

Intercontinental Press

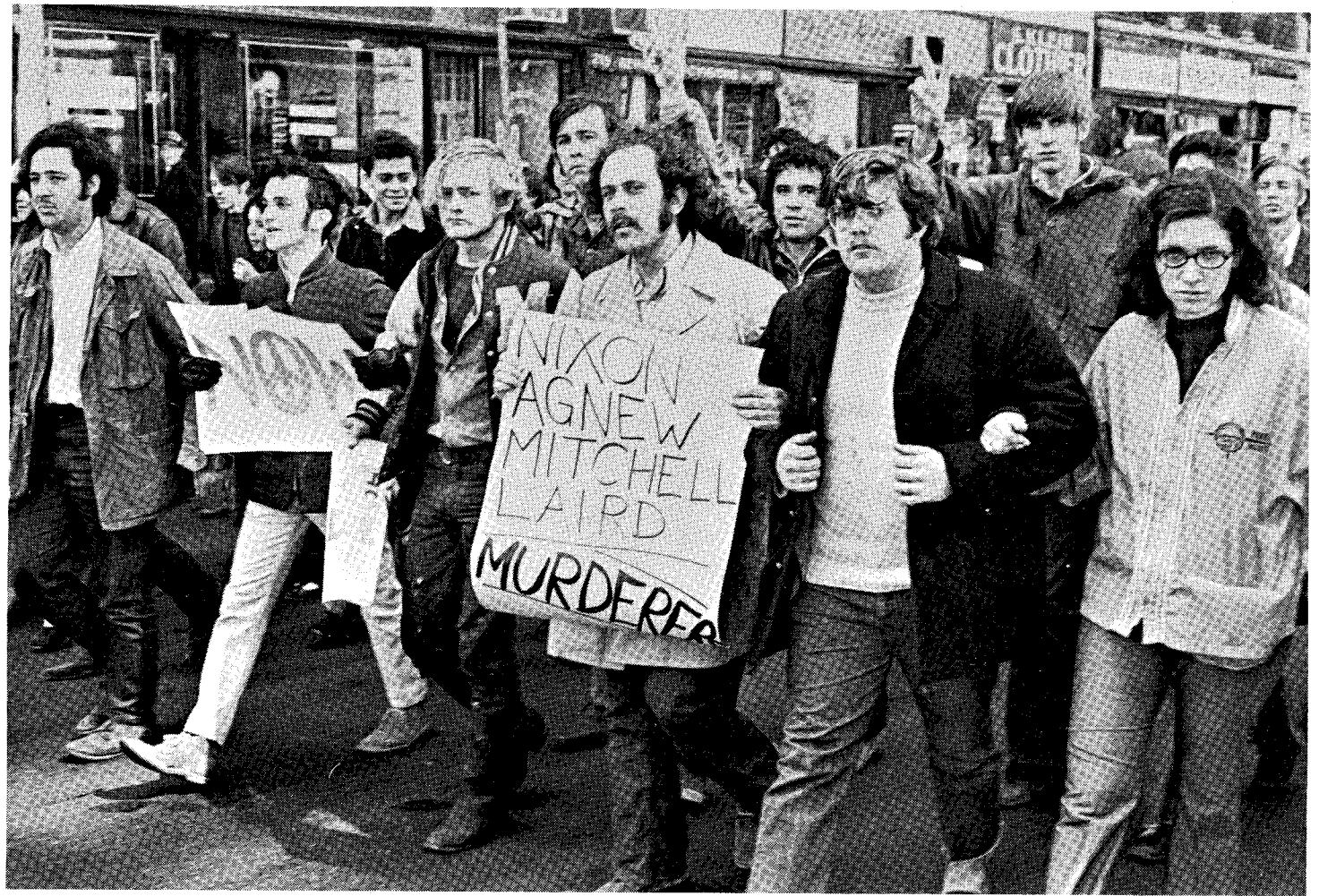
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May 18, 1970

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AT FUNERAL SERVICES in New York for Jeffrey Glenn Miller, one of the four students at Kent State University murdered by national guardsmen. Sim-

ilar demonstrations occurred in countless towns in the United States as millions protested Nixon's decision to escalate the war in Indochina.

STUDENT STRIKE SWEEPS AMERICA

Reuther Scores War

Two days before his death in a plane crash the night of May 9, Walter Reuther, president of the 1,800,000-member United Auto Workers union, issued a strongly worded condemnation of the invasion of Cambodia.

More alert to the moods of the workers than the fossilized, superpatriotic bureaucrats like AFL-CIO President George Meany, Reuther nonetheless shared their procapitalist, class-collaborationist views.

His telegram to Nixon, the text of which follows, can therefore be taken to reflect powerful pressures from the rank and file:

"Your decision to invade the territory of Cambodia can only increase the enormity of the tragedy in which our nation is already deeply and unfortunately involved in that region. Your action must stand as a repudiation of your oft-repeated pledge to bring this tragic war to an end and not to escalate it. Widening the war at this point in time, once again merely reinforces the bankruptcy of our policy of force and violence in Vietnam.

"Your action taken without the consultation or authorization by the Congress has created a serious constitutional crisis at a time when there is a growing division in our nation.

"You pledged to bring America together, yet by your action you have driven the wedge of division deeper. The bitter fruits of this growing alienation and frustration among America's youth have been harvested on the campus of Kent State University where the lives of four students involved only in an emotional protest against the war were ended by the needless and inexcusable use of military force.

"At no time in the history of our free society have so many troops been sent to so many campuses to suppress the voice of protest by so many young Americans. With the exception of a small minority, the American people, including our young people, rejected violence in all its forms as morally repugnant and counterproductive. The problem, Mr. President, is that we cannot successfully preach non-violence at home while we escalate mass violence abroad."

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Washington Rally Opens Stepped Up Antiwar Action

The massive antiwar demonstration in Washington May 9 of some 250,000 persons, built on only a week's notice, marked a new point of escalation in the protest over Nixon's invasion of Cambodia and the May 4 shooting of four students at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio.

Even the newspaper reporters sensed something new. John Herbers, writing in the May 10 *New York Times*, said, "The conversations, attitudes and talk from the platform showed an undertow of deep resentment, perhaps more so than in any of the many anti-Vietnam demonstrations staged in the Capital since 1965.

"The symbol was the raised fist and the word 'strike.'"

The size of the crowd was even more notable inasmuch as the Washington demonstration was only one of many going on throughout the country and was more regional in character than previous Washington marches.

Some 50,000 persons took part in an antiwar demonstration in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, May 8. On the same day 60,000 people demonstrated in Boston.

Simultaneous with the Washington protest were rallies of 40,000 in Chicago; 20,000 in Denver; and 12,000 in San Francisco, the last sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The tone of all the rallies was militant and speakers for the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance were well received.

Nixon did not do so well in his new attempt to woo the youth to his war policy. Thousands of young people began pouring into Washington the day before the demonstration, gathering near the Washington Monument where Nixon's 10:00 p.m. news conference could be seen on television. The students greeted the president's defense of the Cambodian adventure with derision.

Before dawn on the day of the demonstration Nixon made a foray down to the Lincoln Memorial where he talked to a small group of student protesters.

Aside from resurrecting Lyndon Johnson's analogy of a Vietnam pull-

out to Neville Chamberlain's appeasement of Hitler at Munich, the president apparently had little to say to his young antagonists. Joan Pelletier, a twenty-year-old student from Syracuse University, told the *New York Times* later:

"Here we come from a university that's completely uptight, on strike, and when we told him where we were from, he talked about the football team, and when someone said he was from California, he talked about surfing."

Thousands of young people had volunteered to act as marshals under the leadership of Fred Halstead of the SWP and Brad Lyttle, a well-known pacifist. Colleges throughout the area were turned into marshals' training centers. The mood of these young people was shared by the giant crowd. They were militant, angry, and ready to act, but determined to avoid vandalism or unnecessary confrontations with the police that would obscure the real source of violence in American society: the government and the ruling class which it represents.

A broad spectrum of speakers addressed the crowd. David Livingston, president of District 65, the New York affiliate of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store union, denounced the group of construction workers who assaulted antiwar demonstrators in New York May 8. He apologized to the crowd in the name of the labor movement and called the hooligans "storm troopers." He was greeted with a thunderous ovation. The theme of forging links with the trade unions was central to the speeches and informal discussions throughout the day.

Mike Alewitz, a witness to the Kent State massacre and YSA candidate for student-body president at that university, spoke on the killings:

"It was cold-blooded murder," he said, "and the responsibility falls directly on Nixon and his henchmen. They are the ones responsible for this, not the students." He called for support to the Memorial Day [May 30] demonstrations called by the SMC as a fitting memorial to the Kent State Four.

Steve Finehurst of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst described how the universities have been changed by the strike:

"The administrations are withering away and in their places are the strike committees consisting of students and faculty who are *elected* representatives. These strike committees have assumed the running of the universities.

"At the U. of Mass. in order to insure nonviolence the strike committee ordered the [campus] police disarmed. So out of respect for legitimate authority, I assume, the police turned in their bullets. The strike committee also barred all cops from strike-held buildings. Since then no cops have entered such a building."

Other speakers included David Dellinger of the New Mobilization Committee, the organization that called the rally; Fred Halstead; Dr. Benjamin Spock; Beulah Sanders of the National Welfare Rights Organization; actress Jane Fonda; Coretta King; and representatives of the Black Panther party.

One indicator of the receptivity of the audience to socialist ideas was the sale of some 5,000 copies of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*. In the current upsurge *The Militant* has already published two extra editions, one with a run of 60,000 and another of 75,000.

The speaker from the University of Massachusetts voiced the readiness of the angry young people in Washington to go forward. "May 30, Memorial Day," he said, "cannot be a day for glorification of the war government, but must be a day when tens of millions of Americans call for an immediate withdrawal of *all* U.S. troops from Southeast Asia. Spread the strike. Turn the universities into engines of antiwar activity. Organize in the communities, in the factories, and at army bases. And bring it all together on May 30 and beyond with mass actions in all the towns and cities of America which are demanding that all the GIs be brought home *now!*"

"The people do have power. We must help organize that power. We can win."

First Nationwide Student Strike Sweeps America

MAY 9 — Some 227 U.S. colleges and universities are officially closed with another 350 virtually shut down by the first general strike of students in American history. Millions of students have joined the protests against the escalation of the Vietnam war and the May 4 slaying of four students at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio. At this writing the strike is still spreading and may come to involve other sectors of the population.

The protests began spontaneously immediately after Nixon's April 30 announcement that American combat troops were being sent into Cambodia. Demonstrations broke out the next day at the University of Maryland; at Princeton University in New Jersey; Stanford University in Palo Alto, California, and many other places.

The May 2 announcement that the U.S. had begun new massive bombing raids over North Vietnam deepened the crisis and spread the protest. The ruling class itself was shown sharply divided as senators and newspapers and even members of the administration publicly attacked Nixon's expansion of the war.

A Harris poll taken on the eve of Nixon's speech and released May 4 showed the president had seriously misjudged the mood of the American public—if any such evidence was still needed. Only 7 percent of those interviewed favored sending U.S. troops into Cambodia, with 59 percent opposed, 11 percent with no opinion, and the rest favoring some measure short of the use of U.S. troops.

The editors of student newspapers at eleven major Eastern colleges agreed to run a common editorial May 4 calling for the "entire academic community of this country to engage in a nationwide university strike." The strike had already begun at several universities, including the University of Pennsylvania, Sarah Lawrence in Bronxville, New York, and Columbia University in Manhattan.

On May 4 the nation was stunned when national guardsmen at Kent State University fired point-blank and without warning into a student demonstration, killing four youths, two

of them girls. The guardsmen first claimed that they had been fired on by a sniper; but witnesses, including reporters and police, denied that anyone but the guardsmen had done any shooting.

Demonstrations throughout the country fixed the real blame for the killings where it belonged: on Nixon and Agnew, who in denouncing students as "bums" and "effete snobs" had prepared the climate of repression in which these murders could be carried out.

Some 25,000 persons participated in an antiwar rally called on short notice in Boston May 5. The 85,000-member American Association of University Professors issued a statement calling the deaths at Kent "a tragic consequence of the prolonged military violence," and called for "prompt disengagement from the war."

By May 6 more than eighty colleges had closed their doors. Two state systems were declared closed by the governors in California and Pennsylvania. There are more than 280,000 students in the California state university and college system alone.

The national guard was called out in Illinois and Kentucky, while police battled student demonstrators in many other areas.

In New York the strike spread to the high schools where thousands of students poured out of classrooms, marching from one school to the next, calling their comrades out.

Mass meetings in college auditoriums discussed strike policy. On a number of key campuses, including the University of California at Berkeley, Wayne State University in Detroit, the University of Illinois Circle Campus in Chicago, and schools in the Boston area, students took over university facilities and converted them into antiwar centers.

A May 7 report from Berkeley in the May 19 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* described the events there:

"Fifteen thousand students, faculty and employees met yesterday and agreed that the university institutions

be transformed from a part of the war machine into a center for struggle against the war.

"University facilities have been used by the students and faculty for several days to organize the massive antiwar sentiment of all sections of the population in this area. Rather than a strike against the university, the university community has taken over the university facilities to use them to fulfill the needs of that community . . .

