *Komsomolskaya Pravda* reported on April 26 that Soviet farmers in one area had killed more than fifty cranes, 220 rare great bustards, and other birds and animals by careless use of chemical pesticides.

According to some estimates, damage from water pollution alone amounts to the equivalent of \$6,000,000,000 a year in the Soviet Union.

The declining water level in a number of lakes is due to the diversion of water for irrigation and for hydroelectric stations. It has resulted in an increase in salinity and the destruction of underwater plant life and the fish that feed on it. These problems are further aggravated by oil pollution from refineries, particularly at Baku on the Caspian Sea, where many sturgeon have been killed.

Rivers such as the Volga are becoming polluted, and in the capital people can no longer swim in the Moscow River unless they go several miles outside of the city.

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Outrage Rises Over Nixon's Indochina War

By Les Evans

Nixon has dropped the "low profile," "measured withdrawal" image which he called the "Nixon doctrine." The real Nixon is now emerging.

The "low profile" image was part of a policy of lies and demagogic tricks designed to gain time in face of the antiwar pressure from the public both in the United States and abroad.

As was inevitable, this policy finally ran its course. The CIA operation that brought down the Sihanouk regime appeared to open up new opportunities for the basic policy inherited from Johnson and Kennedy of imperialist aggression in Southeast Asia.

But as the Cambodian people reacted to the coup, the Lon Nol plotters appeared doomed to rapidly go down themselves. Nixon felt compelled to take a desperate gamble to save his new puppets.

Hence Nixon's decision to escalate the war. He did this in a series of moves coming one on top of the other so rapidly that one might have expected them to temporarily stun the public and even rally some domestic support, however evanescent this turned out to be.



LAIRD: For it all the time.

First Lon Nol appealed for aid in the form of arms. Other Asian "client" governments were prodded into responding. However, Lon Nol appeared incapable of lasting until aid from the Suhartos and Parks could arrive.

Some arms were then airlifted from Saigon. These, too, were obviously inadequate.

The Saigon puppet regime thereupon "decided" to invade Cambodia. American "advisers" accompanied the expedition. This was still not enough.

On April 30, in a nationwide televised speech, Nixon announced that American ground forces had been sent into Cambodia. Not even Lon Nol had been notified in advance; still less the U.S. Congress or the American people. The invasion had been launched in blitzkrieg style.

Thus began the most serious escalation of the U.S. war of aggression in Southeast Asia since Lyndon Johnson's decision to bomb North Vietnam and to commit massive numbers of U.S. ground troops in South Vietnam in 1965.

That Nixon had expected, and decided in advance to disregard, popular opposition to his fateful decision was shown by his foul remark May 1 about the American student population: "You see these bums, you know, blowing up the campuses."

This was still not all. On May 2, the White House admitted that a large bombing raid had been carried out over North Vietnam.

A wave of fear swept the world such as has not been seen since the missile crisis in the Caribbean in 1962. What would be the response in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow to Nixon's escalation of U.S. aggression? What was the meaning of Nixon's belligerent warning of what he would do if they took any defensive measures? Was the Pentagon flirting with the idea of using nuclear weapons? Is World War III close at hand?

* * *

The reaction to Nixon's speech an-



BUNKER: Same advice he gave Johnson — one more escalation does it.

nouncing the invasion of Cambodia came almost instantly.

The very next day at the University of Maryland, students spontaneously staged an invasion of the Reserve Officers Training Corps headquarters. Two National Guard units were put on the alert.

A general strike was called by 2,300 students and faculty at Princeton University in New Jersey.

Students clashed with police at Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, during a student antiwar strike.

Some 145 demonstrators were arrested in Cincinnati, Ohio, during a sit-in following an antiwar march from the University of Cincinnati by about 1,000 persons.

A class boycott is planned throughout the Pennsylvania-New Jersey region.

Demands for Nixon's impeachment were raised — by the liberal National Student Association and by some sixty-eight faculty members at Cornell University.

The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the largest nationwide student antiwar organization, issued a call for massive demon-

strations on May 30 to demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Southeast Asia.

The *New York Times* demanded on May 1 that Congress assert "its constitutional powers of restraint on behalf of a people who have been asked once too often to swallow the military hallucination of victory through escalation."

A number of senators, under heavy pressure from an angry public, dissociated themselves from the invasion. Senators Cooper and Church joined Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and senior Republican Senator George Aiken in drafting legislation to deny funds to the expedition. It remains to be seen if this threat will be carried out.

Senator J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations committee, has demanded that Nixon meet with his committee — the first such meeting since 1919 when the Foreign Relations Committee met Woodrow Wilson to block ratification of the Versailles Treaty.

Even Senator John Stennis, the notorious Mississippi hawk who heads the Senate Armed Services Committee, felt compelled to express some reservations. Speaking of Nixon's decision to send advisers — before he announced that he was making it combat troops



ABRAMS: Ditto.

— Stennis said, "We absolutely cannot guarantee to support any government of Cambodia or future government, or defend their country as such. I would not favor us going into extensive arms supply for Cambodia."

He added, however, that he did not believe sending American advisers was "in itself an escalation of the war or making it an Indochina war. Not yet."

Nixon's support was reduced to his appointees in the administration, such as Defense Secretary Laird and Senate Minority leader Hugh Scott; and the traditional ultraright, inside and outside the Congress. Predictably his new escalation was endorsed by George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO [American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations]. "In this crucial hour," Meany said, "he should have the full support of the American people — he certainly has ours."

In his April 30 speech, Nixon affirmed the administration's decision not only to expand the Vietnam war throughout former French Indochina, but to drop all but the most perfunctory pretense that the United States is "disengaging" from Vietnam. Even the "planned" withdrawal of 150,000 men announced by Nixon only ten days earlier was canceled for the time being — probably indefinitely.

Only hours after Nixon went off the air, some 8,000 U.S. combat troops and 15,000 troops of the Saigon puppet regime, accompanied by American "advisers," entered Cambodia in what the Associated Press reported as the biggest U.S. military operation in nearly three years. An AP dispatch in the May 1 *New York Post* described the assault:

"About 8,000 U.S. combat troops swept into Cambodia 70 miles northwest of Saigon today and began setting up bases for assaults on the headquarters zone of the supreme Communist command for South Vietnam operations.

"It marked the first time in the nine-year-old Vietnam war that an American ground force had extended its operations into Cambodia, at least in force. . . .

"Scores of U.S. B-52 bombers and nearly 100 artillery pieces blasted the way for the American assault force accompanied by 2000 South Vietnamese troops and hundreds of tanks and armored personnel carriers."



MEANY: Pledges "our" support.

In his speech Nixon declared, "Our purpose is not to occupy the areas." But the AP dispatch noted, "The mission to set up bases indicated that the Americans planned to stay a while in Cambodia."

In the first hours of fighting one American was killed and six wounded, the first installment on the blood payment that Nixon has committed U.S. draftees to in defense of the military dictators in Pnompenh.

The American public was "softened up" for the new escalation with a calculated campaign of lies and governmental maneuvers. The first reactions, nevertheless, show that the outrage over Nixon's decision runs very deep.

The current "crisis," used by Nixon as his excuse, was cooked up by the Pentagon. The so-called sanctuaries of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front in Cambodia have existed for five years at least and are nothing new in the war. Furthermore, they were established with the agreement of the Cambodian government. As the May 1 *New York Times* put it, "The sites of the [NLF] depots are believed to be known to Cambodian authorities because they were set up with Cambodian consent in the period before

Prince Norodom Sihanouk was deposed as Chief of State."

The March 18 coup that put the present clique of pro-American generals in power was the first move in the current escalation. When Sihanouk was ousted, the Lon Nol junta immediately announced that they would drive the NLF off Cambodian soil. In fact what they did was permit six major forays into Cambodia by troops of the Saigon regime acting under orders from American generals. This was followed by wholesale massacres of unarmed Vietnamese citizens of Cambodia by troops of the Lon Nol regime, precipitating a social crisis in the country and deliberately provoking a reaction from the NLF in defense of the lives of their compatriots.

Not unexpectedly, the Pnompheh government began to crumble at the first thrust by the NLF and the swiftly expanding forces of native Cambodian insurgents. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, in appealing on April 24 for U. S. military aid for the tottering regime, indicated the real feelings of the U. S. generals about the "crisis" in Cambodia. If aid was not forthcoming, they said, "The golden opportunity, which so excited U. S. military headquarters in Saigon March 18, will then have been lost."

But Nixon had no intention of bypassing the "golden opportunity" to outflank the Vietnamese revolution by widening the war.

Commenting on the April 29 announcement by Washington that American advisers would enter Cambodia with South Vietnamese troops—more preparatory softening up for Nixon's April 30 television appearance—the *New York Times* reported:

"Reconstructing the process that led to the decision for United States-supported South Vietnamese troops to go into Cambodia, informed sources said the possibility had been considered even before General Lon Nol asked for arms. Accordingly, logistic preparations were made at least 10 days ago." That means that Nixon already had decided to invade Cambodia when he made his April 20 announcement of "plans" to withdraw 150,000 U. S. troops over the next year. What a cheap trick! It seems clear enough now that those 150,000 GIs can only expect to be withdrawn from Vietnam—to be sent to Cambodia. Nixon spelled this out on April 30:

"After full consultation with the Na-

tional Security Council, Ambassador [Ellsworth] Bunker, General [Creighton] Abrams and my other advisers, I have concluded that the actions of the enemy in the last 10 days clearly endanger the lives of Americans who are in Vietnam now and would constitute an unacceptable risk to those who will be there after withdrawal of another 150,000."

On April 29 when American advisers publicly accompanied South Vietnamese troops into Cambodia, the U. S. command still claimed the initiative had come from Saigon. The April 30 *Washington Post* reported:

"A spokesman for the U. S. commander in Vietnam, Gen. Creighton W. Abrams, said American participation in the border crossing came at the request of the South Vietnamese."

The *New York Times*, however, on the same day reported:

"It was primarily an American decision that the offensive into Cambodia be staged, officials said privately, even though public statements stressed the South Vietnamese initiative."

Nixon's present course poses the threat of a major war and even the possibility of a nuclear holocaust more sharply than at any time since the period prior to the abdication of Lyndon Johnson in 1968. The Cambodian people and their Vietnamese allies will never permit all of Indochina to be turned into one vast American military base, the outcome that Nixon has opted for.

In his April 30 speech Nixon declared, "We will not allow American men by the thousands to be killed by an enemy from privileged sanctuary." Leaving aside the fact that the "enemy" he speaks of are men and women defending their homeland from the most powerful imperialist nation on earth, does this new "Nixon doctrine" mean that American troops will invade Laos next, and after that North Vietnam? These fears are openly expressed in Washington. The May 1 *New York Post* quoted Idaho Senator Frank Church as saying:

"It has become a war without end. Never was so much sacrificed for so little. It can only lead us to the borders of China."

Nixon, of course, has calculated that the People's Republic of China will do little more than issue strong communiqués. He counts on less than that from Moscow. But this still remains a gamble. Either Peking or Moscow



STENNIS: An Indochina war? "Not yet . . ."

can wake up to the fact that the longer they delay making a demonstrative gesture of solidarity with the peoples of Indochina, the more likely it is that the U. S. will become so deeply involved in the whole region that a major war becomes inevitable.

Nixon cannot—and plainly does not—expect that the American people will quietly go along with his policy of a bigger, longer, and bloodier war. It was significant that he no longer spoke of any "great silent majority" supposedly supporting him. That hoax had seeming plausibility only when Nixon was able to claim, however falsely, that the war was drawing to a close. He had to try a different maneuver on April 30, publicly resigning himself to defeat in the next elections because of opposition to his war policy.

"I would rather be a one-term president and do what I believe was right," he said in tones of self-pity, "than to be a two-term president at the cost of seeing America become a second-rate power and to see this nation accept the first defeat in its proud 190-year history."

Nixon's prediction that he will be repudiated by the American people in the 1972 elections may have been his only true statement of the evening. But the current upsurge of the antiwar movement may ensure that he doesn't have to wait that long for the verdict to come in.

Stalinists Deepen Split with Communist Party Youth

"The Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna [VPK — Left party of Communists, the Swedish CP] is on the way toward breaking completely with the Vänsterns Ungdomsförbund (VUF) [the Left Youth League, the CP youth affiliate]," the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter* reported April 6.

The nucleus of a group to replace the VUF was established at a special conference of young cadres remaining faithful to the party leadership in Syninge over the weekend of April 4-5. Splits had already occurred in various local groups. A separate pro-leadership youth organization, the Göteborgs Kommunistiska Ungdom [Göteborg Communist Youth], was already functioning under the leadership of Urban Herlitz.

A report on the Syninge conference by Kjell E. Johanson and Hans Lindberg appeared in the April 10-14 issue of the VPK organ *Ny Dag* (New Day) under the title "The Tasks of Communist Youth." Johanson and Lindberg gave this justification for the rump youth conference:

"For a long time now the Vänsterns Ungdomsförbund has waged a vicious campaign against the Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna. The leadership has fallen into the hands of a petty-bourgeois element without any understanding of socialist theory, without any practical experience of activity in the workers movement, but with a romantic orientation toward the Great Wall of China and the Albanian mountains. Uncritically and ignorantly, the VUF leadership is maneuvering in the border regions between the KFML [Kommunistiska Förbundet Marxist-Leninisterna — the League of Communists, Marxist-Leninist, the major Maoist grouping] and the VPK.

"It is apparent that there is no longer any youth league collaborating directly with the VPK. In *Stormklockan* [Storm Signal, the monthly organ of the VUF] and other publications of the Vänsterns Ungdomsförbund the need for a new revolutionary party is proclaimed again and again. The ties between the VPK and the VUF have been cut step by step."

Johanson and Lindberg reported that

about forty young cadres attended the conference, all of them supporting a "reorganization of the Communist youth movement in our country." The article indicated, however, that the VPK intended to move very slowly and cautiously in building a new organization:

"The participants in the conference were also agreed that the development [of the new league] must be based on a movement with local roots. We must not begin with a national project."

The VPK leaders apparently fear that a new youth group might soon go the same way as the VUF. This has been the experience of the German Social Democracy, which has expelled one youth group after another for "left deviations."

Johanson and Lindberg's report also indicated that the VPK is anxious to isolate its remaining youth cadres from the anti-Stalinist and revolutionary ideas infecting the student movement by heading them toward a milieu that is less politicized. "The Communist youth conference in Syninge was marked by the view that young workers must be the social base of the youth league. The Communist youth organization must not be a sectarian and isolated student federation."

A widening split between the Swedish CP and its youth was already foreshadowed in the VPK congress of September 19-21, 1969. The Hermansson leadership had succeeded before then in attracting important numbers of critically minded youth into the VPK by throwing off some of the party's Stalinist ballast and assuming an independent attitude toward Moscow.

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia increased the tension between the young "new leftist" wing of the party and the old Stalinist faction grouped around the paper *Norrskensflamman*. Hermansson made concessions to the super Stalinist faction that aroused strong resentment among the youth.

At the September 19-21 congress, the VPK withdrew all financial support from its new forum for differing opinions, the weekly *Tidsignal*, and elect-

ed representatives of the old Stalinist grouping to the Central Committee. The young leaders refused to sit on the top party bodies.

In his report on this congress in the September 27 issue of the Norwegian left Social Democratic paper *Orientering*, Berge Furre wrote: "The party came in conflict not only with more or less Maoist groups in the youth league but with the entire body of youth which Hermansson's new line had brought into the party and which could have renewed it."

It is not yet clear where the VUF is headed. No odes to Mao Tsetung's thought are to be found in the March issue of *Stormklockan*, to say nothing of evocations of the "Great Wall of China" and "Albanian mountains."

In this issue, the criticism of the VPK is centered on the party's role in the wildcat strikes that broke out early this year in Sweden, the most important examples being the strikes in Kiruna and other mining centers in the far north. The lead article explains the need for a revolutionary party, starting out from the standpoint that the wildcat strikes show the failure and increasing contradictions of capitalism. A cartoon on the first page satirizes reformist leaders who cannot respond, or even understand, the revolutionary impulses of the workers.

A carefully reasoned article accuses a VPK member of the Kiruna miners committee, Ivar Hermansson, of playing a key role in breaking the united front of the miners. It charges him with representing a left-seeming variant of the official union's capitulationist line inside the strike committee.

Whatever becomes of the VUF, the VPK seems to have lost its attraction for youth. Olle Nilsson gave his impression of the latest VPK national gathering in the April 19 issue of *Dagens Nyheter*: "The tones of the 'Internationale' came through the swinging door to the big party headquarters in the Riksdaghuset last Sunday [April 12]. Most deep basses were heard. Middle-aged men dominated the Vänsterpartiet Kommunisterna national conference . . ."

Students Crash Greek Junta Party in Brussels

To celebrate the third anniversary of the coup that brought the colonels to power in Greece, their agents and Belgian admirers decided to throw a party in the elite Cercle des Nations (International Club) of Brussels. The glittering affair, however, did nothing to improve the social acceptability of the Athens regime among some Belgians.

In fact students at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (Free University of Brussels), which is just across the street from the plush mansion that houses the Cercle des Nations, were furious.

