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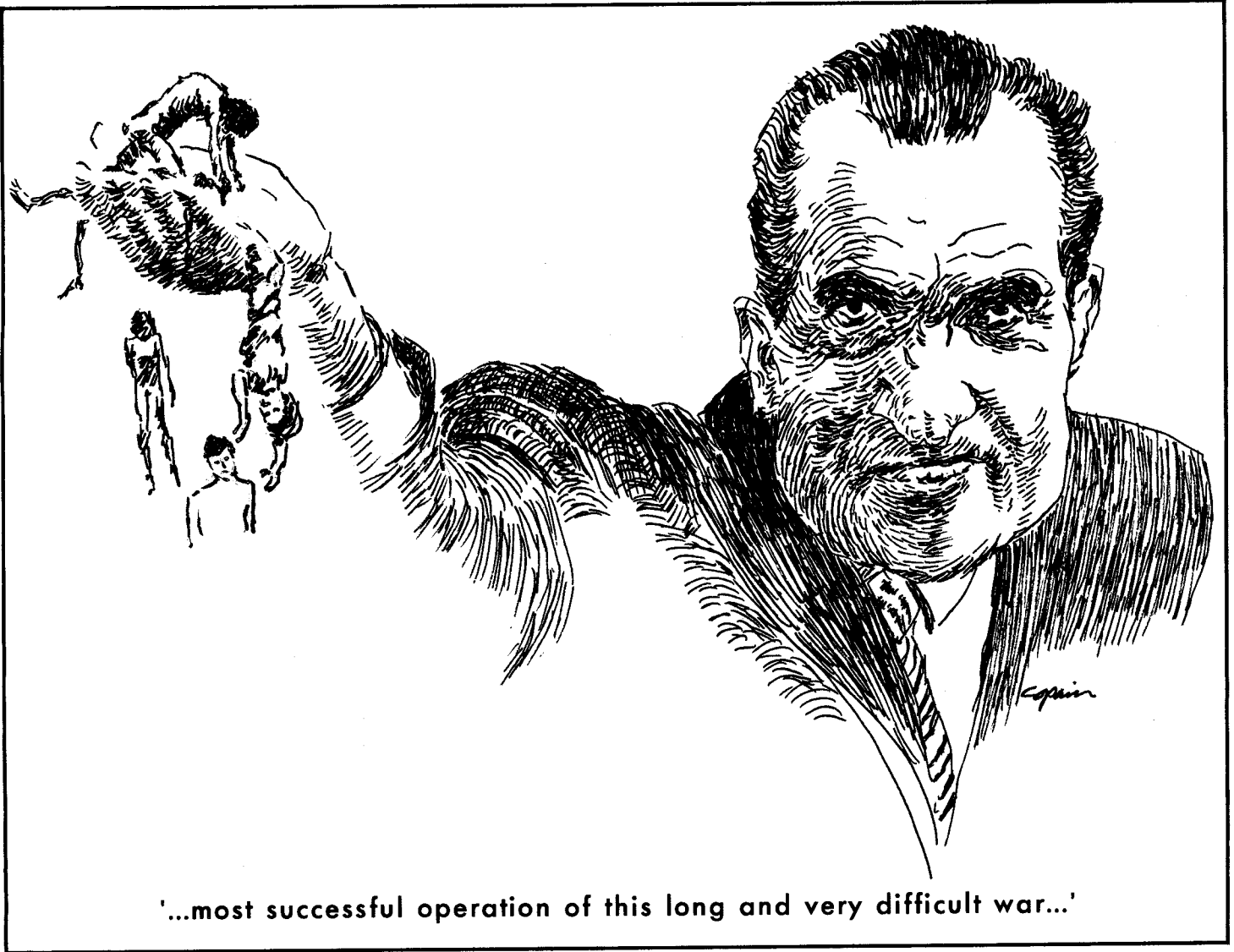
the Americas

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## Nixon's Speech: A Tissue of Lies

## Olin's DDT Guard

In spite of concern about pollution expressed by the Nixon administration, the United States army has decided to continue allowing the waters of a national wildlife refuge to be contaminated with the dangerous pesticide DDT.