"The student government offices at Berkeley have become a statewide and to some degree, national strike center for the current protest."

Randy Furst, writing from Chicago in the same issue of *The Militant*, described the developments there:

"Campuses throughout the city are holding daily mass meetings of three, four, and five thousand people and mapping plans for major massive actions.

"The mood here is one of quiet confidence—especially among the student leadership, who are determined to turn the campuses outward to organize the opponents of the war outside the colleges and the universities. . . .

"Campuses have been mobilized here almost from the time the fatal shots rang out at Kent State on May 4.

"A call went out from the Chicago Student Mobilization Committee headquarters for a mass strike meeting to be held at the Chicago Circle campus Tuesday [May 5]. The statewide apparatus of student government leaders, already put in motion to protest a tuition hike, was utilized. . . .

"A Tuesday morning press conference with representatives from ten colleges and junior colleges announced a mass meeting.

"No one organization is leading this nationwide action. It's far too big for that. For the existing student antiwar organizations, the main objective was to keep the strike going, keep it massive."

A national meeting of student antiwar leaders was held in Washington under the sponsorship of the SMC on May 4, a few hours after the news of the Kent State killings had been

received. It voted to call memorial meetings for the victims, mass demonstrations, and campus occupations around demands for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina, an end to university complicity with the war, and an end to political repression against antiwar and Black activists.

Randy Furst reported: "Those projections were adopted at an overflow mass citywide meeting at the Circle Campus Amphitheater [in Chicago] where the sound of 'strike, strike, strike' accompanied by the continual waving of fists signaled the vote, the unanimous vote, to take control of the University of Illinois."

The Chicago students have formed a citywide strike council with delegates elected from each of the striking schools. The council has sought to involve unions and Black organizations in the action. This effort has been particularly successful. Ten unions, including the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, have endorsed the strike council's demands, as have a number of Black, Chicano, and other community groups. A statewide antiwar conference called by the council for May 10 will plan extending the action throughout the region.

The press has sought to red-bait the movement, accusing it of being controlled by "Trotskyites." The May 8 issue of *Chicago Today* said:

"The overall strategy of the Communist-oriented revolutionaries who are trying to take control of the nationwide student demonstrations is becoming clear: the goal is a general strike, patterned after that in France two years ago this month which paralyzed the nation and almost overthrew President de Gaulle. The strategy now is in the first stage, the takeover of the universities. The goal is to shut down as many colleges as possible, not just through this week, but through the spring and summer.

"Already a shortwave radio network has been set up for communication between occupied colleges.

"The front for the major demonstrations this week, and particularly that in Washington Saturday, is the student Mobilization Committee. The Trotskyite party in the United States is the Socialist Workers party. Their youth group is the YSA (Young Socialist Alliance). The YSA is seeking to control the Student Mobilization Commit-

tee, and many intelligence sources believe they have control.

"Chicago is the most highly organized center for the Student Mobilization Committee. Its headquarters is in the Student Union building at the Circle Campus of the University of Illinois. From this base it is urging a total shutdown of all colleges. Agents are beginning to contact unions believed most vulnerable to strike talk. Municipal workers, transportation workers, and clothing workers are particular targets."

There are no estimates on how many students are on strike, but some figures give an indication of what that number must be. The May 8 *New York Post* reports that 40 percent of all colleges and universities "were officially closed or crippled by strikes today." The 577 campuses so far affected include the great majority of the larger schools in the major states so that the actual percentage of college students on strike might easily run as high as 60 or 70 percent. The total college enrollment is 7,571,000.

There are as yet no estimates at all on the number of high schools on strike, but the number is considerable. There are some 17,543,000 high-school students.

Taken together it is not unreasonable to put the number on strike at 5,000,000 students and it could well be twice that. Here is a power that can have profound effects on other social layers.

One indication of the impact of the student strike was the adoption of a resolution by the 460,000-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees [AFSCME] on May 7 calling for the "immediate and total withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Southeast Asia." One of the reasons given in the resolution for its adoption was the "great and dangerous spiritual malaise among our people as a consequence of the deeply emotional divisiveness over the issue of our military involvement."

Right-wing groups as well as the regular repressive forces have sought to terrorize the students in a number of places. Kent, of course, is the most serious case to date. But eleven students were bayoneted by national guard troops in Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 8. The same day several hundred New York construction work-

ers, armed with clubs and tools, beat dozens of young antiwar protesters in the Wall Street area and in front of city hall.

The ultimate consequences of the strike are still incalculable. It has spread to areas where the population has never before been involved in any kind of massive protest. In Austin, Texas, for example, some 25,000 persons joined an antiwar march on May 8—some 10 percent of the population.

A major test of the depth of the upsurge was today's giant march on Washington, called on short notice and built with a minimum of organization and publicity.

The next major test will be the May 30 Memorial Day demonstrations called by the SMC and other groups. As things are going these could well be the most significant demonstrations in American history up to now.

100,000 in Australia Protest Nixon's War

Tens of thousands of Australians came onto the streets to demonstrate May 9 in the first of three days of organized protest against the American invasion of Cambodia. The demonstrations have already been called the most massive displays of political dissent in recent Australian history.

Some 100,000 persons demonstrated in cities throughout the continent, according to press reports. The country has a population of a little over 12,000,000.

In Melbourne, a city of roughly 2,000,000, police estimated the number of marchers at 70,000. Also according to police estimates, 20,000 marched in Sidney, which has about the same population as Melbourne; and 10,000 in Perth and Adelaide, which have populations of over half a million; as well as in other cities.

In a telegram to the American Student Mobilization Committee before the demonstrations, the Australian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign listed its demands as follows: "Neither the American people nor those in the rest of the world will stand by while the U.S. moves to widen the vicious war in Southeast Asia. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all U.S., Australian, New Zealand, South Korean and Thai troops . . ."

China Backs Exile Government Headed by Sihanouk

Revolutionary and nationalist forces in Southeast Asia moved during April to develop the basis for fighting a regional war against widening American aggression.

U.S. intervention in Laos together with the right-wing coup in Pnompenh and the intrusions of U.S. and Saigon forces into Cambodian border areas had indicated clearly that Washington intended to expand its war even before Nixon decided on a massive invasion.

It was evident also that the expanding war on its southern frontiers was posing an increasing challenge to the Peking regime.

A joint communiqué by China and North Korea April 7 devoted several paragraphs to the situation in Indochina. Peking also denounced the persecution of ethnic Chinese in Cambodia by the Lon Nol regime.

A united front of all Indochinese anti-imperialist forces was established in a special conference April 24-25. Among those attending were Pham Van Dong, the prime minister of North Vietnam; Nguyen Huu Tho, chief of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; Prince Souphanouvong, the leader of the Pathet Lao; and Prince Sihanouk, Cambodia's deposed chief of state. Chou En-lai, foreign minister of the People's Republic of China, addressed the Indochinese leaders April 26 after the conclusion of the conference.

The joint communiqué issued by the Indochinese anti-imperialist forces April 25 stated: "The conference, after an exchange of views, arrived at a unanimous appraisal of the present situation in Indochina and of the struggles of the three Indochinese peoples against the common enemy, the American imperialist aggressors and their lackeys."

The assessment of the Indochinese leaders was as follows: "It is obvious that the American imperialists now seek at all costs to prolong and expand the war in Indochina, gravely menacing the peace in Southeast Asia and the world."

In response to this threat, the communiqué appealed for increased sup-



PRINCE SIHANOUK

port throughout the world for the Indochinese fighters and made it clear that no compromise short of complete expulsion of U.S. forces and their clients would be accepted:

"The conference calls on the peoples and governments of the socialist countries, of the countries which love peace and justice throughout the world, and the American people, to strongly oppose, and demand an immediate cessation of, the American imperialist aggression and intervention and to give increased support to the just struggle of the three peoples of Indochina until the final victory."

The communiqué defined the objectives of the anti-imperialist front as independence and neutrality of Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam. It recognized the autonomy of the different national forces:

"Inspired by the principle that the liberation and defense of each country is the affair of its own people, the different parties undertake to do everything possible to render mutual support in accordance with the desire of

the interested party and on the basis of mutual respect."

There is no mention of a joint military command or united political leadership.

In an editorial April 29 the well-informed Paris daily *Le Monde* considered that the development of the anti-imperialist front would mean an extension of the revolution in Indochina:

"It is clear the Leftist leaders in the peninsula feel that the Cambodian crisis should be resolved as soon as possible.

"They plan to take advantage of the embarrassment of the Americans and General Lon Nol's lack of a real power base to overthrow the Rightist regime in Pnompenh.

"But in their haste they have not forgotten the traditional Communist strategy in Asia: so, for instance, the NLF in Cambodia is not trying to capture the capital but to establish 'freed zones' where the 'Red Khmers' can establish their own armies.

"The North Vietnamese do not behave the way the Russians did in Prague; they would rather arm the peasantry than establish a puppet regime. But Washington seems unable to grasp or admit this concept."

Peking declared its support of the Indochinese front April 26: "The Chinese government firmly warns American imperialism: 'Since you have extended your aggressive claws into Cambodia and since you are escalating your aggressive war against Vietnam, you must be held fully responsible for the results. The 700,000,000 Chinese will always give vigorous assistance to the three peoples of Indochina against American aggression.'"

The Kremlin endorsed the Indochinese conference April 29 but there has been very little mention of it in the Soviet press. "The entry of the American army into Cambodia had long been predicted by Peking and expected by the Indochinese revolutionists," Alain Bouc wrote in the May 3-4 issue of *Le Monde*. "It does not seem that Moscow believed it possible."

In Peking, Sihanouk proclaimed May

5 that he would lead a revolutionary war against the Lon Nol regime. He announced the formation of a "royal government of national union." The political program of the United National Front of Kampuchea (Cambodia) was distributed to the press at the same time as the proclamation of the rebel government.

Sihanouk said that the new front included Communists but that the government based on it was called "royal" to indicate respect for the constitution of the country which had been violated by the Lon Nol coup.

"We have already succeeded in encircling Pnompenh," Sihanouk declared. "That is why Nixon has hurled his barbaric hordes against our people. If it were not for the American intervention we would not be in Peking today but already in Pnompenh. We do not know when we will be able to liberate our country—perhaps in five, ten, or twenty years. But like our Laotian and Vietnamese brothers, the United National Front of Kampuchea will not falter . . . We are deter-

mined to defeat the American imperialists and their flunkies."

While the American counterrevolutionary war was being extended into Cambodia, action on other fronts was stepped up. The Laotian liberation forces continued their advance, capturing the town of Attopeu and threatening to take Saravane. The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam launched a series of vigorous attacks on American positions near the demilitarized zone.

To warn the world of the increasing tensions in Indochina, the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks announced May 6 that it was boycotting the next session.

Appeals for renewed solidarity and protests against the American aggression included the following message from the National Student Union of North Vietnam to the Student Mobilization Committee in the United States: "Please develop mass actions opposing Nixon's war escalation, urging the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops."

1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press* warned, "Nixon's strategy has been to stall the Paris talks while intensifying the attacks in Vietnam."

On March 17 we said, "It is nearly two months since Richard Nixon was inaugurated president of the United States. In his campaign speeches he claimed that he had a plan to end the war in Vietnam. What that may have been remains a closely guarded secret. The reality is that the American command has steadily escalated the war in South Vietnam since Johnson's bombing 'halt' over North Vietnam went into effect last November 1."

On April 21, 1969, this publication predicted the real significance of the "troop withdrawals," nearly two months before the first one was announced by the president:

"Thieu's proposals that the NLF lay down its arms and submit to a 'free' election carried out under military rule are nothing more than a demand for unconditional surrender.

"But if Saigon has learned that it must talk peace while it wages war, Nixon is under an even greater compulsion to do the same thing. If the administration could manufacture a peace gesture from a token reduction of bombing sorties, how much more mileage could it get from a token withdrawal of U. S. troops?"

In Nixon's first major policy statement on Vietnam on May 14, 1969, he continued to stall for time.

"The main purpose of the speech was to gain time," we said on May 26, 1969, "—a tactic Nixon has been following since he won office."

When Nixon finally announced his "peace plan" on November 3, he called it "Vietnamization." This, the Weathermen said, showed America had been defeated and the war "isn't the issue any more." (*Fire*, November 21, 1969.)

We said the opposite in our November 17, 1969, issue:

"President Nixon, in his November 3 speech, told the world and the American people in almost so many words that his administration intends to continue its aggression against the Vietnamese people indefinitely. . . .

"Nixon made one more thing crystal clear. By 'America's peace,' he means peace on his terms; i.e., the equivalent of a military victory that will retain everything now held by U. S. troops in Southeast Asia."

What the Record Shows

Nixon's Real Game Spotted from Beginning

Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia caught many sincere opponents of the war by surprise. One reason for this was Nixon's relative success in promoting the impression that, however slowly, he was on the road to ending the war in Vietnam. Unfortunately a number of tendencies on the left helped to give credence to this propaganda.

Many liberals and reformists in the antiwar movement accepted at face value Nixon's claims and saw the task of the movement as merely a matter of hastening a decision that had already been taken in Washington.

Some "left" currents added that the Vietnamese had already "won" the war—a serious underestimation of the power and determination of American imperialism.