Police repression of student protests at the scene of the pro-junta cocktail party and reception on the evening of April 21 provoked larger demonstrations the following day, which culminated in violent clashes with the police. At the end of nearly a day of fighting, the students seemed to have won an important political victory.

At noon on April 22, according to the April 23 issue of the Brussels daily *Le Soir*, about 400 students assembled at the Paul-Emile Janson auditorium on the university campus for a rally. At the end of the meeting, the protesters divided into two groups. One group marched on the chancellery of the Greek embassy at 21 Rue Lejeune. The other gathered along the left side of the Avenue Franklin Roosevelt, which separates the Université Libre from the Cercle des Nations building.

The march on the chancellery was blocked by an overwhelming array of police. After halting about ten minutes in the area of the embassy, the protesters reversed their direction, heading back toward the university. They were escorted by police on motorcycles.

As soon as the police arrived in front of the university, they surrounded the Cercle des Nations building. Fighting broke out between the repressive forces and the students. The police fired tear-gas grenades into the ranks of the demonstrators. The students hurled rocks back at the cops.

A few minutes after 2:00 p.m. the students built a barricade across the Avenue Roosevelt. The cops, who wore helmets and carried shields, chased

some students back onto the campus, suffering one apparently serious casualty despite their heavy armor.

At about 3:15 p.m. the police retreated behind the Cercle des Nations building. The students occupied the avenue. At this point Simonet, the chairman of the University Administrative Council, and Dubié, a student member of the council, tried to take the leadership of the demonstrators to bring them under some kind of control.

Dubié asked the students to vote on what they wanted to do next. Three proposals were presented: (1) retreat to the campus so that the police would withdraw; (2) occupy the Cercle des Nations; (3) stay in the street until the police left. The majority voted to occupy the building.

About fifty students, according to *Le Soir*, succeeded in getting into the garden of the Cercle des Nations. They painted swastikas and "SS" on the walls and broke a few windows before being driven back.

Around 5:00 p.m. about sixty riot police formed a line and advanced on the students guns in hand, forcing the demonstrators to retreat onto the campus. High-pressure pumps directed streams of water along the edge of the university grounds. Despite the police advance, the students continued forays into the street, erecting barricades on several occasions. Each time they were driven back by tear gas.

"Around 6:30," *Le Soir* wrote, "automobile traffic, very heavy at this hour on the Avenue Roosevelt, proceeded slowly.

"A kind of little ballet began between the cars and sometimes the riot troops and other times the police and demonstrators.

"When the riot troops and the police withdrew to the sidewalk on the right-hand side of the Avenue Roosevelt, the 'students' [English in the original] left their refuge and advanced, throwing everything they could lay their hands on."

At 6:45 the police and riot troops stormed onto the campus. The students showered the advancing cops with pro-

jectiles from the roofs of the university buildings. "The choicest insults were hurled," *Le Soir* wrote. "Police chased the students into the entrance of one of the schools and brought out a young girl in a red blouse.

"Thus the dangerous game of cat and mouse continued. It was like the advancing and retreating tides of a stormy sea."

At about 7:00 p.m. the repressive forces withdrew, concealing themselves along the border of the campus. Suddenly flames shot up. "From afar it looked like the aristocratic townhouse [the Cercle des Nations] was beginning to burn. An immense groundswell of jubilation arose from the demonstrators," the *Le Soir* reporter wrote.

"And all at once," the reporter continued, "the police and riot troops left their hiding place and charged. Caught by surprise, the demonstrators halted an instant and then fled wildly toward the university buildings, while numerous tear-gas grenades exploded in clouds of fumes."

The demonstrators defended themselves by throwing missiles from the roofs of campus buildings. A little later a group of students halted two trolleys on the Avenue Adolphe Buyl, intending to use them to build a barricade. The police, however, succeeded in driving the students back.

At about 10:30, according to the *Le Soir* reporter, a police officer declared: "We would like to withdraw but the students would take advantage of that to attack the Cercle des Nations." The students replied that all they wanted was that the police leave.

At 11:15 Simonet told the students that the police were going. When the demonstrators showed him a girl who had been wounded by a tear-gas grenade, Simonet indicated that he would complain to the prosecutor's office.

It was apparent that the Administrative Council Chairman had been forced to the left in order to keep a rein on the situation. Simonet condemned the celebration in the Cercle des Nations. He resigned from the prestigious club in a sharply worded letter to the chairman:

"I consider, in fact, that a club whose

chairman has conducted himself in as irresponsible a manner as you have done can no longer include among its members the Chairman of the Université Libre de Bruxelles.

"If the Greek embassy refused to heed the warnings of both the commissioner of the Brussels police and the special police authorities, I think that it was your duty to refuse to

cooperate with such a demonstration by the representatives of the 'colonels,' whose attitude has, in particular, been unanimously condemned by the Council of Europe."

Simonet moved to take over leadership of the student protest: "I propose that we organize a big mass meeting in the very near future in the P. E. Janson auditorium, involving all the

political leaders who are willing to join with us. The Greek problem will be discussed in depth. On that occasion, we will rely on the students to remove any professional agitators who might try to join their ranks."

Simonet, however, refused to condemn the police invasion of the campus: "The law is the law. Their duty of the police is to enforce it."

While Millionschikov Is Wined and Dined in New York

Soviet Bureaucrats Crack Down on Dissidents

By George Saunders

In late April a group of prominent Soviet officials were in New York for a "Convocation on the Challenge of Building of Peace."

The conference was sponsored by the Fund for Peace, which is backed by more than forty big U. S. corporations. On the American side were prominent spokesmen of the profit establishment — millionaire Averell Harriman, former Secretary of the Treasury George W. Ball, Undersecretary of State Elliot L. Richardson, former Kennedy adviser John Kenneth Galbraith, and so on.

The Soviet delegation, in a bit of real-life satire, was headed by one Mikhail D. *Millionschikov* (Comrade Millionairesby, as it were). He is a Soviet physicist and vice-president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Millionschikov reportedly declared at the conference "that many people in his own capital considered the time 'inopportune' for a Soviet-American exchange of views because of the tensions in Southeast Asia and the Middle East." Undeterred by such matters, Millionschikov argued that "it was just at times of political tensions that a public dialogue could be most useful."

One of the panel discussions was on "Common Interests and Obstacles to Cooperation." Undersecretary of State Richardson, with smooth arrogance, indicating how sure he was of his customer, called for "the delineation — tacitly or explicitly — of 'spheres of restraint,' regions in which the United States and the Soviet Union would deliberately withhold any participation in local disputes."

This was reported in the *New York Times* the same day Nixon's troops invaded Cambodia. And at the same time, secret talks between U. S. and Soviet diplomats continued in Vienna under the name "Strategic Arms Limitation Talks."

While the Soviet hierarchs were behaving so docilely toward the war-makers of the dollar empire, at home their secret police continued rooting out dissidence.

The latest acts of bureaucratic repression were brought to light by a Samizdat document (possibly a new issue of the *Chronicle of Current Events*) which was reported on from Moscow April 27. The appearance of this and other Samizdat material in recent weeks testifies to the stubborn persistence of the new Soviet oppositionists despite the harsh treatment dealt out by the KGB.

Also testifying to the continued spirit of resistance was the plan of 160 Crimean Tatars to demonstrate in Moscow on Lenin's birthday April 22. They were arrested by the secret police before they could realize their plan.

The Tatars are demanding the right to return to their homeland in the Crimea, from which they were deported — every man, woman, and child — on Stalin's orders during World War II. In 1967 the Tatars were officially "rehabilitated" by the Soviet Supreme Court. But they have not been allowed to return to their homeland or to reestablish the Crimean Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic which was created in 1922 under Lenin.

The attempt to demonstrate in Moscow in the midst of all the pomp and

ceremony and obeisance at the harmless ikon which the Stalinist bureaucracy has made of Lenin is proof that the show trials of Tatar leaders held last August failed to dampen their movement. (See "Gabai and Dzhemilev Sent to Prison Camp," in *Intercontinental Press*, February 16, 1970, page 137.)

The Samizdat document also gave further news of the fates of former Major Pyotr Grigorenko and former collective-farm chairman Ivan Yakhimovich. The supreme court of Uzbekistan on April 7 approved a lower court ruling declaring Grigorenko insane. Zinaida Grigorenko, his wife, who has received no official replies to inquiries about her husband, recently appealed to all free citizens of the world to help save him from death. She released a prison diary he had managed to smuggle out, which detailed the cruel physical and moral torture this veteran Communist has suffered at the hands of his jailers. (See "Excerpts from Grigorenko's Diary," *Intercontinental Press*, April 20, page 345.)

In the case of Yakhimovich, his second trial ended April 17 with a ruling that he, too, like Grigorenko, be forcibly confined in a mental institution.

The Kremlin bureaucrats have decreed the same fate for Natalya Gorbanevskaya, a poet who took part in the Red Square demonstration in August 1968 against the invasion of Czechoslovakia. She was ruled insane and sent to the psychiatric branch of the hospital at Moscow's Butyrka prison. She was a member of the Initiative

Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the Soviet Union.

After a trial in Kharkov in mid-April, Arkady Levin, who had signed several petitions, including the one sent to the United Nations by the Initiative Committee, was sentenced to three years in a labor camp.

In the town of Vladimir, an imprisoned dissident, Svetoslav Karavansky, was given five years in addition to the twenty-five-year sentence he was serving. His new crime was smuggling articles out of prison, written in invisible ink in a magazine he sent his wife.

Marxist oppositionist voices besides those of Grigorenko and Yakhimovich are trying to speak out. This is illustrated by the case of a history instructor and three students in the city of Gorky who have been sentenced to prison camps for distributing leaflets protesting the "resurrection of Stalinism" and for having Samizdat literature in their possession.

The story of the group at Gorky University is rather interesting. It has been reported on sketchily in the *Chronicle of Current Events* over the

past few years. First, there was the news that some history students at the university had written up a study, from a Marxist point of view, of the Soviet state structure.

It was called *The State and Socialism*. No copies of it have yet become available to us. But it is probably an attempt to apply the concepts in Lenin's work of similar title, *The State and Revolution*, in a critique of the bureaucratized structure into which the Soviet state degenerated. A work of that nature called *The Transformation of Bolshevism* has been described in detail by the *Chronicle of Current Events*.

But the Gorky students did not stop at drafting a document alone. They reportedly distributed leaflets in 1968 urging the youth "to follow the Czechoslovak example."

In late 1968 and 1969 the *Chronicle of Current Events* reported a number of expulsions and other reprisals against dissidents in Gorky, culminating finally in October 1969 with the arrest of several. These are the per-

sons who have now been sentenced. The history teacher, V. Pavlenkov, and one of the students, by the name of Kapranov, were sentenced to the maximum under the law forbidding "anti-Soviet slander"—seven years in a prison camp. The other two students received six and five years respectively.

Meanwhile, in a separate Samizdat document, the wife and mother of Yuri Galanskov appealed to the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs to take steps to save his life. Galanskov, they said, is in "grave condition" as a result of severe gastric ulcers. Although he was known to have ulcers long before his arrest in January 1967, he was given inadequate medical attention by the prison authorities.

Galanskov, a thirty-one-year-old poet, was tried in January 1968 together with Aleksandr Ginzburg and two other defendants. Galanskov had edited the underground journal *Phoenix-1966* and Ginzburg put out a "White Book," both Samizdat materials documenting and protesting the 1965 trial of writers Sinyavsky and Daniel.

'Safer to Deal in Drugs'

Harsh Prison Terms for Owners of GI Coffeehouse

Three proprietors of the UFO Coffee House in Columbia, South Carolina, were sentenced to six years in prison each April 28 after being convicted in a witch-hunt trial of the misdemeanor of "operating a public nuisance." The coffeehouse was long known as a center for antiwar discussion patronized by GIs from nearby Fort Jackson.

Leonard Cohen, William A. Balk, and R. Duane Ferre were accused by the prosecution of selling "obscene" material, permitting illegal drug traffic, and playing loud music that disturbed the peace. Not one of these charges was substantiated in the course of the trial, and the "public nuisance" charge on which conviction was finally secured, did not require proof of any illegal acts.

The main testimony against the defendants came from four admitted drug pushers who were offered immunity by the state if they would uphold the prosecution case. Witnesses

for the defense said the prosecution's star performers had all been thrown out of the UFO for attempting to ply their trade.

An army undercover agent even testified that he had sought for "two or three months" to buy drugs in the UFO, without success. Specialist 4 David Franklin Daigh said that his company commander had asked him to serve as an informer on "subversion or antiwar activities or drugs."

He was told to cooperate with the local sheriff, who gave him money to entrap drug pushers. Although he visited the UFO three to five times a week for months, wearing civilian clothes and sporting a big mustache, he failed to unearth any drug traffic.

Defense attorney Reber Boulton scored the state government for its open partnership with dope pushers to frame up people for their antiwar views. "The UFO was throwing drug dealers out," he told the court. "But the state was

giving them immunity to get rid of the UFO. It's safer in Columbia to deal in drugs than run a coffeehouse."

The prosecution openly proclaimed its aim of putting the coffeehouse out of business. "Prosecutor John Foard," the April 28 *Washington Post* reported, "who speaks in the stump orator style with raised voice and flailing arms, had pleaded with the jury to 'write a verdict that will let me keep it (the coffeehouse) closed.' The UFO has been padlocked since January."

The judge, whose name appropriately enough is Agnew, rejected forty-eight separate motions from the defense for a new trial. The defendants have announced that they will appeal the outrageous sentences.

The UFO, which had been in business for more than two years, was the first antiwar coffeehouse in the nation that catered especially to GIs. It became the prototype for many other such enterprises.

Students Respond to American Antiwar Appeals

Rome

Spurred by the events in Cambodia and Laos and in response to appeals from U.S. antiwar organizations—primarily the Student Mobilization Committee—a new campaign of solidarity with the Vietnamese people and of opposition to American imperialism has developed here in recent weeks. This resurgence of activity has been shown in several cities by street and campus demonstrations.

The importance of this development cannot be underestimated, especially as regards the student movement. Although distinguished in the beginning by intense involvement in anti-imperialist mobilizations, this movement later concentrated on other themes, some sectors even going as far as to offer a theoretical justification for abandoning the anti-imperialist struggle.

There is no doubt that these tendencies were favored, on the one hand, by the positive factor of the sharpening class struggle in Italy, especially during the great workers struggles of last fall. They were encouraged, on the other hand, by the very widespread but quite mistaken belief that with negotiations in progress the war in Vietnam would gradually subside, losing much of its interest for the most militant strata of the working class and the student movement.

The mid-April demonstrations did not have the scope of those two or three years ago, when tens of thousands of persons mobilized in several cities. However, the latest demonstrations unquestionably represented a resurgence which was all the more notable in that neither the traditional parties nor the unions, in general, took part, leaving the task to the youth organizations.

The most important demonstrations, however, once again took place in Milan, where the initiative fell to the student movement at the State University. More than 10,000 persons participated in a combative demonstration, which the police attacked with their well-known methods.

The role played by these students constituted proof that, above and beyond a series of unconvincing formu-

lations and despite certain incorrect methods, the student movement at this university had succeeded in getting over the shoals of sectarianism and fragmentation that have blocked the student movement for a rather long period. Elsewhere these obstacles have by no means been overcome.

In Rome, too—despite the persistence of certain harmful tendencies, despite a display of sectarianism in methods and opportunism in politics by the FGCI [the Communist party youth], and despite the negative position taken by *Potere Operaio* [Workers Power, the leading spontanéist group]—the April 18 demonstration marked an important increase in the strength of the antiwar movement from the standpoint of the forces mobilized (some thousands of persons) and the combativity of the student sectors.

It is significant that the April 18 demonstration was more powerful than the one organized a few days earlier by the youth federations of the PCI [Partito Comunista Italiano—Italian Communist party], the PSIUP [Partito Socialista Italiana d'Unità Proletaria—Italian Socialist party of Proletarian Unity], and the PSI [Partito Socialista Italiano—Italian Socialist party]. The demonstration organized by the youth of these parties got notable material and propaganda support from the party apparatuses.

In Turin a discussion took place at the university on April 18 attended by hundreds of students. The local Fourth International group, the FGCI, the youth of the PSIUP, and the Unione dei Comunisti Italiani [Union of Italian Communists, a pro-Chinese group unrecognized by Peking] participated. However, La Lotta Continua [the Struggle Continues, a spontanéist tendency], which had at first supported the meeting, was absent (only one of the speakers belonged to this group).

Among its decisions the assembly voted to form an anti-imperialist center. All of the organizations and groups present declared their support

for this project. All of the speakers recognized that the impossibility of holding a demonstration in Turin on the order of the ones in Milan and Rome had to be written down as a failure and that a demonstration should be prepared for the near future.

Local groups of the Fourth International participated actively in the April anti-imperialist campaign in various ways. Thousands of copies of the Student Mobilization Committee appeal were distributed in the schools, universities, and in front of the factories in several cities, including Rome, Turin, Naples, Genoa, and Bari.

In Milan, the Trotskyists supported the initiative of the State University students and took an active part in the demonstration of April 18. In Rome they were among the promoters of the demonstration held the same day and they participated in the preparatory work for the teach-in of April 16 as well as in the meeting itself.

