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SAIGON STUDENTS TOO are taking to the streets as this photo of a May 2 demonstration shows. They demonstrated against the Lon Nol regime in Cam-

bodia. The banner reads, 'To Suppress Us Is to Oppose the People.' Thieu's police clubbed the students down and all public and private schools were closed.

Worldwide Protest Over Nixon's War

Deepest Crisis in U.S. Since Thirties

Universities Gagged

In an article in the April 25 issue of *The New Republic*, Arthur Liebman, a research fellow at Harvard's Center for International Affairs, describes briefly the continued suppression of civil liberties in Mexico.

"Over one hundred university students, as well as several professors, are in Mexico City's Lecumberri Prison because of their activity in the Mexican student movement of 1968. . . . Their imprisonment for over a year and a half without trial is in violation of the Mexican Constitution, which is the least of the government's legal and moral transgressions. It is estimated that over 300 persons, most of them students, were killed between July and December 1968."

Liebman says that there is a complete news blackout on the political prisoners and on all political activities of students. Mexican intellectuals are afraid to speak openly about the situation: "The braver of the intellectuals are either in jail or in exile."

Liebman asks why the ruling Institutional Revolutionary party (PRI) feels compelled to resort to such repression when the economy is booming, unions remain under its control, and the opposition is weak and divided.

"The answer, I believe, is that the PRI is more aware of the politically fragile situation in Mexico than are either its supporters or detractors. . . ."

"The students were, and are, dangerous to the PRI because they have managed to remain free of PRI domination, and were beginning to function as the voice of other scattered dissidents. . . ."

"Mexico remains a one-party, repressive dictatorship. . . . Still, the government does value its public image as leftist and democratic. It should be forced to pay a price for this image—freedom for its political prisoners. Those who agree might want to write to President Diaz Ordaz directly. Academics can ask their associations to sponsor resolutions. Mexicans cannot speak for themselves. We can."

Religious Heritage of America, Inc., has proclaimed Nixon "Churchman of the Year." Among other things he inaugurated worship services in the White House.

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Student Strikers Seek to Consolidate Gains

MAY 16—After two weeks the first general student strike in American history is still continuing on hundreds of campuses, with students settling down to consolidate the gains they have made thus far. The wave of spontaneous outrage over the escalation of the war, the Kent State Massacre, and now the killings in Augusta, Georgia, and Jackson, Mississippi, is now centering on attempts to win permanent concessions from university authorities and to spread the movement to other sectors of the population, particularly to Black and white workers.

A student information center at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, put the number of schools on strike at 286 as of May 12. This figure is as good as any. At its peak in the first week, the strike closed nearly 600 campuses. The strike remains strongest on the East and West Coasts and in the Chicago area. Many large universities, such as the University of California at Berkeley, remain completely shut down and students have taken over school facilities for antiwar and other protest campaigns.

At many of the schools that have "reopened," the course of instruction bears little resemblance to that before the strike: antiwar committees and left organizations lead seminars and discussions. In some instances these are extracurricular; in others they have replaced regular classes.

The most typical pattern is that emerging in Los Angeles, where the University of California [UCLA] and the University of Southern California [USC] are both open for classes, but have turned over university facilities to students for antiwar work. At USC students have been offered the option of doing antiwar work instead of attending classes for the rest of the semester. They will receive the grades they had averaged before the strike.

Many colleges have begun summer vacations a month early.

Student strike committees are now attempting to win permanent recognition for the organizational gains they have made in the strike: the right

next semester to have antiwar broadcasts on the college radio station; to have a page or more in the student newspaper; to have offices, printing equipment, telephone service, meeting halls, and other facilities regularly at the disposal of the antiwar movement on campus.

Tens of thousands of newly radicalized students, who have gone through the experience of the current strike, are joining or forming antiwar committees and organizations, and constitute a new base on the campus to struggle for and hold these concessions. This layer of activists ranges from as many as 5,000 in Boston to perhaps 500 in a city like Seattle. Still only a vanguard, it is nevertheless numerically much larger than previously, and it commands the respect of the vast majority of the student population as a whole.

Also significant is the geographical spread of the current strike. The May 14 *Washington Post* cited one example:

"At the University of Virginia, known as a 'gentleman's school,' students voted by more than two to one to support a 'nonviolent, noncoercive' strike in protest of the U. S. invasion of Cambodia and the killing of four students by National Guardsmen during an antiwar protest at Kent State University."

The national guard was called onto the campus of Ohio University in Athens, Ohio, May 15, while on the same day national guardsmen and police arrested 200 Black and white demonstrators in Athens, Georgia, for violating a ban on public marches.

The administration of the 26,000-student Southern Illinois University at Carbondale agreed to accept student demands for an "indefinite" shut-down May 13.

Even Nixon's immediate family was affected by the strikes. Julie and David Eisenhower, Nixon's daughter and son-in-law, both decided to drop out of college for the rest of the term when their schools went on strike. Eisenhower attends the University of Massachusetts at Amherst; Nixon's daughter is at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. Presumably they

did not want to face antiwar demonstrators.

Smith College, an elite girls' school, in fact became a model "antiwar university." The May 12 *New York Times* reported:

"The studious, civilized Smithies, supported by most of their professors, were experiencing a strike with no pickets, no coercion, no demonstrations, no name-calling and no idleness. . . .

"It has really been around-the-clock teach-in, bull session and political campaign. In weather that would normally flush out hundreds of students to toss Frisbees on the lawns and sunbathe by Paradise Pond, the Smith campus appeared deserted.

"The reason was that all the girls were indoors, following their strike slogan of 'Shut down—open up!' Each day there have been interminable rounds of meetings, seminars and workshops on topics ranging from 'The Indochina War: History, Legality, Policy' to women's liberation, the Black Panthers, revolution, politics and consumer boycotts."

The campus radicalization has hit the youth organizations of the two capitalist parties hard. The May 15 *Washington Post* reported:

"Some GOP [Grand Old Party—nickname for the Republican party] leaders from the heartland of the country are worried about losing their Young Republican campus organizations."

It is not to the Democrats that they are going, either, but to the antiwar movement. It is true that the liberal press has launched a major drive to recruit the bulk of student antiwar protesters to the various congressional "peace" candidates running in the fall elections. It is too soon to assess the impact of this pressure. Undoubtedly, many of these youth will support Republican and Democratic "doves." It does not appear at this point, however, that they will do this in opposition to mass antiwar mobilizations and strikes. The most conscious will see the contradiction in supporting capitalist politicians while opposing the war, but the others are not likely

to abandon the antiwar movement.

There will certainly be a fight inside the organized antiwar movement to prevent the liberals—and the Communist party, which supports their perspective—from derailing the movement into reformist electoral channels.

In relation to their numbers, the revolutionary-socialists, the American Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party and the Young Socialist Alliance, have found a wider acceptance of their ideas and proposals than any other tendency. Because of the size and breadth of the student upsurge, no single tendency has anything like hegemony, and in most places independent radicals, liberals, or spontaneous coalitions are in the leadership.

One significant fact, however, is the degree to which the campus explosion has bypassed virtually all the ultra-left groupings. From the Maoists of the Progressive Labor party to the fragments of the Students for a Democratic Society, these currents have been afforded a polite hearing at stu-

dent meetings, and then voted down in city after city.

The next focus of the strikers is shaping up as the May 30 Memorial Day demonstrations called by the Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The action has already been endorsed by numerous student strike councils and by such citywide coalitions as the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council.

It does not appear now that May 30 will be as large as the spontaneous, mainly student protests that took place immediately after Nixon's Cambodia announcement and the Kent shootings. Student activists are moving to enlist other forces beyond the campus in the Memorial Day action. A particular effort is being made to involve labor and Black organizations.

Since the Augusta and Jackson killings, Black student organizations have begun to raise their own demands on campuses in addition to taking a more active role in the student strikes. In Oregon, at Portland State University, Black student organizations have

demanding a day of mourning and memorial services for the victims in Augusta and Jackson, pointing to the official memorial authorized by the administration for the Kent students as a precedent.

In Chicago the citywide student strike council took the initiative, calling an emergency demonstration as soon as the news of the Jackson killings was received. Some 400 people turned out in the rain on May 15 and marched to a rally called earlier by the Coalition for United Community Action, a Black united-front effort, to protest local discrimination against Black police.

The students were welcomed by the 1,500 people participating in the rally. One speaker, Reverend Dunlop, a coordinator of the coalition, declared that Black people should be in the antiwar movement:

"If you think Black people have nothing to do with the war in Vietnam," he said, "you should look at the color of the corpses."

Old-Line Bureaucrats Still Back Nixon's War

Trade Union Support Grows for Student Strike

The ongoing wave of student and youth protest in the United States over Nixon's widening of the war in Indochina and the mounting death toll in police and national guard repression at home has begun to find an echo in the labor movement. Thus far, however, support for the students, while spreading, has been limited to only a few national unions and a number of local chapters.

Many young workers have taken part in demonstrations or other antiwar actions, but the top bureaucrats and their retainers have thus far managed to keep the lid on. One unidentified "labor leader" was still able to boast to the *New York Times* recently that the country's largest labor federation, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations [AFL-CIO] has been the "strongest institutional supporter" of the Vietnam war policy of the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

AFL-CIO President George Meany

was one of the first public figures to praise the invasion of Cambodia, calling on the American people to back Nixon "in his crucial hour." Meany reiterated his support during a May 12 visit made by Nixon to AFL-CIO headquarters across from the White House in Washington. On this occasion Meany sought to lend credence to Nixon's claim that invading Cambodia did not constitute an escalation of the war. "If I thought he made the move in a deliberate attempt to escalate the war," Meany declared sanctimoniously, "I would be opposed to it."

At the same meeting, Meany handed Nixon a statement denouncing as "bankrupt" the administration's economic policies. It would never occur to this "labor statesman" to admit in public that there might be some connection between the billions spent on the war in Vietnam and the beginning of a recession at home.

The most significant break from

these jingoistic apologetics was the May 7 action taken by the 460,000-member American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees [AFSCME], reported in our May 18 issue, in adopting a resolution calling for the "immediate and total withdrawal of all United States armed forces from Southeast Asia."

On a local level, important moves closer to the antiwar students have taken place. In New York a Labor-Student Coalition for Peace has called a demonstration for May 21 at city hall to demand an immediate end to the war in Southeast Asia. Participants in the coalition include Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union; District 37 of AFSCME; District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale, Office and Processing Union; Fur and Leather Machine Workers Joint Board; Amalgamated Clothing Workers Local 1169; District 3 of the International Union of Electrical Workers; Furriers Joint Council; and locals of the Bakers, Jewelers, and Motion Picture Operators unions,

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as well as the United Auto Workers [UAW] and the Furniture Workers.

In Portland, Oregon, many longshoremen have refused to cross an informational picket line set up on the docks by the local student strike committee.

Robert Holmes, an international vice-president of the Teamsters union, has issued a statement denouncing Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, calling the president's April 30 speech "a form of deceit which the American people will not accept."

Union spokesmen have addressed a number of antiwar rallies since the student upsurge began. In Boston on May 8 an international representative of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and the president of Local 205 of the United Electrical Workers spoke to the rally of 60,000.

Sam Pollack, president of Meat Cutters Local 427, and Leo Fenster, secretary of the UAW Cleveland district council, addressed a May 9 protest rally at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland.

A meeting of the Akron, Ohio, Retail Clerks Union voted in a straw poll on May 10 to support an antiwar resolution presented to the unionists by a delegation of the Hiram College strike committee.

Resolutions against the war have been adopted in California by the Alameda County and Contra Costa County Central Labor Councils.

Leaders of some ten unions in Chicago have voiced support for the demands of the citywide student strike council, including John Chico, secretary-treasurer of Local 65 of the United Steel Workers, and Eliseo Medina, Illinois regional director of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee.

The executive board of the Independent Union of Public Aid Employees in Chicago declared itself "in total opposition to the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. troops and the murder of the students at Kent State University. The board supports the strike committee."

In Los Angeles the United Auto Workers community action program has endorsed a May 16 protest at Pendleton Air Force Base in nearby Oceanside sponsored by the Movement for a Democratic Military, a GI antiwar group. This same UAW unit has backed the May 30 Memorial Day demonstrations in Los Angeles, as has Local 535 of the Social Workers



MEANY: For Nixon "in his crucial hour."

union. Spokesmen for the United Steel Workers are scheduled to bring a motion before the Los Angeles County Labor Federation calling for an end to the war and repudiation of Meany's support to Nixon.

Robert Johnson, regional director of the 136,000-member District 4 of the UAW (Illinois-Iowa), sent telegrams to the 138 locals in the district May 8 asking union officials to "register their opposition to escalation of the war in Vietnam and the killing of four Kent State University students by the National Guard." His action followed UAW President Walter Reuther's May 7 telegram to Nixon condemning the "bankruptcy of our policy of force and violence in Vietnam" [see *Intercontinental Press*, May 18, page 450]. With Reuther's death in a plane crash May 9, the central leaders of the 1,800,000-member union have taken no further steps in opposition to the war.

In Nashville, Tennessee, the local Moratorium Committee announced on May 12 that it had secured 8,000 signatures on a petition calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Cambodia and an end to the Vietnam war. Signers included officials from Teamsters Local 327, AFSCME Local 694, and Meatcutters Local 405.

On May 13 in New York the Joint Delegate Assembly of the 45,000-member Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers Union adopted a resolution which said in part:

"Four young students from Kent State are dead—mowed down by trigger-happy National Guardsmen. They are martyrs to the cause of peace—just as three young men in Mississippi were martyred in 1964 in the cause of black freedom.

"Here in New York construction workers demonstrate their 'patriotism' by using lead pipes and monkey wrenches against young people. Such ruffians disgrace the name of labor. . . .

"Mindful that the sons and brothers of our members are being asked to lay down their lives for the enlargement of this unjust and criminal war, we call upon the president to abandon this reckless adventure in Cambodia and to move for American withdrawal from Southeast Asia. . . .

"We reject the position taken by the executive council of the AFL-CIO supporting the invasion of Cambodia."

In Boston on May 14 some 300 workers attended an antiwar rally called by Meatcutters locals 11, 575, and 616. Leaflets distributed at the rally by the Student Mobilization Committee were well received.

Student antiwar organizations and strike committees in a number of areas are working to draw more unions into the protest.

David Thorstad, writing in the May 22 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, proposed several actions that student strike committees can undertake to win further union support:

"They can go to the unions seeking endorsement for the May 30 demonstrations.

"They can take to the unions the antiwar resolution passed at the AFSCME national convention last week and ask that similar resolutions be adopted.

"Unions should be invited to send speakers to rallies.

"The idea of job actions in support of the strike and against the war can be raised.

"Funds for radio and newspaper ads can be solicited.

"Unions can be asked to help supply defense guards for demonstrations.

"Leafletting of rank-and-file workers at plant gates should be organized."

Police Reply With Wave of Violence Against Youth

By Les Evans

The killing of four students by national guardsmen at Kent State University in Ohio May 4 has been followed in rapid succession by the police murder of six Black men in Augusta, Georgia, May 11, and the killing of two students in Jackson, Mississippi, May 15. In Boston, police went berserk in a student residential area, breaking into private homes, beating people indiscriminately, and throwing rocks from rooftops.

The refusal of New York police to protect youthful antiwar demonstrators when they were assaulted by a gang of right-wing construction workers May 8 constitutes part of the emerging pattern of police reprisals against all varieties of political dissenters.

New light was also shed on the December 4 police slaying of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. A federal grand jury report released May 15 found that police claims of being fired upon by the Panthers were untrue. More than eighty shots were fired by the police, and only one was allegedly fired by a Panther. The jury accused the police of covering up their role in the massacre by seeking indictments against the surviving Panthers for having fired shots that actually came from police guns.

In Augusta, weeks of demonstrations against a phony desegregation plan had been met by the arrest of some 430 Black protesters. Civil-rights leaders in turn focused attention on the conditions in the city's prisons, where people were being beaten, given insufficient food, and even tear-gassed.

On May 9 Charles Oatman, a sixteen-year-old Black prisoner at Richmond County prison, was beaten to death. First reports were that guards had done the killing, and a wave of outrage swept the Black community.

A march of some 500 persons was held in downtown Augusta. As it ended some demonstrators burned the Georgia state flag at the municipal building. The Georgia and Mississippi flags both incorporate the Confederate battle

flag, a symbol of white racism and of the slaveholders' rebellion in the last century.

Groups of Blacks began removing merchandise from white-owned stores in the ghetto area. Georgia's Governor Lester Maddox, who rose from obscurity after using ax handles to keep Black persons from eating at his restaurant, ordered out the police and national guard, with orders to shoot to kill.

The six men who died were all shot in the back by police. Not one was armed. Three days after the killings the cops who had done the shooting had only bothered to file a report on one death.