Thus the Weatherman faction of SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] in the November 21 issue of their paper *Fire* justified their abstention from and opposition to the antiwar movement by claiming, "The Vietnamese people have won a military victory over the

most powerful empire in the history of the world. . . . The only thing left is for Nixon to find the American ruling class a diplomatic way of admitting defeat."

Antiwar leader David Dellinger expressed similar views in the March-April 1969 issue of *Liberation* magazine, of which he is an editor:

"The United States has given up its attempt to win the war and has substituted a policy of unprecedented punishment from the air and sea which is intended to force the Vietnamese to grant concessions in Paris that will cushion the international and domestic effects of America's military defeat."

Dellinger followed the logic of this view—that the war was virtually over—and abandoned the broad united-front coalition against the war. He is presently trying to convert the New Mobilization Committee into a "multi-issue" political group for which the war is only one question among many others.

The Trotskyists were among the few to clearly estimate Nixon's course from the beginning. The March 10,

A War Destined 'to End in Ignominy and Failure'

By Gerry Foley

MAY 8—Early reactions of governmental circles and the capitalist press in the other imperialist countries to the U. S. invasion of Cambodia and the jingoistic declarations accompanying it seemed embarrassed and fearful. As of this writing no imperialist government and few, if any, leading capitalist spokesmen have publicly welcomed Nixon's aggression.

Sharp condemnation has come from the Paris daily *Le Monde*, which tends to represent the "modernizing" sector of French capitalism. In an editorial May 3 it excoriated Washington's arrogance and advised Nixon to consider the feelings of the larger silent majority of humanity deprived of bread and freedom in the name of "law and order."

After a series of defeats, French imperialism has more modest aspirations than its American big brother. Some imperialist circles in France may hope that by seeming to take a more understanding attitude toward the desires of the colonial peoples they can advance their own interests at the expense of the U. S.

The old conservative French daily *Le Figaro* expressed worry that the U. S. invasion would spread the revolution in Indochina rather than contain it:

"Against a plan of such great scope [preparations for a national liberation struggle in Cambodia] the American military force can do nothing.

"It is even probable that the destruction of civilian property and the loss of civilian lives that will inevitably result from this operation will serve Communist propaganda. . . .

"Nixon hopes to withdraw his troops from Cambodia in a month and a half. Assuming he can, which is not certain, it would not be taking a great risk to predict that the president will be forced to send them back in."

Admiration for Nixon's move was voiced by the ultrarightist *L'Aurore*. In the decision to send troops into Cambodia, this promilitarist sheet discerned the boldness of a great commander, a modern Napoleon perhaps,

like the one it once hoped would win the Algerian war. The French jingoist paper wrote:

"Nixon has not feared to face worldwide protests or protests in America.

"This is not the act of a mediocrity.

"It is a dangerous path he has set out on. . . .

"He must win his bet rapidly, win militarily.

"No one would take such a risk if he were not sure of the consequences—in other words, of victory."

The British foreign minister Michael Stewart took a neutral position toward the U. S. action, arguing against any condemnation of the move. However, the new aggression produced a revolt of the left Labour MPs against the pro-American policy of Harold Wilson, the prime minister and leader of their party. They demanded a debate on the Indochinese question. Apparently fearful of the antiwar sentiment in the party, the Labour parliamentary leadership did not try to block the left-wing motion. Only the Conservative MPs opposed it.

"There is no doubt that the American move in Cambodia has revived the old anti-American tendencies in the [Labour] party," *Le Monde's* London correspondent wrote in the May 6 issue of the Paris paper. "This is especially true at the 'rank and file' level. The government, which cannot ignore this current, will doubtless express its reservations with regard to the American decision more clearly. In short, it will probably go distinctly further in this regard than it has ever gone in the course of the Vietnam war, in any case further than the simple refusal to either approve or condemn the action which Stewart expressed last week."

Prime Minister Wilson's contribution to the Indochina debate, far more ambiguous than that of his foreign minister, seemed to reflect strong conflicting pressures. It was reported as follows in the May 6 issue of the London *Times*: "Mr. Wilson, winding up yesterday's emergency debate in the Com-

mons, gave a clear warning to the Americans not to go back on their policy of gradual withdrawal and of making every effort for a negotiated settlement. He also expressed concern at the possibility of recent events leading to renewed bombings of North Vietnam."

Conservative MPs, apparently interpreting this statement as a veiled condemnation of the U. S., accused Wilson of refusing to back up his own foreign minister. Many of them refused, on this pretext, to vote with the government to defeat the left-wing motion for adjournment, which was intended as a protest against the government's refusal to criticize Nixon. The proposal was defeated by a vote of 278 to 68.

The votes in favor of the motion came from 59 Labour backbenchers, eight Liberals, and Bernadette Devlin, the Northern Ireland civil-rights fighter. The government total was made up of 190 Labour MPs, 87 Conservatives, two Liberals, and a former Labourite turned independent. Press accounts indicated that the left Labour MPs had swung elements from the center of the party behind them. Neither the Labour nor Conservative whips attempted to discipline rebel MPs.

Not all the insurgent Conservatives favored supporting the American move. Enoch Powell, the racist and English nationalist demagogue and a spokesman for right-wing elements in the party, regretfully pronounced the American counterrevolutionary war in Southeast Asia a lost cause: "It is beyond the capability even of the immense forces of the United States to secure the kind of settlement and situation they and perhaps we would like to see.

"This is a war in which the United States could win every battle if it wishes but it is a war which it is bound to lose. (Some cheers.) . . .

"When I was entrusted to speak on defense affairs on behalf of the Conservative Party I advised them there could be no ultimate military success for the United States in Vietnam and

sooner or later the outcome would be that the United States would have to disengage in circumstances of embarrassment not easy to distinguish from military defeat . . .

"There was nothing in the friendship and alliance between Britain and the United States which required that they should encourage a friend or ally in a course manifestly self-defeating, a course destined manifestly to end in ignominy and failure."

The London *Times*, the most important voice of the British ruling class, recognized the effect that Washington's action would have on world public opinion. In an editorial May 6, it wrote:

"All the latent horror aroused over the years by the war in Vietnam has been awoken again by the news coverage of the new operations in Cambodia. The blindfolded civilians being herded for interrogation, the shocked or imploring peasants, the indiscriminate damage of the heavy bombers seem only to make more distant the withdrawal that Mr. Nixon was announcing a few weeks ago . . ."

The London *Times* expressed worry that the deepening U. S. involvement in Southeast Asia would weaken the backbone of the capitalist alliance: "Obviously the present course of the war in Viet Nam makes it still more unreasonable for Europe to rely on American defense."

The U. S. escalation in Indochina came at a particularly sensitive time in Germany. The anniversary of the Nazi capitulation falls on May 8. Many commentators are reminiscing about how the wreck of Hitler's over-ambitious imperialist and counterrevolutionary projects resulted in a drastic reduction of the capitalist sphere in Europe. Even some moderate writers have been led to make comparisons between the crimes of German imperialism and the war in Vietnam.

In an essay entitled "Hitler and His Heritage" in the May 4 issue of *Der Spiegel*, the liberal journalist Rudolf Augstein wrote: "Almost under our eyes tens of thousands of Vietnamese civilians are being killed or mutilated just because the American high command wants to conceal its miscalculations behind a proud daily headhunter's tally of enemy dead.

"They are committing worse murders in Vietnam than the soldiers of Wilhelm ever did in Belgium. The training of the American Marines, the pride

of the American nation, represents total deadening of human thought and sentiment, it is training in a love of killing worse than the Jesuit or Prussian necrophilia."

Before the Tet offensive, Augstein and this German magazine, which he edits, tended to support the American war in Vietnam.

The escalation in Indochina also came at a bad time for German foreign policy. A sharp increase in tension between the two major blocs would shatter the Brandt government's hopes for a détente with the East European states and for lucrative trade agreements.

In the May 6 issue of the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, which represents one of the more internationally minded sectors of German capital, Jürgen Tern wrote: "There is no chance to eliminate the potential for conflict in Europe and its neighboring areas if America does not find its way out of Indochina, and all the more if it again seeks a military victory there. And the reduction of the American military presence in Central Europe will be speeded in a frightening way if the American losses of lives and money in the Asiatic labyrinth should become a crushing political burden."

Tern called the invasion of Cambodia a "highly unpleasant affair for the Federal Republic government. . . . It must be doubted," he wrote, "whether the decision makers in Washington foresaw the unanimity of the European [negative] reaction to their Cambodia action."

In an editorial the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* indicated its standpoint: "What worries us here is not whether the move was morally justified . . . but the rational justification for Nixon's decision."

The leading circles in Japan, the imperialist power which, next to the United States, probably has the most to lose from an extension of the revolution in Southeast Asia, did not seem any more willing than the European capitalists to support Nixon's venture.

Le Monde's Tokyo correspondent described the reaction of the Japanese government and people to the U. S. move as "consternation." He noted that "Its [the government's] spokesmen are now trying to differentiate themselves somewhat from American policy."

The reactions of Washington's imperialist allies to the new aggression

in Indochina indicate that the split in the American ruling class over continuing the counterrevolutionary war in Southeast Asia also runs through the world capitalist class.

The other imperialist powers appear not only to be worried about the economic and military price they may have to pay for the American escalation. They are disturbed by the weakness which the Vietnam conflict has revealed in the bulwark of world capitalism. What once seemed an impregnable fortress, now seems threatened with military defeat and social crisis.

Discussing the European response to the escalation and the resistance it provoked among American students, the *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent Carlyle Morgan mentioned the following example in the May 8 issue of this paper: "Many French people are not yet sure how near they came to a national catastrophe in 1968 [the May days]. So they view signs of widespread student revolt in the United States with possibly exaggerated concern."

The most rapid response to the protests in America came from the Canadian antiwar movement. Emergency demonstrations were held in front of U. S. government offices in Ottawa, Vancouver, Toronto, and Montreal over May 1-2.

The shooting of four students at Kent State University in Ohio resulted in largely spontaneous demonstrations all across Canada. A memorial for the U. S. students was planned in the Toronto high schools May 6.

Demonstrations in every major center in Canada were scheduled for May 9.

In a telegram to the American antiwar Student Mobilization Committee, the Australian Vietnam Moratorium Campaign announced: "Massive demonstrations and student strikes will be staged throughout Australia on May 9. We are joining in the wave of bitter outrage sweeping the world in response to the recent escalation of the war into Cambodia and the brutal killing of four university students protesting against this war."

A crowd of 700 persons in London demonstrated against the invasion of Cambodia only three days after Nixon's announcement of the operation.

Demonstrations against the war were scheduled in West Germany for May 8, the anniversary of the Nazi capitulation.

'Inevitably Risking the Lives of Innumerable Asians'

[The following editorial published in the May 3-4 issue of *Le Monde* represents the reaction of France's most prestigious daily paper, and probably of powerful elements within the French bourgeoisie itself, to Nixon's escalation of the war in Southeast Asia. While the depth of the concern this capitalist paper voices for the deprived population of the world might be questioned, its distaste for Washington's arrogance and pretensions to world domination seem real enough.

[The title in the original is "Washington and the World Order." The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

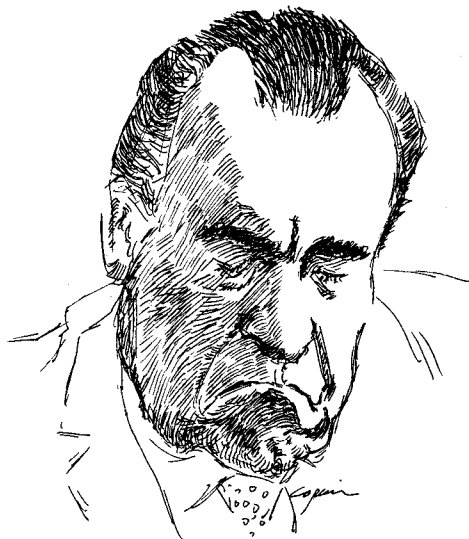
* * *

Although the Pnompenh government did not request it and was not even consulted, Nixon decided to send his troops to intervene in Cambodia, where, it is true, the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong had long had a "sanctuary." Also, against the advice of many senators, Nixon granted General Lon Nol's demand for arms.

However, in his speech Thursday evening, the president of the United States spoke less about Cambodia, in the last analysis, than about maintaining order in his own country and throughout the world. Friday evening he lauded the "great kids" who are fighting out there in Indochina and called the confrontationist students "bums."

He wants, as he said in his pronouncement, to combat "anarchy abroad and at home." The underlying reasons for the unrest among the youth and the uprisings in various countries of the "third world" matter little in this view. America and its "proud history" cannot be mocked. The "troublemakers" on the campuses as well as in Cambodia will be called to account.

This harangue proves, if any more proof were needed, and as many American elected officials have pointed out, that what Washington is seeking in Southeast Asia is the political and military victory which the *New York Times* has not hesitated to call a "hallucination." Every means is justified to attain this goal. The White House



NIXON: By French standards, just a bum blowing up the colonial areas.

has let it be known that the massacres of Vietnamese by Cambodian troops cannot affect its decision to aid Pnompenh.

The students in Saigon, whose leaders have been tortured and who are struggling against the Thieu regime, are apparently also "bums blowing up the campuses." Nixon simply ignores the Laotian and Cambodian left movements. They do not count any more than the Guatemalans or the Dominicans who rebelled against dictatorships supported and financed by Washington and big American private interests. Any domestic criticism of a regime friendly to the United States is considered a crime against American security. The Monroe doctrine is extended to the entire universe.