In Turin our comrades made a key contribution in preparing the discussion at the university, distributing several leaflets (one of them in common with the FGCI and the youth of PSIUP) and posting copies of a manifesto. The discussion itself was largely marked by a confrontation between our comrades and activists of the Unione, with an important contribution by the youth of PSIUP.

The FGCI reflected all of the PCI's tactical oscillations in this phase. In Turin it associated itself with the preparations for the university assembly, proposing a joint leaflet, which the Unione and Lotta Continua refused to sign. However, in Rome, while the student movement, the *il Manifesto* group [dissident CPers], the Trotskyists, and other groups were discussing holding a joint demonstration, the FGCI suddenly and without any warning announced its own demonstration. This was an incorrect and sectarian act. Later the national FGCI announced that it was supporting the demonstrations in Rome and Milan (while its official organ ignored the assembly in Turin).

West Bengal Agricultural Workers Press Demands

By S.B. Kolpe

Calcutta

Krishnapur is a village of about eighty families (population 350) of agricultural workers and landless peasants belonging to scheduled castes. It is about three miles walking distance from the Bankura-Simlupal Road, in West Bengal's arid Bankura district, some 200 miles northwest of Calcutta, near the Bihar border. After a forty-five-minute bus ride from Bankura town, we walked the distance in the blazing April sun.

On the way, Comrade Jagdish Jha, leader of the Paschim Bangla Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh [PSKS—West Bengal Village Workers and Tillers Union], who accompanied me, explained the extent and implications of the movement of the rural poor that he and his colleagues have been conducting in the district since 1968. We deposited our bags in the house of a farm labourer near the main road to be fetched by a cyclist later. We could talk freely as we walked. The rough road, good enough for cars, had been built by Jha with labour donated by the villagers.

Jha has emerged as a militant peasant leader after the successful ten-day strike of 15,000 farm labourers in 400 villages in Bankura district in November 1969. The farm hands, as a result of the strike, got their daily wages nearly doubled—from two and a half kilograms of paddy [threshed unmilled rice] to four kilograms plus two free meals for an eight-hour working day.

But they got their wages only during the sowing and harvesting season. They are condemned to remain idle from January to June.

"The jotedars [capitalist landowners] and rich peasants agreed to a wage rise because the strike took place during the harvesting season," Jha said. "But they are launching an offensive now. All sorts of tricks are being employed to scare the rural poor away from the PSKS.

"There are court cases pending against eighty-three of the militants of the PSKS, including me. The charges vary from rioting to illegal seizure of land, use of firearms, and incitement to violence. We were charge-sheeted

by the police under the United Front government* which has since fallen. But the prosecution continues, naturally, now that the president's rule has been imposed on the state.

"The left constituents of the UF opposed our strike on the ground that it interfered with the alliance of the rural poor with the poor and middle-class peasants.

"The truth is that the left parties of the UF in the district are also led by the jotedars and the rich peasants. They are very venomous against us. In their eyes we are the enemies of the UF. We do not find any difference between the UF and the capitalist parties like the Congress."

* * *

Now forty-seven years old and the father of five children, Jagdish Jha started his political career as a trade-union worker in Calcutta in the forties. He was one of the first group of workers who were attracted to the Bolshevik Leninist party which was then the Indian section of the Fourth International.

He helped to organize the first Fire Brigade Workers' Union and other unions in Calcutta City.

When the BLPI entered the Socialist party in 1948—after the former Congress Socialist party seceded from the Congress party to form an independent SP—he moved to the Raniganj area, where he organized the colliery workers in the coal mines. He was later elected secretary of the Bankura district committee of the SP. He was one of the first trade unionists to be detained by the then West Bengal government under the Public Security Act. On his release he was "externed" from

* The so-called United Front government, a multiclass coalition dominated by the Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], was installed following its victory in the state elections in February 1969. The coalition collapsed on March 16 of this year when Chief Minister Ajoy Mukherjee of the bourgeois Bangla Congress party resigned. West Bengal has since been placed under the direct administration of the central government in New Delhi. — IP

Bankura district but he continued to work "underground."

In 1952 when the SP merged with the Krishak Mazdoor Praja party [KMPP], a dissident group from the Congress party, to form the Praja Socialist party [PSP], he resigned along with other Trotskyists and functioned for a while under the banner of the Socialist party (Marxists). Thereafter he lost contact with the Trotskyist groups that existed in different parts of the country and settled down in Bankura to work among the peasants.

It was during this period of his "political isolation" that Comrade Jha came in touch with the organizers of the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi [GSN], under whose auspices he conducted various welfare activities amongst the landless peasants belonging to the scheduled castes in Bankura. He moved to Krishnapur village in 1959, where about 200 acres of arable land had supposedly been donated to the GSN collectively by the village. He founded a high school and a village-industries centre in neighbouring Masatkal village.

At Krishnapur the lands were initially tilled collectively by the villagers but dissensions arose. Later, each peasant family was allowed to till its own land on the basis of mutual co-operation. Comrade Jha broke with the GSN in 1967. He realized that reformist "Gandhian" activities did not touch even the fringe of the land problem. He was thoroughly disillusioned "with the make-believe activities" done in the name of "Sarvodaya" ["good of all" movement] conducted by the followers of Gandhi.

Recalling his association with the GSN, Jha told me: "I was never a Gandhian. I did not have anything to do with the Congress. I could never forget my initial training in the principles of class struggle as a Marxist. I could see the absolute futility of the so-called Sarvodaya movement aimed at changing the hearts of the exploiters.

"I could not work with the CP because I was always repelled by its Stalinist practices. In Bankura at any

rate there was nothing to choose between the Congress and the CPI [Communist party of India—the pro-Moscow CP]. Both were led by the jotedars.

"I had no political collaborators who thought like me, till 1967 when I came to know that the Trotskyists in India had organized the Socialist Workers party. I decided to join the SWP and work for the objectives of a socialist revolution in India."

Comrade Jha, however, said that there were quite a large number of subjectively honest militants among "Sarvodaya" workers doing welfare work in the villages. It would appear that a state conference of the GSN workers held in March 1970 at Bankura decided to support the movement of agricultural workers as initiated by the PSKS. Jha himself was invited to address the conference on the final day.

"They heard me with attention," he said. "I told them plainly that the Gandhian technique of changing the hearts of the exploiters is a myth. I stressed the need for teaching the exploited village workers and the landless to organize struggles against their exploiters, jotedars, rich peasants, and money lenders, not as individuals but collectively through class organizations of the rural poor. I told them that they must support the struggles of the rural poor and those of the urban workers which alone can liquidate capitalism in the final analysis. They listened to me patiently.

"They may not go very far with us," he added, "but there are honest 'Sarvodaya' workers in the villages who are searching a way out of their dilemma and disillusionment. They are rooted among the rural poor, more than are some of the left parties who are confining themselves to well-to-do middle and rich peasants. We need the support of all those who believe in organizing independent class organizations of agricultural workers and the landless peasants in our struggle against the present capitalist state in the rural sector."

* * *

Several villagers were waiting for us at Krishnapur, outside a ramshackle house, partially unroofed. It was Comrade Jha's home, converted into the headquarters of the PSKS. There were some amongst them from different villages, each waiting to explain their woes to their leader.

After introducing me as a journalist from Bombay to a group of young

militants—members of the Shramik Sena [Workers Army], a volunteer corps recently set up by the PSKS—Jha went into a series of consultations with groups of peasants assembled there. Every group had its own grievances and problems.

With some it was police harassment. Activists were being involved in false cases. In one case the jotedars were trying to terrorize sharecroppers and farm workers because of their affiliation to the PSKS. Some peasants had come with detailed information about the *benami* land (illegally owned under pseudonyms by jotedars over and above the ceiling fixed by law). The reports were being recorded by volunteers acting as office staff. There were some school teachers from nearby villages amongst the volunteers.

One of them explained to me: "We file claims for such *benami* lands and also government fallow land on behalf of the landless peasants. Sometimes the authorities allot undisputed plots to the applicants. In some cases the peasants are forced to occupy land held illegally by jotedars and cultivate it themselves."

Comrade Jha had been away from the headquarters for more than a week. As the news of his return spread, new groups started arriving. The sun had set. The house was lit by a kerosene lantern. Most houses in the village burn cotton wicks dipped in cooking oil for light.

We were served with tea made of jaggery [brown sugar from palm sap]. All those who were present got a small cup each. It turned out to be a celebration to greet the journalist from Bombay. Tea is considered a luxury item in Krishnapur. Most families could not afford it as a daily routine.

At night a group of sharecroppers arrived from Raghunathpur village some six miles away with a complaint. The sharecroppers worked on lands belonging to a jotedar who happened to be a prominent leader of the CPI(M). He was a candidate for the State Assembly in 1962 on a CPI ticket. It appears that the jotedar—despite his radical political affiliations—had been harassing his labourers and sharecroppers since November because they had joined the farm labourers' strike. He had registered a complaint with the Simlupal police station implicating some of his farm labourers in a theft case. That was in February when the UF was still in

office. The complaint was so frivolous that the police took no action.

On the night of April 1—after the UF ministry had fallen—the jotedar, accompanied by some toughs including his servants, allegedly entered the hut of one of his sharecroppers and beat him up. The intruders wanted to search the hut on the pretext that the sharecropper had hidden money stolen from the jotedar's house. Protests against an obvious case of illegal trespass and housebreak were of no avail. The jotedar and his men dug up the floor, insulted the women folk, and carried away 250 rupees [US\$33] found in the sharecropper's shirt pocket (the victim said he had collected the money to buy a pair of bullocks). The sharecropper was threatened with dire consequences if he complained to the police or to the PSKS.

The same thing was repeated at the home of another sharecropper the next day. This time the jotedar brought the police with him, but they refused to enter the hut because they had no search warrant. The jotedar took the law into his own hands, ransacked the house, and took 100 rupees. His men gave the police a PSKS membership receipt they had found. The police did not interfere.

When reports of the outrage reached the PSKS office, a group of organizers led by Fakhir Singh Babu went to the village. They collected the victim and went to the Simlupal police station where they lodged a complaint against the jotedar for housebreaking, illegal trespass, and dacoity [robbery by an armed gang]. The police recorded the complaint but refused to act, saying that they could not earn the displeasure of a big jotedar. They advised the sharecropper to register a case in the district court, in which case they would testify against the jotedar.

The PSKS has submitted a memorandum to the governor of West Bengal protesting the housebreaking and the strange behaviour of the local police. Court action is being considered, but this is a difficult and unrewarding business for the rural poor. The PSKS policy is to rely on mass action rather than the capitalist courts to settle problems on the principle of collective bargaining.

Comrade Jha told me that incidents like that described above are almost daily occurrences. "Jotedars who happen to be members or supporters of

various political parties think they have a licence to terrorize their workers and sharecroppers. When the Congress was in office they were going about as Congressmen. Under the UF they were supporters of the UF parties. In this case we have a jotedar member of the CPI(M) who acts just as much a representative of his class as anybody else."

Jha said that most of the interparty clashes that took place in the rural areas in West Bengal involving different constituents of the UF were something like the Raghunathpur incident. Even the left parties such as the CPI(M), CPI, RSP [Revolutionary Socialist party], etc., in the UF were controlled by powerful groups of jotedars and village vested interests in some districts, and they did not hesitate to go against the interests of the rural poor wherever it suited them. In some districts the left parties did try to organize the landless and poor peasants—hoping to win their support in the next elections—for the limited objective of encouraging them to occupy government land or *benami* land held by jotedars over and above the ceiling limits (provided, of course, the jotedars concerned were not their party supporters).

These clashes were in reality class conflicts emerging in the newly awakened Bengal villages, but they were distorted into "interparty" clashes by the constituents of the UF, some of which, like the Bangla Congress, openly protected the jotedars.

Another type of clash in the villages came in the competition between supporters of various left UF parties to occupy the available *benami* and government lands. Comrade Jha's experience was that such ugly clashes could have been avoided if only the parties concerned resorted to a democratic consensus among landless peasants in the affected villages.

The PSKS has in fact worked out a strategy whereby the distribution of land was carried out without any bickering or clashes among the landless peasants. Force had to be used only for the occupation of concealed *benami* land held by jotedars. One method was to hold public gatherings of the landless peasants in each village to work out agreement on the distribution.

Jagdish Jha was arrested along with nine Santhal tribal peasants in December 1969 under the UF government

on charges of causing "civil commotion." They have been freed on bail, but the prosecution is still pending.

In another case, Rajendra Roy and fourteen other activists of the PSKS of Patharkamla village—under the Taldongra police station—have been charged with "forcibly harvesting" the crops raised on their own land (about seven acres) because the land has been claimed by a local jotedar as his personal property on the basis of manipulated records.

Sixteen other scheduled caste peasants of Amakanda village are charged with "illegally" tilling about nine acres of land which they possessed for three generations but which is now being claimed by some rich peasants in the village.

Jotedars of Jeddi village have filed ejection suits against nine landless peasants who have been traditionally tilling about ten acres of land for years.

Another incident took place in Chotu Karpa village under the Onda police station which has caused a sensation in the entire district. A jotedar went to the village armed with a gun and threatened to shoot down four families of landless peasants tilling some two and a half acres of *benami* land supposedly owned by him. But he was outwitted, and was surrounded by the villagers who disarmed him. Instead of using the gun against the jotedar and provoking widespread police repression, the peasants surrendered the gun to the local police station. But the police, instead of arresting the jotedar, promptly took two peasant leaders into custody and charged ten others with rioting, etc. This happened under the UF government.

Eighteen peasants, including three activists of the PSKS, have been arrested by the police and charged with "forcible occupation" of *benami* land—about fifteen acres—in Ghurghuria village, on the basis of complaints filed by landlords.

In the Taldongra police station area, poor peasants have been traditionally tilling arable land on both sides of a river which legally belongs to the state. There are about 600 acres of such land on the banks of the Silavati and Jayapanda rivers flowing through parts of Bankura district. Such land should have gone to the landless peasants under the land distribution scheme, but under the UF government about 200 acres of river land

was allowed to be "captured" by the local jotedars. There were protests and resistance from the landless peasants.

Recently peasants organized groups to harvest crops they had raised on several acres of land claimed by jotedars in the Taldongra area. Several peasants were arrested, including two activists of the PSKS, Madan Pal and Anil Maji. The PSKS said the police had been bribed by the local jotedars. Local leaders of the CPI(M) and the CPI, however, worked openly against the landless peasants in this case.

These incidents are indicative of the growing unrest among the rural poor in West Bengal. The peasants are no longer docile; they are prepared to fight for their land. They have demonstrated new militancy in their struggles.

* * *

It was after midnight when we went to bed. We were served a hot meal of rice with fowl curry. Quite a treat. Before retiring, I went out to watch a drama staged by a village cultural team, comprising boys and girls. The theme was mythological—"Krishna Leela"—but the acting was good. Jha explained that the team had just been formed and it had plans to work on some modern plays based on peasant struggles. He said that the PSKS was also training a singing squad to help in the propaganda work.

* * *

We were up in the morning to continue our discussion. Comrade Jha gave me a survey of the economic problems of Bankura, the most backward district in West Bengal. The population is about seventeen lakhs [1,700,000]. Although the soil is fertile, only one crop of paddy is raised in most parts of the district because of inadequate irrigation facilities. Only 50 percent of the arable land is cultivated while the rest is allowed to remain waste. The land is good for raising paddy, vegetables, potatoes, and even wheat.

Under British imperialist rule, Bankura was known for its village water reservoirs. There are about 30,000 tanks and reservoirs in the district, but most are no longer used. They are filled with earth and go dry during the off-monsoon season. The PSKS has demanded that they be deepened to store water for the summer months.

The government has spent more than Rs. 26 crores [US\$34,666,000]

for building a dam across the Kangsawati River north of Bankura, and canals have been dug to carry water to the plains. But the canals remain dry after the monsoon months. Improved reservoirs would solve this problem, making it possible to raise a second crop, thus providing employment for several thousand farm labourers who are now without work six months of the year. This would also increase food production.

The PSKS has also demanded the levelling of existing paddy fields, and village control of forests to curb unauthorized cutting of trees by jotedars and city merchants. These demands affect the entire rural population. It has demanded full year-round employment for farm labourers, and the payment of unemployment doles. Comrade Jha said that if adequate water was made available, more than 80 percent of the arable land could be brought under cultivation.

More than 30 percent of the rural population in Bankura district are agricultural workers or landless peasants, according to figures compiled by the GSN. Another 30 percent cultivate plots of five acres or less; 15 percent own five to ten acres; 15 percent own ten to twenty acres; and about 7 percent of the population own plots of twenty to twenty-five acres. Twenty-five acres is the legal ceiling for private cultivation. About 3 percent of the population own plots of twenty-five acres or more.

There are no industries in Bankura. Once-flourishing handicrafts like the making of copper and bronze utensils, pottery, and handloom weaving have been destroyed.

Jha is conscious of the fact that no real scheme for land development can be implemented by the existing capitalist state—it complains of lack of resources for even more pressing projects. But the PSKS has included these demands in its eighteen-point charter to win the support of the poor peasants and neutralize the middle peasants in their struggle against the village rich and the capitalist state. Only a socialist revolution aimed at liquidating capitalism can liberate the rural poor from their present drudgery and bondage.