Two doctors at first challenged the coroner's report that the victims had been shot from behind, but after autopsies were performed, Coroner Nathan Widener reported May 15 that the original findings were correct. He did try to "explain" the fact that the dead men had been riddled with bullets by claiming that all had been killed with large caliber buckshot. Eyewitnesses however, testified that police had in fact cold-bloodedly continued to pump bullets into the victims after they had fallen.

Randy Furst, in a special report from Augusta scheduled to appear in the May 26 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant*, interviewed witnesses to the killings.

Charles Staff, 22, a chemistry student at Paine College in Augusta, told Furst that he had come into town from the campus to see what was going on. "There were more officers on the scene," he said. "There's this boy. He was just walking the street and they drove by and he had his hands up like this above his head and they just started shooting and they shot him about nine times. . . ."

"He turned all the way around. You know, they kept on shooting. . . . Just putting bullets in him. And he just fell on the ground."

Tim Carter, a white reporter for the *Augusta Herald*, told Furst that while

covering the events for his paper he saw a man come out of a laundromat. "He wasn't carrying any clothes," Carter said. "He wasn't taking anything because I guess he'd seen a cop coming."

"He started running down the street and a policeman hollered for him to stop and the policeman shot him. He was unarmed. He shot him with a riot gun, about a 12-gauge shotgun. . . . There was a bullet which went through his heart, tore the left corner of his body, just completely mutilated it."

The county medical examiner has revealed that the dead prisoner Oatman was tortured to death over several days' time, and had cigarette burns all over his body. It has yet to be established whether prison guards did the torturing or stood by and let the youth die under attack by other prisoners.

Governor Maddox has whitewashed the killings, claiming they were provoked by a "Communist conspiracy" engineered by the Black Panther party. In fact, if this red-baiting charge is even worth answering at all, there is no Black Panther chapter in Augusta.

Augusta at this writing is still under a 9:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m. curfew and some 500 national guardsmen remain on duty. City officials have given in to angry Black demands that most of those arrested during the clashes be released and charges dropped.

In Mississippi, highway patrolmen directed a barrage of shotgun and pistol fire for thirty seconds against a crowd of 150 unarmed students in front of a women's dormitory at Jackson State College, a predominantly Black college a mile from the state capitol in downtown Jackson.

Eight students were wounded, two critically, and James Earl Green, seventeen, and Phillip L. Gibbs, twenty-one, were killed. All were Black.

The police moved in after a night of campus protest. According to one report, the protest began as an antiwar demonstration; according to others, nonstudents had entered the campus

and thrown rocks at passing automobiles.

A May 15 dispatch in the *New York Times* gave this account of what happened:

"After the city and state police were summoned last night, someone set fire to a dump truck that had been parked near the campus. . . .

"Witnesses said that about 75 to 100 students gathered in front of the west wing of Alexander Hall, the women's dormitory, and shouted angrily at the police milling in the street.

"The witnesses said that someone tossed a wine bottle onto the concrete and that it broke with a loud crash.

"What happened next is disputed.

"A succession of student witnesses said today that they heard no gunfire except that of the police. The police insist that there was sniper fire."

No police were wounded. The police gunfire broke every window on the side of the dormitory they were facing — newsmen counted at least 140 bullet holes. Philip Pittman, nineteen, a sophomore in biology, told Tom Topor of the *New York Post* (May 19):

"There was no sniper fire, period. The police opened up spontaneously with a roar sounding like machine guns. They blasted most of the windows out of the dormitory and caught a group of kids running into the doorway."

Elijah McClendon, editor of the school paper, told reporters, "This is pure slaughter. This is twice as bad as Kent State."

The president of the college, Dr. John A. Peoples Jr., told a student-body meeting: "We have witnessed two of our brethren slain wantonly and determinedly. This will not go unavenged."

Neither of the two murdered students were active in politics, according to Paul L. Montgomery, writing in the May 16 *New York Times*. James Earl Green was a senior at Jim Hill High School in Jackson. Phillip Gibbs was studying law, in his third year at Jackson State.

"Young Mr. Green," Montgomery said, "a star miler on the track team, who hoped to go to college, worked six hours a day after school and most weekends in a grocery store for \$12 a week plus tips to help support his widowed mother, three younger brothers and sisters.

"Mr. Gibbs, who was born in the hard-scrabble hill town of Ripley,

Miss., and received much of his education in Wisconsin, was married and had a son who will be 11 months old tomorrow. He was described as a fine student who had hoped to be a doctor until shortage of money made him switch to law."

Nixon's Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst told Jackson's mayor after the killings that the Federal Bureau of Investigation was, as the *New York Times* put it, "trying to determine whether the civil rights of anyone had been violated."

In Boston at least three official investigations are under way into what one city spokesman has described as "the worst case of police overreaction" in recent Boston history.

Early in the morning of May 11 some sixty to 100 police broke up a student block party held in Hemenway Street as part of the antiwar strikes going on at various colleges and universities in the area. Some 300 youths had gathered in the street around 11:00 p.m. for three nights running to listen to rock music and to dance. When the police arrived, just after midnight on the third night, they claimed the students threw rocks at them. Eyewitnesses dispute this. The May 15 *New York Times* reported:

"Residents said some rocks and bottles were thrown at the police but only by a very small group.

"Most of the crowd, they said, retreated peacefully before the police.

"According to eyewitness accounts, when the police reached the middle of Hemenway Street they broke and ran into many of the houses and Northeastern [University] dormitories along both Hemenway and adjoining Gainsboro Street, clubbing anyone in their way.

"At 110 Gainsboro Street, Michael Mandel, a blind student at the Berklee School of Music, was sitting on the steps with his wife, Elizabeth, playing the flute. He recalls:

"I heard people shouting 'Here they come,' so I turned and walked up the steps to our first-floor apartment. I had my key out and was trying to fit it into the lock when I heard this tremendous smash of glass and then these blows hitting my head."

Six to eight cops beat the couple, ignoring their pleas that they lived in the building. When their assailants left, they managed to get into their apartment.

"After lying for several hours in their darkened apartment listening to the police outside, they say," the *Times* continued, "they crept out to their car and drove to Massachusetts General Hospital where Mr. Mandel received six stitches for a wound on the top of his scalp and three more stitches over his left eye and Mrs. Mandel received two stitches to close a cut on the back of her head."

University officials were beaten even after they identified themselves in the crowd.

Police broke in the door of the apartment of an elderly Austrian couple who were asleep in bed. They threw a lamp onto the floor, ripped a picture off the wall, and left without any explanation.

"Meanwhile, several students recall, a group of policemen had reached the roof of 103 Hemenway Street," the *Times* reported. "Harvey W. Gershman, a resident assistant [university official for the dormitory] there, says he saw 10 policemen standing on the roof 'throwing pipes, rocks, stones and anything else they could find onto the sidewalk, parked cars and people.'"

Police screamed obscenities at the students and bystanders and shouted: "Kent State got four — we want more," "Marxist Maggots," and "Commies. If we catch you, kid, we're going to beat your head into jelly."

U.S. Publishers Score War

At a May 11 meeting of the newly formed Association of American Publishers, some 300 of the biggest book publishers in the United States put the association on record as opposing the war in Vietnam.

Henry Raymont reported from Pocono Manor, Pennsylvania, in the May 13 *New York Times*: "Discussions at the meeting have been dominated by expressions of concern that the Nixon administration is continuing to shift priorities from the field of education to the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia.

"In what was believed to be the first condemnation of the war by an industry association, the council last night adopted a resolution offered by Chester R. Kerr, director of the Yale University Press, and Andrew H. Neilly Jr., vice president of John Neilly & Sons, a major educational publisher.

"Stating that it was the belief of a majority of the publishers that 'the goals of our democratic society' are hampered by continuation of the war, the resolution urged President Nixon to halt divisiveness and the attacks on dissent, and 'that priority be given to our pressing national needs . . .'"

Protest Demonstrations Flare Throughout Europe

By Gerry Foley

About 7,000 persons in West Berlin, another 7,000 in Frankfurt, and 1,000 in Munich marched in protest May 9 against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. The demonstration in Frankfurt proceeded peacefully. Violence occurred in the other two cities.

The target of the Berlin march, Amerika-Haus, was blocked off by 1,000 police with four water cannon stationed behind the barricades of iron bars and three layers of barbed wire. Some 5,000 police had been on the alert since the day before.

When the marchers approached Amerika-Haus, clashes developed. The right-wing daily *Die Welt*, owned by the Springer combine, admitted in its May 11 issue that the monitors of the protest had attempted to prevent violence:

"Over loudspeakers, the leaders of the demonstration appealed again and again 'no needless victims against the fascist military array.'

"First small explosives [firecrackers?] went off and a few stones and pieces of wood fell here and there," the Springer paper claimed. "As if on command a hail of paving stones and bricks descended on the police. Explosives and Molotov cocktails followed. One of these gasoline bombs fell directly under a water cannon, which threatened to go up in flames. Several barriers had already been torn off their foundations and the barbed wire had been cut in several places with wire cutters."

The police loudspeaker called on the demonstrators twice to disperse. Then the water cannon were turned on, and cops on foot and on horseback charged the crowd. "For the next fifty minutes chaos prevailed," *Die Welt* reported. "The mass of demonstrators ran in all directions. Others indiscriminately smashed windows and built a barricade out of the office furniture of the Technical University. The demonstrators tore fifteen-meter-long flag poles from their foundations and broke through the entrance into the IBM skyscraper."

The mounted police caused numer-

ous injuries among the crowd. "Many youths were knocked to the ground by blows from the horses' hoofs or the clubs of the police," according to *Die Welt*.

The demonstrators defended themselves. Nineteen police horses were injured.

An estimated 261 police were injured in the fighting. Nineteen were hospitalized. Twenty-eight police cars were damaged by stones. No estimates of the number of demonstrators injured have been given.

In Munich clashes broke out between the police and demonstrators, according to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of May 11, when some of those participating in the protest march through the city veered off suddenly and stoned various American establishments.

In Hamburg, students of the Akademie für Wirtschaft und Politik (Academy of Economic and Political Science) occupied the local Amerika-Haus May 7. The Allgemeine Studenten Ausschuss (General Student Committee, the student government of the school) sent the following message to the Student Mobilization Committee in the United States:

"The students of the Akademie für Wirtschaft und Politik have carried out a one-day sit-in in the Hamburg Amerika-Haus, where their classes are normally held, as an expression of protest against the imperialist aggression of the USA in Cambodia and the murder of the American students.

"The Hamburg students' demands are as follows:

"1. Transfer of Amerika-Haus to the University of Hamburg. Maintaining this special establishment glorifies a nation in whose name the Kent University student protesters were murdered.

"2. Renaming Amerika-Haus 'House of the Murdered Kent Students.'

"3. Withdrawing diplomatic recognition from the Saigon government and establishing diplomatic relations with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"4. Withdrawal of the German Federal Republic from the American sphere of influence. Withdrawal from NATO.

"Comrades, the students at the Akademie für Wirtschaft und Politik at the University of Hamburg declare their solidarity with you.

"Venceremos!"

In Copenhagen May 9 about 5,000 persons marched to the American embassy. Clashes occurred when a few hundred of the demonstrators threw bottles and stones at the building.

A march of several thousand Dutch protesters to the U.S. consulate in Amsterdam took place without incident.

In Barcelona hundreds of students defied fascist repression to demonstrate their indignation against the U.S. aggression. Students of the school of philosophy at the University of Barcelona burned an American flag and an effigy of Nixon. They broke the windows of the American Studies Institute and threw Molotov cocktails into an American business establishment. Eight protesters were arrested.

In Geneva, Switzerland, several hundred persons demonstrated May 9 in front of the U.S. permanent mission. About fifty demonstrators were arrested as a result of clashes with the police.

In Dublin, Ireland, demonstrators representing Sinn Féin, the Labor party and the Irish Movement for Peace held a sit-in and all-night vigil in protest against the sending of U.S. troops to Cambodia. They carried signs with slogans like "Cambodia—American Black-and-Tans Go Home." (The Black-and-Tans were special military police the British government used in its attempt to crush the Irish freedom fighters of 1918-22. They were notorious for their sadism.)

Sinn Féin, the political arm of the Irish republican (revolutionary nationalist) movement, issued a statement declaring: "The expansionist policy of American imperialism is now completely revealed by their blatant invasion of Cambodia."

100,000 in Paris Protest Nixon's War

On May 10, the day after more than 100,000 persons had gathered in Washington, D. C., to protest Nixon's escalation of the war in Indochina, a similar number of French protesters converged on a huge field in the Bois de Vincennes for a rally to condemn U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia. Participants came from all parts of Paris, as well as provincial cities as far away as Grenoble and Dunkirk.

As reported in the May 12 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, the rally was spirited.

"A noisy crowd unfurled innumerable Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian flags, as well as occasional French ones. There was a symphony of colors, dominated by the red banner with a yellow star, the emblem of North Vietnam . . .

"About a thousand young 'leftists' from the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International], arriving as usual with considerable fanfare, with their drums and their panoplies of flags, finally succeeded in getting through the cordons of union monitors. In tune with the beating of large drums, they chanted 'Long live our Vietnamese brothers, soldiers in the front lines of the world working class . . .'"

The rally was sponsored by forty-four organizations, including the major trade-union federations, the Communist party, and the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party).

The Ligue Communiste was excluded from participation in the rally at the insistence of the Communist party. The Stalinists claimed that the group consisted of "ultraleftist provocateurs." The "divisive" role of the Ligue was proved, the Stalinist spokesmen asserted, by the dispute that arose among the rally's sponsors over the CP's demand to exclude them.

This exclusionary policy was opposed by the PSU and UNEF (Union Nationale des Etudiants de France—National Union of Students of France). However, the Stalinist party remains by far the largest organization on the left in France and was able to force

through its policy against all objections.

Although banned from any official participation in the rally, the Ligue Communiste gave it full support. A well-disciplined Trotskyist contingent numbering more than 1,000 joined the march and were able to make their presence felt to some extent.

Among the figures present on the platform were Georges Ségué and Benoît Franchon, respectively the general secretary and president of the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-controlled union federation); Decaillon and Duvivier, representing the executive committee and the Paris federation of the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor, an independent federation of Catholic origin); Rocard and Bridier of the PSU; the dean of the University of Hanoi; and several diplomatic representatives of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and the Royal Government of Cambodia in Exile.

"All [of the speakers], with some differences in emphasis," *Le Monde* reported, "called for 'immediate, unconditional, and total withdrawal of American troops from the old Indochinese area.'"

A representative of the Cambodian exile government got the most enthusiastic reception. He read a message from Chau Seng, a minister in the government-in-exile, who was prevented from attending. The statement denounced the coup of General Lon Nol and Prince Sirik Matak as "racist and fascist" and declared: "American imperialism has totally unmasked itself by extending its aggression to Cambodia . . . Now there will be only one victory, only one war, that of all the Indochinese peoples."

Nguyen Van Tien of the PRG and Xuan Thuy of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks praised the traditions of "liberty, justice, and international solidarity." They declared their appreciation of those people who understand that the fight

of the Indochinese peoples represents "the struggle of the entire world against imperialism."

A member of the French Communist party secretariat, Vieuguet, extolled Soviet aid to the Southeast Asian countries, as well as the American "peace forces."

Solidarity with the American protest against the war was stressed at the rally, according to *Le Monde*. The representative of the antiwar opposition in the United States was Sidney Lens, the cochairman of the New Mobilization Committee. Lens gave a detailed account of the money Washington has spent over the last fifteen years to "extend economic imperialism throughout the rest of the world." He stressed that his criticism was not directed against the United States but against "an American government I consider subversive."

The UNEF representative declared the solidarity of French students with "their Indochinese brothers in the same struggle against Yankee imperialism and its allies."

The UNEF speaker voiced regret that "some continue to exclude movements which also fight against imperialism," apparently referring to the CP attempts to exclude Trotskyists from mass demonstrations.

After the rally ended, the Ligue Communiste held a brief assembly around the pyramid monument. By this time the Trotskyist contingent had attracted a following about three times its size. The Ligue speakers called for an end to strong-arm tactics and exclusionism in the anti-imperialist and workers movements. They promised that the next demonstration against the war would not take place in the bucolic Bois de Vincennes but in the Place de la Concorde, in the heart of the French capital.

Some scuffling occurred when the Stalinist union monitors tried to jostle the young revolutionists. There were, however, no serious clashes. The example of nonsectarianism set by the North Vietnamese chief delegate in meeting with Ligue Communiste leaders May 5 to discuss building the movement against the war, may have helped dissuade the CP from engaging in greater violence. Moreover, the discipline of the Ligue contingent and their refusal to be provoked helped prevent incidents that would have been played up by the Stalinists as "attacks."