In the particular case of Indochina, Nixon no doubt expects to be able to report appreciable successes in the days to come. But it would be surprising if such successes enabled him, in a theater of operations now extended to the whole of the former Indochina, to finish off an enemy who has been fighting for a quarter of a century.

For the moment, of course, nothing indicates that Nixon will encounter a really disturbing reaction from the USSR. After all, this power was Prince Sihanouk's target no less than the

United States when, during the conference of the Indochinese left April 24-25, he denounced "certain great powers dreaming of a compromise on this peninsula."

The fact remains that if he really intends to eliminate anarchy in Southeast Asia, the president must prepare himself for a long struggle, a struggle whose destructive consequences, already felt by the Vietnamese and the Laotians, are now being extended to the Cambodian population. In his desire to protect at any price "the lives of 400,000 brave Americans," he is inevitably risking the lives of innumerable Asians.

It is true that the American soldiers are citizens of what the president calls "the richest and most powerful nation in all of human history." That is what Nixon is really worried about, this power and this wealth, the system that produces them and the "order" that protects them, which supposedly must be defended if the freedom existing in the United States is to be extended to Asia and Latin America.

Nixon often speaks of his "silent majority." There is another majority, much bigger still, which he would be well advised to consider as well—all of this humanity throughout the world which is demanding bread and justice and which sees these things too often denied it in the name of law and order.

Saigon Buddhists in Battle

"A group of men in military uniforms, armed with M-16 rifles, helmeted, and equipped with bulletproof vests, launched a full-scale assault at 3:00 this morning on the Quoc Tu pagoda, a progovernment pagoda occupied Sunday evening [May 3] by priests of the rival, antigovernment An Quong pagoda," Agence France-Presse reported May 5.

This was the most violent of clashes between rival Buddhist factions May 4-5, which left thirty wounded, twelve of whom were reported in serious condition.

According to one of the An Quong priests, the dispatch noted, the attackers were led by the venerable Tam Giac, a chaplain in the Saigon army. All the administrative buildings of the Quoc Tu pagoda were burned. According to witnesses, the progovernment priests dumped the bodies of their victims into the flames.

Text of Hickel's Letter to Nixon

[The following is the text of Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel's May 6 letter to Nixon as reported by the *New York Times*.]

* * *

I believe this Administration finds itself, today, embracing a philosophy which appears to lack appropriate concern for the attitude of a great mass of Americans — our young people.

Addressed either politically or philosophically, I believe we are in error if we set out consciously to alienate those who could be our friends.

Today, our young people, or at least a vast segment of them, believe they have no opportunity to communicate with government, regardless of Administration, other than through violent confrontation. But I am convinced we — and they — have the capacity, if we will but have the willingness, to learn from history.

During the Great Depression, our youth lost their ability to communicate with the Republican party. And we saw the young people of the 1930's become the predominant leaders of the 40's and 50's — associated not with our party, but rather with those with whom they felt they could communicate. What is happening today is not unrelated to what happened in the 30's. Now being unable to communicate

with either party, they are apparently heading down the road to anarchy. And regardless of how I, or any American, might feel individually, we have an obligation as leaders to communicate with our youth and listen to their ideas and problems.

About 200 years ago there was emerging a great nation in the British Empire, and it found itself with a colony in violent protest by its youth — men such as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, to name a few. Their protests fell on deaf ears, and finally led to war. The outcome is history. My point is, if we read history, it clearly shows that youth in its protest must be heard.

Let us give America an optimistic outlook and optimistic leadership. Let us show them we can solve our problems in an enlightened and positive manner.

As an example, last Dec. 16, I wrote to you suggesting that April 22, Earth Day, be declared a national holiday. Believing this would have been a good decision, we were active on university campuses over the Christmas holidays with a program called SCOPE (Student Councils on Pollution and the Environment). It was moderately successful, and it showed that it was possible to communicate with youth. I am gratified that on April 22, I, and approximately 1,000 Interior em-



HICKEL: Haunted by previous generation of "effete corps of impudent snobs," campus "bums," "rotten apples," and "Jeremiahs."

ployes, participated in Earth Day commemorative activities all over the United States.

I felt, after these meetings, that we had crossed a bridge; that communication was possible and acceptable. Likewise, I suggest in this same vein that you meet with college presidents, to talk about the very situation that is erupting, because before we can face and conquer our enemies, we must identify them, whether those enemies take physical or philosophical form. And we must win over our philosophical enemies by convincing them of the wisdom of the path we have chosen, rather than ignoring the path they propose.

In this regard, I believe the Vice President initially has answered a deepseated mood of America in his public statements. However, a continued attack on the young — not on their attitudes so much as their motives — can serve little purpose other than to further cement those attitudes to a solidity impossible to penetrate with reason.

Finally, Mr. President, permit me to suggest that you consider meeting, on an individual and conversational basis, with members of your Cabinet. Perhaps through such conversations, we can gain greater insight into the problems confronting us all, and most important, into the solution of these problems.

Saigon Students Clash with Thieu's Police

All public and private schools and colleges were closed in Saigon May 6 after violent clashes between students and repressive forces of the Thieu regime. Fragmentary reports indicated that the students were protesting against the massacre of Vietnamese people in Cambodia by the Lon Nol government, with which Thieu has now allied himself.

A crowd of about 200 students fought a pitched battle with the Saigon police May 1, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch May 3. The fighting developed when the police blocked the students as they tried to leave the Saigon agricultural college to march to the Cambodian embassy, occupied a week before by about fifty youth. The protesters carried banners that read "Down With the Lon Nol Clique."

When the police fired a volley of tear-gas

grenades to disperse the demonstration, the students retreated into the college, throwing Molotov cocktails and rocks at the police and forcing them to withdraw. The battle lasted more than an hour.

After the decree closing the schools, Agence France-Presse reported May 7 that new student demonstrations had broken out in several neighborhoods in Saigon, creating enormous traffic jams. Heavy detachments of police circled the agricultural college as well as the American embassy, which seemed also to be a target of the protesters.

High-school and college students rode on motorcycles through several areas, carrying banners. Many streets were blocked off with barbed wire in an attempt to prevent demonstrators from moving through the city.

Why Nixon Cannot Win His Gamble

By Joseph Hansen

In opening his May 8 press conference, Nixon said that he had made his decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia because it would "serve the cause of a just peace in Vietnam."

He did not explain what he meant by a "just peace in Vietnam." This was indicated, however, by his argument that after carrying out his promise to withdraw 150,000 troops "by the spring of next year," this "would leave the 240,000 Americans who would be there a year from now without many combat troops to help defend them in an untenable position. That's why I had to act."

From this it is clear that Nixon's view of a "just peace" is one in which 240,000 U.S. troops would remain in Vietnam in a tenable position for an indefinite period of time.

Nixon also said that he wished to continue "negotiations" with the North Vietnam government with the objective of securing the "just peace" he has in mind.

This is precisely the kind of settlement that Johnson sought to come up with after he had become convinced that it was impossible to achieve an outright military victory despite the scale and ferocity of the war waged by the Pentagon and its Saigon puppets against the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national freedom.

It should be added that the Kremlin has done what it could to help secure this kind of "just peace" for U.S. imperialism. Material aid has been doled out to the Vietnamese with an eyedropper. Brezhnev and Kosygin have done their utmost to avoid opening up any "second fronts," or to help insurgent actions underway in various parts of the world that could relieve the pressure on the Vietnamese. And all the evidence indicates that they have done their best to collaborate first with Johnson and then with Nixon in seeking to persuade the North Vietnamese to "come to the negotiations table."

In his May 8 press conference, Nixon hinted with some satisfaction at Moscow's cooperative attitude:

"When it comes to negotiation, I

would suggest that you recognize the fact that some very important talks are going forward on arms limitation with the Soviet Union.

"We're still far apart. But I will predict now that there will be an agreement, and when that agreement comes, it will have great significance."

In face of these multiple pressures on the Vietnamese, why has Washington been unable up to now to secure a settlement of the kind that brought the Korean war to a close, leaving a puppet regime in power supported by a permanent U.S. army of occupation?

To answer this question, a number of elements affecting the relationship of forces must be considered.

1. *The depth and extent of the revolutionary upsurge in South Vietnam.*

This is the key. The insurgent people in South Vietnam would have disposed of the Saigon regime long ago had not the U.S. intervened on a massive scale militarily. The Thieu-Ky dictatorship would go down within days, were the U.S. armed forces to be withdrawn.

The driving force in the South Vietnamese revolution is fed from many sources. These include the insufferable nature of landlord-capitalist-imperialist rule in South Vietnam, the general realization that it is possible to overthrow this rule and take the road to socialism as shown by a series of examples, including North Vietnam.

Despite the most savage terror and mass slaughter, the revolutionary hopes of the insurgent Vietnamese are continually rekindled by the knowledge gained in experience that only invading foreign armed forces block an immediate victory. They are further inspired by the sympathy and solidarity of all the ordinary people in the world. Not least in inspiration has been the mounting antiwar movement in the United States itself.

In addition, the material aid granted by the Soviet Union and China, even though inadequate, is still sufficient to supply sizable fighting contingents. These play a substantial role in keep-

ing up morale among the people. In turn, they are continually renewed from the layers of the population in which they operate.

2. *The incapacity of either Moscow, Peking, or even Hanoi (if Hanoi so desired) to convert the insurgent forces into mere pawns.*

It follows from this that it is not easy for Moscow or Peking to actually deliver the goods in a treacherous deal with Washington at the expense of the South Vietnamese insurgent forces.

Considerable evidence indicates that whatever the limitations of the leaders of the South Vietnamese fighters may be, they do tend to stand on their own feet and to exercise an independent role.

3. *The obvious instability of any conceivable settlement of the kind sought by Nixon (and Johnson before him.)*

A "coalition" government, in which the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam would be granted a few token posts, would constitute window dressing for the reality.

That reality would be the huge bases held by the U.S. armed forces plus a powerful army of occupation.

From these bases, the U.S., in conjunction with Saigon's mercenaries, could mount powerful drives in any direction whenever the Pentagon or White House felt inclined. The outbreak of local fighting anywhere would provide a convenient excuse. The label covering such drives would be "pacification."

Viewed from the military standpoint, which is the standpoint taken by Nixon like Johnson before him, such a settlement would signify the successful establishment of "enclaves" in Indochina.

In 1966 there was considerable discussion of this in the U.S. press. Enough was revealed to show what the Pentagon had in mind. For instance, Hanson W. Baldwin wrote in the February 8, 1966, issue of the *New York Times*:

"In its various interpretations, the enclave concept is actually as old as military history. It involves a recognition, first, that any base of operations must be secure, whether it is called an enclave, a bridgehead, a beachhead or an airhead.

"A related concept—the 'ink blot' or 'oil-stain' theory of pacification—is also familiar to military history. Mar-

shal Louis Lyautey, the French colonizer, used this concept in establishing French control over Madagascar and Morocco; from firmly secured bases, French troops gradually spread out in pacification campaigns over the country, until — like ink blots or spreading oil stains — the operations from one base overlapped those from another, and gradually the area pacified or conquered covered the country."

Once enclaves are secured, the invading armed forces, as they seek to conquer a colony, can use "static" or "active" tactics, according to the situation.

"Responsible American officers suggest that the static and the active types of defense are complementary and essential, with intensive patrolling to extend control gradually over wide areas and to spread the 'ink blots,' and far-flung search-and-destroy operations to seek out the Vietcong and above all to destroy their stocks of rice, supplies and ammunition and their base areas."*

These quotations cast some light, it should be noted in passing, on the military thinking behind Nixon's decision to attack the "sanctuaries" in Cambodia although his major objective was undoubtedly to rush military support to the Lon Nol junta.

As I noted in 1966, the Vietnamese people already know all about imperialist "enclaves" and the tactic of the "ink spot" or "oil stain." They were given lessons on these things by the French masters of the technique. They were given some additional lessons during the Japanese imperialist invasion and again by the second French invasion following World War II.

Thus it is easy for them to spot the fraudulent nature of the "just peace" proposed by Johnson and Nixon and to see the real aims of the Pentagon and the White House.

4. *The incapacity of the Saigon puppets or their U.S. backers to grant any genuine concessions to the masses.*

The fraudulent nature of the "just peace" which Johnson and Nixon have sought to impose might be covered up somewhat if real concessions could be granted.

* The quotations are included in an article I wrote on this subject "The Case Against 'Pacification'" published in the fall 1966 issue of the *International Socialist Review*.



McNally in the Montreal Star

Real concessions would include genuinely free elections, an agrarian reform, massive outlays to repair the damage inflicted by the war, and so on.

But free elections would doom the Thieu-Ky clique; an agrarian reform would finish off the landlord-capitalist ruling class. The U.S. intervened precisely to prevent such an outcome.

The very nature of U.S. involvement thus excludes making a political opening to the left that could build up support for the Saigon regime and its foreign backers.

The U.S. is on the side of reaction and despotism.

That is why Washington is incapable of offering the smallest guarantees to the mildest kind of opposition to Thieu-Ky and why leaders of such opposition, no matter how loyal they are to the U.S., find themselves in prison without much being done in their behalf by the U.S. embassy or the CIA.