* * *

Backward Bankura district was once a stronghold of the Congress party. In 1967 Congress leader Atulya Ghosh was defeated by J. M. Biswas of the CPI in the election to the

Lok Sabha. The Congress candidate, however, won the Lok Sabha seat reserved for scheduled tribes from the Vishpur constituency. Of the thirteen Assembly seats from the district, six have been annexed by the Bangla Congress (a split-away group from the Congress, representing jotedars), four by the CPI(M), one by the CPI, one by the Samyukta Socialist party, and one by the Forward Bloc.

Comrade Jagdish Jha, now a member of the West Bengal Committee of the SWP, broke his political isolation by entering the electoral contest in 1967 as an independent left candidate for the State Legislature, supported by the SWP, from the Taldongra constituency. He was offered a seat by the CPI(M) from the same constituency on condition that he support the CPI(M)'s policy in relation to the multiclass UF. He declined the offer and fought the election on a class programme. He secured about 4,000 votes but the constituency elected the CPI(M) candidate.

The election campaign helped Comrade Jha to popularize the SWP programme of a workers and peasants government as opposed to the CPI(M) and CPI programme of a multiclass coalition. Comrade Jha built up an organizational base for the SWP with which he has been able to launch the PSKS. He has won the confidence of the local workers through years of patient work in the villages. He built schools with hostel facilities for scheduled caste students in various villages.

Now that the myth of the multiclass (UF) coalitions has been blown up in West Bengal, the ranks of all the left parties—particularly those of the CPI(M)—are searching for an alternative. All the traditional left parties which succumbed to the lures of bourgeois parliamentarism and of ministerial posts are facing a serious crisis. It is at this juncture that the independent class struggle of agricultural workers and landless peasants, initiated by the PSKS, is blazing a new path, a new experiment for the entire left movement in the state. All left parties are watching the experiment in Bankura with interest, although none of them is prepared to lend a helping hand as yet.

As far as the CPI(M) and CPI, the two mass left parties, are concerned, the experiment runs counter to their theory of a "bloc of four classes."

What worries the leaders of the PSKS is not so much the opposition from the traditional parties as the lack of re-

sources and financial support which they need to keep them going until the next harvesting season when the peasants can raise enough food grains to feed the activists.

The PSKS has issued an appeal for funds and material support in the form of food packets, clothes, and medicines.* It has also launched an extensive propaganda campaign to popularize its eighteen-point programme during the next two months, before the ploughing operations begin in the villages. Several mass rallies are being held in different villages and several others are planned in May. Public meetings addressed by leaders of the SWP from Calcutta and other parts of the state are well attended. They are indications of a new militancy growing in the Bengal villages.

* * *

Jha recognizes the need for linking the struggle of the rural poor with the urban working class. Already the PSKS has won the support of the leaders of the Road Transport Workers Union in Bankura district. Comrade Tulsi Das, secretary of the union, has joined the SWP, and Comrade Bhutnath Mahanto, a popular teacher of Bankura town, has been elected as the president of the PSKS. The movement has attracted the attention of some of the tribal leaders working in the tribal belt of the adjoining Purulia district linked with Bihar. Some of them established contacts with the PSKS. Jha is trying to reestablish his old contacts with the coalfield workers in the adjoining districts.

Comrade Jha told me, "Unless we establish a firm alliance with the rural poor and the urban working class, we cannot win our struggle. This is where the Naxalites [Maoists] have failed. Apart from their activities of individual terror, which isolated them from the masses of the rural poor, the Naxalites do not believe in building an urban base for their work. They dismissed all trade-union work among urban and agricultural workers as reformism, unhelpful, even harmful to the revolutionary movement. Where the Naxalites failed, we

* The PSKS has asked that donations be sent to Jagdish Jha, addressed to the Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh, Krishnapur Village, Post Pathardoba, Bankura District, West Bengal, India.

are succeeding on the basis of building a class organization of the rural poor."

Naxalites, the Maoist dissidents from the CPI(M), who once posed a serious threat to the CPI(M) leadership in the rural areas of West Bengal, have lost their base in the villages, including in Naxalbari, their birthplace, once considered to be their stronghold. The CPI(M-L) [Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist)—the main Naxalite organization] finds the situation in the West Bengal villages so embarrassing that it has decided to withdraw its isolated cadres into the cities.

In fact, I met a peasant activist who had come all the way from Naxalbari to invite Comrade Jha to organize branches of the PSKS in Darjeeling district. Units of the PSKS are being formed in Nadia, Purulia, and Midnapore districts. They are coming up in Burdwan and other districts as well. The PSKS has enrolled more than 2,000 members. The volunteer corps, the Shramik Sena, already has 400 members. The PSKS is carrying on a membership drive.

* * *

We bade farewell to Krishnapur. An old peasant of eighty told me, "We may be unlettered. We are cut off from civilization. But we know how to fight for our land. We shall defend our rights. The jotedars and the police can never succeed against our combined strength. We are prepared to die fighting." He was not trifling with words. He meant what he said seriously.

As we were leaving I saw Anil Roy, office secretary, sweating over a bicycle whose tyre had burst. It needed a replacement. There was no money to buy a new one. I realized his predicament and asked him how much it would cost. "About Rs.15 [US\$2]," he said. I gave the amount as my first donation to the PSKS. Roy beamed with joy and said: "Cycles are the only mode of quick transport we have in these villages. We have two now, but they break down quite often. We need more of them to meet the growing pressure of work. If we had more friends like you to help us out of our difficulties, we might soon have a jeep of our own."

I left Krishnapur with a sense of satisfaction at having seen a unique struggle of the rural poor unfolding.

April 16.

Iceland

Students Unfurl Red Flag in Reykjavik

Socialist students occupied the Icelandic Ministry of Education building in Reykjavik April 24 and flew the red flag from one of its windows. About a dozen students participated in the sit-in, according to the April 25 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. The purpose of the action was to publicize the lack of funds for higher education and to support a group of Icelandic students in Stockholm who occupied their country's embassy there April 20.

The Stockholm demonstration focused on the Reykjavik government's membership in NATO. The occupiers distributed leaflets denouncing the capitalist nature of Icelandic society and the myth of the "old Nordic" democracy that is supposed to reign on the island.

The protesters declared that socialism was the only way out for Iceland, which has been suffering one of the worst economic crises of its history. Their leaflet said: "We are convinced that the only conceivable solution for the economic and social problems of Iceland is a socialist revolution. Our action is a contribution to the revolutionary struggle." The leaflet called for a "world revolution on a social basis."

When the police arrived, the students left the embassy building voluntarily. They were taken to the police station but released after questioning. As of April 25 there had been no indication that any legal action would be taken against the students. The Icelandic ambassador Haraldur Kröyer announced his willingness to talk to the demonstrators.

In Reykjavik the protesters received harsher treatment, according to the April 24 *Dagens Nyheter*: "... with rather rough methods the police carried out the occupiers and dumped them into the waiting vans."

The liberal *Dagens Nyheter*, the most respected of the big Swedish dailies, reported the student protesters' abstract rhetoric in a tongue-in-cheek style. However, the action prompted the Stockholm paper to devote some attention to the deteriorating situation on the small island.

Dagens Nyheter gave this descrip-

tion of the conditions in the country in its April 21 issue: "Iceland has been shaken by a series of crises in recent years. It suffered the gravest one last year—the same year that the island nation in the Atlantic celebrated its twenty-fifth year of independence.* Two devaluations in one year reduced the Icelandic krona to half its worth. The relationship between the cost of living and wages became distorted. Unemployment and strikes followed in a chain reaction."

Growing unemployment has led to increasing immigration from the island. In the Skane section of Sweden, *Dagens Nyheter* reported, there are already 500 Icelandic immigrants, the largest number in the mining center of Malmö. This is not an inconsiderable loss for a country of about 200,000 inhabitants. Moreover, the Stockholm daily added that in January of this year alone 200 Icelandic building workers migrated to Sweden.

The conservative *Morgonbladet*, Iceland's largest daily, reacted to the student actions and the unwelcome publicity in the Swedish press with a furious editorial. Among other things, it said: "The Swedish papers' view that Icelandic policy is decided by NATO and that Icelanders are completely dominated by the USA is not worth wasting any powder on. Icelandic citizens can be proud of the foreign policy this country has conducted since it became a republic in 1944. But the Swedish papers might consider how much the same could be said for Sweden's foreign policy over the last three decades."

(Iceland was used as an Allied base in the second world war and continues to serve the same function for NATO. Sweden was neutral in the war and has never joined any alliance.

The conservative Icelandic press was particularly outraged at the discussion of class differences and inequalities in Icelandic society by the Swedish papers.

* An independent republic was founded in Iceland in 930. In 1262 the island united with Norway and came under the Danish crown along with that country.



"WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE" reads the huge banner in front of the Federico Escobar theater at Siglo Veinte where the Fourteenth Congress of the Bolivian miners was held in April. More than 800 delegates attended the gathering to discuss what

course to follow after six years of savage repression. Juan Lechin was reelected executive secretary but it remains to be seen whether Ovando will permit him to take office. The Trotskyist tendency reportedly met with a favorable hearing among the delegates.

Bolivian Trotskyists Hail Siglo Veinte Congress

[The following statement was distributed by the Bolivian Trotskyists to the delegates of the miners' congress held at the Siglo Veinte mine the second week of April. This congress, the first in five years due to the repression of the military regimes, challenged the Ovando government by reelecting Juan Lechin executive secretary of the union. Originally forced into exile by Barrientos, Lechin got permission from Ovando to return after the September 1969 coup. However, after a month the miners' leader was forced into exile again for criticizing the regime. The translation of the POR statement is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Comrade Miners:

Holding the Fourteenth Mine Workers Congress is a political triumph!

Imperialism and its national lackeys tried to smash the Bolivian workers movement once and for all with their massacres, seizure of the workers' radio stations, occupation of the union

headquarters, and military encirclements of the mines. They failed resoundingly.

The miners' movement suffered blows and massacres but it was never defeated. We have a proof of this in the holding of this Fourteenth Congress. But the same people who attacked the mine workers and spilled their blood are now posing as democrats, and even revolutionists, with the aim of taming the workers and eliminating their rebelliousness. What they could not achieve with their guns, they want to win now with their bourgeois reformist demagoguery. In this they will also fail. We are confident of it.

This congress will be, and must be, an expression of the combative spirit of the mine workers. This congress must be the sounding board for the poverty and anguish of six years of military dictatorship. But at the same time, this congress must be the one to definitively formulate a revolutionary solution for the seizure of power and building a socialist motherland!

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario

(POR) salutes the Fourteenth Mine Workers Congress; it salutes and offers its hand to each and every one of the miners' delegates and calls on them as always to assume their role as the vanguard of the Bolivian masses, opening up the way for a Workers and Peasants Government.

Replace the Old Methods of Struggle

In the balance sheet the congress will make of these last ten years, it is essential that it center its criticism on the union's political orientation and the tactical methods of struggle by which the mine workers were led. Experience has shown in massacres, firings, persecutions, etc., the failure of the opportunist and reformist positions that sought compromise with the enemies of the working class.

In the past the advocates of such positions first crawled at the feet of the right wing of the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario — Revolutionary Nationalist Movement, the

ruling party from the revolution of 1952 to the Barrientos coup in 1964]. Later they encouraged compromises with the military dictatorship.

This position was suicidal. It ideologically disarmed the miners and disorganized them. It was the cause of many defeats for the mine workers. This congress must repudiate those capitulationist and opportunist conceptions and set a clear class line.

The Fourteenth Congress must express in its resolutions the high level of consciousness and revolutionary socialist spirit of the rank and file in the mines. With this line it must reorganize the unions, revive the armed miners' pickets, and courageously proclaim militant solidarity with those who are struggling for the national and social liberation of Bolivia today by means of guerrilla warfare.

Win Back What Has Been Lost and Advance Toward New Conquests

A revolutionary political and trade-union policy must be linked through a transitional program with the most deeply felt concerns of the masses of miners. It is important that the congress resolve to win back all the economic, political, and social gains existing in May 1965, which were brutally abolished by the military dictatorship. On this basis, the congress must project new revolutionary gains to advance the miners' movement. This means that we cannot be satisfied with what we had in 1965 but we must go forward.

In this way, the congress must resolve to win the following objectives and organize the struggle for:

a) Restoration of wages, bonuses, contracts, and other benefits to the 1965 level, preliminary to calling for an across-the-board wage rise in accordance with the increase in the cost of living since that year. Reorganization of the grocery stores with the benefits and advantages of that year.

b) Return of all the union property confiscated and occupied by the military dictatorship, such as the union social centers, radio stations, libraries and archives, plus indemnification for the damage done to these possessions of the workers.

c) Reemployment, under union control, of all the workers who were fired; and employment for all the jobless by operating the mines that have been closed and by developing new areas.

May 11, 1970

LIBERTAD PARA EL DIRIGENTE MINERO DE HUANUNI

FELIPE VASQUEZ C.



En la cárcel de San Pedro (La Paz) se encuentra privado de su libertad FELIPE VASQUEZ C., activo dirigente minero de Huanuni, acusado de combatir guerrillas, y de haber montado laboratorios y talleres para sostener la lucha de liberación nacional en las minas. Vasquez no es desconocido para los trabajadores porque fue valiente activista desde 1964-65, contra la dictadura militar y un intransigente defensor de los intereses del proletariado minero. Por eso, cuando los oficiales ocuparon y cercaron Huanuni, fue apesadado, apaleado y expulsado de la mina. Pero, Vasquez no renunció a la lucha, sino que volvió clandestinamente a Huanuni y organizó los Sindicatos Clandestinos, dirigiendo importantes acciones en defensa de sus hermanos de clase. Así vivió hasta julio de 1969, cuando fue detenido por el DIC, flagelado desnudo en el penal de Oruro, torurado, y luego conducido a La Paz, para luego ser recluido en el Panóptico de San Pedro.

La vida del minero Vasquez ha sido de permanente lucha. Incorporado a las filas del P.O.R., asumió las enseñanzas del marxismo-leninismo, trotskismo, militante y combatiente. Esta orientación clasista lo llevó a ser un revolucionario de acción y se diferenció de los falsos revolucionarios, de sabiduría, que recitan poemas a la revolución y el socialismo, pero que son incapaces de alzarse contra el régimen de explotación y miseria.

Los trabajadores de Huanuni hacemos escuchar nuestra voz de protesta por la prolongada detención de nuestro camarada FELIPE VASQUEZ, exijimos su pronta libertad. Nos dirigimos a todos los distritos mineros, pidiendo que se pronuncie en el mismo sentido. El sindicato de Huanuni, está en el deber de expresar el pensamiento de sus bases y encabezar esta protesta. ¡En cada sección hay que organizar Comités Pro-Libertad de Felipe Vasquez! Los estudiantes de Huanuni tienen que sumarse a esta campaña!

Juntamente con el camarada Vasquez, en el Panóptico de San Pedro, están numerosos patriotas, por el mismo delito de luchar por la liberación nacional de Bolivia de la opresión imperialista y por la Federación del régimen capitalista de explotación del obrero. Saludamos a todos los presos, a los compañeros del Che Guevara, Inti Peredo. Saludamos a nuestros camaradas trotskistas José A. Moreno, Víctor Córdova, Tomás Chambi, y Felipe Vasquez. ¡Exijimos la libertad de todos ellos!

Derrotemos al imperialismo y sus lacayos nacionales, liberando a los guerrilleros presos en el Panóptico, cárcel de Mujeres de Obreros y prisión militar de Canari!

¡Adelante con el pensamiento del CHE Guevara! Gloria a Inti Peredo, Maya, Rigoberto Zamora (Marcelo) y todos los héroes proletarios. Gloria al camarada torcido asesinado en la Convención Iván Martínez Tejada Peredo! Alto a la represión! Libertad para el Secretario General del P.O.R., camarada Hugo González Moscoso!

Comité Regional Minero del P.O.R.
HUANUNI, Abril de 1970

Leaflet circulated by Trotskyists in Bolivia demanding freedom for mine leader Felipe

Vasquez, held without trial since last July. See page 434 for translation.

d) Reestablishment of workers control while organizing workers management in the nationalized mines. Workers control in the privately owned mines. Workers representation in the CNSS.

e) Reversion to COMIBOL [Corporación Minera de Bolivia—Bolivian Mining Corporation, the state company administering the nationalized

mines] of the Matilde mine, the tailings, washings, and mine dumps handed over to foreign companies and of the Teoponte goldfields. Nationalization of the intermediate-sized mines, which are the spearhead of imperialism, and organization of the small mines into cooperatives.

f) Defense of the foundries and their operation under control of the FSTMB

[Federación Sindical de Trabajadores Mineros de Bolivia — Trade-Union Federation of Mine Workers of Bolivia].

g) Defense of the nationalized petroleum fields and the establishment of workers control as a means of guaranteeing that they will be exploited for the benefit of the Bolivian people.