Ten Times Size of Any Previous Protest

Melbourne

Australia's most massive demonstration against the Vietnam war took place here May 8 when more than 75,000 people, as estimated by the daily press, sat down in the middle of the city to demand the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and the immediate repeal of the National Service [draft] Act. The sit-down completely filled Melbourne's main thoroughfare, Bourke Street, for three-quarters of a mile. The march then moved into Swanston Street and occupied the streets outside the town hall for a one-hour rally.

This was the first time that a major antiwar action has been held during normal working hours, and the first time that some form of mass civil disobedience has been staged. The result was a demonstration *ten times larger* than any previous Melbourne protest, with the huge crowd taking over the city in effect for three hours. Public transport in the city was stopped throughout the afternoon.

A thousand police, armed with pistols and shotguns, were on hand, but the massive size of the demonstration forced them to "cooperate," and no arrests were made.

Dr. Jim Cairns, federal Labor MP and chairman of the Victorian Moratorium campaign, told the crowd that if Lieutenant Calley was guilty of killing hundreds of Vietnamese in the My Lai massacre, "then the President of the U.S. is guilty of murder for killing hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese."

He called on all Australians to oppose the Vietnam war. "I believe the forces led by the NLF and the government of Hanoi are on the side of right," he said. "I don't mean that they do not do wrong things, but historically and morally they are right."

The local branch of Honeywell, the U.S.-based manufacturers of antipersonnel weapons used in Vietnam, hired guards to protect their offices, and shifted their million-dollar computer to another building. The U.S. consulate also closed down for the day.



GORTON: Nixon's the one for me.

The city sit-down was part of a three-day "Moratorium" campaign, which continued throughout the weekend with local suburban marches, a candlelight vigil on the steps of the state parliament house, and a rock-blues concert in the city gardens. Similar activities took place in other states.

The state Moratorium committees were originally set up late last year by the most conservative section of the antiwar movement around a policy of "withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam." However, pressure from the left soon forced the adoption of an "immediate withdrawal" policy, and the creation of a more democratic organizing structure.

The Melbourne Moratorium Committee became the largest and most widely based coordinating body to appear so far in this city. More than 100 groups are represented, including students, trade unions, and the state branches of the Australian Labor and Communist parties. The groups range from Quakers to Maoists.

Although the Maoist groups participated in the Moratorium, they con-

stantly attacked the proposed forms of action and the "immediate withdrawal" line.

Early in April they met privately to plan "various manoeuvres and tactics" to prevent the demonstration from being "just a middle class peace rally." However, their activity on the day of the big march was mainly limited to distributing a leaflet which described the mass sit-down as "one of the largest *establishment* demos Australia has ever seen." It advanced an abstract call for a "People's Moratorium."

Strangely enough, this "establishment" demonstration had been the centre of an unprecedentedly vicious attack by the Gorton government since the plans were first announced. Fervent denunciations of "lawlessness," "anarchy," and "mob violence" appeared every day in the press. The Roman Catholic archbishop of Melbourne said that the city occupation would be "foreign to the Australian way of life." The state premier described the demonstrators beforehand as "this rabble, interfering with the lives of decent individuals."

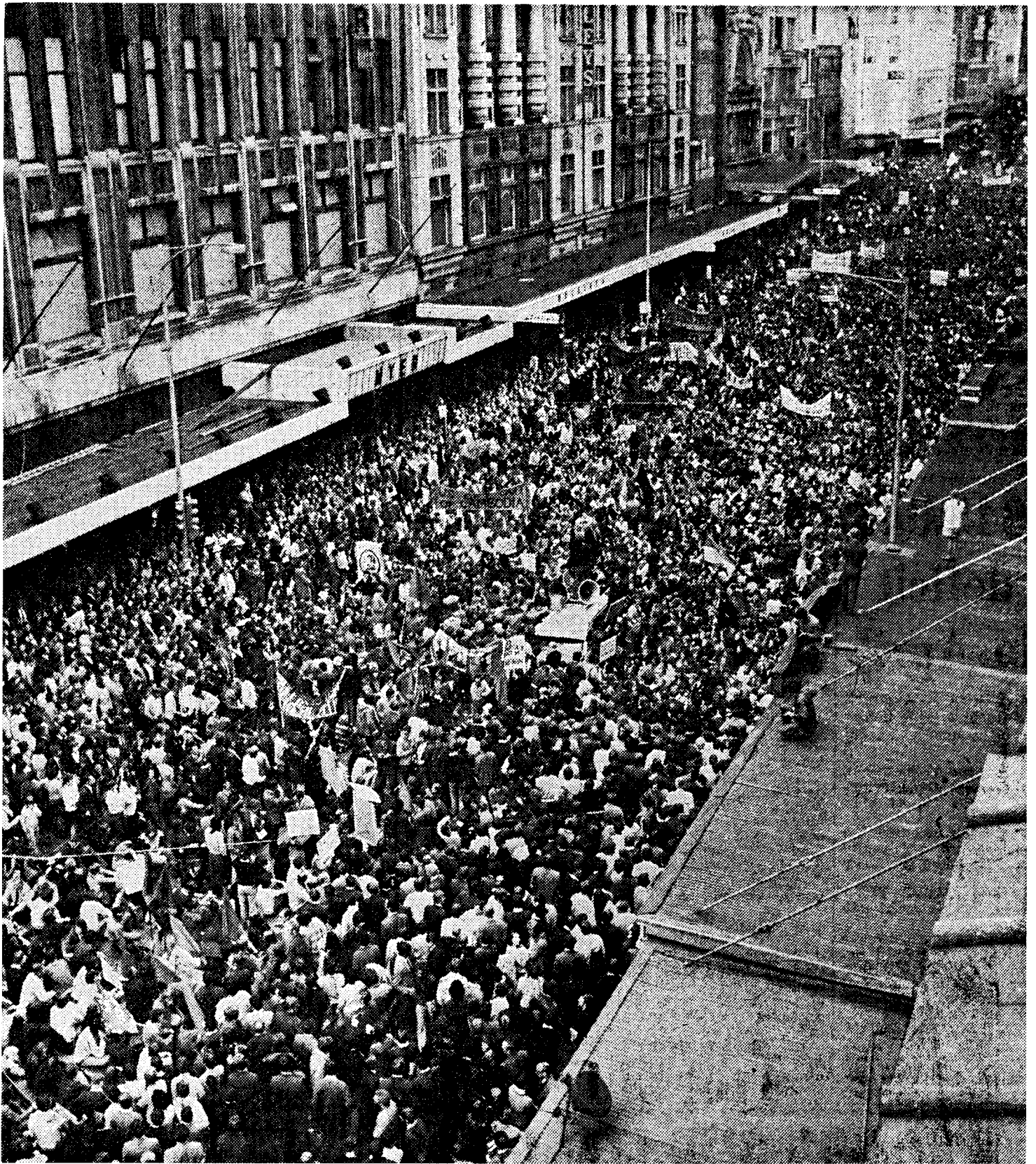
The president of the Returned Servicemen's League claimed that the Moratorium was appealing to "the mentality of stormtroopers." The Moratorium was attacked day after day in the federal parliament.

Finally, the day before the demonstration, the minister for Labor and National Service told parliament that the organizers were "political bikies who pack-rape democracy."

The hysterical attacks of prowar spokesmen gave the Moratorium tremendous advance publicity, and contributed much to its success.

One of the best results of the campaign has been the development of widespread support in the high schools. Despite attempts by some school authorities to prevent students and teachers from wearing Moratorium badges, thousands of badges were sold in high schools. Debates and lectures on the war were held in many schools, and large numbers of high-school students took part in the mass sit-down.

Plans have already been made to continue the antiwar drive. The Melbourne Moratorium Committee has called another mass mobilization for July 4.



MELBOURNE DEMONSTRATION. About 75,000 persons march in the largest outpouring in the history of Australia. The anti-war parade had long been under preparation when Nixon decided to escalate the war. A wave of indignation swept the country. Then came news of the murder of four antiwar students at Kent State University. The citizens of Melbourne decided

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that it was high time to show their concern over the complicity of the Australian government in Nixon's crimes. In face of the size of the antiwar demonstration, police stood by peacefully while the marchers moved past for three solid hours. More than 100 organizations joined forces to sponsor the giant demonstration.

More than 115,000 March Against Vietnam War

Sydney

More than 115,000 persons throughout Australia took part in the biggest antiwar demonstrations in this country's history May 8-10. The Vietnam Moratorium, organized by broad coalitions of antiwar and political groups in many cities, staged demonstrations of 70-75,000 in Melbourne, 20-25,000 in Sydney, 10,000 in Adelaide, 5,000 in Brisbane, 4,000 in Hobart, 3,000 in Canberra, and 2,000 and 1,000 respectively in Newcastle and Perth.

The Moratorium demanded the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Vietnam and the immediate repeal of the National Service Act.

The demonstrations, called five months ago, were endorsed by a wide spectrum of groups, including almost all major spokesmen for the Labor party. The invasion of Cambodia and shooting of four American students at Kent University the week before the actions spurred the giant turnout.

The campaign was a burning issue in national politics for weeks before the demonstrations. There were red-baiting attacks on the organizers and a massive smear attempt, charging that wide-scale violence was planned.

In the high schools, repression took the form of suspensions of students at several schools for wearing Moratorium badges. In Adelaide, two members

of Resistance were arrested and held on \$800 bail, an unusual amount in such a case, for pasting up posters advertising the local march.

Adelaide was the only place where "violence" occurred during the Moratorium — when some thirty prowar demonstrators, later shown to be off-duty soldiers, threw burning flags into the march and beat several marchers.

In Brisbane, Moratorium Committee President R. White was quoted in the press as saying: "The message must be getting through to the conservatives that for every one who participated in the demonstration there were another 50 at home saying they (the protesters) were right."

From Lecumberri Prison

Mexican Political Prisoners Hail Antiwar Upsurge

[The following is a translation of a letter received by *Intercontinental Press* from a number of political prisoners held at Lecumberri in Mexico City.]

* * *

To the American Students:

Outraged by the despicable Yankee intervention in Cambodia and the continuation of the aggression in Vietnam and Laos, we Mexican political prisoners were inspired by your response to this new crime by President Nixon. You, *the voice and mind of self-respecting Americans*, have given an exemplary answer to this crime.

We express:

1. Our admiration and support for the American student youth who are unquestionably in the front rank of the struggle against the Yankee intervention in Indochina. Your place in this struggle puts you shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the world who are fighting to win peace and taking up arms to achieve the way of life they consider in keeping with their national interests.

2. Our most energetic condemnation of President Nixon's policy. For the sake of the peoples of Indochina; world peace; and American youth, who every day see more clearly that they have no interest in fighting a war that suits only the foul aims of the militarists in the Pentagon, we demand the immediate withdrawal of American troops from this region.

3. Our indignation at the repression to which the American students have been subjected, our profound sorrow at the irreparable loss of the four compañeros who fell in the recent days of antiwar protests. The blood of Allison Krause, Sandy Lee Scheuer, Jeffrey Miller, and William Schroeder will strengthen the aspirations of the youth and bear fruit as their struggle develops.

United We Will Win!

Signed: Fausto Trejo, Arturo Zama, Gerardo Unzueta, José Oviedo Garza, Raúl Alvarez Garín, Arturo Martínez Nateras, Pedro Castillo Salgado, Angel Juan Heredia Espinoza, Luis González de Alba, Rubén Valdespino García, Fernando Granados Cortés, Flo-

rencio López Osuna, Augustín Montiel Montiel.

Also Luis González Sánchez, Gilberto R. Gallardo Meltis, Eduardo de la Vega de Avila, Eduardo Montes Manzano, Eduardo Valle Espinoza, Raymundo Padilla Salazar, José Piñero Guzmán, Félix Lucio Hernández Gamundi, José Luis Becerra Guerrero, Rafael Jacobo García, José Refugio Mora Foll.

Also, Saúl Alvarez Mosqueda, J. Servando Dávila Jiménez, Jesús González Guardado, Antonio Morales Romero, Juan Robles Armenta, Pablo Gómez Alvarez, Felix Goded Andreu, Joel Arriaga Navarro, Mario Hernández Hernández, Roberto Miñón Corro, Arturo Ortiz Marbán, Fidel Baldovinos Vázquez, Ernesto Olvera Sotres.

Also Pablo Alvarado Barrera, Salvador Martínez de la Roca, Rafael Villalobos, Bernard Philip Ames, Zeferino Chávez Alarcón, Rigoberto Valenzuela Yepiz, José Revueltas, Salvador Zarcos Flores, Antulio Fernández Maldonado. [The names of several other signers were illegible — IP.]

10,000 in London March Against Nixon's War

Thousands of antiwar protesters marched in London May 9 to demand that the United States get out of Indochina. A broad representation of speakers addressed a rally at Trafalgar Square followed by a march to Grosvenor Square where the American embassy is located. The action was sponsored by the British Peace Committee, the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, and the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign.

Speakers at Trafalgar Square included Mrs. Lin Qui, a North Vietnamese journalist; American pacifist George Lakey; Labour MP Hugh Jenkins; and Robin Blackburn, a member of the editorial boards of the *New Left Review* and the *Red Mole*.

A number of trade unions supported the march. Banners were carried by the trade councils of London and Westminster, Greenwich, and Wandsworth. The Camden Town engineers were also represented.

Estimates of the size ranged from a figure of 10,000 given by the May 9 London *Evening News* to 4,000, the estimate of the *Morning Star*, the paper of the Communist party, which supported the action.

The sectarian Socialist Labour League boycotted the demonstration. The May 12 issue of the SLL's *Workers Press* offered the following explanation:

"The turn away from the working class by the protesters and the Stalinists, attracting all kinds of anarchist and middle-class riff-raff, creates ideal conditions for the work of provocateurs."

The SLL nevertheless sent some observers to the antiwar demonstration. They counted the "riff-raff" and reported in *Workers Press* that they numbered exactly 4,000.

The march to Grosvenor Square was led by Mrs. Lin Qui and actress Vanessa Redgrave, who chanted the names of the four students shot by national guardsmen at Kent State University.

As the marchers approached the American embassy, clashes with the

police broke out. Scotland Yard later claimed that sixty police and nineteen demonstrators were injured.

"Trouble started," the May 10 issue of the London *Observer* reported, "as the protest leaders went by a pre-arranged route to the far end of the square away from the Embassy and the vast majority marched on to approach the square at a point next to the Embassy.

"When the demonstrators reached the square the police threw a strong column backed by men on horses across the entry.

"As the crowd yelled 'Pigs, pigs' and and 'Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil,' groups of 10 or more fought with police in the front line. Helmets went flying, and police snatched banners from the lead-

ing demonstrators and snapped them in two behind the cordon."

At one point Vanessa Redgrave walked into the middle of the most vociferous demonstrators and pleaded with them to end the confrontation:

"You don't gain anything by hitting them," she said, indicating the police. "This is the wrong way. Just sit down, look at them and stare them in the face. You haven't got a revolutionary situation here, anyway." She was jeered by some of the youths.

Earlier at Trafalgar Square ultra-leftists attempted to drown out the speakers with organized shouting. According to the *Morning Star*, the hecklers "seemed to be under anarchist banners or pictures of Mao."

From the Antiwar Front in France

A Message of Solidarity in Common Battle

[The following message was addressed to American antiwar activists shortly after the invasion of Cambodia. The signers of the statement were the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié — United Socialist party), the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International), *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle), and UNEF (Union Nationale des Etudiants de France — National Union of French Students). We have translated the text of the message from the May 11 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste.]

* * *

The four Kent University students murdered by the cops of the American ruling class are comrades-in-arms of the Vietnamese massacred by Nixon's and the CIA's killers in Song My in South Vietnam and in Takeo and Snoul in Cambodia. These four anti-imperialist activists gave their lives

for the sake of the most important struggle in the worldwide internationalist campaign of support for the Vietnamese revolution. Their names must be honored with the deepest respect and in the most effective way.

The new course opened in Southeast Asia by the extension of the war into Cambodia and the gigantic bombings of Laos will unquestionably have the most profound effects on American society, from which the truth has long been partially or entirely concealed.

This new situation increases still more the decisive importance of the role played by the antiwar movement and the Student Mobilization Committee in the fortress of world imperialism — the United States. Against this new stage in the American escalation, we must develop the most effective counteroffensive possible, organizing protest actions and mass demonstrations in order to aid both the Vietnamese revolution and the antiwar movement in the United States.

Stop U.S. Imperialist Aggression in Cambodia!

[The following statement was issued May 5 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938.]