5. *The incapacity of the U.S. to give up seeking a military victory in Vietnam.*

This is a consequence of all the foregoing. The White House has no other means of maintaining U.S. presence in Vietnam except through military force, and this makes no sense

whatsoever unless this force can be stabilized through achievement of a military victory on such a scale as to paralyze and subdue all resistance.

The experience since 1965 has demonstrated the staggering costs of such an effort not only in terms of the suffering, deaths, and devastation wrought on the peoples of Indochina but in terms of deaths, casualties, economic burdens, and rising social tensions for the United States.

A sector of the American bourgeoisie, growing uneasy over these unexpected results, began to wonder if the objective was not beyond the capacities of even the United States. Their worries were heightened by the deepening radicalization of the American youth. They welcomed Nixon's ostensible turn to withdrawal from the morass.

But Nixon still believes that by military means it is possible to snatch a "just peace" from the jaws of defeat. His decision to invade Cambodia was a desperate gamble in accordance with this view.

However, a sober assessment of the relationship of forces in Indochina, in the world as a whole, and inside the United States enables us to forecast that Nixon will lose this throw of the dice.

Divisions Reappear in U.S. Ruling Class

Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia has reopened the divisions in the American ruling class that arose over Johnson's tactical course in Vietnam. The May 1 *New York Times* denounced the escalation of the war as a "military hallucination." Senate "doves," silent since the October 15, 1969, antiwar Moratorium, found their voices; and dissent even appeared inside Nixon's handpicked entourage.

Nixon failed in a May 6 meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee to mollify his congressional critics. Associated Press correspondent Kenneth J. Freed reported after the presidential briefing:

"President Nixon's promise that U. S. troops will be out of Cambodia by July 1 at the latest has made no noticeable dent in prior Capitol Hill opinion—critics remain critical and supporters are standing firm behind the new war policy."

The Kent State killings raised serious fears among the more perspicacious representatives of the ruling class that Nixon's insensitivity to the youth would spark a revolt that could get out of control. Tom Wicker of the *New York Times* called Nixon "obtuse and heartless" for suggesting that the students had invited the fusillade by allowing dissent to turn "to violence."

James Wechsler of the *New York Post* put it more sharply:

"As the evidence of journalistic and other eyewitnesses accumulates, it becomes clear that what occurred on the campus of Kent State was a major murder case. In those terms the ensuing statements of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew can only be termed apologies for murder."

On May 6 Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel warned Nixon in a letter that more of Agnew's bombast against American youth would permanently alienate them from the administration. He complained that Nixon was ignoring even his own cabinet. (See page 459 for text.)

A tiny closed circle in the White House makes the life and death decisions involving the fate of the American people and of the world. The



MITCHELL: Said to be brains (as much as there is of them) behind Nixon.

carmarilla is apparently headed by Attorney General John Mitchell.

Even Secretary of State Rogers and Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird are said to be excluded, and rumors persist that both of them disagreed with the Cambodian decision. Publicly, of course, they remain loyal apologists for Nixon.

A conference of the thirty-two Republican governors scheduled to begin in Santa Fe, New Mexico, May 7, was canceled at the last minute as student unrest kept many of the participants at home. The May 8 *New York Times* attributed to "Republican sources" the opinion that another reason for dropping the conference was the fear that a number of the governors "were prepared to express to newsmen at least in private, their conviction that the Cambodian attacks were political folly."

The head of the Office of Students and Youth, Anthony J. Moffett, announced his resignation May 7. Commenting on the student antiwar demonstrations, Moffett said, "I support

their nonviolent protest, and can no longer continue to serve in an administration which seeks to discredit it."

New York's Mayor John Lindsay on May 6 assailed Nixon's Cambodian policy, calling on Congress to "invoke the power of the purse" to stop the war. According to the May 7 *New York Times*, "His aides left no doubt that Mr. Lindsay was seeking to rally a vast body of national opinion." More than that, Lindsay is evidently being groomed by the liberal wing of the capitalist class as a contender in the 1972 presidential elections, if it should be necessary to make a tactical shift to the left to appeal to the millions who are outraged at the course taken by Nixon-Agnew.

Some 250 State Department and foreign-aid staff members have challenged the traditional ban on public dissent by government employees. They sent a letter to Secretary of State Rogers expressing "concern and apprehension over the enlargement of hostilities in Southeast Asia."

The *New York Times* described the letter as "new evidence that the foreign affairs bureaucracy of the Federal Government is facing a crisis of morale."

Still further evidence of the deepening sense of crisis in the government is the decision of a prominent group of former government advisers now at Harvard University to openly oppose Nixon's war policy. The group includes such unlikely "radicals" as Edwin Reischauer, ambassador to Japan under presidents Kennedy and Johnson; George Kistiakowsky, chief science adviser to President Eisenhower; Richard Neustadt, once on the White House staff of President Truman; Thomas Schelling, consultant to the Defense Department; Francis Bator, a special assistant to Johnson; and William Capron, former assistant director of the U. S. budget.

"This is too much," one member of the group told the *Washington Post* (May 8). "We have spent our lives working for the government or advising it quietly from within. . . ."

"But the President's speech on Thursday about Cambodia and the attacks on universities and dissent have gone too far. We can't remain silent any longer. What the President is doing now is so bad and it is so dangerous for the country that we have decided that it is time to stand up publicly."

Three Lines in Antiwar Movement Tested by Events

By Les Evans

Many issues have contributed to the radicalization in the last half decade leading up to today's events. The war, while central, was not the sole factor. The student radicalization was initiated by Black students in the non-violent civil-rights struggles of the early sixties, which received inspiration from the colonial revolution and the emergence of independent states throughout black Africa. The radicalization was deepened with the ghetto explosions of the mid-sixties and the growth of Black nationalist sentiment.

The Cuban revolution helped to win a small but significant number of young people to the ideas of socialism at a time when the stifling atmosphere of the McCarthy era had not yet been dissipated.

But it has been Washington's aggression in Vietnam that has alienated a whole generation of youth from America's rulers. Today's college students have lived with the Vietnam war their whole conscious lives and have heard the same lies to justify it over and over again from three different presidents.

Particularly important has been the "tradition" established by the antiwar movement since it came into existence in 1965 of mass demonstrations in the streets as the central form of political protest. Today, even though the movement has exploded at such a pace that it has gone far beyond the immediate leadership of the organized antiwar movement, mass demonstrations and occupations immediately became the central tactic. In harmony with this, the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina became the central demand.

This is in sharp contrast to past efforts of sectors of the radical or liberal movements to divert the antiwar movement either into ultraleft "confrontations" with the police in the name of "anti-imperialism" or into the "safe" channel of support to one or another capitalist "peace" candidate.

Of the organized tendencies of the left, virtually all were caught unprepared for the new antiwar upsurge

with the exception of the American Trotskyists, organized in the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The main liberal and Social Democratic antiwar organization, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee, was so perspicacious as to disband on April 29, declaring mass mobilizations against the war "a political fad that has worn off."

The perspective of the Moratorium organizers was to use the rebellious students to construct a reform movement within the Democratic party, to ring doorbells and win votes for liberal politicians.

The Communist party, which shares this perspective, has not followed the Moratorium leaders out of the organized antiwar movement. But its line of support to bourgeois politicians has helped divert the movement at several critical junctures. In 1964 the CP pictured Lyndon Johnson as a lesser evil to Goldwater, helping to disorient the left and slowing the response to Johnson's major escalation of the war at the beginning of 1965. In its first issue after the November 1964 elections the *Worker*, which reflects the CP's views (now named the *Daily World*), hailed Johnson's victory as "a far-reaching mandate for peace."

In 1968 the CP sought to turn the antiwar movement into support for a variety of capitalist electoral alternatives—including the campaigns of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy in the Democratic party and the now-defunct "Freedom and Peace party," a liberal electoral front for those who could no longer stomach the Democrats.

The CP youth split from the Student Mobilization Committee Against the War in Vietnam in June of 1968 to help establish the Radical Organizing Committee, a "multi-issue" hodgepodge that would be free to carry out their electoral line.

In a short time the ROC collapsed and eventually the CP was forced to rejoin the rapidly expanding SMC,

which they had denounced as a "Trotskyite front."

The extent to which the CP sees the antiwar movement as a mere pressure device to promote the election of "good" bourgeois politicians can be gauged from the lead story in the March 19, 1968, *Worker*, reporting Robert Kennedy's decision to seek the presidential nomination:

"Senator Robert F. Kennedy's entrance into the Presidential race, following Sen. Eugene McCarthy's sensational showing in the New Hampshire primaries, has turned the election into a new ball game. The 'Dump Johnson' slogan has now taken on the shape of an achievable reality. Johnson's renomination can no longer [be] taken for granted.

"Whatever motivated Kennedy in his decision to catch up with the historic bus he missed, his action adds to the revolt within and beyond the Democratic Party against Johnson and his Vietnam policy.

"Many within and outside the Democratic Party who hesitated to enter the electoral struggle against the war and Johnson because they did not feel the movement around McCarthy was sufficiently strong are now encouraged to act.

"Millions can now be expected to join the 'crusaders.'"

The "center" of the antiwar movement, the group around former pacifist David Dellinger and the New Mobilization Committee to End the War, have moved further and further away from the concept of a united-front coalition. In place of mass mobilizations they emphasize acts of individual civil disobedience. This was expressed by Dellinger in his speech at the November 15 demonstration of 800,000 in Washington, when he called on the crowd to join him in "marching to the Justice Department" where an ultraleft confrontation had been announced.

On the "left," of course, there was SDS [Students for a Democratic Society] which for years counterposed reformist "community organizing" projects to mobilizations against the im-

perialist war, before turning to the rhetoric of "revolutionary confrontations" by small groups against the state on issues other than the war. Here is how the Weatherman faction of SDS reported the giant November 15, 1969, march on Washington in its paper *Fire* (November 21, 1969), since defunct:

"The most important tension in the march on Washington last week wasn't over the war. Washington was really all about the question of violence. The people who organized the demonstration and the pigs [cops], from Nixon on down to the mobilization pig marshals, built their whole thing on having a peaceful and 'reasonable' protest march. . . . But what we dug about Washington was the violence. . . .

"*The Vietnam war isn't the issue any more.* Mainly because the war is over. The Vietnamese people have won a military victory over the most powerful empire in the history of the world." (Emphasis in original.)

The Maoist Progressive Labor party and the "SDS" faction which it still leads boycotted the antiwar movement from the beginning. From time to time PL has announced the "collapse" of the movement; but, as present evidence indicates, the obituaries announced by the Maoists were a little premature. The February 1969 issue of PL's monthly *Challenge*, for example, declared:

"The primary reason for the collapse of the anti-war movement in the U.S. isn't the revisionists in Moscow and Hanoi, though they are big props to their front men here. The movement is weak because it is led by assorted fakers who spout the bosses' line in the movement: the 'troika' of SWP, CP, and pacifists."

PL gave an example of the kind of antiwar demonstration it had in mind in the October-November issue of *Challenge*:

"Five hundred New York students demonstrated on Sat., Sept. 27, demanding immediate withdrawal from Vietnam and opposing the Paris negotiations, where a deal is being made to allow the U.S. imperialists to stay in Vietnam. The SDS [PL-wing] regional demonstration marched through Times Square to Columbus Circle, chanting NO DEALS IN VIETNAM; U.S. GET OUT NOW, and giving out leaflets explaining this political line."

In the same issue, PL attacked the October 15 Moratorium to which millions of persons had responded by pouring into the streets in the largest antiwar demonstrations in American history:

"The October 15 moratorium against the war in Vietnam is an obvious attempt by the liberal imperialists to take over the leadership of the antiwar movement. . . .

"The liberals understand that it will be hard for the north Vietnamese leaders to settle on obvious sell-out terms. They realize the north Vietnamese leaders will have to 'persist' until a 'reasonable' offer comes from the U.S. — such as is proposed by the liberals."

PL has gone beyond verbal denunciations of the antiwar movement as an "imperialist" plot. It has organized goon squads to physically attempt to break up mass demonstrations for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

PL finds itself in company with Nixon and Agnew in this dirty business, the latest examples being the Maoist attacks on the rallies in Boston and New York on April 15. PL has been joined in these assaults by several small ultraleft groups such as Youth Against War and Fascism.

The SWP and YSA, on the other hand, have from the beginning championed the concept of a single-issue, united-front movement against the war based on mass demonstrations in the streets for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops. Inside the antiwar movement the Trotskyists have stood for the inclusion of all tendencies willing to join in building such demonstrations. Many times the American Trotskyists have found themselves virtually alone in maintaining this clear perspective that is so much at the heart of today's upsurge.

In February 1965, before a single mass antiwar demonstration had been held and when the antiwar movement did not yet exist, *The Militant*, which reflects the views of the Socialist Workers party, first issued a call for building such a movement.

"In the present war crisis provoked by President Johnson's bombings of North Vietnam," the February 22, 1965, *Militant* said in a front-page editorial, "it is of the utmost urgency to organize the biggest possible protest. If the protests are big enough and if what the protesters say is clear,

unambiguous and has the ring of truth, public opinion can be influenced enough to give pause to [the] war-makers in Washington."