*Maintain Independence
from the Government!*

*No Confidence in Yesterday's
Mass Murderers!*

The present government is not a government of the Bolivian workers. The army, transformed into the political party of the bourgeoisie, took power in 1964 to save the capitalist system from an approaching popular insurrection. This army-party governed through Ovando-Barrientos, through Barrientos-Siles, and today it is governing again through Ovando.

After military repression failed, in order not to fall before the Bolivian masses headed by the guerrillas, the army-party took up the demagogic banner of bourgeois reformism. Waving this banner, it is trying to deceive the masses and divert them from the revolutionary road. The present government is the government of moribund imperialist capitalism which has assumed a "revolutionary" mask to save itself.

But the army-party is still the same organization that massacred the miners, that murdered Che Guevara and Inti Peredo, and that cut the wages of the miners. There must be no mistake about this! It is the same wolf in another disguise! For this reason the position of the mine workers in their Fourteenth Congress must be clear and final. Absolute independence from the Ovando government! No confidence in the Ovando government!

But, in differentiating themselves from the army-party of the bourgeoisie and the Ovando government, the miners must advance their own revolutionary class alternative. They must reject Ovando but at the same time clearly support the struggle for the national and social liberation of Bolivia, for socialism and a workers state.

There is no halfway ground. There is no place for reformist vacillators and capitulationists. The twelve years of the MNR government and the six

years of the military regime have shown that so-called bourgeois nationalism leads only to superexploitation of the Bolivian masses and a greater sellout of the country to imperialism.

The social, economic, and political objectives this congress sets will be won in struggle and every gain will be the fruit of a victory. Submission to Ovando, conciliationist positions, appeals and compromises, as in 1964-65, will lead to defeat and massacre because they embolden the dictators.

You cannot beg anything from the class enemy. You must defeat him, compel him to grant concessions, wrest from him the gains the masses need in their transition to socialism.

Rearm the Miners!

One of the most important decisions of the Fourteenth Congress must be to arm the mine workers. It is not enough to approve resolutions and programs, however radical and correct they may be. In this epoch of direct confrontation with imperialism and its national lackeys who defend this system of exploitation by arms, resolutions and programs alone do not lead to victory.

Even strikes and mass mobilizations are insufficient in the face of army-parties ready to commit mass murder to preserve their privileges. This is the history of Bolivia. How many strikes, how many mobilizations have been exposed to murderous gunfire? The strength of the workers today cannot lie alone in the justness of their principles and the cause they support!

Case of Felipe Vasquez

Huanuni Mine Leader Still Held in La Paz Prison

[The following is our translation of a leaflet that is being distributed by the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario — Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International) as part of the Porista campaign to win the release of their imprisoned comrade Felipe Vásquez C.]

* * *

Felipe Vásquez C., an active leader of the Huanuni miners, is in the San

The proletarian cause must be backed up by proletarian arms. *When imperialism has declared war on the peoples, a correct revolutionary policy, if its aim is to win, must be based on arming the people.* For this reason the Fourteenth Congress must resolve to rearm the miners' unions and create a large armed force of miners which would be part of the great Army of National and Social Liberation whose construction began in Nancahuazú. This is the road to victory.

*Freedom for the Imprisoned
Revolutionists*

In the prisons of San Pedro and Obrajes and the military prison of Camiri the most determined revolutionists are confined for combating imperialism arms in hand. Among them is the Huanuni miners' leader Felipe Vásquez C., accused of being a guerrilla. The miners' congress must pass a resolution calling for the release of all these patriots; and it must organize a national campaign to win this objective. Long live the Fourteenth Miners Congress!

Freedom for the imprisoned Poristas: Moreno, Vásquez, Córdova, Chambi! Stop the persecution of the secretary general of the POR, Comrade Hugo González Moscoso! Long live the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the genuine embodiment of Marxism-Leninism and fighting Trotskyism.

The Executive Committee of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, Oruro, April 9, 1970.

Pedro prison in La Paz, deprived of his freedom. He is accused of being a guerrilla fighter and of having set up laboratories and workshops to support the national liberation struggle in the mines.

Vásquez is no stranger to the miners. He has been a valiant fighter against the military dictatorship since 1964-65 and an intransigent defender of the interests of the mine workers. For this reason, when the military occupied

and surrounded Huanuni, Vásquez was arrested, beaten, and expelled from the mine. But he did not give up the struggle.

Vásquez returned clandestinely to Huanuni and organized the underground unions, leading important actions in defense of his class brothers. He lived this way until 1969 when he was arrested by the DIC [Dirección de Investigaciones Criminales — Criminal Investigation Department, the secret police], whipped in the Oruro armory with his back bared to the lash, tortured, and later taken to La Paz. There he was subsequently confined in the San Pedro Penitentiary.

The life of the miner Vásquez has been one of permanent struggle. He joined the POR and learned the lessons of militant and fighting Marxism-Leninism, Trotskyism. This class orientation led him to become a revolutionist in action and differentiated him from

those sham armchair revolutionists who recite poems to revolution and socialism but are incapable of rebelling against the system of exploitation and poverty.

We workers of Huanuni raise our voices in protest against the prolonged confinement of our comrade Felipe Vásquez. We appeal to all the mine union districts to declare themselves similarly. It is the duty of the Huanuni union to express the thinking of its rank and file and take the lead in this protest. Committees for the release of Felipe Vásquez must be organized in every section. The students of Huanuni must join in this campaign.

Along with Comrade Vásquez, many other patriots are in the San Pedro penitentiary for the same crime of fighting for the national liberation of Bolivia from imperialist oppression and for the elimination of the capitalist system of exploiting the workers. We

salute all the prisoners, the compañeros of Che Guevara and Inti Peredo. We salute our Trotskyist comrades José A. Moreno, Víctor Córdova, Tomás Chambi, and Felipe Vásquez. We demand freedom for all of them.

Defeat imperialism and its national lackeys by liberating the guerrillas imprisoned in the San Pedro penitentiary, the Obrajes Women's Prison, and the military prison of Camiri!

Forward with the principles of Che Guevara! Glory to Inti Peredo, Maya, Rigoberto Zamora (Marcelo), and all the worker heroes. Glory to our murdered Porista comrade Ivar Martín Tejada Peredo! Stop the repression. Stop the persecution of the general secretary of the POR, Comrade Hugo González Moscoso!

Regional Miners Committee of the POR. Huanuni, April 1970.

Great Success for Planned Economy

China Puts First Space Satellite in Orbit

By Gerry Foley

Launching its first earth satellite April 24, China demonstrated the progress it has made since the victory of the revolution and the toppling of capitalism. A country that less than a quarter of a century ago was prostrate, disease- and famine-ridden, and helpless under the carving knife of the imperialists and warlords has accomplished a technological feat that only the most advanced countries have attempted.

The Chinese satellite is twice the size of the Soviet sputnik whose launching thirteen years ago shook the confidence of the American capitalist rulers in their vaunted technological superiority. Before the sputnik, the capitalist press often described the Soviet Union, like China, as a country of "primitive Asiatic hordes."

The Chinese achievement is all the more striking when compared with the stagnation of China's capitalist neighbor India, a country of similar problems which gained its independence about the time Mao's armies expelled the last of Chiang's forces from the mainland. While the Chinese workers state has been able to feed its huge

population and to open up a perspective of relatively rapid industrialization, India has sunk deeper into hopelessness and poverty.

However, while the overturn of capitalism and establishment of a planned economy has rescued China from its centuries-long prostration, the rule of the bureaucratic Mao regime has produced serious distortions in the country's development. The disastrous experiment of the "great leap forward" in 1958 was one example of this. The obscurantism and internal strife of the "cultural revolution" has been another.

China's latest achievement shows that the momentum of the planned economy continues to carry the country forward despite the splits and purges of the "cultural revolution." It indicates also that the obscurantist cult of "Mao Tsetung Thought" has its limits. While the "little red book" may be the ultimate authority in medicine, it apparently does not apply to physics and chemistry.

On the other hand, China has benefited from the benightedness of American capitalism. The reportedly most prominent figure in China's space pro-

gram is Chien Hsueh-shen, the youngest full professor ever appointed at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, America's top scientific school. Chien was driven out of the United States during the McCarthy period by witch-hunters, according to the April 26 issue of the *Washington Post*.

Nonetheless, the contradiction between a system of planned economy and the goal of a rational socialist order on the one hand and the bureaucratic practices of Peking on the other is a grave one.

Nothing could better illustrate this contradiction than the fact that the first Chinese satellite is broadcasting the music of a song that glorifies the head of a workers state in terms appropriate to an emperor of China's past.

"The East is Red. The sun rises.
"Mao Tsetung comes out in the East.
"He works for the well-being of the people.
"He is the great savior of the people.
"Chairman Mao, he loves the people.
"He leads us forward.
"The Communist party is like the sun."

Canada's Indians Move Toward Nationhood

By Dick Fidler

[The following article, the second of a series, appeared in the April 6 issue of the Toronto revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*. For the previous article see "The 'Red Power' Movement" in the April 6 *Intercontinental Press*, page 309.]

* * *

What does the future hold for Canada's half million Indians? This question—usually ignored by the countless articles and books now appearing on the "Indian question," most of which don't go much beyond moralizing on the terrible poverty of the Native people—strikes at the root of the Indians' dilemma. Can the Indians, descendants of a Stone Age people uprooted and almost exterminated by the capitalist colonization of North America, ever find acceptance as equals with whites in a modern industrial society? And if so, how?

The prevailing view among Canada's ruling circles is clear: the Indians must assimilate. They must, as Prime Minister Trudeau put it recently, "become Canadians as all other Canadians." His government's aptly named "white paper" which projects the outright abolition of Indian treaty rights within five years spells this out in more detail. At the same time, this society every day reveals how unwilling and unable it is to "assimilate" the Indians. Even when destroyed as a people, they are completely rejected as individuals, the unemployed, underpaid victims of racism.

The essence of the white paper is the proposal to remove Indian lands from the protection against alienation now contained in the Indian Act provisions. Not only does this close the door to attempts to encourage economic development of the reserves, it is the prelude to a massive land grab of these six million acres, much of it choice land near the cities, by real estate speculators and industrial consortiums.

South of the border, where Indians lost ninety million of their 140 million

acres through local land grabs following the Allotment Act of 1887 (which was supposed to *give* them land), and still more during the "Termination policy" of the 1950s and early '60s, they are less hypocritical about it now. A headline on the cover of a recent issue of the *National Review* cynically states the extreme right-wing position: "Did the United States destroy the Indians? No, but it should have."

A growing number of Indians—and all Indian leaders—reject out of hand this fatalistic perspective. Self-help and self-definition, expressed in the remarkable revival of interest among young Indians in their tribal origins, languages, customs, history, even religious traditions—in short, whatever distinguishes them as *Indians* from the dominant, exploiting racist white capitalist culture—are the keystones of the growing movement for Red Power. Every demand, every struggle of the Indians to assert their rights, refutes the lying image of the lazy, shiftless Indian inculcated in our children—white and Indian—by this racist society, beginning with John Wayne's exploits on TV's late, late show.

The basic program being developed by the new Indian leadership is summarized in the demands of the Native Alliance for Red Power, reprinted elsewhere in this issue. It is a program with revolutionary implications because it poses a direct challenge to the natural drive of capitalist society to suppress, absorb or cast aside every national minority or nationality within its borders.

But the Canadian left is by no means unanimous in its appreciation of this dynamic of the Red Power movement. For example, at the recent founding conference of the Ontario NDP [New Democratic party—Canada's labor party] left wing, the "Waffle" group, some participants argued against singling out Indians and Franco-Ontarians as significant "minorities" worth including along with women, students, tenants unions, etc., as powerful potential allies of the organized working

class in the struggle for socialism. Surely the vastly more numerous Italian-Canadians and other immigrant groups are "minorities" with greater potential influence, they objected.

Forgotten here was a vital distinction between *ethnic* minorities like the immigrants who generally have a clearly assimilationist orientation toward the Anglo-Saxon cultural majority in English Canada insofar as it has been able to absorb them, and relatively oppressed national minorities like the French and Indians who are defining themselves in *opposition* to this society's cultural and other values.

But, some socialists might object, surely you are not saying that the Indians constitute a "nation"? Don't they lack the normal attributes of a nation as it is commonly understood? They have no common territory, no common language, no distinct viable economic life, and their cultural and historical traditions, while picturesque, have little relevance to a complex industrial society. Or so the argument goes . . .

Regardless of this or that formal criterion, the key question is how the Indians see themselves—their collective consciousness. In this sense, the Indians are evolving, from a race to a nationality . . . to a nation, in much the same way that the Black people or the Chicanos in the United States may be said to constitute a nation, a nation without territory. Moreover, the Indians can be said to possess to some degree *all* of the formal criteria of a nation, too, beginning with a territory. It is precisely their deep attachment to their lands that has enabled the Indians to resist destruction so far. These lands, recognized by treaty, include 2,000 reserves on six million acres of Canada. Much of this land is marginal, undeveloped, largely uncultivable, and useful mainly for the traditional pursuits of hunting, trapping and fishing.

But much of it is very valuable. In British Columbia, a multimillion dollar shopping center stands on land

leased from the Squamish band of West and North Vancouver, while in Kamloops, Indians hired a firm of business consultants to draw up a plan for developing their 32,800-acre reserve, and created their own industrial estate.

The shocking fact about the Indians' reserve lands is that no one has ever done a comprehensive survey of their economic viability — least of all the government, which is concerned mainly with dispersing the Indians out of the reserves. The government's Hawthorn-Tremblay report, the most exhaustive study of Canada's Indians so far, concluded only that an economic survey was necessary, while maintaining that development of the reserves and Indian communities is "distinctly secondary" to "massive efforts" to move Indians off the reserves and into the cities. Even available funds for development have not been disbursed; last year the staff of the Ontario government's Indian Development Branch quit because, out of the million dollars the province had earmarked for Indian projects, only a fraction had been spent and many self-help projects had been refused financial aid by the government. Of the federal Indian Affairs Department's \$62 million budget in a recent year, only \$1.5 million was spent on economic development. Because title to the reserves is vested in the government, the Indians cannot arrange bank loans in their own name; but Indians charge that the government fails to back loans for industrial and commercial development of the reserves. An unidentified former top official of the Branch was quoted in the *Globe and Mail*, Oct. 21, 1967:

"As a rule the economic development programs that the Branch supports are the marginal, low-profit enterprises like fresh-water fish cooperatives. They're useful, but it was my experience that whenever anyone proposed that the Indians themselves run some larger enterprise — such as building their own resort community instead of leasing to a developer, or organizing a company to exploit their own oil and gas resources — the idea was dismissed, because of fear that established companies would put on pressures against so-called unfair competition from the Indians, backed by the government.

"Indian band capital funds totaling

\$30 million are on deposit in Ottawa. Oil and gas alone on Indian reserves is estimated to total \$2 billion.

"How is it that such rich people are so poor? Why can't Crown corporations or commercial corporations be set up, primarily under Indian control but with expert outside help, to exploit these resources? Why can't the Indians hire their own management talent?"

The official is merely echoing a key demand raised by Red Power militants — for economic development of the reserves by the Indians themselves, or "foreign aid" as they put it. Harold Cardinal says: "What the Indian wants is really quite simple. He wants the chance to develop the resources available to him on his own homeland, the reserve. . . . [This] includes financial assistance . . . training in the precise skills he will need to develop the re-

sources . . . access to expert advice and counsel . . . Indian involvement. Our people want the right to set their own goals, determine their own priorities, create and stimulate their own opportunities and development."

What this means is that, in effect, the Indians do indeed possess a major attribute of most nations, their own territory, much of it bordering established industrial areas of the country. And most important, an increasing number of Indians see their future as a people linked with the fate of these reserves. Despite the massive migration in recent years into the cities and the terrible poverty of the reserves, very few treaty Indians — only 600 a year — voluntarily opt out of legal Indian status. And 500 of these are women who, by a blatantly discriminatory provision of the Indian Act, automatically lose treaty status when they marry outsiders.

What Canada's Indians Want

[The following is the program of the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP), an Indian organization on Canada's West Coast established two years ago. It first appeared in the January-February issue of the NARP *Newsletter* and was reprinted in the April 6 issue of the *Toronto Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

1. We will not be free until we are able to *determine our own destiny*. Therefore, we want power to determine the destiny of our reservations and communities. *Gaining power in our reservations and communities*, and power over our lives will entail the abolishment of the "Indian Act," and the *destruction of the colonial office* (Indian Affairs Branch).

2. This racist government has robbed, cheated and brutalized us, and is responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of our people. We feel under no obligation to support this government in the form of *taxation*. Therefore, we want an end to the collection of money from us in the form of taxes.

3. The history of Canada was written by the oppressors, the invaders of this land. Their lies are perpetrated in

the *educational system* of today. By failing to expose the true history of this decadent Canadian society, the schools facilitate our continued oppression. Therefore, we want an education that teaches us our true history and exposes the racist values of this society.

4. In this country, Indian and Metis represent three percent of the population, yet we constitute approximately 60 percent of the inmates in prisons and jails. Therefore, we want an immediate end to the unjust arrests and harassment of our people by the racist *police*.