* * *

The aggression of American imperialism against Cambodia extends the Vietnam war to all of Indochina. This new aggression flows from the very purpose of the war: to stop the revolution through direct military intervention. At the same time it is an expression of the bankruptcy of that policy. Washington's intervention in Vietnam could not stop the revolution, which has extended to Cambodia, Laos, and Thailand—which in turn have become subject to U.S. aggression.

The extension of the war to Cambodia, and the renewed bombing and threats to North Vietnam, have utterly exposed Nixon's phoney "Vietnamization" program and promises of gradual disengagement from the war. For the American people especially, it is hard to believe that two weeks after promising new withdrawals of troops, Nixon launched an invasion of Cambodia, carrying out the same kind of genocidal policy Washington has conducted in Vietnam and which has earned the hatred of the Indochinese peoples.

The course of events in Cambodia, where a CIA-engineered coup intensified civil war in that country, threatened the immediate overthrow of the counterrevolutionary regime. The U.S. intervention to save this tottering regime is a repetition of what happened in South Vietnam itself over the last decade. It is a pattern U.S. imperialism will repeat again in many Asian countries, if it is not stopped in time.

Nixon's Cambodian adventure has no more chance of success than the Vietnam war. It will only increase worldwide hostility against U.S. imperialism. It has already produced a massive upsurge of the antiwar movement in the United States itself,

causing deep divisions even among the ruling class. The brutal murder of four students in Kent, Ohio, which followed close on the heels of Nixon's violent verbal attacks on antiwar students, is a reminder of the basic truth that those who begin by suppressing and murdering foreign peoples end up by murdering and suppressing their own people.

The Fourth International reiterates its full solidarity with the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian revolutions, and hails the steps taken to extend and coordinate them.

The Fourth International remains convinced that the best defense of the Indochinese revolution is the international extension of the revolution.

The Fourth International calls upon all those opposed to the imperialist aggression to concentrate their imme-

diated efforts on three objectives: building mass actions against the war, especially in the United States itself; attempting to involve parts of the international working class in industrial action against the war such as refusing to transport war materials or to assist the U.S. war machine in any way, following the example of the Australian dock workers; maximum military help to the Vietnamese, Laotian, and Cambodian revolutions.

For this latter objective to be met, it is necessary that there be a united front for that purpose of all the workers states, above all of the Soviet Union and China, and that the Soviet government publicly proclaim its solidarity with the People's Republic of China, in case of any attack against it by imperialism.

New Zealand

Graduates Protest 'Cambodia, Kent'

Wellington

Demonstrations were held throughout New Zealand on May 1-2 as part of an Australasian mobilization against the Vietnam war. The demonstrations came before the news of the Kent massacre, which provoked new spontaneous protests.

On May Day some 200 students marched from the university here in Wellington to the U.S. embassy where they held a twenty-eight-hour picket—one hour for each New Zealand soldier killed in the war.

In Palmerston North, a small university city, 300 students marched against the war, the largest antiwar action held there to date.

Some 600 persons marched in Christchurch, where a second rally of several hundred was held the next day. In Wellington also there was a May 2 march and rally of about 350 people.

As news of the Cambodian events and the wave of protest in the U.S.

began to sink in, other actions erupted. Some 400 people rallied in Auckland May 3 and burned a cardboard effigy of Nixon. The following day seventeen students were arrested during an occupation of the U.S. consulate.

When the news of the Kent shootings was received, the official student associations at the universities in Wellington, Hamilton, and Palmerston North called a boycott of classes for May 8. The strike was highly successful and hundreds of students took part in campus antiwar meetings on that day.

At the Auckland University graduation ceremony, armbands reading "Cambodia, Kent" were distributed and worn by a large number of the graduates and faculty. The first five students to receive their degrees (the top ranking students in the class) all wore them. In the city the same day, a march of 500 persons took place under the sponsorship of the Council on Vietnam.

Beyond Cambodia and Hanoi Stand China and Russia

[The editorial reprinted below ought to be made must reading by members of Nixon's entourage; it represents the considered views of British imperialist circles in Hong Kong, who are in a good position to know what they are talking about. It appeared in the May 7 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* under the title "Nixon's Decision."]

* * *

President Nixon is a brave man, that at least one can say. He has put his presidency on the line and painfully taken the plunge for armed intervention in Cambodia and the widening of a war he had hoped would fizzle out. It is, apparently, useless to offer criticisms of the decision, since Mr Nixon has rejected all political considerations in making it. He has declared that the decision transcends the "honest and deep" differences over America's involvement in the war and over the way it should be conducted. He made the decision to protect the lives of brave American boys in Vietnam, and has discounted any further questioning of their right to be there in the first place. He has served notice on Hanoi that "the richest and strongest nation in the history of the world" will not admit the possibility of defeat: "We will not be humiliated."

Let us therefore cease any further futile discussion of the rights and wrongs of Indochina and content ourselves with an examination of the decision in non-moralistic terms, with eyes only for the realpolitik of the situation. First, it is permissible to doubt the claim that the US has not invaded Cambodia, that this is a clean one-shot operation to drive the enemy out of their sanctuaries and destroy their supplies, to be followed by a swift withdrawal. We have heard such promises before, just as we once heard that the bombing of North Vietnam and of the Ho Chi Minh Trail would cut down the flow of men and arms from Hanoi to the South. The Indochina war is not the sort of war in

which quick clean blitzkriegs are either possible or effective. Withdrawal is inevitably followed by enemy reoccupation of the area (who holds Khe San today?).

But let us not contemplate probabilities and the certainty that this enlarging of the war will only enlarge the area of human suffering. Let us assume the best that President Nixon can hope for — that the American/Vietnamese strike into Cambodia destroys the Vietcong's bases and denies vital sanctuaries and supply routes to North Vietnam. Let us suppose that this enormous setback to Hanoi's war effort proves to be a crushing blow to its morale and its will to win.

What would happen? Does Nixon suppose for one moment that China would allow a People's War fought on its threshold to fail? The Chinese have sworn to fight "shoulder to shoulder" with the Vietnamese with whom they are as close as "lips and teeth" and for whom China will always be a "reliable rear area". Does Nixon

discount all this as mere communist rhetoric? The moment Hanoi looked like cracking, Peking would be forced to intervene. Perhaps Nixon feels that China, preoccupied with the task of building up its economy and its internal administration after the distractions of the Cultural Revolution, worried about the threat of an attack from the Soviet Union and contemplating the inevitability of a future confrontation with Japan, will flinch from involvement in another Korean War. Let us stretch our imaginations and assume he is right, that China will leave Hanoi in the lurch. Does Nixon also assume that the Russians will allow him to inflict a defeat on Hanoi? Does he think that, while his troops crush the small country which has defied the great US for so many years, the Chinese and the Russians will allow such a setback to the cause of world revolution? Does Nixon believe that, while he refuses to accept humiliation and defeat, Hanoi, Peking or Moscow are ready to accept both?

Heyerdahl Reports Atlantic Badly Polluted

Extensive and "alarming" water pollution exists thousands of miles out into the Atlantic Ocean, according to Thor Heyerdahl, author of *Kon-Tiki*.

His report in the April issue of *Biological Conservation*, an English-language journal published in Switzerland, describes the observations made during Heyerdahl's unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic in a reed boat last summer.

During the fifty-two-day trip, he spent six days sailing through "visibly polluted water, in the mid-ocean as well as nearer the continental shores on both sides."

The evidence of pollution included "brownish to pitch-black lumps of tar-like or asphaltlike material of the size of fine gravel and dispersed at irregular intervals on and slightly below the surface."

The phrase "ocean blue" may soon lose all meaning if the situation which Heyerdahl observed gets any worse. He says that at times "the ocean water assumed a very dirty, grayish-green color instead of clear blue, leaving us with the impression of being inside a harbor amidst the outlet of city sewers." His choice of words inevitably brings to mind the observation that there was once a time when blue was considered the normal color of harbors as well as of the open ocean.

Heyerdahl was unable to pinpoint the source of the pollution. He says that at one point he thought the boat had "entered into the wake of some oil tanker that had just cleaned its tanks." He abandoned his hypothesis, however, when he realized the filth was too extensive to be accounted for in that way.

U.S. Racked by Deepest Crisis in Living Memory

By Joseph Hansen

How deepgoing is the current crisis in the United States?

To find a parallel, it is necessary to go back to the thirties. The lack of confidence in the Nixon administration is comparable to that of the final days of the presidency of Herbert Hoover. The explosiveness of social tensions bears comparison with the time of the sit-down strikes that swept the country as the workers began to build the foundations of industrial unionism.

Such judgments are to be found not only among revolutionary socialists. The most responsible spokesmen of the capitalist class have come to similar conclusions.

Former Chief Justice Earl Warren, speaking May 15 at a luncheon in New York of the Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, gave the following estimate:

"We are, indeed, in a crisis. We have had many crises in prior years, but none within the memory of living Americans which compares with this one. A number of factors contribute to it—war, inflation, unemployment with resulting poverty; a deterioration of our environment; an atmosphere of repression; and a divisiveness in our society to a degree of intensity that has not been equaled in the past hundred years."

The retired Warren is not running for any office. He can afford to speak plainly.

Another Republican, John W. Gardner, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in Johnson's cabinet, spoke just as grimly. Scheduled to address a Republican-controlled Illinois Constitutional Convention May 14, he gave an advance copy of his speech to the officials in charge. They demanded that it be rewritten. When he refused, they canceled his engagement. Gardner flew back to Washington, called a press conference, and read portions of his speech to the journalists. He received nationwide TV

coverage as a result. Among the things he said were the following:

"And while each of us pursues his selfish interest and comforts himself by blaming others, the nation disintegrates. I use the phrase soberly: The nation disintegrates."

This eminent Republican explained what he meant by this:

"The crisis in confidence is deepened by the divisiveness that afflicts the nation. Today's divisiveness is not confined to one issue or one set of antagonists. There are multiple points of conflict—the war, race, the economy, political ideology. There are multiple rifts—between old and young, between regions, between social classes.

"Around these rifts we have seen hatred and rage, violence and coercion at both ends of the political spectrum. And matching the violent deeds we have had provocative and ill-considered statements from those in high places. Official statements and policies which feed the fires of regional suspicion or racial antagonism or the tensions between young and old may be as destructive as a bomb tossed through an open window.

"If one considers the whole range of conflict—ghetto riots and shoot-outs, campus violence, widespread bombing and arson, school buses overturned by raging adults, and the chilling recent clash between construction workers and radical youth—if one reflects on that full range, one must conclude that we are dealing with disintegrative forces that threaten our survival as a society."

The divisions, in Gardner's view, are cutting extraordinarily deep:

"One might suppose that as extremists become increasingly inflammatory, moderates would close ranks and oppose them. But just the opposite is occurring. The moderates begin to take sides against one another. We all become a little readier to identify villains, a little readier to resort to violence ourselves."

The "extraordinary reaction" to Nixon's decision to escalate the war showed that a "crisis of confidence in our leadership" had been building in the public mind. "The seeming abrupt reversal of implied commitments deepened the question in the minds of millions of Americans as to whether they can believe the promises of their leaders."

Gardner singled out the war in Vietnam as the most important issue:

"At this moment, the war is the most divisive element in our national life. Nothing we are doing to help or harm our friends or foes in Southeast Asia can compare to what we are doing to ourselves as a nation. The erosion of spirit that we have experienced is beyond calculation. Weighed against that erosion, any geopolitical advantages in the war must seem as pitifully small. I hasten to add my own view that judged in the strictest national security terms, our involvement in Southeast Asia is hopelessly counter to our best interests."

The *New York Times*, the most substantial journalistic voice of the American capitalist class, in a lead editorial May 17 entitled "Cambodian Balance Sheet," said that no matter how the military side of the "escalation" may turn out, "it is already plain that it is a political disaster."

The editors of the *Times*, who are noted for their restraint, included the following paragraph:

"But the heaviest price for President Nixon's Cambodian misadventure has been paid at home where bitter division and bloodshed have torn American society. Less than a month ago, Mr. Nixon was boasting that the Communists had made 'their most fatal calculation' when they 'thought they could win politically in the United States.' Now it is the President who has misjudged the depth of American aversion to the war. This opposition has exploded not only on the campuses but within his Cabinet, in the usually mute State Department bureaucracy and among such solid citizens as 1,000 'establishment' lawyers who plan to travel from New York

to Washington this week to urge 'immediate withdrawal from Indochina.'

James Reston, the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, indicated in his May 17 column the mood now prevailing in government circles:

"This capital is more divided and more pessimistic today than at any time since the beginning of the Vietnam war. . . .

"Seldom since the economic depression of the thirties has there been so much gloomy talk here among moderate and thoughtful men. John Lord O'Brien, perhaps the most distinguished lawyer in the capital, was speculating the other day on how long Congressional government could survive in America under the existing political and economic pressures. . . ."

Nixon, in the opinion of the correspondent of the *Times*, "is now in deep trouble." Like Johnson, "he is increasingly up against the dilemma of getting out of Vietnam quicker than he planned or not being able to govern the country.

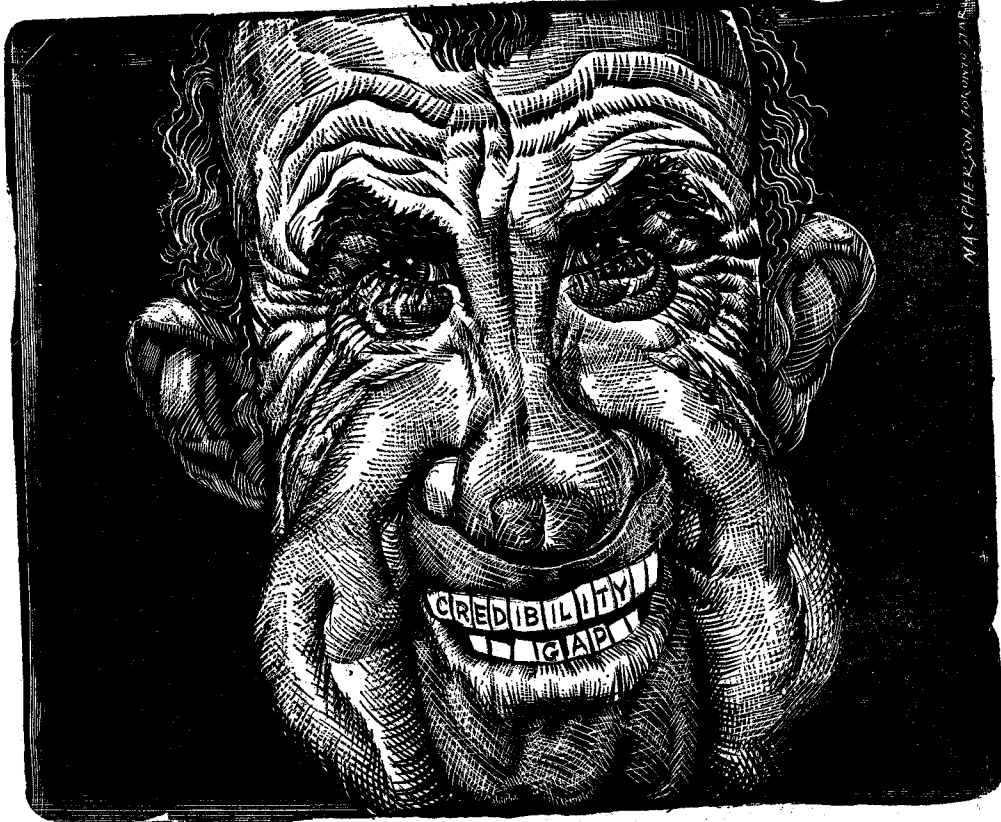
"For, since the Cambodian invasion, everything has changed in Washington. The strategic problem in Indochina may be the same, but the political problem at home has been transformed. The Cabinet and the Congress are different. The universities are now organizing against him instead of merely demonstrating against him. His war policy is not helping the economy but hurting it, and even in world strategic terms, his involvement in Indochina is encouraging Soviet adventures in the Middle East, and political isolationism at home."

Reston ended up with the following: "His advisers recognize the changed mood in the capital. They thought, when they came to power, that they were dealing with a foreign war, and they now see that they are dealing with a rebellion against that war, and maybe even with a revolution at home."

The top experts in governmental affairs, who are called in for consultation on particularly knotty problems, share these views. For instance, Richard E. Neustadt, the author of *Presidential Power* and a consultant of both Kennedy and Johnson, stated in an interview in Cambridge, Mass., May 16:

"The events of the period from April 20 to April 30, and the further events of the next 10-day period, provide

May 25, 1970



Macpherson in the Toronto Star

no reassurance about Nixon or the Presidency. This threatens to become a third Johnson term, and ultimately lack of trust in the king threatens the throne."