The SWP helped to build the April 17, 1965, March on Washington of 20,000 called by SDS, the first mass antiwar demonstration. Afterwards, when SDS turned from the war to "safer" issues, *The Militant* called for building on the foundation of what had already been achieved:

"The April 17 demonstration is only a beginning. The next step is to continue without letup the campus demonstrations and discussions on a local, state, area and national scale against this war, and to turn the campuses into citadels of opposition to the war. But the organization of protest should not stop there." (April 26, 1965.)

In an almost prophetic article, Fred Halstead, 1968 presidential candidate of the SWP, predicted nearly five years ago the course the antiwar movement would follow.

"The growth of consciousness by the student youth," Halstead said in the November 22, 1965, *Militant*, "is a forerunner of a growth of consciousness on a much larger scale, among the working class youth, among young men forced into the army, and among broad sections of the population as a whole.

"It is well within possibility that not just a few hundred thousand, but millions of Americans can be actively involved in the struggle against the Vietnam war. A movement of that scope, even though centered around the single issue of the war, would have the most profound effects on every social structure in the country, including the trade unions and the soldiers in the army.

"It would very probably also result in a general rise in radical consciousness on many other questions, just as it has already had an impact against red-baiting. But above all, it could be the key factor in forcing an end to the Pentagon's genocidal war in Vietnam. The lives of untold thousands of Vietnamese men, women and children, and U.S. G. I.'s may depend upon it. That alone is reason enough to put aside sectarian differences to unite and help build a national organization which can encompass anyone willing to oppose U.S. involvement in Vietnam, regardless of their commitment, or lack of it, on other questions."

Convert Schools into Centers of Antiwar Education!

By Susan Lamont

[The following article is from the May 19 issue of the weekly *Militant* published in New York. The author is national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

[The article is of special significance, in our opinion, because of its clear summary of the current developments on the campus and its suggestions as to the political course that ought to be followed to extend and deepen the antiwar protest movement.

[The article appeared under the title "New chapter in campus antiwar struggle."]

* * *

MAY 6—The Cambodian invasion and Kent State massacre have combined to trigger the largest, most extensive student strike the world has ever seen. In a number of schools, students, following votes in meetings of tens of thousands, have won direct control of campus facilities. This is a historic development that opens the way to the nationwide creation of antiwar universities; the utilization of such universities to extend mass antiwar consciousness to noncampus communities; and the very real possibility of organizing mass actions culminating in May 30 antiwar demonstrations of a scope and breadth never previously envisioned in every city—giant mass actions that can shake the world.

Those students who have assumed control of university facilities and are utilizing that control to advance the antiwar cause are for the first time in American history making the universities relevant to the most burning need of the day. Their example can and should be emulated throughout the country.

They have taken two essential steps to win over the overwhelming majority of the students and faculty to establish and maintain the antiwar university: They have held mass meetings which discuss and decide the policies to be followed; they have elected as the leadership a united strike committee broad-

er than any single campus organization can be.

With governmental and educational officials now seeking to shut down the colleges and disperse the students, the strategy should be not to "shut them down," but to "open them up"—open them up and keep them open as antiwar universities. Efforts by those like California's Governor Reagan to dislodge the students should be met by united and unyielding student-faculty resistance.

Control of campus facilities provides a new opportunity to accomplish a number of key tasks in the fight against the war.

Hammer blows can be dealt to every manifestation of university complicity with the war machine. Never has there been a better opportunity to mobilize the support to eliminate ROTC. Secret university war research can be bared and the necessary pressure mounted to call it to a halt. Truthful Indochina institutes and similar study centers can replace CIA fronts and training departments. And recruiters for the warmakers, military and industrial, will not even consider venturing onto the scene.

Even more decisive, development of student-faculty controlled antiwar universities offers an incredible opportunity to bring the antiwar message to the noncampus communities—to get the full truth to and mobilize GIs, working people, Black and Brown communities, women, high-school students, the various professions, and churches.

If moved into action, these forces can end the war. And an opportunity is here, unique in the history of the war, to reach and mobilize these forces.

The varied communication facilities of the universities, added to the energy of millions of activists, can be effectively utilized to tap and surface the deep-seated antiwar attitude that exists in the general population. Even in his speech announcing the Cambodian invasion, Nixon conceded that the majority of the American people favor

U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. The rapidly deepening division among the rulers themselves—including defections among Nixon's handpicked associates—is one of the clearest additional proofs of the overwhelming character of this mass sentiment.

That sentiment must now be crystallized and transformed into meaningful mass action. From the outset students have played a vanguard role in the development of the movement against the war, developing it from a relatively small minority into its present powerful state. They have established the priorities of highly visible mass actions to bring the troops home now, organized through democratic united meetings and committees open to everyone against the war. And their actions on the heels of a decade of struggle by Afro-Americans have more and more established in the popular mind the legitimacy of independent mass actions.

But growing numbers of students have recognized that they alone cannot stop the war, that the noncampus community—particularly the working people and the GIs—must be mobilized to do this.

The student antiwar movement is today incomparably bigger than it was a short week ago. The prospects for mobilizing other sectors of the population are better than ever. And control of campus facilities offers the perfect vehicle for doing so. With the ongoing actions and demonstrations drawing in larger and larger numbers, culminating on May 30 as the organizing focus, tens and hundreds of thousands of students can carry out the work of mobilizing the rest of the population.

Consider the available facilities. There is no law that says that college newspapers be limited in their function to reportage of campus activities and UPI and AP releases. Such papers should become the voice of the student antiwar movement, of the antiwar universities. And their message can be

brought to thousands in the noncampus community.

Offer the people in every area surrounding the campuses a paper that will stand in sharp contrast to the daily diet served up by the bourgeois press.

Campus radio and television stations can be utilized to bring news and education about the war, about ongoing actions, and about May 30 to the general population.

Campus printing facilities can produce leaflets literally by the millions—addressed to the people of the ghettos, to the workers in the plants, to the GIs. Thousands of students can be mobilized to distribute such leaflets.

Graphic arts departments can design attractive posters with the May 30 message. Campus switchboard systems can be utilized to organize telephone campaigns for widescale direct discussion with members of the community. Students of the theater arts can produce films and TV shorts.

And the self-action of the students, organized through democratic, non-exclusive councils can have a profound impact on other sectors of the population. As GIs, unionists, professionals, see the example of students assuming control of the institutions that affect their lives and directing them themselves in a truly meaningful way, the question will surely be posed to some: Why can't we do likewise?

Development of antiwar universities can write a new chapter in American history of incalculable import. It will bring the student movement, including its freshest layers of activists, to a new stage of political consciousness and activity.

And there cannot fail to be a similar rise in consciousness in other layers of the population. Already labor officials who previously remained shamefully silent, or voiced half-muted timid criticisms of the war are now taking steps to disassociate themselves from the rotten prowar line of George Meany and his ilk and to register their public support for the memorial on behalf of the Kent State Four and against the war.

How could it be otherwise? Six years of war have brought rising casualties and no end in sight, war-induced inflation eating away at living standards and spurring on union-hating employers; added to this has been the factor of the entry into the work force of thousands and thousands of young

veterans of high-school and college antiwar struggles and of the battles of the Black and Brown communities. All of this combined with an infectious and growing student radicalism has not failed to affect the consciousness of the American working people.

The present eruption comes not unrelatedly at a moment of acute crisis for the American capitalist class. Reeling under the blows they are suffering in Indochina and at home, the swiftly increasing conflict within the ruling class qualitatively expands the opportunities for those who oppose them. Now is the time to drive the wedge among the rulers deeper and deeper, to accelerate the struggle, to expose

the disqualification of the imperialist rulers to govern a truly human society, to make all of the ongoing actions, culminating May 30, far more massive than anything previously conceived.

It is important to understand in its full potential the deepgoing, virtually unprecedented character of the present American social crisis. It demands political thinking and action commensurate with the needs and opportunities of the hour.

The war has triggered this crisis. But the consciousness it is shaping quickly passes from antiwar to anti-capitalist consciousness. Development of antiwar universities on a nationwide scale will prove a historic initial step in this process.

Cops Involved in Wall Street Beatings

Ultraright Gang Attacks Antiwar Youths

A week of antiwar demonstrations throughout New York City by ever increasing numbers of young people brought a violent response from the ultraright May 8. Seventy persons were reportedly injured after a gang of 500 ultrarightists, spearheaded by 200 construction workers wearing helmets and carrying wrenches, attacked a diffuse gathering of antiwar youths in the Wall Street area of lower Manhattan.

The police, most observers reported, sided either actively or passively with the attackers.

The ultrarightists, singing the hymn of the U.S. marines, marched into the area behind a cluster of American flags at five minutes before noon. About 900 students were sitting on the sidewalks listening to speakers condemn the war.

Caught by surprise, the youths tried to escape into the huge lunch-hour crowds. "The workers sought them out, some selecting those youths with the most hair and swatting them with their helmets," Homer Bigart wrote in the May 9 *New York Times*.

"The crowd panicked and pushed and ran. One woman fell, her head hitting the ground with a sickening thud. Construction workers ran over her and kicked her," the late afternoon edition of the *New York Post* reported.

The rightists marched to City Hall, attacking the nearby Pace College, which was being used as an antiwar center. The worst excesses occurred in the City Hall-Pace College area, according to the newspaper reports.

"Three black youngsters were standing by, apparently watching the action, when eight or 10 workers waded into their group. The workers went after the youngest and,

according to a reporter, 'beat him mercilessly,' the *Post* wrote.

"The more than 60 policemen standing on the City Hall steps made no attempt to cross the parking lot to stop the beating."

The day following the attack reports indicated that the foray was premeditated and well-organized.

"From his 32nd floor office at 63 Wall Street, Edward Shufro of the brokerage firm of Shufro, Rose & Ehrman watched through binoculars two men in gray suits and gray hats who, he said, seemed to be directing the workers," the *Times* said May 9.

It was also reported that construction workers opposed to the attack had warned the police of what was coming. One of these workers said that in at least one case a contractor offered his men a bonus if they would take time off to break some heads. The worker who gave this information, the *Times* said, felt he had to remain anonymous "for fear of his life."

The *New York Times*, one of the principal forums of the American ruling class, condemned the attack as contributing to "anarchy." The *Times* editorial writer, however, found himself capable of sympathizing with "the hardhats [construction workers], long scornful of the excesses of privileged longhairs on campus."

The liberal *New York Post* reacted angrily to the violence: "These mobsters rampaged through the Wall Street area, Lower Broadway and City Hall Park, slugging, trampling and kicking not only the peace marchers but anyone who had the misfortune to get in their way. But not all the bystanders were innocent. There were, for example, members of the police."

Why Black Trinagonians Are Poor in a Rich Land

[George Weekes, president-general of the Trinidad Oilfields Workers' Trade Union, gave the speech reprinted below at a meeting of the Catholic Teachers' Association on March 19 during spreading agitation over unemployment.

[By mid-April strikes broke out among underpaid mailmen and utilities workers.

[On April 20 contingents of sugar workers marched through the sugar belt preliminary to a demonstration scheduled for the following day in Port of Spain. On the morning of April 21 the government of Dr. Eric Williams proclaimed a "state of emergency," and announced the arrest of ten black power leaders, including George Weekes. When the crowds went ahead with the demonstration, police fired on them.

[On the same day, black-power advocates in the armed forces mutinied. The U.S. sent six warships to the area carrying 2,000 battle-equipped marines. Britain ordered two frigates to stand by in case the Williams regime proved incapable of putting down the unrest in the former colony.

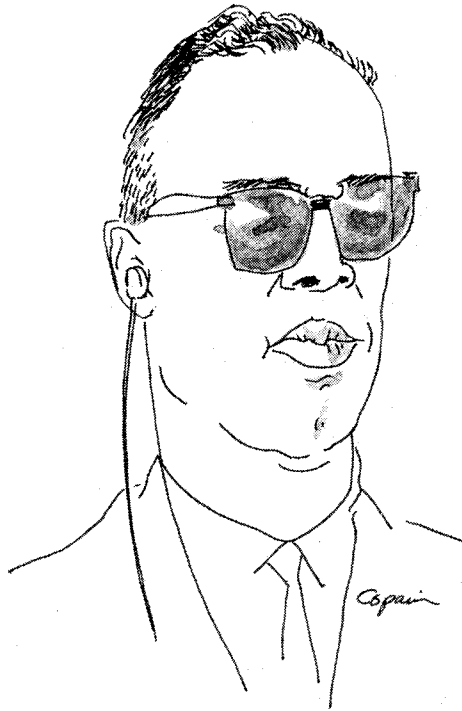
[The May 5 *Le Monde* reported that the Williams government had decided May 3 to indict the three main leaders of the mutiny on charges of "treason and sedition." The same source said that George Weekes might also be indicted, apparently on charges of being "sympathetic" to Castroism.

[The speech by George Weekes, which eloquently voices the grievances of the underpaid and unemployed layers of the population, was reprinted in the April 28 issue of the *Mirror*, the daily paper of the People's Progressive party (PPP) in Georgetown, Guyana, from which we have taken it.]