5. When brought before the *courts* of this country, the redman cannot hope to get a fair hearing from white judges, jurors and court officials. Therefore, we want natives to be tried by a jury of people chosen from native communities or people of their racial heritage. Also, we want freedom for those of our brothers and sisters now being unjustly held in the prisons of this country.

6. The *treaties* pertaining to fishing, hunting, trapping and property rights and special privileges have been broken by this government. In some cases, our people did not engage in treaties with the government and have not been compensated for their loss of

land. Therefore, for those of our people we want fair *compensation*. Also, we want the government to honor the statutes, as laid down in these treaties, as being supreme and not to be infringed upon by any legislation whatsoever.

7. The large industrial companies and corporations that have raped the natural resources of this country are responsible, along with their government, for the extermination of the resources upon which we depend for food, clothing and shelter. Therefore, we want an immediate end to this exploitation, and compensation from these thieves. We want the government to give *foreign aid* to the areas comprising the Indian Nation, so that we can start desperately needed programs

concerning housing, agricultural and industrial cooperatives. *We want to develop our remaining resources in the interests of the redman, not in the interests of the white corporate elite.*

8. The white power structure has used every possible method to destroy our spirit, and the will to resist. They have divided us into status and non-status, American and Canadian, Metis and Indian. We are fully aware of their "divide and rule" tactic, and its effect on our people.

Red Power is the spirit to resist.

Red Power is pride in what we are.

Red Power is love for our people.

Red Power is our coming together to fight for liberation.

Red Power is now!

In Open Letter to Kremlin

Three Soviet Intellectuals

Warn Against 'Tightening of the Screws'

"The victory of a trend toward brutal despotism, or the 'tightening of the screws' will not only fail to solve any of our problems but, on the contrary, will have the effect of aggravating them to an extreme point and leading our country into a tragic impasse. Today we have the chance to take the right road and to carry out the necessary reforms. In a few years it may be too late."

This is the warning expressed in a letter to the Soviet leadership by three prominent Russian intellectuals. According to the April 4 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the letter was made available to Western correspondents in Moscow.

The three signers are reportedly Andrei Sakharov, who played a leading role in developing the Soviet hydrogen bomb; another physicist, V. F. Turshin; and the historian R. A. Medvedev, the author of the book *Should Stalin Be Rehabilitated?* The April 8 English-language selections from *Le Monde* said that "there are good reasons for believing the document to be authentic."

Although the full text of this letter apparently has not yet been published by the international press, long excerpts appearing in *Le Monde*, the

New York Times, and the *Washington Post* indicate that it calls for moderate reforms within the general framework of the bureaucratic system. The authors of the letter state their belief that "a large number of officials are capable of reforming."

The letter was apparently motivated by fear that the lack of democracy in the Soviet Union is leading to a total paralysis of economic administration.

"Our country," the letter begins, "has done a great deal in advancing production, in the area of education and culture, for a fundamental improvement of the living conditions of the workers, and for the establishment of new social relations among human beings. . . ."

"But it is evident that serious failings and difficulties exist. During the past decade threatening signs of disorganization and stagnation have made their appearance in the economy. . . . The growth rate of the national income decreases regularly, the gap between reality and the industrial implementation required for normal development continues to widen."

After listing a number of serious signs of sagging economic development and accumulating social and material problems, the letter states that

"the source of our difficulties does not lie in the socialist system. Quite the opposite: It lies in the circumstances and conditions of our lives which are contrary and inimical to socialism, in anti-democratic traditions and in the kind of government which came into being during the Stalin period and which to this day have not yet been completely eliminated.

". . . the problems of organization and of management cannot be solved by one or several men who hold power and possess an all-embracing knowledge," the letter continues. These problems, it says, "demand a wide exchange of information and ideas," which is impeded on the pretext that truthful reports "could be used for hostile propaganda."

The letter complains of a "lack of confidence toward those who think creatively, critically, and energetically," as well as of an inverse selection in the bureaucracy favoring those who "proclaim their loyalty to the party cause but in fact are only worried about their personal interests."

It goes on to say: "Even those who hold intermediate-level administrative posts are deprived of the right of information; the top administrators receive false information and therefore cannot fully exercise their functions."

Sakharov, Turshin, and Medvedev praise as "useful" the proposed economic reforms which would decentralize economic administration and favor the technocratic layer of the bureaucracy.

However, they insist, as many of the Czechoslovak technocrats did during the "Prague spring," that these reforms "cannot be put through without reforms in the fields of administration and information. A scientific approach demands complete information, impartial thought, and the freedom to create. So long as these conditions are not assembled (and not merely for some individuals but for the masses in general) any talk of scientific management will be nothing but verbiage."

The three intellectuals propose a program of reform including the following measures: a declaration by the top party authorities on the necessity of greater democratization; a gradual increase in the circulation of information on the state of the country and problems affecting the public interest; the diffusion of information from abroad, especially the right to listen

to foreign radio broadcasts and permitting the foreign press to come into the country; creation of an institute to study public opinion; amnesty for the political prisoners; gradual elimination of the internal passport system; and restoration of the rights of all nationalities deported under Stalin.

The naïveté of petitioning the Kremlin, which less than two years ago sent hundreds of thousands of troops to maintain Stalinism in Czechoslovakia, is evident. Coming from men of such prominence, however, the appeal shows more than naïveté; it reveals the predicament of the cultured and functional layers of the bureaucracy.

These sectors are at once professionals—whose interests in a democratic system would not differ essentially from those of the masses—and an elite with excessive privileges and substantial uncontrolled powers of decision over the organization of the economy and society.

Faced with the concrete problems of running the country and planning for the future, these specialists realize that a modern system cannot function without freedom of information and debate. On the other hand, they remain formed by, and incorporated in, the bureaucracy as a whole, whose central purpose is to defend the privileges it derives from its control of society—control which by its very nature is undemocratic and therefore inefficient and in the long run untenable.

If totalitarian repression is loosened even slightly, giving the masses an opportunity to formulate demands, the bureaucracy can be overwhelmed. It can disintegrate in a matter of days as it did in Hungary in 1956, or be swept along by forces it cannot control, as in Czechoslovakia.

The concrete democratic demands that Sakharov, Turshin, and Medvedev make are in the interests of the masses and the development of socialist society. However, their international program shows that they have not broken with the essentially conservative attitude of the bureaucracy.

The letter of the three intellectuals favors formally renouncing the Soviet Union's "excessive messianic ambition" and seeking improved relations with the capitalist countries.

On the other hand it stresses the necessity of maintaining if not increasing the "economic and technological gap between our country and China."

More Objective than Pro-Moscow CP

Peking Reports Antiwar Conference Held by SMC in Cleveland

In an article entitled "U.S. Progressive Student Movement Develops in Depth," released in Peking April 4, the Chinese government news agency Hsinhua cited the February 14-15 conference of the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam as important evidence of the new youth radicalization.

To be sure, the Maoist news service did not mention the SMC by name, but otherwise its account of the conference was noteworthy for its objectivity in comparison with the bulk of the reporting coming out of Peking.

"As the Nixon administration persists in the war of aggression in Viet Nam and expands its armed intervention in Laos," Hsinhua said, "the American people's struggle against the policies of aggression and war of the U.S. ruling circles is gaining momentum. The progressive American students have thrown themselves zealously into the struggle.

"In February this year, more than 3,400 students from 39 states, representing 300 colleges and universities and 100 high schools, attended a conference at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, Ohio. At the conference, which was the largest in scale and broadest in representation in the history of the American students' struggle against war of aggression, the students expressed their firm determination to oppose wars of aggression."

This report was in marked contrast to the treatment given to the conference in the February 28 issue of the *Daily World*, the organ of the American Communist party, under the headline "Student Mobe hampered by racism of Trotskyist faction."

The CP put its own factional bias against Trotskyism above the imperative necessity to build a united-front defense of the Vietnamese revolution against the American imperialist invasion. The CP reporter, Victoria Missick, admitted that "the focus of the conference was on building toward the spring peace offensive on the campuses, working for mass demonstra-

tions in cities across the country demanding that *all* the troops be brought home *now*."

The conference was also marked by the largest Black and "Third World" caucus of any previous antiwar gathering. This caucus as well as the overwhelming majority of the participants in the conference as a whole voted to reject a proposal by CP youth supporters to adopt a program to "struggle against white supremacy and racism." Black participants in the conference pointed out that the SMC could not substitute itself for the Black Liberation movement and that to adopt a program on issues other than the war—including, as the CP suggested, endorsement of "black members of government" within the Democratic party—would destroy the united-front character of the SMC.

It was its defeat by a democratic majority that prompted the American Stalinists' tirade against the "Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance," and, as Victoria Missick put it, the "petty bourgeois cultural nationalism attitudes" which she imputed to the Black participants in the SMC meeting.

Even on the question of attendance, the Maoists must be credited with a more accurate figure. According to the *Daily World*, "more than 2,000 people" took part. The actual registration was 3,469.

Famous Kissing Scene

The April 23 London *Times* reports that the following story is making the rounds in Prague:

During a newsreel showing in a movie house, scenes appeared of Husak kissing Brezhnev.

A voice shouted from the audience: "Don't forget his arse."

The lights went on and the police entered. They demanded identification of the culprit. No one responded.

The manager issued a warning, the lights were dimmed, and the newsreel was run again from the beginning.

When the kissing scene was reached, the whole audience roared: "Don't forget his arse."

The house lights went on immediately. The audience merely filed out with no further incident.

Principled Basis of Trotskyist Reunification in 1963

A Note on Healy's Current Slanders

By Joseph Hansen

In the past months, the leadership of the Socialist Labour League, a British sectarian grouping that calls itself "Trotskyist," has been campaigning against the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party of the United States, which is in fraternal solidarity with the world organization of the Trotskyist movement although barred by reactionary legislation from maintaining organizational ties with it.

The occasion for the campaign is an internal discussion that was begun by the sections of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers party in preparation for the third world congress of the Fourth International since reunification (held in April 1969) and that is being continued in literary form.

In the morgue-like atmosphere maintained by National Secretary Gerry Healy in the Socialist Labour League, such a free discussion would amount to a scandalous situation if not a "betrayal." And the SLL leaders, of course, judge such discussions in other organizations by their own anti-Leninist and anti-Trotskyist standards. Recently—as if they were making an extraordinary exposé, they published several documents (with "necessary deletions") and extracts from others that came into their hands.

Shocking as it may seem to a good many members of the SLL that such a free discussion could be held, others may begin to wonder about the monolithism in their own organization. Unexpectedly to Healy, some good may thus come of his efforts to "expose" the discussion occurring in the world Trotskyist movement.

In his list of further documents to be "exposed," we should like to suggest that Healy give top priority to the one reprinted below. It should be of special interest to members of the SLL since it can safely be asserted that 99.9 percent have never heard of it and the remaining 0.1 percent probably had to turn their numbered copies back in to Healy personally.

The document is of decisive importance in judging the basis of the reunification of the Trotskyist movement in 1963. Healy has attacked the reunification as "unprincipled." This is his main contention in his current campaign. The fraudulent nature of the contention can be judged from the fact that neither Healy nor any of his lieutenants has ever taken up this document publicly.

Under the title "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," the document was submitted by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers party to the International Committee and the International Secretariat, the leading bodies of the two factions in the Fourth International at that time. It was accepted by an overwhelming majority on each side and thus became the statement of principles on which the two sides carried out a fusion at the subsequent Reunification Congress in 1963.

What did Healy object to in this document? He has never stated his objections but they are hardly any secret.

In my considered opinion, Healy was motivated primarily by dead-end factionalism. He sought, however, to find a "high level" on which to express his opposition. The points to which he objected, as indicated by all his subsequent propaganda, concerned (1) the designation of Cuba as a workers state, (2) the recognition of the role played by the colonial revolution in the postwar period, and (3) the acknowledgment that at a certain point in the revolutionary struggle in some countries, guerrilla warfare can serve as a useful tactic.

In the years since the Reunification Congress, Healy has covered up his differences on these points with an immense amount of verbiage about the importance of theory. The word "about" is accurate. I doubt that any sect anywhere has written more *about* the importance of theory while contributing less to developing it.

Eleven years after the victory of the Cuban revolution, Healy still holds that Cuba's economy is state capitalist and that Castro is another "Batista." This is his dogma. He has, of course, a democratic right to live with it and to enjoy it insofar as this is possible. Nonetheless it is sad that a person who shouts so much about the importance of theory should have found so little time to attempt to make at least a small contribution to the economic theory of state capitalism in Cuba and the political theory of Castroism as a synonym for "Batistaism."

There are good theoretical reasons for Healy's impotence. He has refused to recognize that the Cuban revolution led to the establishment of a workers state because of the fact that the leadership there was not exercised by a political party that measured up to the norms of Leninism. This is the empirical basis of his position.

By the same criterion, he should have refused to recognize that the Chinese revolution led there to the establishment of a workers state (however deformed by Maoism). But in this instance, Healy bowed to the empirical fact that a workers state had been established in China, no matter how much its leadership had departed from the norms of Leninism.

Healy did the same in the case of the East European workers states, recognizing the empirical fact of their establishment even under a leadership (Stalin himself!) that departed so far from the norms of Leninism that it had to be designated as *counterrevolutionary*.

It is this profound contradiction in Healy's theory—the inconsistency between his position on Cuba and his position on China and the East European workers states—that has deprived him of all capacity to offer even the most meager contribution in the area that he selected to mark his separation in theory from the world Trotskyist movement.

The Reunification Congress did not exclude Healy or his cothinkers because of their views on this or any other question. In the past, the Fourth International has included in its ranks revolutionists who maintained that

the economy of the Soviet Union is state capitalist. Repeated debates were held over the years with such comrades and they were never expelled for such views. It was Healy who decided that his position on Cuba made it impossible for him to participate in the reunification of the world Trotskyist movement.

It was Healy who decided that his position on Cuba and the related questions of the colonial revolution as a whole, including guerrilla warfare, were more important than all the other points in the statement of principles on which the reunification was based.

Because of his bizarre position on Cuba, Healy until recently was unable to gain a single recruit, to anyone's knowledge, throughout Latin America. However, last fall he finally succeeded in making a breakthrough. He formed a bloc with the Guillermo Lora grouping in Bolivia.

The first public indication of this alliance was an attack in the press of Healy's French followers (the Lambertists) against Hugo González, a leader of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International.

Hugo González was the object of a nationwide police hunt because of his revolutionary activities. This was the moment chosen by the Lora grouping to slander González with the allegation: "Serious suspicions exist today that Mr. González Moscoso in person is working in the pay of the Bolivian government."

Commenting on this in the December 15, 1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, Gerry Foley said:

"It is to be hoped that the nature of the relationship between the Lora group and the Lambertists will be clarified. Does this alliance rest on a principled agreement? Does Lora, like the Socialist Labour League and Lambert, believe that the Cuban revolution was not socialist, giving rise only to state capitalism? Does he hold with them that Fidel Castro is another 'Batista'? Does he approve of the slanders that appeared in the Socialist Labour League press (before it became known that Che Guevara was in Bolivia) that Castro had liquidated his comrade in arms?"

Neither Healy nor Lambert answered this challenge. Instead, they repeated the slandering of Hugo González. The Healyite press did this in a particularly unctuous way, modifying the English-language translation of the slander so that it made nonsense.

Lora joined in personally with a statement that he solidarized completely with the original slander. He added that members of the POR, many of whom had been arrested, were "adventurers who have turned revolutionary involvement into a business proposition designed to satisfy their personal needs."

In reply to this, I sought in the March 2, 1970, issue of *Intercontinental Press* to show precisely how the English translation of the slander of González had been fixed up in the January 17 issue of the Healyite paper *Workers Press*. I repeated the challenge made by Gerry Foley as to the basis in principle of the bloc with Lora and added:

"Neither Healy, Lambert, nor Lora have answered these questions. To this day they have not made public the basis in principle of their political combination.

"Or have they? Take another look at the slanders repeated by Lora, besmirching the Bolivian Trotskyists in

the prison cells and torture dungeons of the Bolivian political police.

"There's genuine Healyism at its purest and finest!"

Healy finally replied in an "Open Letter to Joseph Hansen" (left unsigned as is habitual among writers of poisonous letters). The letter was hardly a short one. It took up more than one-quarter of two issues (No. 144 and No. 145) of *Workers Press*.

Despite its length, it must be admitted that the author did an admirable job of sustaining Healy Thought at its purest and finest. Not a word of apology is to be found in it about the slandering of Hugo González and the jailed Bolivian Trotskyists. That topic has been buried! Nor is there a single word in reply to the repeated challenge to clarify the basis of the united front with the slanderer Guillermo Lora.

Instead the masked marvel professes to find a difference between me and Hugo Blanco on the Latin-American revolution!

This is coupled with strings of quotations torn out of articles I or other members of the Socialist Workers party have written about Cuba since the victory of the revolution. For all his diligence, the writer sedulously avoids quoting a single item that would require going into the theory of the Cuban revolution. In this area the SLL has not advanced a millimeter since Healy first discovered where Cuba is on the map.

In Healy Thought, this method of replying is known as Squid Karate—swoosh back in a cloud of ink.*

What is Healy trying to hide concerning the basis of his bloc with Lora? It would appear justifiable to conclude that we have before us an instance of *unprincipled combinationism*—all that Lora and Healy have in common is an agreement to join in attacking the "Pabloites" (the label they pin on the members of the Fourth International), even if this means running with the police as in the case of their slander of the Bolivian Trotskyists.