The reason, predictably, is concern for the profits of the corporation responsible for the pollution.

Since 1955 the Olin Chemical Corporation has leased land at the army's Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Alabama. Its plant at Redstone produces one-fifth of all the DDT manufactured in the United States.

The Olin plant takes water from Huntsville Spring Branch and returns it to the river contaminated with DDT. The river flows on into the adjacent Wheeler National Wildlife Refuge, which also encloses the reservoir of drinking water for the nearby city of Decatur.

As far back as 1964, animals shot in the refuge were found to have 119 parts DDT per million in muscle tissue and 1,600 parts per million in fat. The federal tolerance level in beef intended for human consumption is seven parts per million.

Beginning in 1965, Olin was told that it would have to limit the DDT contamination in Huntsville Spring Branch to 10 parts per billion. The National Wildlife Federation charges that this standard has often been violated, and a local paper, the *Huntsville Times*, has reported that deposits in the bottom of the ditch which feeds water back into the river contain 74 percent DDT.

Last October the Federal Water Quality Administration recommended tightening the control standard of the plant to 20 parts DDT per trillion parts water. This recommendation has been overruled by the army on the grounds that it is not commercially feasible. The army ignored demands that Olin's lease be canceled.

Another commercial problem, a declining market due to federal and state bans on the use of DDT, has been solved by selling the plant's output overseas.

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# Nixon's Speech on Cambodia — A Tissue of Lies

By Les Evans

"Based on General Abram's report," Richard Nixon told the people of the United States in his June 3 television appearance, "I can now state that this has been the most successful operation of this long and very difficult war."

Nixon's demagoguery presumed a certain credulity on the part of his television audience. In the past such "successes" were measured by "kill ratios" and "body counts." The appropriate figures on the new thousands of dead Vietnamese and Cambodians—counted by jet bomber pilots as they dropped their lethal loads—were released to the press by the White House.

Nixon, perhaps out of an awareness of the deep popular revulsion at the endless killing, provided his audience with more palatable statistics: piles of captured rifles, ammunition, medical supplies (50,800 pounds), and rice. These were supposed to show that the National Liberation Front had been put out of commission for months to come.

Even on such seemingly solid and unmistakable items Nixon proved to be slippery. In his May 8 press conference Nixon said that "small arms by the millions have already been captured . . ." Almost a month later this became "over 15,000 rifles, machine guns and other weapons . . ."

"As of today," Nixon added, "I can report that all of our major military objectives have been achieved." This evidently did not include the capture of "the headquarters for the entire Communist military operation in South Vietnam" which Nixon claimed was the main objective when he first announced the Cambodian invasion last April 30. Nixon seemed to have forgotten all about the famous "headquarters" in his June 3 speech.

Lyndon Johnson was more audacious in his progress reports. He claimed that the same "headquarters" was overrun and captured during Operation Cedar Falls and Operation Junction City in 1967—six months before the Tet offensive.

In his May 8 press conference Nixon

said: "I would expect that the South Vietnamese would come out approximately at the same time that we do, because when we come out our logistical support and air support will also come out with them."

On June 3 Nixon claimed that "this Administration has kept every pledge it has made to the American people regarding the war in Vietnam . . ." But he had nothing to say about the withdrawal of Saigon troops from Cambodia. As for the American air support which he said was going to "come out" with the U. S. troops, he now announced that "after July 1 [there] will be air missions to interdict the movement of enemy troops and material where I find that is necessary to protect the lives and security of our men in South Vietnam."

Thus the continued bombing of Cambodia has become part of this "one shot" incursion over the border.

Furthermore, Nixon gave no promise this time that U. S. combat troops would not be back in Cambodia at the first sign of difficulty for the Lon Nol regime and its Saigon defenders.