* * *

The Government of this country like so many others subscribe to the Declaration [of Human Rights] by way of the lip only. Trinago is a small but rich country. *Not only have we fertile soil, but we have large resources of oil. In this way, we differ from most West Indian Islands which have*

May 18, 1970



WILLIAMS: Runs a tight neocolonialist show for U.S. and British imperialism.

to rely exclusively on their agricultural products to support their people. Having oil it becomes more than possible to achieve a good standard of life and certainly full employment for all our people.

In the light of this truism, questions are being asked as to *why it is that in such rich country the black majority comprising 90 per cent of the population are poor? Why do the statistics show that the figures for under-employment and un-employment now stand at about 25 per cent of the work force of 385,000? What this terrible fact means is that one out of every four Trinagonians that are able to, and want work, is being denied "the Right to Work."*

The full significance of the figures mentioned above can be grasped when we look back to the worst depression in the history of the U.S.A., when the figures also stood at about 25 per cent. Any country with 25 per cent under employed and unemployed demonstrates the fact that something is very wrong with the system. It

means also there exists in our country a state of crisis.

The long march by thousands of unemployed workers on Thursday 12th March clearly demonstrates the acute and dangerous crisis that exists. There is no doubt that whatever the cause, the greatest single evil in Trinago today is unemployment. *From quarters that are rich and feel well secured, there are now calls for "Law and Order" and an end to "violence."*

Sisters and Brothers, who can honestly doubt the unemployed and their families are the worst victims of violence. The violence committed against the unemployed is unlike that of the open and visible violence committed in the name of "Law and Order" by a brutal Police *FORCE* under orders of *The White Power Structure*. This type of violence of the baton or the gun is swift and in most cases short, but the violence against the unemployed is a continuing day to day affair, fully encouraged and supported by the *ARMED WHITE POWER STRUCTURE*.

Is there anything more violent against a man than for him to be an eyewitness to his wife and children suffering day after day *hunger* and want, his children unable to go to school, or they become ill, and he cannot afford medical treatment for them; thus causing them to die. Is there anything more violent than for a mother because of the above in order to survive being forced to sell her body to keep her children from suffering. Hitler did not always use the gun, the gas chamber or the Bomb. He did worse, he starved the people to death. If that was not slow murder by torture what is? This is Trinago today.

The unemployed as well as the people generally are weary of being oppressed, exploited, persecuted and brutalised. Those employed are weary of selling their labour power day and night to the capitalist especially to the white foreigners. They are weary of the great fear of swelling the ranks of the unemployed. They are weary of seeing their bodies misused in heartless drives to make great profits. They

realise that most of the profits help to arm the power structure and go back to continue the whiteman's violence against black people.

When there is an increase in wages in the Sugar Industry, the sweet lords managing the estates give to the workers a *Bitter Pill* by simply reducing the number of days worked. (That is also violence.) They automate their operations by bringing in mechanised cane cutters. As a result most sugar workers are forced to live on five to six days per fortnight and even less (that is also violence).

It is of the greatest importance that we Trinagonians understand what has caused this situation. It is as a result of our country's original structure as a colonial possession of the British Empire. True we have now won our political freedom, but it is equally true that nothing has substantially changed. Instead of outright colonialism of yesterday we now have neo-colonialism through the collaboration of the present black government serving their white masters.

Perhaps it might be useful to examine the facts on which I base these conclusions.

My Union's Research Department has provided the following statistics:

1. Before Independence, foreign private capital owned 11 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product. Today it is over 20 per cent.

2. There has been a huge increase in the number of Banks operating here and of Insurance Companies almost all of which are foreign.

Today we are in the firm grip of the United States and U.S. dominated agencies—World Bank and agencies, the O.A.S. and Inter-American Development Bank, the C.I.A., the influence of the U.S. Defence Department in our Regiment and Coast Guard by so-called strategic exercises and orientation courses for brain washing.

These organizations provide foreign capital and today between 75 per cent and 80 per cent of all new manufacturing business is owned by foreigners or dominated by foreign-owned capital with which they operate.

3. Of our imports and exports between 75 per cent to 80 per cent is accounted for by two major interests—Oil and Sugar. These are both owned by "foreign interests."

4. The programme of Industrialization has had to depend almost entirely on the influx of foreign capital.

This means that profits which are made flow out. And in fact, for the last ten (10) years, the figures show that for every dollar invested here from abroad, nearly two dollars have been taken out of the country.

5. In order to encourage this inflow of foreign capital the Government has used incentives, like freedom from taxes, freedom from import duties, accelerated capital depreciation and even hidden subsidies such as land, water and electricity supplied below cost. *The result is that all we get out of the new industries is wages.*

In the circumstances one would expect that aid would only be given to industries which employ large numbers of persons. But this is not so. With automation, industry is becoming less and less labour-intensive. It has reached the peak perhaps, in the new Texaco Lube Oil Plant *where a planned capital investment of \$93,000,000 was to result in only 400 jobs.* In fact, to date, only 138 jobs have been created.

This means almost 1/4 million invested for each job "created" if they do employ 400 eventually. At the present rate of employment, it means well over half a million dollars per job.

Assuming that this investment pays a conservative 20 per cent profit, it means that our island is paying out around \$100,000 per year to get a job that earns a man perhaps an average of \$5,000 at most. I admit that this is an extreme case, but it is an indication of the trend in industry. *The fact of the matter is that industrialization as we are carrying it out is causing the country a net loss.*

6. Since so large a proportion of the economy depends on two industries, both foreign, the Government is at the mercy of these two industries Oil and Sugar.

Do not believe that sugar is a dying industry. Caroni made a profit of \$7,000,000 last year and wants to plant more cane, not to give work to more people as they claim, but to make more profits with even less people. Castro's Cuba is aiming at a target of 10,000,000 tons by the end of 1970 and they are not depending on the U.S.A. market.

The history of the many socialist states now existing in the world shows clearly that whatever their defects or shortcomings, in other ways they are

always capable of providing full employment for their people, a capacity that is not found with Capitalist Societies.

But even if for ideological or religious reasons any of you object to a socialist economy yet there is still the possibility of doing something here, once we have been able to throw off the mental shackles of our masters. Our Government can, for example, pass laws prohibiting the flow of money out of this country. Foreign Companies can be made to spend or save their profits in Trinago. If this is done the money spent here will go into circulation. The money saved here will be invested here. All this will help employment. All this makes us strong and progressive.

Of course I know that most foreigners here will not be prepared to do this. When that happens then they and their political puppets will have to get to hell out but without their capital.

FORWARD TO THE REVOLUTION!

Shah Imprisons Parsanejad

The shah's government arrested Dr. Syavosh Parsanejad, a member of one of the underground opposition groups, in Tehran on March 19. The government has been keeping the arrest a secret, according to the Iranian Students Association in the United States.

In an April 28 statement, the ISA said: "Syavosh Parsanejad is the symbol of many revolutionary intellectuals who in the last fifty years have joined the struggle of the Iranian masses, especially that of the workers and the peasants."

Secret arrests are not uncommon under the Iranian military dictatorship. The government remained silent on the fate of fourteen political prisoners in 1968, arbitrarily held for more than a year, until a worldwide campaign forced admission of the arrests. The prisoners were then brought to trial in the presence of international observers.

The ISA is mounting a similar defense campaign on behalf of Dr. Syavosh Parsanejad. The ISA asks that telegrams be sent to Amir Abbas Hoveyda, the prime minister, or to the Iranian consulates demanding that:

1. The government provide information on the whereabouts of Dr. Syavosh Parsanejad.

2. The government provide reasons for the arrest of Dr. Syavosh Parsanejad.

3. The government announce an exact date of trial.

4. The government admit international observers to the trial.

Crisis in the Venezuelan CP Over Czechoslovakia

By Miguel Fuente

Checoeslovaquia — el socialismo como problema [Czechoslovakia — Socialism as a Problem], by Teodoro Petkoff. Editorial Domingo Fuentes, Caracas. 281 pp. 12 bolivars [\$2.67]. 1969.

Since the bankruptcy of the Third International was established beyond all doubt in 1933-34, when Stalin's policies permitted Hitler to take power without resistance from the German Communist party, and all of the national sections voiced approval of this fatal course, the Trotskyist appraisal that it was necessary to build revolutionary-Marxist parties independently of the CPs has been confirmed time and again by historical developments. It is still the case today, perhaps more so than then, since the so-called Communist parties are in a crisis they will not be able to overcome.

Parallel to the deepening crisis within the Stalinist camp, the advance of the world revolution is strengthening the revolutionary-Marxist forces throughout the world.

In this context, the book published recently in Venezuela, written by a leading member of the Venezuelan Communist party [Partido Comunista de Venezuela — PCV], illustrates a particularly interesting and important phenomenon: how, under the influence of world developments, the ideas and principles of revolutionary Marxism, of Trotskyism, have suddenly reached the very core of a Latin-American CP, causing an internal crisis that will very likely lead to a split within the party and to the formation of a new grouping with a revolutionary Marxist potential.

In essence, the specter of Trotskyist ideas is haunting the Stalinist leadership of the PCV. This time those ideas have come in through the front door, in the form of a jolting Marxist criticism of the invasion of Czechoslovakia and other aspects of Stalinism by no one less than a member of the Central Committee: Teodoro Petkoff. Petkoff's public denunciation of the "Soviet bureaucracy's" invasion of the Czechoslovakian workers state, his telling it "like it is" concerning Stalin's long history of betrayals, and his call to the party to return to the Leninist tradition have won him the admiration and support of large sectors of the student and worker youth inside the PCV.* One immediate consequence of his dissent with the Stalinist leadership was that he was removed from the Political Bureau, the party's highest body.

The Stalinist leadership, however, has not dared remove him from the Central Committee, or expel him from the party — yet — due to his widespread popularity among the rank and file. Instead, the Stalinists have responded with a flurry of pamphlets none of which provides a serious political answer to Petkoff's criticisms.

* Printed in the fall of 1969, the 3,000-copy edition of *Checoeslovaquia* was sold out by early March. In Venezuela this makes it close to a best seller.

Petkoff does not state that the ideas and principles he expounds in his book come within the general field of Trotskyism. Nevertheless, it is entirely to his credit that he should so forthrightly express a Marxist criticism of the official line and the traditional methods of Stalinism. And it is entirely to his credit, historically, that he is the first member of the PCV to lay down some of the basic principles for a return to Leninist norms within the party.

The book does have weaknesses. These center mainly around a lack of understanding of what makes the bureaucracy tick. But they are secondary in character in light of the circumstances.

Petkoff is no newcomer. He has been in the leadership of the PCV for more than a decade. His brother, Luben, broke with the CP years ago along with Douglas Bravo. The fact that Teodoro has come to recognize that Stalinism has nothing to do with Leninism, and that he is now willing to defend Leninist principles and plain historical truth against the myriad lies, threats, distortions and epithets spouted by the Stalinist leadership of the PCV, make him worthy of the solidarity of all revolutionary Marxists. Petkoff may be alone or nearly alone in the leadership, but just the opposite is the case among the rank and file. In reaction the Stalinist leaders are now slandering him among the rank and file so as to induce prejudice against his political position and his record and thus isolate him.

Petkoff does not limit himself to the events in Czechoslovakia. That is only his starting point. He goes back to give us a glimpse of the Bolshevik party in Lenin's time. He contrasts Lenin's methods with those of the Stalinist bureaucracy," and he presents many historical facts that were little known in Venezuela before Isaac Deutscher documented them so well in his various works. Deutscher's spirit of searching for and establishing the historical truth permeates Petkoff's work. At one point he explicitly gives Deutscher credit for his documentation (page 94).

Before Deutscher's biographies of Trotsky and Stalin, little historical material was available in Spanish. Thus Deutscher's books (Ediciones Era, Mexico) and now Petkoff's, provide simple historical facts which revolutionary youth in Venezuela are learning for the first time. In fact, they are learning these while trying to "unlearn" the mythology spoon-fed to them by the CP leadership. The alarming thing for the Stalinists is that now it is not a "foreigner," like Deutscher, expounding these "strange" versions of the history of the Bolshevik party, but one of the top leaders of *their* party! They know that the Communist youth will listen to Petkoff, and they know that once the spark is set off, the youth will not rest until the full truth is established about the history of their movement, nationally as well as internationally.

Petkoff reviews some of the historical fiascos of Stalinism, although he does not analyze their roots. He charac-

terizes the Popular Front strategy and the "spheres of influence" arrangement as anti-Leninist and "breathers for capitalism." He relates the invasion of Czechoslovakia to the spheres of influence arrangement. "It is not a coincidence that Yankee imperialism reacted only *pro forma* in this business. It was overjoyed to accept the implied proffer of a reciprocal reaction toward its own inevitable interventions in the countries within its sphere of influence where revolutionary changes are attempted." (Page 181.)

The Stalinist fairy tale about the "counterrevolution" in Czechoslovakia is very effectively exposed by Petkoff. He also demonstrates that the economic reforms were in no case leading back to capitalism. "For the Novotny bureaucracy," states Petkoff, "the economic reforms contained a threat to its specific interests." (Page 41.)

In relation to the events in Czechoslovakia, Petkoff presents an interesting exposition of Marx and Lenin's concept of the state and its relation to the revolution. He speaks of Marx and Lenin's views on the "transitional period between capitalism and socialism."