Before coming to this conclusion, however, it is best to wait to hear from Lora. If Lora today agrees with Healy that no revolution occurred in Cuba, that all that happened was that another "Batista" installed "state capitalism," then the bloc would not be unprincipled. It would be instructive, however, to see what achievements Lora might boast of in Bolivia and the rest of Latin America in applying such a theory.

While Lora is expounding to what degree he has accepted Healy Thought, he might also examine the basis of the 1963 reunification of the Fourth International, as stated in the document below, and tell us wherein he disagrees with it.

Or has he agreed to keep his mouth shut like Healy on anything that might bring up the question of what principles, if any, they followed in constituting their bloc?

* * *

* For documentation casting a most revealing light on the methods that have gained notoriety for the SLL, see *Healy Reconstructs the Fourth International* (40 pages, 35 cents). A good discussion of the key issues in Healy's challenge to the Fourth International is to be found in *Marxism Vs. Ultra-leftism* by Ernest Germain (97 pages, \$1). Both pamphlets are available from Pathfinder Press, 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003.

'For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement'

The world Trotskyist movement has been split since 1954. Various efforts in the past to heal the rupture proved unsuccessful. On both sides, however, it has been felt for some time that a new and more vigorous effort for reunification should be made in view of the encouraging opportunities that now exist to further the growth and influence of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

The Socialist Workers party has stressed that a principled basis exists for uniting the main currents of the world Trotskyist movement. During the past year the International Secretariat took the initiative in urging the necessity and practicality of ending the split. For its side the International Committee proposed that a Parity Committee be set up. Although some of the comrades in the IC viewed this as involving no more than a practical step to facilitate common discussion and united work in areas of mutual interest, the majority, it appears clear, welcomed the formation of the committee as an important step toward early reunification.

While substantial differences still remain, especially over the causes of the 1954 split, the area of disagreement appears of secondary importance in view of the common basic program and common analysis of major current events in world developments which unite the two sides. With good will it should be possible to contain the recognized remaining differences within a united organization, subject to further discussion and clarification, thus making possible the great advantages that would come through combining the forces, skills, and resources of all those now adhering to one side or the other.

The main fact is that the majority on both sides are now in solid agreement on the fundamental positions of the world Trotskyist movement. As briefly as possible we will indicate the points of common outlook:

1. The present agonizing world crisis reflects at bottom a prolonged crisis in revolutionary leadership. The development of the productive forces on a global scale has made the world overripe for socialism. Only a socialist planned world economy can rapidly overcome the economic underdevelopment of the colonial and semicolonial countries, deliver mankind from the threat of nuclear extinction, and assure a world society of enduring peace, of boundless plenty, the unlimited expansion of culture and the achievement of full freedom for all. Without the international victory of socialism, decaying capitalism will continue to waste enormous resources, to hold two-thirds of the earth's population in abject poverty, to maintain social and racial inequality, and to support dictatorial regimes. To complete this grim perspective of hunger, insecurity, inequality and oppressive rule, capitalism offers the permanent threat of nuclear destruction.

2. The delay of the world socialist revolution beyond the expectations of all the great Marxists before our time is due basically to the lack of capacity of the traditional leaderships of the working-class movement and to their cynical service as labor lieutenants of the capitalist class or the Kremlin bureaucracy. They are responsible for preventing the main revolutionary postwar crises of 1918-23 and of 1943-47, as well as the lesser crisis of 1932-37, from ending as they should have ended with the pro-

letariat coming to power in the advanced capitalist countries.

3. Only by building new revolutionary Marxist mass parties capable of leading the working class and working farmers to power can the world crisis be met successfully and a third world war prevented. To build such parties is the aim and purpose of the world Trotskyist movement. A program of transitional slogans and measures plays a key role in party-building work inasmuch as the principal problem in overcoming the crisis of leadership is to bridge the gap between the present consciousness of the masses—which is centered around immediate problems and preoccupations—and the level of consciousness required to meet the objective necessity of overthrowing capitalism and building workers states based upon democratically elected and democratically functioning councils of the working people. Leninist methods must be used to construct revolutionary-socialist parties. These include patient, persistent recruitment of workers to the nuclei of revolutionary socialist parties already established; but also, where necessity or opportunity dictates, flexible advances toward various tendencies in mass organizations which may eventually be brought to the program of revolutionary Marxism. Individual recruitment and tactical moves of wide scope are complementary ways of party construction, but each carries its own problems and special dangers. In the one instance a tendency toward sectarianism can arise out of converting enforced isolation into a virtue; in the other, adaptation to a reformist environment can lead to rightist opportunism. In the tactic known as "entryism," where unusually difficult and complicated situations can occur, it should be the norm for those engaging in it to maintain a sector of open public work, including their own Trotskyist publication. Departure from this norm must be weighed with full consciousness of the heavy risks involved.

4. The Fourth International as an international organization, and its sections as national parties, must adhere to the principles of democratic centralism. Both theory and historic experience have demonstrated the correctness of these principles. Democratic centralism corresponds to the need for quick, disciplined action in meeting revolutionary tasks while at the same time assuring the freedom of discussion and the right to form tendencies without which genuine political life is denied to the ranks. In its adherence to internal democracy, the world Trotskyist movement stands at the opposite pole from the stifling regimes imposed on working-class organizations controlled by bureaucrats trained in the schools of Stalinism, the Social Democracy or reformist unionism.

5. The bureaucratic reformist and Stalinist machines do not use the organized strength of the working class to overthrow capitalism where this is possible. They are primarily interested in their own privileges and power instead of the long-range interests of the working class. Because of inertia, an antisocialist outlook, or recognition that an upsurge can sweep over their heads, they undertake struggles in the interests of the proletariat only with great reluctance and under great pressure. While condemning and opposing the twin evils of reformism and Sta-

linism, Trotskyists refuse to identify the genuinely socialist or Communist workers of these mass organizations with their treacherous leaderships. The Trotskyist movement recognizes that the main task is not simply to wage literary war on reformism and Stalinism, but to actually win these socialist- and Communist-minded workers to the program and organization of revolutionary Marxism. Under the pressure of long years of prosperity in the advanced capitalist countries and in reaction to the crimes of Stalinism, petty-bourgeois intellectuals have opened a wide assault on the fundamentals of Marxism. It is necessary to wage a firm ideological struggle against this revisionist current.

6. The Soviet Union is still a workers state despite the usurpation of power by a privileged bureaucracy. The mode of production is noncapitalist, having emerged from the destruction of capitalism by the socialist October Revolution; and, whatever its deficiencies, lapses and even evils, it is progressive compared to capitalism. The tremendous expansion of Soviet productive forces through a colossal industrial and cultural revolution transformed a backward peasant country into the second industrial power of the world, actually challenging imperialism's lead in many fields of technology. This great new fact of world history bears witness to the mighty force inherent in planned economy and demonstrates the correctness of the Trotskyist position of unconditional defense of the degenerated workers state against imperialism.

7. In the wake of World War II, the Soviet bureaucracy was able to extend its power and its parasitism into the so-called "people's democracies" of Eastern Europe and North Korea. But to maintain its position of special privilege, it had to destroy capitalism in these countries, doing so by bureaucratic-military means. That such means could succeed was due to the abnormal circumstances of temporary collapse of the local capitalist-landlord rule coupled with extreme weakness of the working class following the carnage of war and occupation. In this way deformed workers states came into existence. These are defended by the Trotskyist movement against imperialist attempts to reintroduce capitalism.

8. In the workers states where proletarian democracy was smashed by Stalinism, or where it never came into existence because of Stalinist influence, it is necessary to struggle for its restoration or construction, for democratic administration of the state and of the planned economy by the toiling masses. Through a political counterrevolution, Stalin destroyed the proletarian democracy of the time of Lenin and Trotsky. The Leninist forces are therefore faced with the need to organize revolutionary Marxist parties to provide leadership for the working class in exercising its right to overthrow the dictatorial rule of the bureaucratic caste and to replace it with forms of proletarian democracy. This signifies a political revolution. With the rebirth of proletarian democracy on a higher level, the workers states—the Soviet Union above all—will regain the attractive power enjoyed before the days of Stalin, and this will give fresh impetus to the struggle for socialism in the advanced capitalist countries.

9. The appearance of a workers state in Cuba—the exact form of which is yet to be settled—is of special interest since the revolution there was carried out under a leadership completely independent from the school of Sta-

linism. In its evolution toward revolutionary Marxism, the July 26 Movement set a pattern that now stands as an example for a number of other countries.

10. As a result of the new upsurge of the world revolution, above all the tremendous victory in China which changed the relationship of class forces on an international scale, the Soviet proletariat—already strengthened and made self-confident through the victory over German imperialism in World War II and the great economic, technological and cultural progress of the Soviet Union—has exerted increasingly strong pressure on the bureaucratic dictatorship, especially since Stalin's death. In hope of easing this pressure, the ruling caste has granted concessions of considerable scope, abolishing the extreme forms of police dictatorship (dissolution of the forced labor camps and modification of Stalin's brutal labor code, destroying the cult of Stalin, rehabilitating many victims of Stalin's purges, granting a significant rise in the standard of living of the people, even easing the strictures against freedom of thought and discussion in various fields). The Khrushchev regime has no intention of dismantling the bureaucratic dictatorship a piece at a time; its aim is not "self-reform" but maintenance of the rule of the caste in face of mounting popular pressures. But the masses accept the concessions as partial payment on what is due and seek to convert the gains into new points of support in pressing for the ultimate objective of restoring democratic proletarian controls over the economy and the state. This slow but solid strengthening of the position of the proletariat in the European workers states is one of the basic causes of the world crisis of Stalinism.

11. The differences which finally shattered the monolithic structure of Stalinism began in a spectacular way with ideological and political conflict between the Yugoslav and Soviet Communist party leaderships. This conflict was widened by the attempted political revolution undertaken by the Hungarian workers. The Cuban Revolution deepened the crisis still further. With the Chinese-Soviet rift it has become one of the most important questions of world politics. While expressing in an immediate sense the conflict of interests among the various national bureaucratic groups, and between the Soviet bureaucracy and the working classes of countries under its influence, the crisis reflects fundamentally the incompatibility of Stalinism with living victorious revolutions in which the militant vanguard seeks a return to the doctrines of Lenin. The crisis is thus highly progressive in character, marking an important stage in the rebuilding of a revolutionary Marxist world mass movement.

12. In conjunction with the world crisis of Stalinism, the colonial revolution is now playing a key role in the world revolutionary process. Within little more than a decade, it has forced imperialism to abolish direct colonial rule almost completely and to turn to indirect rule as a substitute; i.e., form a new "partnership" with the colonial bourgeoisie, even though this bourgeoisie in some places may be only embryonic. But this attempt to prevent the countries awakened by the colonial revolution from breaking out of the world capitalist system runs into an insuperable obstacle. It is impossible in these countries to solve the historic problems of social, economic, and cultural liberation and development without overthrowing capitalism as well as breaking the grip of imperialism. The

colonial revolution therefore tends to flow into the channel of permanent revolution, beginning with a radical agrarian reform and heading toward the expropriation of imperialist holdings and "national" capitalist property, the establishment of a workers state and a planned economy.

13. Along the road of a revolution beginning with simple democratic demands and ending in the rupture of capitalist property relations, guerrilla warfare conducted by landless peasant and semiproletarian forces, under a leadership that becomes committed to carrying the revolution through to a conclusion, can play a decisive role in undermining and precipitating the downfall of a colonial or semicolonial power. This is one of the main lessons to be drawn from experience since the second world war. It must be consciously incorporated into the strategy of building revolutionary Marxist parties in colonial countries.

14. Capitalism succeeded in winning temporary stability again in Western Europe after the second world war. This setback for the working class was due primarily to the treacherous role played by the Stalinist and Social-Democratic leaderships, which prevented the masses from taking the road of socialist revolution during the big postwar revolutionary crisis. However, this temporary stabilization of capitalism and the subsequent upsurge of productive forces gave rise to more extensive, and ultimately more explosive, contradictions. These involve the other imperialist powers, above all the USA and Japan. They include sharpening competition in a geographically contracting world market; increasing incompatibility-between the need to fight inflation and the need to transform potential major economic crises into more limited recessions; mounting conflict between the desirability of maintaining "social peace" and the necessity to attack the workers' standard of living, job conditions, and employment opportunities in order to strengthen competitive efficiency. These contradictions point to increasingly fierce class battles which could become lifted from the economic to the political level in acute form and, under favorable conditions of leadership, arouse the labor movement to a new upsurge in the imperialist countries, challenging capitalism in its last citadels.

15. Socialist victory in the advanced capitalist countries constitutes the only certain guarantee of enduring peace. Since the close of World War II, imperialism has methodically prepared for another conflict, one in which the capitalist world as a whole would be mobilized against the workers states, with the Soviet Union as the main target. Rearmament has become the principal permanent prop of capitalist economy today, an economic necessity that dovetails with the political aims of the American capitalist class at the head of the world alliance of capitalism. American imperialism has stationed counterrevolutionary forces in a vast perimeter around China and the Soviet Union. Its first reaction to new liberating struggles is to seek to drown them in blood. Its armed interventions have become increasingly dangerous. In the crisis over Cuba's efforts to strengthen its military defense, the billionaire capitalist families who rule America demonstrated that they were prepared to launch a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union and even risk the very existence of civilization and of mankind. This unimaginable destructive power can be torn from the madmen of Wall Street only by the American working class. The European socialist revolution will

play a decisive role in helping to bring the American proletariat up to the level of the great historic task which it faces — responsibility for the final and decisive victory of world socialism.

16. While participating wholeheartedly in all popular mass movements for unilateral nuclear disarmament, while fighting for an immediate end to all nuclear tests, the world Trotskyist movement everywhere clearly emphasizes the fundamental dilemma facing humanity: world socialism or nuclear annihilation. A clear understanding of this dilemma does not demoralize the masses. On the contrary, it constitutes the strongest incentive to end capitalism and build socialism. It is a suicidal illusion to believe that peace can be assured through "peaceful coexistence" without ending capitalism. Above all in America. The best way to fight against the threat of nuclear war is to fight for socialism through class-struggle means.

* * *

In view of the agreement on these basic positions, the world Trotskyist movement is duty bound to press for reunification. It is unprincipled to seek to maintain the split. Reunification has also become an urgent practical question. On all sides, opportunities for growth are opening up for the revolutionary movement. The Cuban Revolution dealt a blow to the class-collaborationist policy of Stalinism in Latin America and other colonial countries. New currents, developing under the influence of the victory in Cuba, are groping their way to revolutionary socialism and seeking to apply the main lessons of the colonial revolution to their own situation. The Algerian Revolution has had a similar effect on the vanguard of the African revolutionary nationalist movement. To meet these leftward-moving currents, to work with them, even to combine with them without giving up any principles, has become an imperious necessity. Reunification will greatly facilitate success in this task by strengthening our own forces and bringing the attractiveness of Trotskyism into sharp organizational focus. The immediate corollaries will be increased effectiveness of our defense of the colonial revolutions within the imperialist countries and the added weight which the principled program of Trotskyism will gain among all serious revolutionists who seek the fundamental economic, social and political transformation of their countries. On the other hand, it is self-evident that the continued division of the world Trotskyist movement in factions wrangling over obscure issues will vitiate its capacity to attract these new forces on a considerable scale.

Similarly, the crisis of Stalinism, which has led to the great differentiation visible in the Chinese-Soviet rift, has unlocked tremendous forces within the Communist parties throughout the world. Attracted by our Leninist program and traditions, by the vindication of our decades of struggle against Stalinism, and by our insistence on internal democracy, many militants are puzzled and repelled by our lack of unity, by our seeming incapacity to mobilize our forces into a single cohesive organization. The reunification of the world Trotskyist movement would contribute powerfully towards reeducating Communist militants in the genuine spirit of Leninism, its real tradition of international solidarity and proletarian democracy. Obviously a united world Trotskyist movement would

prove much more attractive to all those forces within the world Communist movement who are increasingly critical of Stalinism and its offshoots, and who are ready to examine the views of a movement which appears serious not only in its theory but in its organizational capacity.

Finally, we should consider with utmost attentiveness the problem of appealing to the youth, both workers and students, who are playing an increasingly decisive role in demonstrations, uprisings, and the leadership of revolutionary upheavals. The Cuban Revolution was essentially fought by the youth. Similar young people overthrew the corrupt dictatorial regimes of Menderes in Turkey and Syngman Rhee in South Korea. In the struggle for Negro equality in the USA, for solidarity with the Algerian Revolution in France, against rearmament in Japan and Western Germany and against unemployment in Britain, the shock forces are provided by the youth. Youth stand in the forefront of the fight to deepen and extend de-Stalinization in the USSR and the East European workers states. Throughout the world they are the banner bearers of the struggles for unilateral nuclear disarmament. We can attract the best layers of this new generation of rebels by our bold program, our fighting spirit and militant activity; we can only repel them by refusing to close ranks because of differences over past disputes of little interest to young revolutionists of action, who are primarily concerned about the great political issues and burning problems of today.