This echoes a view hinted at by a member of Nixon's own cabinet. Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel in his May 6 letter to Nixon, which was "leaked" to the press, referred to the crisis faced by the British empire two centuries ago when "it found itself with a colony in violent protest by its youth—men such as Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, Madison and Monroe. . . . Their protests fell on deaf ears, and finally led to war."

Finally, it is worth noting the opinion of one of the central figures in the Johnson administration responsible for escalating the war in 1965—McGeorge Bundy. In a speech at the University of Texas May 15, referring to his role in advising Johnson to go ahead, he said he had "no desire to duck that responsibility."

But today he is president of the Ford Foundation and his views have altered. Fearful of the domestic repercussions following Nixon's decision to invade Cambodia, the former hawk is sprouting dove feathers:

"Not only must there be no new incursion of Americans across the

Cambodian border, but nothing that feels like that to the American public must happen again, on the President's say-so again."

Bundy spelled it out: "The point is, quite simply, that any major action of this general sort, if undertaken in the same fashion as the Cambodian decision—now that the domestic effects of that decision are visible—would tear the country and the Administration to pieces. At the very least the Congress would stop money for the war, and the chances of general domestic upheaval would be real."

It is clearly the opinion of "moderate and thoughtful men"—and some sobered up hawks—in top ruling circles that American involvement in the war in Vietnam has led to such civil division and strife that the country may now be on the verge of a revolution.

An independent analysis of the lines of cleavage visible in all sectors and of the forces set in motion at this moment indicates that Washington's fears and forebodings are not without reason.

"WASHINGTON, May 1 (UPI)— The Defense Department reported today that United States troop strength in Vietnam increased slightly last week to 427,000 from 425,000 the preceding week."

Fear That Nixon Is Led On by 'Colonel Blimp' Types

Most observers in the other imperialist countries were not reassured about Nixon's Cambodian operation by his claim that U.S. and Saigon troops invading the country had dealt a hard blow to the Vietnamese liberation forces, having captured large amounts of their food and matériel.

"A military success in a counterrevolutionary war is of no avail unless it marks a political victory," the prestigious *Le Monde* commented in an editorial May 11. "But so far," the Paris daily continued, "nothing indicates that the invasion of Cambodia has strengthened the Saigon and Pnompenh regimes. Quite to the contrary.

"Moreover, while the Americans have seized several thousand weapons and claim to have killed many 'Communists,' the bulk of the Vietnamese troops seem to have slipped away.

"The 'front' has shifted into the interior of Cambodia. While in the past the 'sanctuaries' served as bases for attacks against the 'allied' armies in Vietnam, it seems today that the combined forces of the Vietcong and the Red Khmers are giving General Lon Nol's army problems and have isolated Pnompenh from several provinces.

"Far from quieting down, the Vietnam war proper is heating up. For several days the NLF has been stepping up its attacks and harassment, especially in the northern areas. In Laos, the Communists are expanding their activities. . . .

"Will Nixon recommence the operations against North Vietnam if the situation worsens in Laos and directly south of the seventeenth parallel? That would certainly mean the end of the Paris peace conference. For military but also domestic political reasons, the president cannot leave his troops in Cambodia long. Nor can he, no matter what General Thieu says, keep large Saigon units there without the NLF taking advantage of this opening to launch dangerous offensives in South Vietnam.

"Thus, in spite of its motion, American policy in Indochina, which is increasingly the work of a man ignoring

the advice of experts, seems as frozen as in the past."

The British capitalist papers, more familiar with the American domestic scene than their French counterparts, were worried about the internal situation in the U.S. created by the new escalation in Indochina.

"The American nation is engulfed in a crisis of confidence such as it has not suffered since it became the leader of the free world," according to Richard Scott, Washington correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. (May 16.) "Racked with internal dissent, beset by violence and crime on a scale exceeding that of any other civilised nation, drifting further into foreign adventures of dubious morality, this country is going through one of its darker moments. And confidence in its leaders' ability to extract it from the morass grows daily less."

Ian Wright, the Saigon correspondent of the *Guardian Weekly*, was equally worried about the role of American "colonel blimp" types in the new escalation of the war. "Certainly, on May 1, the American military were delighted to be unleashed into the Cambodian sanctuaries. One officer said of his colleagues: 'They've been salivating at the prospect of this for months' . . . 'If you've got power,' said a colonel, 'and we have, it makes sense to use it.' Another American officer expressed himself more bluntly when asked if he didn't think the Senate would make a fuss over the move. 'Screw the Senate,' he replied. . . ."

This "military euphoria," Wright explained was far from justified. "To a degree that has astonished many commanders," he wrote, "the enemy has simply disappeared, melted away."

The British correspondent was not impressed by the claims about captured NLF matériel. "The Communists have been severely deprived before and then come up fighting. Operations like Cedar Falls and Junction City in 1967—now lost to the short institutional memory in Vietnam—were also designed to bring the end of the war closer. A year later there followed the attacks of Tet 1968."

The truth, Wright stated, was that "Mr. Nixon seems to be caught. When the present operations are over—operations which have diverted people's attention from the plight of Lon Nol and the disarray of the Nixon doctrine—he will still be left with the problem of what to do about Cambodia. If the Communists remain in possession of a hefty slice of Cambodia, as now seems likely unless Mr. Nixon extends the limits he has set, 'buying time' in South Vietnam may not be of much use to him."

The spokesman of one of the most international-minded sectors of German capitalism, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, voiced the general uneasiness among Washington's imperialist allies in an editorial May 11: "The earth-shaking question today, a London Sunday paper began its commentary, is not the creation of a democratic [i.e., capitalist] Vietnam but the survival of the United States as a strong democracy. That might seem exaggerated. But that exaggeration is justified, if, in countries where the 'survival of the United States as a strong democracy' is a matter of life and death, skepticism about the appropriateness of certain decisions turns into hypocritical condemnations and crude anti-Americanism."

The West German chancellor Willy Brandt expressed a similar feeling. The West German leader had to intervene personally May 11 to prevent the National convention of his Social Democratic party from passing a resolution demanding immediate withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and Cambodia and condemning "creeping fascism" in America. Although expressing "deep concern" over the U.S. escalation, Brandt pleaded for a "more reasonable tone," *Washington Post* correspondent John M. Goshko reported May 11.

One of the few expressions of full confidence in Nixon came from the adventurist clique of colonels who seized power in Greece three years ago. They praised Nixon for his "courage."

America Has Become the World's Nightmare'

[After Nixon's announcement that American combat troops were being used in Cambodia, the *New York Times* asked the well-known British historian Arnold J. Toynbee to answer the question, "How does the United States look to the rest of the world these days?" The following is Toynbee's reply, which appeared in the May 10 issue of the *New York Times*.]

* * *

LONDON—To most Europeans, I guess, America now looks like the most dangerous country in the world. Since America is unquestionably the most powerful country, the transformation of America's image within the last 30 years is very frightening for Europeans. It is probably still more frightening for the great majority of the human race who are neither Europeans nor North Americans, but are Latin Americans, Asians and Africans. They, I imagine, feel even more insecure than we feel. They feel that, at any moment, America may intervene in their internal affairs with the same appalling consequences as have followed from American intervention in Southeast Asia.

For the world as a whole, the C. I. A. has now become the bogey that Communism has been for America. Wherever there is trouble, violence, suffering, tragedy, the rest of us are now quick to suspect the C. I. A. has a hand in it. Our phobia about the C. I. A. is, no doubt, as fantastically excessive as America's phobia about world Communism; but, in this case, too, there is just enough convincing evidence to make the phobia genuine. In fact, the roles of America and Russia have been reversed in the world's eyes. Today America has become the world's nightmare.

Like Communist Russia, America has committed atrocities in the cause of truth and justice, as she sees them. We believe that American fanaticism, too, is sincere. This makes it all the more alarming.

In terms of the number of lives taken and of lands laid waste, America's score is, unhappily, far higher than

any other country's since the end of World War II. Would I rather be a Vietnamese who was being "saved" by the American Army, or be a Czech who was being "saved" by the Russian Army? Of course I would rather be the Czech. The number of lives taken and the amount of devastation caused by the 1968 Russian military intervention in Czechoslovakia were small, measured by the standard of America's record in Vietnam.

How is America dealing with her problems? As we see it, she is failing to deal with them, and this is the most terrifying feature of American life today. The American people seem to us to be moving rapidly toward civil war: middle-aged noncombatants against young men subject to the draft; the affluent against the poor; white against black; students against the National Guard (the most immediately perilous of all these multiple confrontations).

The American home front is more crucial than the ports in Vietnam and Cambodia and Taiwan and Korea and the Middle East. The decision on America's home front is going to decide the fate of the world, and the rest of us can do nothing about it. We have no say, but we, too, are going to be victims of America's domestic agony.

Shirley Graham DuBois Denied U.S. Visa

Shirley Graham DuBois, the 71-year-old widow of W. E. B. DuBois, was barred from entering the United States by the Justice Department on May 5.

Mrs. DuBois had applied for a non-immigrant visa in February after receiving an invitation to visit Fisk University in Nashville.

Grounds for refusing the visa, according to the Justice Department, were Mrs. DuBois's "association with numerous subversive organizations." In this ruling, the Justice Department overruled a State Department recommendation that the visa be granted.

The administration thus repeated the charade it played last fall when Bel-

With growing anxiety, we watch a spectacle that we never expected to see. Who would have foreseen that America would repudiate George Washington's warning against entangling alliances? Or that America would cease to be a land of hope? And who would have expected to find himself wishing that America would box the campus for a second time within one lifetime—wishing, I mean, that America would retreat again into the isolation from which we were once so eager to see her emerge?

Is there, then, no hope of reconciliation on America's home front? I catch a gleam of hope when I recall some words that I heard an American officer let fall two years ago in a discussion on the international situation: "There are going to be many more Vietnams," this officer said, "though the mothers of America won't like it."

The mothers of America: This representative of the Pentagon had detected the great power that was going to be the Pentagon's most formidable adversary. The Pentagon versus the mothers of America. In Cambodia we now already have a second Vietnam.

The mothers of America have still to go into action, and I believe this is a battle that the Pentagon cannot win. In the mothers of America I do still see some hope for the world.

gian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel was denied a visa by the Justice Department despite a favorable recommendation from State. Gisela Mandel, his wife and a well-known leader in the European student movement, was refused permission to enter the United States to speak at an antiwar rally at Columbia University April 15.

Last month, six prominent scholars filed suit in federal court, seeking an injunction that would allow Ernest Mandel to enter the country. This is the first direct challenge to the provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act which serve as the "legal" basis for denying visas.

Canada's Indians Struggle for Sovereignty

By Dick Fidler

[This is the third and last of a series on the "Red Power" movement in Canada. It appeared in the April 20 issue of the Toronto revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*. For the first two articles see *Intercontinental Press*, April 6 and May 11.]

The reserves play a key role in the development of national consciousness among Canada's native peoples. As the homeland for the quarter-million treaty Indians, they have provided an economic base to sustain the Indian population, most often in traditional nonindustrial pursuits of hunting, fishing and trapping. Without such lands, their fate would have been even worse, as the situation of the Métis and nontreaty Indians today so grimly testifies.

Equally important, the reserve lands are now providing a base for the new organizations that the Indians are forging themselves in their struggle for self-determination, and it is around the reserves that their program of Indian control of Indian communities naturally centers.

The declining economic perspectives of the present reserve lands, combined with a rapidly accelerating birthrate, are forcing more and more Indians to leave the reserves and head for the cities in search of work. In the United States, where the land was stolen from the Indians or exhausted earlier, about half the native population is estimated to live in urban areas; in Canada about one-quarter of the treaty Indians covered by the Hawthorn-Tremblay survey of 1967 had left the reserves.

However, very few abandon treaty status, their right to return to and live on the reserves. And while urban ghettos and the immense problems faced by the racially oppressed and superexploited Indian population of cities like Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Vancouver will no doubt figure more prominently in the Red Power program as it develops, it is clear that so long as the economic, social and cultural base of the Indians remains on the reserves—which generally are

located in long-standing tribal communities—the key demands will continue to be expressed in terms of the reserve communities.

This demand of the Indians for control of their own communities has tremendous progressive significance.

It is of course a democratic demand, and as its widespread appearance among Indian tribes from coast to coast indicates, it is deeply rooted in the life and struggles of the Indian masses. But it is also profoundly revolutionary, for it poses directly the question of who will have the decision-making power among the most oppressed, colonized people on this continent—and what those decisions will be.

In its most general sense, the concept of community control takes the form of the demand that the treaties be reinstated by the federal government, then renegotiated between the government and the indigenous Indian organizations and sovereign tribal councils to take account of modern conditions. In addition, since half the Indians and none of the up to 350,000 mixed-blood Métis have any treaty rights, the Red Power militants demand compensation for the lands they lost. Many tribes note that since they were never defeated in war and never surrendered their land by treaty, they retain legal rights to vast areas of territory, particularly in British Columbia and Quebec.

A growing number of Indian communities are already renewing their claims to sovereignty—and acting on them, by rejecting further incursions on their territories and violations of their treaty rights by the white man's racist government. A notable example was the St. Regis reserve's protest against the Canadian government's refusal to recognize the Jay Treaty's provision for Indian exemption from border-crossing levies.

Another example of possibly greater significance is the declaration of sovereignty issued by the Six Nations Confederacy at Brantford, Ontario, fol-

lowing Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien's "white paper" policy statement last June. Of the estimated 9,000 Indians on the Six Nations reserve, Chief Logan says "at least three-quarters want an independent state."

A variation on this theme was the Saskatchewan Native Action Committee's presentation during the 1968 federal election of a candidate, 23-year-old Carole Lavallée, in the constituency of Meadow Lake, where 60 percent of the population is Indian and Métis. She ran on a program centered around "local control of government in Métis and Indian communities." New Democratic party militants should take note that this strong Indian-Métis organization, under the militant leadership of Dr. Howard Adams, apparently did not consider the NDP, which also contested the riding, an adequate vehicle for their needs and program.

Lavallée's vote—600, or 3 percent of the total—seems small until it is compared with the percentage of the native population that actually voted, 10 percent. When the two figures are transposed, it appears that close to half the native electorate who voted cast their ballots for a self-proclaimed Red Power candidate!

Small wonder that Ottawa refuses to grant self-government to the North-West Territories, where Indians and Eskimos together constitute over 60 percent of the population!

The electoral strategy conducted in Meadow Lake is rejected by many Indians, particularly treaty Indians, today. Although the latter have now been given the vote federally and in most provinces, the growing opposition to government authority is reflected in the feeling that participation in the white man's elections constitutes a surrender of Indian sovereignty. The lack of participation of the Indian voter, even when he or she is confronted with a real alternative, is evident in the Meadow Lake statistics, already cited. But this abstentionism extends also to elections within the reservations for bodies set up by Ot-

tawa, such as the band councils. Mohawk leader Kahn-Tineta Horn told the *Toronto Star* in December, 1968, that only 450 of Caughnawaga's 2,500 eligible voters had taken part in the recent federal government-sponsored elections there. The low turnout reflected opposition, not apathy, she said.

The Indians have not yet spelled out how they see the formal application of their demand for political sovereignty over their communities. NDP leader T. C. Douglas has suggested the reserves might be given municipal status. This is already being done with one band council in British Columbia, as part of the projected transfer of Indian Affairs to the province, and at Moosenee, Ontario. But rather than increase Indian control of their own communities, it merely transfers federal authority to the province, which retains control over municipal law. It certainly does not guarantee self-government; at Moosenee, which the Roberts Tory government calls "Canada's first self-governing Indian area," the board which runs the town was appointed by Queen's Park, and the Indians, who form 90 percent of the local population, do not have a majority voice on the board!

What the Red Power movement is already making very clear, however, is the *content* of the demand for community control. They want their own police, their own juries, their own courts, their own laws which correspond to their way of life, to their moral and social standards. In a recent brief to the Senate committee on the media, Indian leaders demanded funds for their own radio network and TV stations in areas with a large Indian population.

Indian women, subjected to shocking degradation at the hands of the white colonizers, particularly because of the preeminent role they played in the matriarchal Indian communal society, are now organizing independently within the Indian community and formulating their own demands. The Caughnawaga reserve women petitioned the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, calling for an end to the Indian Act provision that can "deprive an Indian woman of her nationality."

Key struggles are shaping up over Indian demands for control of their own schools. Half the 64,000 reserve Indian children now attend integrated schools, many of them hundreds of

miles from the reserves, in white communities, and the government proposes to eliminate Indian-only schools altogether. But Indian spokesmen across Canada are demanding an end to church and state control of their children's education, and raising such demands as an Indian university, re-writing of the texts to tell the truth about the Indians' history, teaching of Indian languages and instruction of other subjects *in* the Indian languages. In short, they are demanding "Red studies" programs similar to the "Black studies" demanded by broad layers of the Black community in the United States.