"When this operation was announced," Nixon said, "the critics charged that it would increase American casualties; that it would widen the war; that it would lengthen our involvement; that it might postpone troop withdrawals. But the operation was undertaken for precisely the opposite reasons and it has had precisely the opposite effect."

To prove his point Nixon announced that "American and allied casualties have been far lower than we expected" and that 50,000 troops would be withdrawn from Vietnam by October 15 (on the eve of the elections). Inasmuch as Nixon never said beforehand how many Americans and Vietnamese he expected to die in Cambodia, it is difficult to comment on the question of casualties. As for troop withdrawals, however, there is some tangible evidence.

Even under his phony troop withdrawal plan, which would leave hundreds of thousands of American GIs

in Vietnam years from now, an average of 12,500 troops a month have been pulled out. At that rate the figure by October 15 should be 75,000. The rate of withdrawals has been reduced by one-third for most of the remainder of this year with no promises of any withdrawals after that until April 1971, if then.

The Cambodian intervention has been a political disaster for Nixon at home and a military fiasco in Cambodia. Its ominous side is precisely the fact that it does "widen the war" into Cambodia and inevitably into Laos as well, where the U. S. is already carrying on a massive bombing campaign supplemented by its army of CIA-organized mercenaries.

It is not "sanctuaries" that Nixon is concerned with in Cambodia but the preservation by any means at his disposal of the tottering clique of generals in Phnompenh. This is plain from Saigon's "decision" to keep tens of thousands of troops in Cambodia and the June 2 announcement that Thailand is also sending troops. The intervention of Thailand promises to spread the war to that country as well.

Washington has been less than subtle in trying to picture the intervention of its puppets into Cambodia as an independent decision of the Thai and Saigon governments. As Chalmers M. Roberts reported in the June 2 *Washington Post*:

"An official Bangkok broadcast said that Prime Minister Thanom Kittikachorn told newsmen that 'unlike the volunteers for Vietnam whose expenses are paid by Thailand, the volunteers for Cambodia will be armed and equipped from aid supplied by the United States.' . . ."

"Some such Thai support for the Cambodian regime of Lon Nol has long been anticipated and hoped for by the Nixon Administration. One official commented yesterday that 'I don't think they can get there too fast.' . . ."

Bangkok's decision was taken in consultation with U. S. ambassador

Leonard Unger, according to the *Washington Post* reporter.

As for Saigon, Roberts added, ". . . Washington has encouraged Saigon to keep some forces in Cambodia and to be prepared to make later incursions, both with American air and possibly logistic support."

The American withdrawal from Cambodia may not be worth much either, according to a June 1 report by conservative columnist Jack Anderson.

"A few key Americans will remain in Cambodia," Anderson said, "keeping as inconspicuous as possible, after President Nixon's July 1 deadline for a U. S. pullout. Here's what is happening behind the scenes:

"1. The U. S. embassy in Phnom Penh, the Cambodian capital, is expanding into more spacious quarters on Mao Tse-tung Boulevard. Since the embassy was reopened last August, the staff slowly has built up from three to 25 people. A secret radio-teletype system has been installed, and three teletype operators are kept busy beeping coded messages into Manila for transmittal to Washington.

"2. My assistant Les Whitten writes from Phnom Penh that the Central Intelligence Agency has now established 'a shadowy presence' in Cambodia. . . .

"3. An officer high in the U. S. chain of command acknowledged to Whitten that American advisers will move 'in and out' of the South Vietnamese divisions that stay in Cambodia—'unless we're specifically countermanded.' The officer felt, clearly, that none of the existing orders would prohibit American advisers from slipping back into Cambodia any time they might be needed by the South Vietnamese."

In Vietnam the U. S. Special Forces are recruiting ethnic Cambodians to form mercenary units to be used inside Cambodia. The May 28 *New York Times* commented: "The involvement of the Special Forces leaves open the possibility that they could command the recruited Cambodian forces as they are commanding similar mercenary troops now in South Vietnam and Laos." Local officials of the Saigon government have complained that these secret U. S. units do not even bother to tell them when they recruit and train mercenary units in their areas.