Early reunification, in short, has become a necessity

for the world Trotskyist movement. Naturally, difficult problems will remain in various countries where the faction fight has been long and bitter. But these problems, too, can best be worked out under the conditions of general international reunification, so that it is possible for the outstanding leaders of both sides to begin the job of establishing a new comradely atmosphere and of removing fears which have no real basis in the situation in the world Trotskyist movement today. After a period of common fraternal activity in an increasing number of areas, we are convinced that what may appear at the outset to be insuperable local problems will be solved by the comrades themselves through democratic means.

We think that it should also be possible for a reunified organization to bring in recommendations for subsequent consideration and adoption which, without breaching the centralist side of democratic centralism, would remove any doubts that might still remain as to the guarantee of democratic rights contained in the statutes.

Our movement is faced with a responsibility as great and grave as the one it faced at the founding of the Fourth International in 1938. We ask both sides to decide at their international gatherings in the next months that the time has come to reunify the world Trotskyist movement, and that they will do this at a World Congress of Reunification to be held as rapidly as possible after these gatherings.

March 1, 1963.

Soviet Union

Mikoyan Puts Trotsky in Less Unfavorable Light

The memoirs of Anastas I. Mikoyan, the former Soviet foreign minister and long-time associate of Stalin, which were published in the Lenin centenary issue of *Yunost'* (Youth) has attracted the attention of the international press. This monthly young writers' magazine has been a forum for nonconformist literature in the past but it has been some time since it has published anything particularly noteworthy.

Mikoyan's memoirs, dedicated to Lenin, dealt with the final years of the revolutionary leader's life, the period also of Stalin's rise to power.

What interested the international press in Mikoyan's portrayal of these years and the leading figures of the time—especially Trotsky—was a degree of objectivity and frankness unusual, if not sensational, in the Stalinized Soviet Union. Mikoyan's cautiously drawn negative portrait of Trotsky, which reportedly recognizes some of his talents and merits, contrasts sharply with the grotesque cari-

atures still appearing in the Soviet press and literature.

A recent novel described Trotsky as "a Zionist" and claimed that "his so-called party was only an offshoot of Zionism."

The latest issue of *Yunost'* has not yet reached the United States. Mikoyan's portrayal of the anathematized revolutionist was described as follows by *New York Times* correspondent Bernard Gwertzman in an April 28 dispatch from Moscow: "Although it is clear from the discussion of the jockeying between Trotsky and Stalin before Lenin died in 1924 that Mr. Mikoyan opposed Trotsky, the description of Trotsky is much more balanced than the usual stereotype of the archvillain of the Soviet system.

"Trotsky is portrayed as a fiery, witty orator who had disagreements with Lenin and Stalin and who promoted disunity in the ranks when Lenin was seeking to close them."

Gwertzman notes another aspect still more unusual in the context of Sta-

linist political mythology: "The nineteen-twenties is portrayed by Mr. Mikoyan as a period of vigorous debate in the party leadership, with Lenin occasionally outvoted." The concept that debate played a role in the development of the Bolshevik party has been an anathema to bureaucratic historians.

As for Stalin, Gwertzman points out, he "is shown in a favorable light on the whole in this period before he assumed total control."

As the *Times* correspondent describes it, Mikoyan tried to explain Stalin's rise to power (and presumably his own support for him) on the basis that the dictator-to-be identified himself more closely with Lenin than did Trotsky and the other Bolshevik leaders.

It is not yet clear what the meaning of Mikoyan's article is in terms of Kremlin politics. Gwertzman indicates that the retired official still holds a place of honor in Moscow, but he has been in eclipse for several years.

Three Books on Canadian Labor History

By Wayne Roberts

[The following review is from the April 20 issue of the Toronto revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

Canadian Labor in Politics, by Gad Horowitz, University of Toronto Press, 1968. 273 pp. \$7.50.

The Trade Union Movement of Canada: 1857-1959, by Charles Lipton, Canadian Social Publications Ltd., 1967. 360 pp. \$5.00.

Radical Politics and Canadian Labor, by Martin Robin, Industrial Relations Center, Queen's University, 1969. 321 pp. \$7.95.

History, the Italian philosopher and historian Croce once wrote, changes with each generation because each generation has new questions to ask of it. This is certainly true in the United States, where, as part of the radicalization of intellectuals on the issues of race and war, a number of excellent books have been produced challenging the cold war and the racist bias of much previous historical writing.

This process is also beginning in Canada, particularly in the study of labor history. Once regarded as purely a side issue, even in specifically social histories, or at best treated in the most narrowly empirical manner as befits the mind of a compiler of dates and institutions, labor is now beginning to receive the attention it deserves as the mainspring of change and social progress.

Canadian labor struggles provide plenty of raw material. But much of their history is buried in the now-forgotten radical press of the time, or even more unknown academic dissertations. The three books that form the subject of this review help to bring it into the open, where it can be of great use to the new generation of radical youth who will play a key role in the struggles to come.

While these books are all informed

by a radical spirit, however, they reveal the many problems still facing the new radical scholarship. All of them have profound methodological weaknesses.

Although Lipton's is by far the most moving study and is the product of intense research, the book has more in common with a Stalinist morality play than with a soundly historical materialist understanding.

For example, while he recognizes World War I as an imperialist war, and shows the progressive character of the tremendous mass movement, particularly in Quebec, against conscription, World War II is painted as something different, a war in which the Canadian ruling class fought for our freedom, and wherein class collaboration (e.g., support of the no-strike pledge) is suddenly and without explanation given a heroic coloration.

This nonclass perspective is particularly clear in Lipton's treatment of the trade-union bureaucracy. He locates the source of the bureaucracy in "international" unions, and attributes to them virtually every instance of class collaboration, reformism, and betrayal of working-class interests. He applies a materialist analysis to explain the phenomenon of bureaucracy in U.S.-based unions, but thereby avoids discussing the problem of bureaucracy in Canadian unions, which he treats as quite incidental to what he considers their intrinsically progressive character. It is here that Lipton's nationalism, which relegates class and social differences to secondary importance, makes a travesty of his "Marxism."

Thus he also ignores the important debate in the postwar labor movement over independent labor political action and affiliation to the CCF [Co-operative Commonwealth Federation] (which the CP opposed), and he defends intervention of the capitalist state in the trade unions, as in the government's trusteeship over the Seafarers' International Union.

Horowitz's book makes no pretense at being Marxist. On the contrary, an introductory chapter—quite unrelated to the facts contained in the rest of the book—attempts to apply to the Canadian situation the American bourgeois political theorist Louis Hartz's reversal of the Marxian dialectic: while Marx saw socialism as a product of the tensions between the working and capitalist classes, Hartz sees it as the product of the tension between the ideologies of feudal conservatism and bourgeois liberalism. According to this view, the U.S. is so imbued with liberal ideology that all debates must take place within its framework, that is, between left- and right-wing liberals. By contrast, the vestiges of feudal conservatism in Canada and Europe make for a more fundamental critique of capitalism which makes "socialism" more viable here.

This is explained by making "state intervention" the criterion for "socialism." But it would be difficult indeed to explain the quite different political directions of the English, Canadian, and U.S. labor movements in terms of the roughly similar degree of direct participation by the capitalist state in their respective economies. And how would the theory of Hartz and Horowitz explain the near-absence of independent labor political action in Quebec—which has endured probably the strongest dose of European-style conservatism or precapitalist ideology?

The failure of U.S. socialism in the depression might be better explained by an analysis of why the American working class through sheer trade-union militancy was able to wrench concessions from the ruling class, while here such reforms were fought for under the shelter of a social-democratic party; and other factors, such as the Communist party's support of Roosevelt, and the latter's policy of playing one section of the labor movement against the other, are more relevant than basing one's analysis on supra-historical laws and forces which sup-

posedly shape history outside of mass control.

When Horowitz gets down to facts, he sometimes disproves his own thesis. For example, in the idealist tradition, he sees the significance of the shift from the CCF to the NDP [New Democratic party—Canada's labor party] as essentially a change of image. He nonetheless tells how many CCFers opposed the new party because its structure gave "too much power" to labor. Indeed, it is precisely here, in the shift, in its class base, that the significance of the new party is to be sought.

The Hartzian analysis is more a rationalization of the status quo than a political theory of use in explaining why things happened the way they did. Certainly Horowitz's analysis, far from being an application of any the-

ory, offers little more than an empiricism of the most fact-tyrannized variety. He takes all facts as facts, without ever looking for their potential to have been otherwise. Discussing CP postwar class collaboration and its disastrous effects on militants, he never goes beyond detailing the record with the same mechanical attention one gives to dates and place names. He thus misses the central tragedy of the era: its ability to have been otherwise were it not for political misleadership.

Robin's book, analyzing the roots of labor politics before the CCF, is much more in the tradition of radical empiricist studies—at once its strength and weakness. We have here once again many of the facts with which to tell the story but not its life blood.

He treats politics in the most sterile

sense of running for office rather than the reflection of the conflict of class forces. He concentrates on the evolution of formal institutions and labor elites, but avoids a discussion of such underlying social issues as craft versus industrial unions, of job consciousness versus class consciousness, the role of intellectuals in the labor movement, or the relative effects of prosperity and poverty.

His conclusions, based on this limited evidence, are complacently determinist. He sees the predominance of laborism and social democracy as opposed to Marxism as "socially selected," rooted in the nature of British institutions and social mobility which blunt revolutionary consciousness. Once again, the possibility of its being otherwise is not acknowledged, still less explained.

New Zealand Socialists Differ with Blackburn

Simplistic Concept of Old Left Vs. New Left

[Under the title "Blackburn, An Appraisal," the following article appeared in the March 6 issue of *Socialist Action*, a fortnightly published in Wellington, New Zealand. Although unsigned, it is evidently by the editors.]

* * *

Last issue we reported on the visit of Robin Blackburn, a young English university lecturer and coeditor of *New Left Review* and *The Black Dwarf*. We mentioned at the end that there were a number of points upon which we disagreed with him. In this article we indicate some of them.

Blackburn came here as the herald of the New Left, though it was far from clear what he meant by this term. Sometimes by "new left" he meant the New Left proper, a tendency which arose in parts of Europe and America after the Hungarian Revolution and Khrushchev's revelations of the crimes of Stalin in 1956. This tendency declared itself for radical change without Leninist-type parties, without Marxism; it was for an "end to ideology," since it confused Leninism and Marxism with the degeneration of the Soviet state and the rise of the reac-

tionary bureaucratic regime of Stalin. In the course of its political evolution this tendency differentiated itself and some went over to revolutionary Marxism while others, notably the SDS in America, went right back to Stalinism, particularly to that of Stalin's most ultraleft period, just before the rise of Hitler to power.

By "old left" he usually meant the traditional workers' parties, though he was not consistent in this. For instance, he sometimes appeared to appropriate Marx and other great revolutionaries for the New Left, while at other times he implied that followers of them were part of the old left, though usually the better part (in which he included the Trotskyists). To say the least, his distinction was very blurred.

His position may seem odd to New Zealanders. But we must remember that in Europe today there is fast emerging a new youth vanguard that is outside the traditional mass parties of the working class, and to a large extent against them. Sometimes it is *this* broader movement to which Blackburn refers as the "new left." However, at the same time, as the basis of the rejection of these parties

by radical youth is a rejection of the programme and the methods long practiced by the leadership having a tight bureaucratic control over the rank and file, it often leads to a position of sectarianism in relation to the older movement *as a whole*. The simplistic concept of the old left versus the new left is a reflection of this attitude among radical youth.

Blackburn attacks the whole Old Left as reformist instead of revolutionary, as more concerned with statistics than with human problems, as occupying themselves with programmes and manifestos instead of with direct action. While there is a grain of truth here, especially in relation to the leadership of these parties, it is quite unfair in relation to many honest, militant working-class fighters and also in relation to some tendencies that were genuinely revolutionary.

In his assertion that it is deeds, not words, that make revolutions, Blackburn draws a shallow contrast. They are both necessary, as essential parts of the process of building a revolutionary movement. In decrying the importance of "words" (programmes and manifestos) he makes an un-

worthy compromise with the most thoughtless narrow-minded "activism."

The tactics he advocated were a concession to this kind of activism. He argued for the occupation (of a school, a factory, etc.) regardless of whether or not it was appropriate in a given situation. This is a revolutionary tactic, he said, while other forms such as strikes are only "reformist." But you have occupations that aim only at reforms, and are in that sense "reformist," just as you can have strikes that aim at paralyzing an existing government on the verge of ruin, and thus create a really revolutionary situation, that is, a situation in which it is possible for the state power of the ruling class to be overthrown. Tactics in themselves are revolutionary or otherwise depending on the situation in which they are used and the purpose for which they are directed. It is just rhetoric to say in the abstract that one kind is revolutionary and others are not.

On the question of strategy, Blackburn begins with the Leninist conception of a revolutionary party of the working class. Lenin's idea was of a party organized in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism; the centralized executive bodies of the party are democratically elected by the membership, which also decides the main lines of policy. But of all the revolutionary-minded groups in the United States, Blackburn looked to the anarchic SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), now reduced to three warring factions, which has no formal organization besides the much-vaunted "participatory democracy." Under this system, executive composition and the main lines of policy are not made by the elected representatives of the majority, but by any individual or group that turns up to make them.

Like many other representatives of the New Left he has attempted to combine the ideas of opposing figures in the world communist movement. He holds that the ideas of Mao and Trotsky on several fundamental questions are the same when quite obviously they are not. We have space here for only one quotation; it is from Mao, relating to the problem of the basic nature of the Chinese Revolution. Although it misrepresents Trotsky's position, insofar as it states Mao's it is instructive enough:

"It is perfectly obvious that the Chinese Revolution at the present stage

is still a bourgeois-democratic and not a proletarian socialist revolution in nature. Only the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites talk such nonsense as that China has already completed her bourgeois democratic revolution and that any further revolution can only be socialist." (Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, Vol. I, page 169.)

As the New Left evolved, it developed a great complexity of viewpoints, and Blackburn's views represent almost a mirror image of them all at

once, as mixed up as in reality. He has taken bits and pieces from every one of them. Attempting to unite theories of opposing figures of the movement is not an unusual habit of representatives of the New Left. About the only thing that holds all his tactical and strategic ideas together is his oversimplified, catch-all concept of the New Left versus the Old Left.

All this makes for nice-sounding rhetoric, but the confusion he sows is equal to it.

Job on 'Trotzki im Exil' Not Enough

Kremlin Singles Out Ginzburg for Attack

Less than two weeks after he took up the cudgels against Peter Weiss and his play *Trotzki im Exil*, the Soviet translator and critic Lev Ginzburg found himself under attack by the bureaucracy.

In the April 1 issue of the writers union weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Ginzburg accused Weiss, among other things, of a "lack of human and literary ethics." (See "The Kremlin Opens Fire on 'Trotzki im Exil,' *Intercontinental Press*, May 4, page 412.)

In the April 13 issue of the Soviet Communist party organ *Pravda*, Ginzburg himself came under fire in an article by A. Dmitryuk entitled: "On Heroism, Great Deeds, and Glory: The Military-Patriotic Theme in the Pages of the Magazines and Journals and in the Programs on Radio and Television."

The Kremlin bureaucracy has been trying to fill the ideological vacuum left by the collapse of the old Stalinist notions with "military-patriotic education."

Dmitryuk gave an example of what is desired in "military-patriotic" literature: "The Georgian republic paper *Zarya Vostoka* achieved a success with a lot of material on the friendship of the Soviet brother peoples. During the war this friendship was an inexhaustible source of heroic inspiration for the Soviet people and today it is a powerful stimulus in the Soviet people's struggle for communism.

"There were seventeen brothers," one of the accounts says, 'in the family of the Georgian Kolkhoznik Abesadze. Fourteen of them went to the front.

Only the children stayed behind. Vladimir Abesadze in the infantry and Lado in the cavalry fought in the defense of Leningrad. Vano, a border guard, fought on the Western front, Vasili, an anti-aircraft gunner, served in the Black Sea fleet. Archil, Tedo, Shakro, and seven other brothers fought in the mountains defending their native Caucasus, their native Georgia, their beloved Soviet fatherland."

Although some obscure journals like *Zarya Vostoka* achieved notable successes, said Dmitryuk, other more conspicuous ones like *Novy Mir* (which is considered to be somewhat anti-Stalinist) left much to be desired. Ginzburg's article in the November 1969 issue was singled out for special criticism.

Dmitryuk wrote: "Lev Ginzburg's article 'Meetings on the Other Side' . . . suffers from serious weaknesses. The author concentrates on the most minute details of the 'daily life' of Hitler and those close to him. One after another he offers his readers political corpses like Baldur von Schirach . . . What is the purpose of all this? This question is hard to answer. . . . It [the article] stinks of cheap sensationalism."

The April 20 issue of the West German weekly *Der Spiegel* interpreted the attack on Ginzburg as part of the campaign against *Novy Mir* which began last fall when the mass-circulation weekly *Ogonyok* accused the magazine of harboring "cosmopolitans." Ginzburg, a well-known translator of classical and modern German literature, might be considered vulnerable to such a charge.