Clearly, then, in their territorial possessions, their economic and social objectives, their organizational development and political demands, and their cultural pursuits, the Indian people are taking on the major characteristics the Marxists have normally attributed to a nation.

When the Indian looks back for inspiration to early aboriginal society in North America, he discovers the ideals and moral standards of a naive yet effective communism. Indian society, as it existed and as it is being resurrected by today's young Red Power militants, is a society totally at odds with the "capitalist ethic."

"American Indians," a writer south of the border noted recently, "remain our one unhyphenated minority. The American Indian world is so alien to us, so alien still, after all the generations of mortal embrace, that no one would say Indian-Americans any more than one would say Martian-Americans. It is an alienness rooted in the very foundation of the Indian world, which rests—still today—on a sense of community as against the foundation of individual contention, individual acquisition, underlying the surrounding world—an alienness attuned to a harmony of human relationships rather than a harmony of commerce and industry, attuned to belonging rather than belongings."

Similarly, Walter Currie, president of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, is quoted in the CLC's [Canadian Labour Congress] *Canadian Labour* as contrasting the "Indian way of life" ("He took only what he needed. He had no need either to command or to obey another's wishes. Time and work had not been invented; acquisition of property was unknown. Group interest was paramount to self interest.") with what he calls the "peas-

ant ethos" of the European: "competition for the acquisition of private property . . . his command over others . . ."

These characteristics of Indian culture are very attractive to young people revolting against the hypocrisy and false values of capitalist society. Women's liberation activists can deepen their understanding of the class character of their oppression as women by studying the matriarchal communism of Indian tribal society.

These Indian ideals have striking relevance to the Red Power struggle, too. When the Indian people assert that they will no longer accept domination by the white man's government, that they want full control over all aspects of their life, they are indicating that they have abandoned any illusions about achieving equality under capitalism. Moreover, the Indian's traditions show the possibility of a different kind of society based on fundamentally noncapitalist concepts. The movement for self-determination is an increasingly powerful phenomenon among minority nations and nationalities in all the industrialized capitalist countries today—we see it also in Quebec—but what other national people can point to such obvious examples of communal cooperation and equality in its own traditions?

These factors make the Indians powerful potential allies of all other forces struggling for change on this continent. Already Red and Black militants have expressed their solidarity in common actions—for example, a joint meeting in Toronto to honor the martyred Black leader, Malcolm X.

The struggle of the Indian people for emancipation is an expression of the permanent revolution. It has begun as a struggle for sovereignty, for collective or national liberation. But the scope of the problem, and the nature of the enemy mean that it can't be achieved except through an all-out struggle against the entire capitalist system. Thus the Red Power movement inexorably tends to merge with the broader class struggle against capitalist domination. The Indian people are destined to play a leading role in the fight for socialism in Canada; for they truly have "nothing to lose."

White capitalist society has been unable to co-opt this movement to its own purposes, to break down the sol-

idity of the Indian communities, their collective approach to solving common problems. The Indian people are developing the determination and ability not only to control their own communities, but to make those communities examples of a higher

form of social organization than what we know today under a system based on private property. Who can predict what lessons we can learn in the power and effectiveness of communal development from the collectivist experiments of the Indian communities?

By showing white workers the image of their own future, the Red Power movement can do much to popularize and concretize what socialists mean when they talk of a society founded not on avarice but on human solidarity and brotherhood.

Bullitt Papers Provide Further Evidence

Once Again on Stalin and the 'Second Front'

By George Saunders

Having had the occasion to take up the position of the Kremlin spokesman M. Basmanov on the question of Stalinist strategy in World War II among other points (see, "The 'Second Front' and the Achievements of Earl Browder," in *Intercontinental Press*, April 27, page 377), I was struck by some recent disclosures in the declassified papers of William C. Bullitt, one of Roosevelt's foreign policy advisers during the war. A previously secret memorandum by Bullitt to Roosevelt, dated August 10, 1943, advocated that American and British forces should invade the Balkans to prevent the Red Army from entering Europe.

This once again confirms the argument that Trotskyists have consistently counterposed to that of the Stalinists. The official Kremlin view is that the alliance with Roosevelt and Churchill represented a historically progressive "antifascist coalition." This view was stated in the latest official attack on Trotskyism by Basmanov as follows:

"The Trotskyists broadcast their fabrications about the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition being an act hostile to the interests of both the Russian and the world revolution."

This suggests that the anti-Hitler coalition with Anglo-American imperialism actually favored the Russian and world revolutions. But did it?

Bullitt's document indicates that the non-Soviet side in this coalition was not at all favorable to such interests.

"Our political objectives," Bullitt wrote in a formal fourteen-page memorandum to his chief, "require the establishment of British and American forces in the Balkans and eastern and central Europe. Their first objectives should be the defeat of Germany, the second, *the barring to the Red Army of the way into Europe.*" (Emphasis added. —G. S.)

This was written on the eve of a conference in Quebec involving Roosevelt, Churchill, and the British and American general staffs. Its purpose was to decide the final Anglo-American strategy for the war.

Out of the Quebec conference came the decision to invade France at Normandy in mid-1944. What is significant is not that the invasion area chosen was France rather than the Balkans, but that the decision was weighed in terms such as those used by Bullitt.

The above quote from the Bullitt memorandum appeared in the April 26 *New York Times*, which gave very little

else from or about the document, although two long columns were taken to quote other declassified Bullitt papers not touching on U.S.-Soviet relations. Does the *Times* feel too much revelation is not a good thing, especially when the U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks are going on in Vienna?

Undoubtedly, there was agreement among British and American policy makers that the army of the Soviet "ally" constituted a threat. Bullitt's proposed strategy was just one way of trying to deal with that threat. The Normandy solution was another.

This kind of thinking was further indicated by the *Times* article when it quoted from an unspecified, undated "interview" with historian Arthur Schlesinger, who was an insider in the "New Deal" regime and who, more recently, helped the Kennedy regime engineer the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

"Bullitt's memorandum," said Schlesinger, "illustrates the profound debate within the Roosevelt Administration even at a time when everybody admired the heroism of the Soviet armies. It's true that at about that time Churchill favored an attack through the Balkans, which he called 'Europe's soft underbelly.' But this was strictly for military considerations, though the myth grew later that he wanted a tougher policy toward Stalin than the Americans."

Why does Schlesinger refer so delicately to a "profound debate" without delineating its content? Why does he contrast this "debate" to the admiration felt for Soviet heroism? Obviously, because even he is ashamed to go into the details of the Anglo-American hostility to the Soviet ally which was a matter of policy even at the height of the joint war against Hitler.

Bullitt's part in the "profound debate" was to warn that the U.S. could "no longer reasonably hope to come to an agreed and honorable solution with the Soviet Union." He predicted, according to the *Times*, which avoids giving his exact words, that Stalin had "designs" on much of Eastern Europe. The *Times* considers this an early statement of the cold-war "containment" policy.

Yet at that time Stalin was making great political concessions to his trusted allies; he even abolished the Communist International at about this time, to assure his partners he had no intention of extending the Russian and world revolutions. His policy was to rely on im-

perialist collaborators rather than on independent revolutionary forces around the world.

American Communists, following his line, were the foremost supporters of the "no-strike pledge" and of voting for the imperialist demagogue whom they affectionately called "F. D. R."

Likewise, Communists in India opposed the struggle for their nation's independence because the Kremlin told them Churchill's Britain had become progressive through the alliance and that everything must be sacrificed to the war against fascism.

Meanwhile, did Roosevelt and Churchill urge the bourgeois parties of Eastern Europe to abandon class differences and work unselfishly for the Soviet government and its war effort? Not a chance.

Instead, as Bullitt's example shows and as Schlesinger admits, they were weighing the pros and cons of a thrust into Eastern Europe, to bar the way of the Red Army, even while they engaged in rhetoric about the "heroism" of the Soviet fighters.

Why did the Allies actually not invade the Balkans? Was it because progressive-minded imperialists, loyal to the "coalition's ideals," prevailed over sinister, reactionary types like Bullitt? That is how the Stalinists might explain it.

A more realistic explanation is that military-political considerations made a hasty Balkan landing less desirable than the Normandy variant. Moreover, the London and Washington strategists probably did not expect the Red Army to drive Hitler's troops back with such great power and rapidity. After all, in August 1943 Nazi armies were still fighting on Soviet soil. The urgency, from the imperialist viewpoint, of blocking the Red Army's way into Eastern Europe may not have been very apparent.

Whatever the details behind the specific tactics of the Anglo-American side in the "anti-Hitler coalition," the Bullitt revelations make it obvious that their overall strategy was nothing if not "hostile to the interests of both the Russian and the world revolution."

Stock Market Votes Against the War

Wall Street Gamblers View Nixon With Alarm

The Nixon administration has attempted to portray the decision to expand the war into Cambodia as a brilliant stroke that will have the effect of bringing the slaughter to an earlier conclusion.

In reality, however, the invasion indicates the administration's intention to continue its military aggression in Indochina indefinitely.

Stock market speculators, who prefer to make their gambling decisions on the basis of facts rather than presidential rhetoric, recognize the reality; and their uncertainty as to what the administration has planned in the way of foreign adventures appears to be a contributing factor in the current decline in stock-market prices.

This is the explanation of the slump offered by Terry Robards in the May 15 issue of the *New York Times*.

"The gloom that enshrouds Wall Street today," says Robards, "is perhaps the heaviest since the early days of the Great Depression. The stock market keeps skidding day after day, with only feeble attempts at recovery, and the bond market is equally depressed.

"Analysts say there has been no worthwhile rally because of a crisis of confidence in the ability of the Nixon Administration to reduce American commitments in Indochina and with-

stand pressures for deeper involvement in the Middle East."

Nixon's so-called "silent majority" is supposed to be filled with quiet confidence that the leader is bringing the war to an end. But among the speculators the "crisis of confidence" has reached the point that many of them seem to have doubts not only about Nixon's ability, but even about his intention, to end the war:

"The investment community is fearful that the Administration actually has no plan for final disengagement from Vietnam . . ."

One of these effete intellectual snobs in "the investment community" is August Huber, president of Spencer Trask & Co.

Huber is quoted as saying that "Whereas a couple of months ago people could see the light at the end of the tunnel in Vietnam, now it's all reversed and people are thinking it'll go on for years more."

And, according to Robards, things could get even worse: "Any further deepening of the American involvement in overseas conflicts would be viewed with alarm by investors. It would come as a surprise and there is a widespread belief on Wall Street that the stock market can not withstand many more items of unexpected bad news."

The analysts whom Robards quotes may be able to explain the stock-market slump, but the solutions they offer are not very helpful:

"Most analysts appear to feel that a bolstering of confidence in the Nixon Administration is what is needed. This can come about, they say, only when an end to the long and dreary Vietnam war becomes likely. The engagement in Cambodia has shaken their confidence that the day is near."

Millions of Americans have also had their confidence shaken by the invasion of Cambodia. The prescriptions of the analysts, which amount to little but a plea for blind faith in the administration, are no more accepted by Wall Street than they are by the rest of the population:

". . . technical analysts say the market is deeply oversold and ready to rally on good news." But "Wall Street is waiting for concrete evidence of improvement in the Vietnam situation and a clear indication that the United States will not be drawn into any other wars."

That seems to be a major problem for Nixon these days: people are no longer willing to accept his words, but are insisting on "concrete evidence"—such as the sight of the men coming home from Indochina.

In Reply to Kremlin Attack on 'Trotzki im Exil'

[The following is dramatist Peter Weiss's answer to Lev Ginzburg, author of a Stalinist attack on his play *Trotzki im Exil*. Ginzburg's attack appeared in the April 1 issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*,* the weekly organ of the Soviet writers union. Weiss's open letter to *Literaturnaya Gazeta* was apparently originally written in German, but it has not, to our knowledge, been published in Germany.

[A few quotations from it were included in an article in the April 20 issue of *Der Spiegel*. Among other things, the West German magazine reported that Ginzburg had come under attack from the Kremlin bureaucracy as a liberal at almost the same time as his hack job on *Trotzki im Exil* had brought him into contempt among his fellow writers.

[Our translation of Peter Weiss's open letter is taken from a Swedish version that appeared in the May 3 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. The subheadings appear in the Swedish.]

* * *

Dear Lev Ginzburg:

In the March 31 issue of the Soviet writers' union paper you attacked my play *Trotzki im Exil* [Trotsky in Exile]. You accused me of falsifying history, using fake documents, and distorting the Great Socialist October Revolution.

It is true that my portrayal of the revolution and of Lenin's comrades-in-arms did not correspond to the picture that has been painted in the Soviet Union for more than four decades. In fact, the play is an assault on that picture. For I started out from a different reality than the one that determined the picture which is considered correct in the socialist countries.

Although the content of my play might be judged provocative from your point of view, one should have been able to expect an awareness on

your part of the background to the one-sidedness of the Soviet view of Trotsky. The evidence of Marxist historical studies is so abundant and Trotsky's own writings, documents, and transcripts testify so clearly to the real state of affairs that they cannot be denied in any serious discussion.

Let us suppose you hold the view that the time is not yet ripe to reveal the truth about this decisively important period. Let us suppose you consider it necessary to maintain certain simplifications for use in the heightened ideological struggle against imperialism. Still one would have assumed that it would be understood that my work involved not a falsification but an attempt to restore the true historical balance.

The Bourgeois World

The argument that the bourgeois world might use Trotsky and the ideas he defended as a weapon against socialism does not hold up. No positions favoring the bourgeoisie can be found in his work. When Trotsky attacked the Communist parties it was to criticize them for not fighting hard enough and effectively enough against capitalism and fascism. His criticism of the socialist states was directed against their bureaucratic deformation; he demanded a return to the traditions of the revolution. And right up to his death, often in opposition to his followers, he linked his polemics and his proposals with an insistent appeal for solidarity with the first workers state.

The fact that literature about Trotsky and his life is available only in the Western countries does not testify against him but against those who have sought arbitrarily to ascribe Trotsky to the enemy side and strike him out of the annals of the revolution.

What does Trotsky represent today, thirty years after his death? What threat is associated with him that can explain his still being marked with that unique historical taboo? What can account for the fact that his work is

subjected to a blackout process incompatible with dialectical materialism?

The Permanent Revolution

It is apparent that the primary reason for the slander and stigmatization of Trotsky is his prophetic idea of permanent revolution, his advocacy of an uninterrupted liberation struggle on all continents. This was also the reason for his break with Stalin, the relevance of which is continually verified. This rupture occurred when Trotsky hurled his internationalist anathema at Stalin's principle of building socialism in *one* country.

Even if we share the view that Stalin's solution was unavoidable because of the capitalist encirclement of the time, we cannot fail to see what a ridiculous discrepancy exists between the caricature Stalin created and Trotsky's real ideas, general line, and prognoses.

The year 1970, the year in which the socialist countries are celebrating the hundredth anniversary of Lenin's birth, also marks a new high point in the struggle against Trotsky. By dint of great exertions the caricature of Trotsky has been refurbished and modernized. It is no accident that honoring Lenin, which goes even to the point of adulation, coincides with heavy condemnation of Trotsky. In the dispute over the correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism the figure of Trotsky offers sufficient possibilities to serve as a scapegoat for the most disparate developments that conflict with the Soviet CP directives.

Trotsky's Ideas and Mao

For example, in the work *The Struggle of the Bolshevik Party Against Trotskyism in the Post-October Period*,* put out by the Soviet Central Committee's Academy of Social Sciences, the similarity is stressed between Trotsky's views and the "Mao Tsetung

* See "The Kremlin Opens Fire on 'Trotzki im Exil,'" in *Intercontinental Press*, May 4, 1970, page 412.

* See "Kremlin Still Haunted by Trotskyism," *Intercontinental Press*, October 13, 1969, page 910.

group." The militarization of the Chinese party and state, the preparation for war as the best means to bring about world revolution are traced back to Trotsky's methods. Here also we see the influence of the still unexplained events that helped to bring about Trotsky's banishment and expulsion from the Soviet Union when he advocated help for the Chinese revolutionists in opposition to Stalin and the Comintern, who made a pact with Chiang Kai-shek and permitted the massacre of the workers in the cities.

When Trotsky, like Lenin, put his hope in the Chinese revolution, when, again in accord with Lenin's ideas, he considered the triumph of socialism possible only in the event of an outbreak of revolution in all parts of the world, then, to be sure, the prerequisites for this were not yet developed — or, more correctly, they remained largely unexploited. But now we see a release of the revolutionary forces which both these leaders worked to stimulate.

What has not been considered, but what should interest students in the socialist countries, is the study of the historic realities that gave rise to Trotsky's theses and political actions. Among other questions, this subject includes the problem of the context in which Trotsky's view, calling for the militarization of labor in the final phase of war communism, gave way to a different insight — the concept of the necessity of the widest possible participation by the workers councils in political and economic affairs.