As a slap against the PCV's defense of the invasion, the author of *Checoeslovaquia* includes the following footnote:

"All the references to Czechoslovakia made in this work are supported by direct testimony of dozens of Venezuelan Communists who knew Prague in the Novotnyist past as well as during the 'New Course' and the invasion. I have not spoken with a single Venezuelan Communist who, having seen the 'New Course' firsthand did not condemn the invasion." (Page 153.)

The author's appraisal of the quest for socialist democracy in Czechoslovakia is in agreement with all that has appeared on that subject in the revolutionary-Marxist press.

The weakness in Petkoff's analysis becomes apparent when he tries to decipher Dubcek's motives, and when he takes up the problem of the nature of the bureaucracy and what should be done to get rid of it. He seems to feel that the bureaucracy will be displaced *gradually*; that its power will be limited gradually and that the "center of gravity of power will move toward an alliance of the *intelligentsia* with layers of young technicians and workers in the vanguard." (Page 28.) As a consequence the author takes up a position of critical support for Dubcek.

Although he explains how the Dubcek group sought and found support among the masses, Petkoff fails to point out that Dubcek's group formed part of the bureaucracy, even if it was acting, in part, in a positive way so far as the conjunctural interests of the masses were concerned. But precisely because of its bureaucratic nature and limitations, the Dubcek *answer* to the Stalinist bureaucracy did not and could not work.

Petkoff recognizes the fact that Dubcek failed, but his lack of understanding of the nature of the bureaucracy as a social phenomenon stands in the way of a correct appreciation of Dubcek's historical role and the effective way to combat the bureaucracy. The author's conclusion on Dubcek is as follows:

"As in a Greek tragedy, Dubcek's fate unrolled inexorably. Taking advantage of the first favorable conjuncture—in this case a hockey game—the Soviets were able to rid themselves of this uncomfortable Communist. He will now sink into the limbo of *nonpersons* that has swallowed

so many in turn from Trotsky to Khrushchev, including the very creator of this singular historical category: Stalin himself." (Page 186.)

At one point Petkoff speaks of "the lack of understanding, on the part of the Soviet leaders, of the Czechoslovakian 'New Course'. . ." In fact, the Soviet leaders understood all too well where the quest for socialist democracy was leading the Czechoslovakian workers. They all too clearly saw the real danger of a political revolution brewing and spreading not only to the other "socialist democracies" but to the USSR as well. Petkoff is not yet clear on this, although his exposition would hardly seem to leave open any other conclusion.

In answer to the specific question which he poses as to what moved the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries to undertake the invasion, the author states: "*What confronted the Soviets and the Czechoslovakians were different concepts of socialism*" (page 177, emphasis in original). This again is somewhat naïve, since it does not go into the social and political forces in play, and since it ignores the motivations of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Concerning the Hungarian events of 1956, it is difficult to discern what Petkoff's position is. He makes only one brief, passing remark to the effect that the "political crisis" there permitted the counterrevolution to "fish in troubled waters." (Page 55.)

Petkoff's references to certain other topics of sharply controversial nature in the world Communist movement are of interest. For example, China and Yugoslavia.

Petkoff states his position on China succinctly:

"In China, the sclerosis and the bureaucratization of the party and the state, those two plagues of the socialist countries, were met with the colossal expedient of the cultural revolution, but its repugnant idolatrous aspects have led us to overlook its renovating and vital essence, leaving us more or less indifferent to one of the most important events of this century." (Pages 7-8.)

On Yugoslavia, Petkoff declares that while many of the economic policies and the international attitude of its government are to be frowned upon, Yugoslavia is certainly not a capitalist state, and some of its contributions in the field of "socialist political superstructure" are "extremely interesting."

Concerning Cuba, Petkoff points out how the leadership has "maintained a continuous revolutionary spirit among the people, which constitutes the best school of socialism." (Page 8.) This particular comment comes at a time when the Stalinist PCV leaders are slandering the Cuban leadership and resorting to chauvinistic wisecracks in their references to the Fidelistas.

The idea of revolutionary upheavals in the bureaucratized workers states is not alien to Petkoff:

"In short, the socialist countries are the scene of profound changes. Revolutions within the revolution are about to burst forth or are brewing. Socialism, up until now deformed in some aspects, limited, egotistically national in character, is seeking to find itself, is demanding redefinitions of its objectives and its means, is returning to its original sources, and is seeking to find, once again, its glorious traditions: government of the people based on the rank and file and not vicariously; room for expansion of society's potentialities; a new ethic; devotion to internationalism." (Page 8.)

On the subject of Stalinism and the personality cult,

the author of *Checoslovaquia* states the following:

The truth is that one cannot affirm that Stalinism had disappeared altogether in any of the socialist countries, including the USSR. Police terror is only one of the characteristics—perhaps the most repulsive, no doubt, but not the most serious—of that complex phenomenon which for brevity's sake we denominate Stalinism, and the elimination of police terror is not enough to extirpate Stalinism. To begin with, there is the very fact that in none of the countries affected by the 'personality cult' has there been a *Marxist* explanation of its causes." (Page 52.)

The dissident PCV leader discusses the question of the nature of the party, reviewing Lenin's concepts and methods. This part of the book is clearly directed as a criticism of the PCV. Petkoff insists that tendencies be permitted within the party.

It should be noted that Petkoff does not mention the struggle of the Left Opposition within the USSR in defense of precisely those Leninist principles. He does not mention Trotsky's role as leader of the Soviet and worldwide Bolshevik opposition to the rising Stalinist deformation of Leninism. The reasons for this omission are not indicated in the book, but it would appear that perhaps it was, in part, a tactical decision in anticipation of the barrage of criticism which the PCV leadership would—and did—throw at the book.*

Although Petkoff does not discuss Trotsky's role, he at no time makes any statement along the lines of the Stalinist mythology with respect to the history of the Bolshevik party. In an explicit reference to Trotsky, the author describes him as a "Bolshevik." (Page 96.)

One of the most important points which the PCV leader drives home in his book is the interrelationship between "revolutions within the revolution" in the workers states, the socialist revolution in the industrially advanced countries and the colonial and neocolonial revolution. One wonders whether Petkoff is acquainted with the resolution of the World Congress of the Fourth International held in 1963, *Dynamics of World Revolution*, in which this is extensively analyzed.

This brief sampling should suffice to indicate why *Checoslovaquia* caused such a tremor within the Venezuelan CP.

There can be no doubt that the book has been or is being read—and studied—by every serious member or sympathizer not only of the PCV, but of all the left organizations in Venezuela. This fact, combined with Petkoff's tremendous backing among the youth, prevented the Stalinist leaders of the Venezuelan CP from trying to "kill it with silence." They had to reluctantly enter into polemics with Petkoff . . . publicly.

The most rabid attack against Petkoff has been mounted by the general secretary of the CP, Jesus Faria. In a 48-page pamphlet entitled *Indispensable Answers*, Faria defends Stalinism against Petkoff's ideas on all fronts. Faria also attacks another CP leader, Manuel Caballero, who agrees on almost all points with Petkoff. Faria defends

* The publisher of *Checoslovaquia*, Domingo Fuentes, announced recently that Petkoff was writing a new book, taking up how "Stalinism has affected the Communist movement in Venezuela." In light of the heated discussion now taking place, it is to be hoped that in this new book Petkoff will review the historical role of the Left Opposition in the USSR.

the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 100 percent Moscow terms. He then goes on to discuss the question of the party.

"Comrade Teodoro Petkoff," writes Faria, "says that it is correct to speak of a 'left' and a 'right' wing within the party, and concludes, assuring us that there will be a majority and a minority. I think both concepts must be rejected. There can be no 'leftists' or 'rightists' within the PCV. There can only be Communists, Marxist-Leninists within the PCV . . . the PCV cannot tolerate tendencies."

On page 45 of his pamphlet the general secretary comments as follows:

"There are comrades who do not understand why they bring renegade Trotsky into the discussion . . . I would also like to remove the cadavers of the renegades and enemies of the party from our discussion. However, Trotsky has been included in the writings of other persons, among these, Comrade Petkoff."

A milder more subtle attack on Petkoff is being led by Pompeyo Márquez, a member of the Political Bureau. Two recent pamphlets of his are *What Are the Communists Discussing?* and *The Validity of the PCV Is Not Up for Discussion*. In the latter pamphlet, Márquez discusses just that subject. It is he who is preparing the groundwork for a possible expulsion of Petkoff as a "counterrevolutionary" when the conditions are favorable. One can sense it between the lines of his Stalinist apologetics. Márquez goes into a "history" of the Communist movement in Cuba. His description of a petty-bourgeois Fidel and a PSP [Partido Socialista Popular—the old Stalinist party] in favor of armed struggle is no surprise. What is surprising, however, is that in his account of the development of the ORI [Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas] and then the PURS [Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista—United Party of the Socialist Revolution] and eventually the Cuban Communist party of today, he does not even mention the name of *Anibal Escalante!* This gives an indication of the historical objectivity and the political honesty of the Venezuelan CP leaders.

It is impossible to mention all the pamphlets the Stalinists are turning out, but attention should be called to one more. It contains two articles. One by Léo Figüères, member of the French CP Central Committee and author of *Le trotskisme et antiléninisme* (Ed. sociales, Paris, 1969), is entitled "Trotskyism, a Variety of 'Leftism.'" The other, by Lenin, is entitled "The Liquidationist Concepts of Trotsky." It was written in 1914. Quoting Lenin out of historical context is an old trick, but then the PCV leaders are desperate for material. The top Stalinists are finding it ever more difficult to disregard Trotsky and Trotskyism and to maintain the stance that Trotskyism is "irrelevant" to "their" internal discussion.

Finally, the barrage of attacks against Petkoff and his sympathizers was brought to a crescendo at the Fifteenth Plenum of the Central Committee of the PCV (February 16 to March 5) held in preparation for the Fourth National Congress later this year. There had been some speculation as to the possibility that an attempt would be made at the plenum to give Petkoff the ax, so as to avoid having a dispute on this subject at the congress. However, although Petkoff was most severely criticized, no disciplinary measures were taken. This does not show that the Stalinists have suddenly come to respect the prin-

ciples of democratic centralism; they have merely weighed Petkoff's political strength among the rank and file.

Practically all of the plenum's resolutions revolve around the polemics with Petkoff and his sympathizers. The plenum approved publication and wide distribution within the party of a 43-page document by Pedro Ortega Diaz and Antonio Garcia Ponce *On the Antisoviet and Anti-proletarian Theses of C. Teodoro Petkoff*. The document leaves no doubt that the Stalinist leadership of the PCV will have to face and fight Trotskyist ideas and principles in their forthcoming — although still postponable — Fourth Congress.

One might be tempted to say that Petkoff, Caballero and others have "violated party discipline" by expressing their dissident views in public. However, one must recognize that there is no democratic centralism in the CP. There is no Leninist tradition of the right to form tendencies or of respect for minorities. It is in this light that we must judge Petkoff's actions, and it appears that his position in the discussion up to now has been worthy of a revolutionist. He is no doubt under tremendous pressure, and it remains to be seen if he can withstand it and remain firm.

In any case the struggle that has been going on between Leninism and Stalinism for four decades within the world Communist movement has finally reached Venezuela in a big way, and one need not be a prophet to discern which ideas will win out among Venezuela's revolutionary youth.

In conclusion we can quote Petkoff, speaking about the revolutionary youth in Europe, because it foreshadows what we will be seeing among Venezuelan youth in the forthcoming period:

"And it is curious how the rejection of the Soviet Union and of the Communist parties is accompanied, among the most solid European youth vanguard, with a return to Marx and Lenin — as well as with renewal of interest in Trotsky and Rosa Luxemburg, whose pages against bureaucratization and terror are literally devoured. It is not Marxism that they consider bankrupt. On the contrary, in one form or another, the different intellectual and student groups in Europe seek to find in Marxism a basis of support." (Page 162.)

Caracas, April 10.

Sound of Dissent Penetrates White House

Fear Displaces Euphoria Among Nixon's Advisers

"It is almost impossible to exaggerate the startling sense of turnabout here," Max Frankel, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, reported on the eve of Nixon's May 8 news conference. "Until yesterday morning, it was still this Administration's clear intention to ride out the protest with appeals to patriotism, the President's duty as commander in chief, and the long-range benefit of his decision to move troops into Cambodia."

The mood now, Frankel said, was "fear and the anxious activity inspired by fear."

Nixon's strategy, according to the *Times* correspondent, had been "... to chase the war off the front pages of the world, and to demonstrate to the enemy that they could engineer public support for a still muscular performance on the battlefield and to dispel the enemy's feeling that Hanoi's fate and fortune was the central concern of all mankind.

Frankel noted that "... even those who winced at some of the rhetoric of the President and Vice President nonetheless marveled at their skill and diplomatically useful success in carry-

ing the public along over the last six months."

But in ordering a new escalation of the war Nixon showed his hand: "... suddenly the depth of passion in what is still presumed to be a dissenting minority became apparent."

Insiders in the Nixon administration, Frankel said, "... are reminding now about the hard-won gains in the opinion polls, about the 'un-

leashing' of Mr. Agnew against dissenters and the television networks and newspapers who spread the dissent and about the sense of political invincibility that came over the President's closest advisers ...

"Oddly enough, some of the conservatives themselves were warning each other that the public's support, though surprisingly broad, was probably wafery thin, and they worried about a bad turn in the economy or the war."

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