Influence on Guerrilla Warfare?

A Trotskyist influence on the guerrilla actions in Bolivia, Chile, and Brazil cannot be credited to Trotsky, except to the extent that he never would have rejected or disavowed these forces — the first as premature, the others as incorrect — and would not have ridiculed their strategy and repudiated their leaders. It was only in the last part of his life that Trotsky clearly perceived the development that has begun to take form in those countries as it did in China, through a shifting of the revolutionary center of gravity to the countryside. He was long unable to believe in a revolution spreading from the countryside to the cities. Time after time he designated the urban proletariat, the enlightened, orga-



PETER WEISS. Europe's leading playwright became world famous with the sensational

success of his *Marat/Sade*, a drama based on the fate of the French revolution.

nized working class, as the vanguard of the revolution.

In the Soviet Academy's book the May rebellion of the workers and students in Paris is called a revolt of "an anarchist adventurist type" provoked by "Trotskyist-Maoist inflammatory slogans." This is a crude distortion of the greatest event in recent years — the demonstration that a revolutionary situation can arise in a highly

industrialized country. In this context, Trotsky cannot be blamed for the anarchistic tendencies. He was an opponent of anarchy and individual terror. It would have been far more profitable to give an account of the relationship of forces in the uprising and why it was suppressed and defeated.

As for seeing Trotskyist groups in the Czechoslovakian reform movement, that fits in with the attempt to

achieve workers democracy and an open cultural policy. Features can also be found that have something in common with Trotsky in the left radicalism of the Italian Communists. But what concerns us here is how Trotsky's alternative took on a new form after the epoch of the Stalin cult.

The question is to what extent Trotsky and Stalin live on today after the victory of the revolution in Vietnam, in China, Korea, and Cuba, after the beginning of the liberation struggle in Africa and Latin America—what aspects of their influence have found new forms that demand attention and in what precise conditions are their lessons useful and necessary?

Expression of Blind Force

Trotskyism is depicted as the expression of a blind force, as opposition to the principle of peaceful coexistence. Such an unscientific formulation is untenable and thus points up the fact that a problem of an entirely different nature is involved—a problem they are afraid to take up.

The Soviet Academy's work describes the bad influence of Trotsky on contemporary life. In another work, the comprehensive biography of Lenin published in 1970 by the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Trotsky is systematically eliminated from the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary context. Of course the Stalinist cult of the personality is critically treated in this work, if only in the usual noncommittal forms. The background and consequences of this symptom are not shown. But in other respects the contemptuous view of the old Bolsheviks in Lenin's Politbureau, which was propagated by Stalin and which reached a frightful culmination in the show trials of 1936-38, are retained. In this way Stalin's conduct is indirectly justified and Lenin's demand that his collaborators' acknowledged mistakes not be charged against them is disregarded.

In the portrayal of the 1905 revolution not a word is said about Trotsky, who was the head of the Petrograd Soviet. In the section dealing with the Great Socialist October Revolution, Trotsky is mentioned only at the end, where a distorted quotation makes it look as if he were an opponent of the armed uprising, whereas in reality it was he who planned and organized the revolution. It is not even *hinted*

that it was Trotsky who founded the Red Army and after three years of combat led it to victory over the allied interventionist forces and the White Russian counterrevolutionists. Nor is there any intimation that he played a decisive role with regard to the New Economic Policy or that he helped to lay the foundations of the Communist International, as well as of the foreign relations and cultural life of the young Soviet state.

The Worst Enemy of Leninism

First the Soviet historians with dogged persistence paint Trotsky as the "worst enemy of Leninism" for 787 pages. Then the absurdity of this procedure catches up with them when the astonished socialist reader comes across the fact in Lenin's testament, the so-called "Letter to the Party Congress"—which can no longer be kept secret—that Lenin described Trotsky as the most capable of the party leaders.

Here the whole dilemma emerges of a historiography that dares not confront a decisive pattern of development, but, out of fear of the forces that might be released, prefers to offer the ignorant a vague irrational system—Trotskyism.

Naturally the historians in the socialist countries know about Trotsky's achievements. In the same way, they know that Lenin had a high estimate of these achievements. They know about Trotsky's important journalistic work on all the problems of an entire period, work which could help the young socialist generations gain a better understanding of the present revolutionary situation. But as long as the hobgoblin Trotsky invented by Stalin continues to exist, a definitive settling of accounts with Stalinism can be avoided.

Thus, in the hands of the Soviet historians the history of the revolution, this vital, richly colorful process, becomes an impoverished, monotonous account in which Lenin stands heroically isolated in a vacuum.

Unbearable in the Long Run

The blocking of central figures and events from the minds of the people, the concealment of an exciting contest of ideas, a way of life built on a fictitious history and sharp measures against critical voices—all this has

led to a social trauma that is unbearable in the long run.

Plays like *Trotsky im Exil*—similar ones can certainly be found in the desk drawers of socialist writers—should be staged in Moscow, Prague, Budapest, Rostok, or East Berlin so as at last to bare publicly the roots, the causes of the conflicts that are subjecting the world Communist movement to a decisive test of strength today.

In order to get a picture of revolutionary models, a picture that accords with the Marxist concept of history, we must study Lenin's closest comrades-in-arms. Moreover, in our discussion we must include the controversial questions, contradictions, difficulties, and even mistakes in the period prior to the October revolution and the beginning of socialist construction.

The Lenin year is the appropriate time to start this openness.

Sharp Disputes

In studying the history of the revolution we find that it was precisely under the pressure of opposing opinions, of sharp disputes over tactics and strategy, that the general lines developed that molded the Soviet state.

Even if in critical moments Lenin knew how to force through his decisions over many of his companions' views, his greatness does not appear in idealized uniqueness but in his openness to the arguments presented by the men who together with him created something entirely new, in his keen perception of the laws of dialectics, which cannot function without thesis and antithesis.

This dialectic was eliminated in 1927, when after finishing his film *October* Eisenstein was forced by Stalin to cut Trotsky out of it. Over the years many representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia have expressed hopes that this dialectic would be restored—but in vain.

The short period of self-criticism and the new attempt at historical analysis following Khrushchev's revelations at the Twentieth Party Congress in 1956 were consigned to oblivion. However, an attempt can still be found to clarify the past. That is shown in a scene in the film *July 6*, a scene which, in view of the restrictions on public expression, must be regarded as a not inconsiderable achievement. Lenin

asks to be connected with "the people's commissar for military affairs," thus with Trotsky, who at that time was crushing the revolt of the Social Revolutionaries.

No Predetermined Path

All those who in order to support their distorted picture of Trotsky search out Lenin's negative remarks about him in the years when they were at loggerheads and during the debates immediately following the October revolution must answer the following question. How could sharp struggles have been avoided at a time when every proposal, every association, every form of struggle had to be tested, when the most diverse views contended and had to prove their validity, when there was no predetermined path that led to the fall of the old social order?

What was the range of the revolutionists' activity, their actions, what did they achieve by their verbal duels, by their indispensable conflicts in which they sharpened their arguments and strengthened themselves?

How, over a decade of sharp differences of opinion, could Lenin have had the objectivity not to lose sight of the good qualities of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Rykov, Bukharin, or Piatakov, despite the fact that he was embroiled in the most embittered controversies with just these men?

Would he have allowed these men—whom in the heat of battle he could criticize, ridicule, and rake over the coals—to remain members of the Politburo if he had not been convinced of their incorruptibility and their basic revolutionary firmness?

Stalin's Position of Power

It was not Lenin who brought up the old disagreements after the revolution. It was Stalin who first dragged them out into the spotlight. He did this because he wanted to strengthen his own position of power by gaining an advantage over Lenin's comrades-in-arms, finally to cast them down to their ruin.

In his "Letter to the Party Congress," Lenin warned only against Stalin, not against anyone else. It was not Trotsky whom Lenin wanted removed from the party leadership. It was Stalin he wanted out of his post of gen-

eral secretary. This fact, which could not be more clear, was converted by the historians of the Marxism-Leninism Institute into a rehabilitation of Stalin.

"The Communist party won a total victory over the opposition groupings. In a fierce and prolonged struggle against the enemies of Leninism—against the Trotskyists, right opportunists, national exploiters, and other enemy groups—the unity which constitutes one of the characteristic features of the party's inner life was forged . . . After discussing Lenin's 'Letter to the Party Congress,' the delegations voted to keep Stalin in his post as general secretary of the Central Committee. They took into consideration both his uncompromising struggle against Trotskyism and the fact that at that time Stalin's resignation from his post as general secretary would have encouraged the Trotskyists. The delegations also took into consideration Stalin's assurance that he would correct the fault in his character that Lenin mentioned in his

letter." (Lenin Biography, pages 788-789.)

My play starts off from Stalin's failure to correct this fault and Trotsky's exclusion from further collaboration in building the Soviet state. It is called *Trotsky in Exile* because the exile which was forced on him is still dogmatically considered justified in the country where his contribution was most crucial and where his lessons could still be of use.

Because of the untenability of this dogma, Trotsky was presented on the stage of the political theater here. Trotsky's place in the history of the revolution is taking form. This play is my contribution to the Lenin year 1970. It honors Lenin by following his fundamental rule of the necessity of open debate, by presenting the men who were close to him, whom he argued with, who contributed to his development, and together with whom he began the greatest social upheaval of our century.

Yours truly,
Peter Weiss
April 1970.

Deluge of Mail Hits U.S. Congress

The United States Congress is being swamped in a flood of mail protesting the invasion of Cambodia.

The May 16 *New York Times* reports that 210,000 telegrams have been delivered to Capitol Hill; this is in addition to petitions and thousands of letters.

According to the *Times*, the overwhelming majority of the messages oppose the invasion. House Republican leader Gerald Ford reports his mail running 4 to 1 against the escalation, Senator Cooper of Kentucky reports 6 to 1 against, Senator Smith of Illinois 9 to 1, and Representative Thompson of New Jersey 30 to 1 opposed.

Senator Richard Schweiker, a Republican from Pennsylvania, has received more than 10,000 messages, 15 out of 16 of them against the administration's actions. In addition, he has received petitions bearing the signatures of 60,000 more people protesting the invasion. Another Republican senator, Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, has received nearly 20,000 messages; only 600 of these support Nixon's policies.

Senator William Fulbright reports 29,589 telegrams against the invasion and 756 in favor.

Some congressmen, such as Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Representative George Bush of Texas, say that their mail supports the president, but they "concede that volume is relatively light."

The opposition is not confined to traditionally more liberal areas of the country. The *Times* says that "mail from some rural Southern or Border-state districts that were formerly strongly pro-hawk is now running about 50-50."

Most of the mail comes from individuals who had never previously written to their congressmen. Senator Mathias of Maryland reports 80 percent of his mail in this category.

The response contrasts sharply with that claimed by the White House, but this may be changing as well: "White House aides said a week ago that the mail and telegrams were running heavily in support of the President's action. Yesterday, a White House spokesman said there was no up-to-date tally."

How Revolutionary Sector Joined May Day Parade

[We have translated the following account of the French Trotskyists' participation in the Paris May Day parade from the May 11 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International).

[The political background to the May Day parade was a rapidly deepening repression. The most notable feature of the crackdown was a bill presented in parliament on "new forms of delinquency." This proposed new law, termed the "loi scélérate" (rotten law) by the revolutionary left, would subject those who lead or participate in banned demonstrations or demonstrations that result in violence to heavy prison sentences and fines.

[The French Trotskyists stressed the importance of building the largest and most militant demonstration possible on May Day in order to discourage the repressive intentions of the French bourgeoisie.

[The Communist party and the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor, the CP-led union federation) have had difficulty in mobilizing their huge following against the repression because their campaign against revolutionary militants has, to a considerable extent, paralleled the government's witch-hunt and repeated many of its themes about "fascists of the left." The CP's parliamentary orientation has also limited its attempts to mobilize masses of people in the streets against the bourgeois offensive.

[Because of the default of the traditional bureaucratic workers organizations, chiefly the CP and CGT, this year's May Day parade drew no more than 70,000 to 100,000 persons, a marked decline from the 300,000 workers who demonstrated March 11, 1969, in defense of the gains of the May revolt.

[The Ligue Communiste appealed to the other major groups to the left of the Communist party—the PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party) and *Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers Struggle)—to join with it in forming a revolutionary contingent. The Ligue

argued that a united march by the revolutionary left could draw 20,000 people and significantly affect the character of the demonstration.

[The PSU rejected the Ligue proposal, apparently believing that the CP and the CGT would permit the various left groups to march under their own banners. *Lutte Ouvrière* rejected it out of fear that any attempt by the revolutionary groups to form their own contingent and raise revolutionary slogans would result in violence that would discredit the militant left as a whole.

[The AJS (Alliance des Jeunes pour Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the youth organization of the sectarian followers of Pierre Lambert, who is allied with the Socialist Labour League in England) marched with the contingent from UNEF (Union Nationale des Etudiants de France—National Union of French Students, a dwindling student-interest organization which the Lambertists have been trying to capture).

[Since it proved impossible to form a united front, the Ligue Communiste decided to participate on its own. The following is the account of what happened.]

* * *

At 1:45 p.m. the CGT monitors—a rather imposing force—left the Bourse de Travail [Labor Exchange] and took up positions along the march route. About 3,000 Cégétistes formed a cordon around the UNEF assembly point on the corner of the Boulevard du Temple and the Rue Béranger.

The UNEF cortege had already formed. The Maoists with their little red books could be seen, the PSU students, the battalions of the AJS. In all, there were about 1,500 to 2,000 persons.

At 2:00 p.m. the CGT monitors blocked the Avenue de la République completely as far up as the Rue du Temple. Clearly they had been ordered to isolate all the "leftists," including the UNEF and the PSU.

At 2:15 p.m. no students from the

Ligue could yet be seen. They were scattered in small groups in the streets bordering the square. The main assembly point was under the statue of the Republic in the corridors of the Métro. At 2:20 p.m. about 2,500 members and sympathizers of the Ligue poured out of the subway exits in five impeccably organized waves. In three minutes they took up positions in the middle of the square facing the triple cordon of Cégétistes.

The first slogan was raised, "Long Live May Day; Long Live Class Struggle." Then the groups of demonstrators streamed in from all sides. Before the astonished eyes of the CGT monitors, who wondered where all these 'leftists' were coming from, a procession of 5,000 demonstrators took form. They filled the Place de la République, reaching into the big avenues. Before the CGT monitors could catch their breath, two trucks filled with material arrived. Within five minutes the Ligue cortege became a beehive of activity. The activists distributed 700 red flags, twelve immense banners, thirty giant posters, 100 signs, and other equipment.

Simultaneously the Orchestre Rouge [Red Orchestra] moved into position behind the lines of monitors. For three hours it kept up the enthusiasm of the demonstrators by accompanying their revolutionary songs and slogans.

Tense at first, then horrified, the CGT activists relaxed little by little as the banners were unfurled, carrying such slogans as "Down With the Rotten Law," "Free the Imprisoned Soldiers," "Trade-Union and Political Rights for Conscripts," "No Tying Wages to Productivity," "Long Live the Vietnamese Revolution," etc.

Although the slogans chanted by the demonstrators were unorthodox, they did not strike the monitors as scandalous. They included "'New Society,'¹ Time for the Colonels," "Down With Pompidoupolous!" "CRS Off the Campus, Out of the Plants!" "The Bosses Are the Wreckers!" "Unity

1. The "New Society" is a political slogan of the Pompidou regime.—IP

Against the Repression!" "One Enemy — the Bourgeoisie!" "Bring the Troops Home from the Chad!" "Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos — the NLF Will Win!"

When the drums started to beat, the Cégétistes loosened up completely. But not for long.

Fearing a large "leftist" contingent, the CGT used the tactic inaugurated March 11, 1969. Its monitors blocked off the "leftist" demonstrators in the rear of the procession, trying to create as large a space as possible between the "official" contingents and the revolutionary sections.

The prefecture of police had been notified that anything to the rear of the CGT monitors was "outside the demonstration." So as to leave no doubt, as soon as they entered the Place de la Bastille the CGT monitors chanted in front of the CRS cars, "The Wreckers Are Behind." As the leading CGT formations arrived in the square, they were ordered to disperse, leaving the revolutionary contingents face to face with the cops.

All that was needed then for a massacre was some provocation, either spontaneous or staged. That would have given Marcellin and Séguy² just what they wanted. It would have benefited Marcellin by demonstrating his antileftist array was necessary and effective. It would have suited Séguy's purposes by "proving" to the workers that the revolutionists really were provocateurs and troublemakers.

The snare laid by the working-class bureaucracies was so apparent this May Day 1970 that it hit you in the eye. As soon as the CGT monitors refused to let UNEF and the PSU — coorganizers of the demonstration — take their place in the procession (between Seine-Saint-Denis and Val-d'Oise), it became evident that the PCF was getting ready to drive the "leftists" into the lion's mouth. That is why we decided that we would not at any cost be at the tail end of the demonstration. We had a very good idea of the welcoming committee that would meet us at the Place de la Bastille if we were the last to arrive.

So at 3:10 p.m. we gave the order to charge the CGT monitors and move in behind the Seine-Saint-Denis federation no matter what. A brief but rather

sharp clash ensued. Finally our monitors managed to break through and the rest of the contingent poured into the Boulevard Beaumarchais on the run.

On the way from the Place de la République to the Place de la Bastille, the Ligue contingent swelled rapidly. When we reached the Cirque d'Hiver, there were nearly 10,000 young workers and students following our slogans and marching behind a veritable forest of flags, banners, and signs.

The spirit, the enthusiasm of our contingent, stood out against the wishy-washiness of the "official procession." Thousands of workers massed on the sidewalks applauded us as we went by. Many joined our ranks. Midway on the route our monitors stretched an immense banner across the boulevard. It read: "No Tying Wages to Productivity."

About 200 meters from the Place de la Bastille, two comrades sent ahead as scouts warned us that the CGT monitors had given the order to disperse. The Gardes Mobiles [riot police] had arrived in cars and occupied half the square. The monitors were following the demonstration and blocking off the side streets. A tear-gas grenade had already been fired. Our impression was confirmed. They were just waiting for us to begin. . . .

So we stopped the procession and gave the order to break up before arriving at the Place de la Bastille. The dispersal speech was repeated six times every 100 meters for the length of the contingent. It drew a balance sheet of our participation in the demonstration and explained the trap that had been laid for the revolutionists: "It is in our interest for this demonstration to end without incidents. We must thwart this provocation."

The dispersal was carried out without a hitch. Hardly had the monitors loaded our material into the trucks when the cops cleaned out the area. The cops charged the Place de la Bastille.

All of the blame for the clashes and arrests in the Place de la Bastille at 4:00 p.m. falls on the PCF and the CGT. If the CGT monitors had stayed in their place as usual between the cops and the demonstrators, they could have blocked any provocations and prevented confrontations. By slipping away, they left the field open for provocateurs, endangering all of the demonstrators.

The reason for this was that the PCF and the CGT wanted a confrontation between the police and the "leftists." The stage had been set for such a confrontation. We must now firmly insist on an accounting from the persons responsible.

The lesson to be drawn from this incident is that we can no longer count on the CGT monitors to protect the demonstrators in united marches. If the revolutionary left participates in the demonstrations of the traditional workers movement, which is its right and duty, it itself must set up its own united corps of monitors. And these monitors must not only organize the processions but also the dispersal of the demonstrators. We repeat: in the future the revolutionary groups must agree to form one single contingent with a united leadership based on political agreement on the slogans as well as the methods of the demonstration.

May Day 1970 was really two demonstrations — a spiritless demonstration by the traditional workers movement and an enthusiastic demonstration by the revolutionary movement. All of the papers stressed the size of the "leftist" participation. The prefecture of police estimated 5,000 leftists among the 30,000 demonstrators (which means that one out of six demonstrators was a leftist). The revolutionary left was shown to be a real and rapidly growing force. It offered the workers an example of a dynamic, responsible, disciplined force, giving the lie in practice to the slanderous caricature spread by the PCF.

Against the working-class bureaucracies a revolutionary pole of attraction is asserting itself. This pole will be all the more powerful when its principal components succeed in working together.

Voting with Their Feet

Membership in the Czechoslovak Communist party has dropped by 620,000 since the Soviet invasion in 1968, according to a May 3 Reuters dispatch based on Czech party documents that have reached the West.

In 1968, 40 percent of the party members were workers and the average age was forty-three. Only 28 percent of the party members are workers now, and the average age has jumped to fifty-five. This huge exodus of youth and workers from the party presumably falls under the heading of what the Soviet bureaucrats call "normalization."

2. Marcellin is the rightist minister of the interior and thus the head of the French police. Georges Seguy is general secretary of the CGT. — IP

Program of West Bengal Peasants' Union

[The following is the eighteen-point charter of demands of the West Bengal Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh (PSKS — Village Workers and Tillers Union), the organization that led the successful ten-day strike of 15,000 agricultural workers in 400 villages in Bankura district, West Bengal, last November. The Socialist Workers party, the Indian section of the Fourth International, has played an important role in the leadership of this burgeoning movement of peasants and landless agricultural laborers. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 30, page 272, and May 11, page 427.)

[This program for work among the peasantry is of special interest in its contrast to the ultraleft slogans and demands advanced by the Maoists among the peasants of India. The Maoist Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist), setting out only a year ago with significantly larger forces than the SWP, has steadily lost support among the peasantry in West Bengal.

[The emphasis placed on democratic demands accords with the importance given to them in the Transitional Program of the Fourth International as a means for mobilizing the masses in countries like India.]

* * *

1. All educated unemployed must be provided with jobs, failing which unemployment doles be paid to them during the period of unemployment. Full employment throughout the year should be guaranteed by the state to all unemployed and underemployed village workers and peasants.

2. A fair wage to all village workers, irrespective of sex, to enable them to sustain themselves as decent human beings. A statutory minimum wage should be fixed.

3. Suitable allowances by the government to physically disabled workers and peasants, unable to work due to old age, sickness, or deformity, to ensure that none suffers for want of bare necessities of life in old age.

4. *Bargadars* [lessees] and sharecroppers must not be evicted from the land they cultivate. Distribution of all

benami [land held under fictitious names to circumvent the legal ceiling on holdings] lands among the landless and the sharecroppers.

5. All land laws enacted by the previous [Congress party-led] governments aimed at placating the interests of the village rich to be annulled. Distribution of surplus land on the basis of priority to landless peasants who are inhabitants of the villages concerned. No family should hold more than one acre of land per head according to total number of members in the family and all land surplus to this ceiling be distributed among the landless and poor peasants through elected peasant committees. Peasant cooperatives must be encouraged as far as possible to ensure maximum production at minimum expenses and time with necessary capital and credit facilities supplied by the state.

6. No person earning more than Rs.500 [US\$67] per month either in business or in service should have the right to own cultivable land and all such land owned by noncultivating absentee landholders must be expropriated and distributed among poor and landless peasants.

7. Annulment of all laws aiding or conniving at direct or indirect exploitation of the rural poor by the richer classes and enactment of new laws to help and give relief to the poor villagers. All steps must be taken to protect the poor cultivators against market fluctuations at the caprices of merchants and traders.

8. Peasants who are burdened with pressure of heavy debts must be given immediate relief with immediate annulment of all old government debts. A moratorium should be declared on all other debts incurred by poor peasants.

9. To ensure full educational facilities to all sections of the rural poor, education must be made free (of tuition fees) up to the preuniversity stage. Children of artisans, workers, peasants and other types of service holders and traders with incomes of Rs.6,000 [US\$800] or less per annum be provided with books, stationery, and food from Class I onwards so that no child

will be deprived of adequate educational facilities because of poverty.

10. Full medical care and treatment at government expense of all villagers suffering from TB, leprosy, and other serious diseases. Sick peasants and village workers be provided with free medical aid and supply of necessary medicines.

11. Abolition of various land rents and taxes introduced by the British government and declaration of land as tax-free. Income taxes to be levied in consultation with elected peasant committees.

12. Drawing up immediately of a national plan for reclaiming all fallow and arable land and repairing of all embankments, reservoirs, canals, and small dams, and its prompt implementation in order to boost up food production.

13. Introduction of large-scale electrification of villages to modernize agriculture and village economy and improve small irrigation projects and village handicrafts.

14. Development of village industries on a sound basis with government initiative so as to solve the problem of unemployment and underemployment in the villages. Raw materials needed by such industries must be supplied by the government at controlled rates and finished goods purchased by governmental agencies.

15. Vesting of ownership of forests in elected peasant committees of contiguous villages, with powers to draw on the revenues of such forests after sharing a part of them with the government.

16. Nationalization of all large-scale industries in the urban areas to abolish the monopoly of the capitalist class over them, nationalization of all principal means of production and distribution including transport, wholesale and foreign trade and commerce, as well as all credit institutions under the management of workers through elected committees of workers in all undertakings.

17. State ownership of all big residential and other buildings in the urban areas and nationalization of housing activities with permanent occupation rights guaranteed to poor tenants.

18. Full responsibility of the government in looking after orphans, crippled, invalids, and old people who have no relatives to depend upon in the villages.

Let That Swiss Watch Remind You of Swiss Justice

[The following article has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the May 11 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League), the French section of the Fourth International.]

Every good liberal European will tell you that Switzerland is the most peaceable, well-off, and well-policed country on our continent. If you are polite, you'll say, "Oh, yes?" If you are a blunt person, you will not hesitate to speak more frankly. If you want to prove it, tell about the Krivine case.

Our Comrade Hubert Krivine,* a leader of the Communist League, was making a trip in Switzerland accompanied by two Lausanne teachers, members of the Swiss Revolutionary Marxist League [Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire] "known in teaching circles in Lausanne as honorable citizens," according to the local press.

[The April 23 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* listed them as Bernard Bachelard, twenty-eight, and Olivier Parriaux, twenty-seven.]

The three were arrested and held under conditions even worse than those customary among the French police.

You might think that it was up to the police to indicate evidence that a crime had been committed. Wrong! Swiss "justice," which is not as good as Swiss chocolate, charged them on the basis of *assumptions* and *intentions!*

You might think that the defendants had the right to a lawyer after being held a short time incommunicado. Wrong! Our comrades were held a number of days incommunicado without a lawyer being able to see them or to find out what they were charged with.

You might think that after a delay specified by regulations the defendants would be informed of the charges. Wrong again! The Swiss courts, which do not operate with the precision of Swiss watches, had not filed charges against our comrades after fifteen (15!)

days. This was because of lack of sufficient evidence to justify charges being filed. Thus the defendants were held incommunicado . . . for an extended period.

You might think finally, in all naïveté, that any defendant, no matter what his crime, is entitled to a lawyer, even if only one appointed by the court. No. Hubert Krivine still does not have an attorney. Three successive attorneys, asked to take the case, refused in each instance for mysterious reasons, after having at first accepted.

Thus the thing must be very bad; the proofs overwhelming!

Not at all. Hubert Krivine is accused first of all of not having said anything, in the absence of a lawyer, to explain why he was in the north of Switzerland. Following that, the federal prosecution invented various successive pretexts for having arrested him.

Version one: A communiqué appeared in *Le Monde* [April 23], and only three days later in the Swiss press (!), alluding to the transportation of arms (daggers and clubs). Then, in a later dispatch [*Le Monde* April 30], these formidable weapons were reduced to a dagger (knife or dagger) and a bicycle chain which was worn as a key-ring charm four and a half inches long. The story was obviously too thick and Swiss justice, which is decidedly not up to either Swiss chocolate or Swiss watches, dumped it all.

Second version: Theft and contact with immigrant workers! Now, no theft was known to have been committed in the vicinity. As for the immigrant workers, contacting them does not constitute a crime, except perhaps in the eyes of members of the Ku Klux Klan.

Third version: Swiss justice, which is certainly slippery, charged them with attempted (!) robbery and of being in a secret information service. (In plain language they no doubt meant transmitting information! About what? And to whom?)

Our comrades were arrested *separately*, near Baden, in the canton of Argovie, where a plant of the Brown

Boverly Company, they say, manufactures secret transmitting equipment. But, according to the press, this plant no longer manufactures such equipment. What do you know!

So then, the comrades broke into the plant. The police, as malicious as always, believe so. Have they any proof? No! But they found a shoe print on the roof and a ladder not far away.

But the ladder was not found until later. Thus it could have been brought there in the meantime. And why not the footprint, too?

But — suspicious item — they also found do-it-yourself equipment (a drill, some keys) in the automobile belonging to the Swiss comrades, who happen to own a house they are repairing not far from there. Which did not prevent the police, in professional style, from shifting from do-it-yourself to burglary, without a trial of any kind!

Finally, during a search (where?), they uncovered a "notice" mentioning broadcasting equipment with a range up to 5 kilometers (five!) [a bit more than three miles], with a note saying, "ask for information from the Bolivian comrades."

Poor Bolivian comrades, who are reduced to conducting mini guerrilla war, in a radius of five kilometers, with walkie-talkies for broadcasting equipment that can be bought at the toy counter in Galeries Lafayette.

But the best pretext for the charge is still *the absence of a pretext!* The incapacity of the Swiss police to find any plausible charge whatsoever (the Swiss press, by nature given to little humor, from the beginning denounced the fantastic nature of the "proofs" and "indications" and even talked about an April Fools' joke, late like the spring in Switzerland) compelled them to keep it all secret. The information is being processed! The police are on the track! The attorney general is giving instructions! The defendants are behind bars in the Berne prison!

A cynic might observe that a system of justice with few scruples and a do-it-yourself police have had all

* Hubert Krivine is the brother of Alain Krivine, the presidential candidate of the Ligue Communiste in the last elections.

the time they need to cook up the required proofs. To save face! Unless the plot has broader ramifications. But it requires the mind of a policeman to imagine such horrors!

Things have thus become clear, so to speak. By arresting two members of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire and a member of the Ligue Communiste, by mixing in a little Bolivian sauce, the Swiss government is trying in its heavy-handed way to bolster the thesis that an international plot has been spun against Switzerland and its bankers with their celebrated Helvetic stability.

Switzerland has become confronted with grave economic and social problems—difficulties arising in an economy based on export and the exploitation of a mass of foreign workers against whom a permanent campaign of xenophobia is kept up. The appear-

ance and growth of an organization like the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire, in Lausanne above all, worried the authorities when they thought how this might alter the tame May Day parade.

The arrest of our comrades is completely arbitrary and illegal. It is a genuine political scandal. Let the police establish (and not fabricate) proofs of their guilt, or release them! In France, revolutionary militants and progressive figures must increase their protests and actions to compel the Swiss embassy in Paris, prosecuting attorney Walder in Berne, and the Swiss government to bring this murky affair into light of day.

Down with the reactionary frame-ups of courts that juggle with their own bourgeois legal system!

For the immediate release of Hubert Krivine and his comrades!

of any law violations whatsoever, the Argovian police would have released them had not the federal police intervened and taken over the case. This was after the political affiliations of the prisoners had become known.

The federal prosecutor, a man "much interested in electronics," as he told the press, took over the investigation personally. He now claims that he has uncovered the mysterious motive for the alleged crimes. This is indicated in a notebook found in the home of one of the Swiss teachers, a physicist. But as yet this sleuth has not uncovered what crime actually occurred.

While the arrests made by the Argovian police might be dismissed as a more or less normal police operation, the continued imprisonment of the three Marxist intellectuals smacks of political repression.

The federal police are notorious for their "vigilance" against the left and their permissiveness toward the right. Recently a Swiss weekly told how South Tyrolian right-wing extremists, who had blown up a series of high-voltage pylons in Italy, had been able to train for three years in Switzerland although the federal police had been informed that their leader, Dr. Norbert Burger, now on trial in Munich, used to travel into Switzerland with false papers!

The juridical situation facing the three arrested Marxists still remains unclear, but the political aspects are coming to the fore. Thus the proposal made in the Argovian parliament is a welcome development although there is, of course, not the slightest chance it will be adopted.

Switzerland

Gesture in Parliament for Krivine

Baden

On May 5 the councilor of "Team 67," an independent grouping, proposed in the regional parliament of the canton of Argovie that the people of this area should donate a mobile broadcasting station to the rebels in Bolivia.

He considered this to be a gesture to make up for the support given by Swiss capitalists to "criminal governments upholding 'law and order'" in countries like Greece, Spain, Brazil, Guatemala, Bolivia, etc.

What gave rise to the unusual proposal was the recent arrest of three Marxist intellectuals near the town of Baden. They have been held incommunicado under the "grave suspicion," as the federal prosecutor told the press, of having committed, or having attempted to commit, "economic espionage, burglary, and theft."

The prosecutor maintained that the motive behind the alleged crimes was to secure information about a mobile broadcasting station, or to steal one, "for the Bolivian comrades."

Two of those arrested are Swiss high-school teachers, members of the Lausanne-based "Revolutionary Marxist League," which is widely considered to be Trotskyist although it is not

affiliated to any international organization. The third one is the French Trotskyist Hubert Krivine, brother of the former French presidential candidate Alain Krivine.

They were said to have been arrested near the well-known Brown Boveri plant, which makes electronic equipment, on the night of April 19-20. The Argovian police said they suspected the three of being burglars. But since no burglaries were reported and there was no evidence that they were guilty

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