What has thrown off all of Nixon's

military calculations has been the upsurge of the popular revolt in Cambodia. Tad Szulc, in a report in the May 31 *New York Times*, gave a very different picture from the official optimism Nixon exuded on television a few days later.

"Military and civilian officials in Washington," Szulc said, "are known to be concerned that the survival of the regime of Premier Lon Nol in Pnompenh is immediately at stake and that

at best the outlines of a far-ranging civil war are swiftly emerging in Cambodia. [Emphasis added.]

"The situation in Cambodia at this point already resembles the situation in South Vietnam around 1966, with the North Vietnamese firmly established in one corner of the country and insurgency and guerrilla warfare beginning to rise all over the territory,' a highly placed State Department official commented this week."

## Treachorous Blow to Indochinese Revolution

## Moscow Sides with Nixon Against Peking

Universally condemned by world public opinion for escalating the war in Indochina, the target of explosive opposition by the American people sick and weary of the killing and the whole dirty involvement of the U. S. in Southeast Asia, Nixon in his worst hour of need received unexpected consolation and succor from the Kremlin.

Under guise of warning about the expanding influence of *Peking* in Indochina, and exposing *Mao's* "adventurist tactics," the Kremlin sank a knife in the back of the national liberation movement in Southeast Asia.

The move was made through publication of an article in the June 5 issue of *New Times*, a Soviet government foreign affairs weekly. The author, "M. Ukraintsev" (thought to be the pseudonym of a high official in the Foreign Ministry), accused "Mao and his followers" of "undertaking practical steps for asserting Chinese domination in South and Southeast Asia."

"To do so," the Kremlin spokesman asserted, "Peking tries to create an atmosphere of permanent internal conflict in the whole region."

What about the dirty colonial war conducted by U. S. imperialism for five years and more? What about the imperialist army of more than 400,000 troops? What about the mass slaughter conducted by the Pentagon? What about Nixon's new escalation of the war into Cambodia?

Peking, not Washington, is blamed for the overthrow of the Sihanouk government in Cambodia last March 18 and the imposition of the pro-American Lon Nol regime: "The meddling by the Chinese in Cambodian affairs is one of

the factors that pushed the rightist forces of Cambodia to a governmental overthrow and closer relations with the American imperialists."

Even bourgeois newspapers in the U. S. are of the opinion that the overturn in Cambodia was a CIA operation.

The *New Times* article openly attacks the struggle against the American intervention as Peking inspired:

"The Peking leaders, pressing their adventurist tactics on some segments of the Communist and national-liberation movements in Southeast Asia, are trying to use them as tools for asserting Chinese domination in Asian countries and to condemn them to defeat and destruction."

This is an invidious way of saying that the victims are to blame for the aggression. It was that way in Hitler's time, too. The victims always "provoked" the Nazis into doing what they did. And should Nixon decide to resort to "tactical" nuclear weapons, it will be because he was "provoked" into it.

If the Soviet leaders are worried over the possible growth of Maoist influence in Southeast Asia, they have ample means to offset it. Stepping up Soviet military aid to the insurgents would be the best demonstration that the Kremlin matches revolutionary words with revolutionary deeds.

The accusation of "adventurism" is particularly misplaced in the face of Nixon's escalation of the war into Cambodia when the masses have no choice but to resort to arms to defend themselves against the invading troops.

The Kremlin's statement concerning

the struggle in Indochina amounts to a declaration that the war is Peking's affair. To say that the Indochinese are doomed to "defeat and destruction" is an invitation to Nixon to step up the war if he sees fit. Moscow will not lift a finger. Its case has been made — Mao is to blame, let China face the consequences.

Western imperialism took the statement of Moscow's attitude toward Nixon's escalation of the war as confirmation that the Kremlin does indeed intend to abandon or play down the struggle in Indochina in favor of further "rapprochement" with Washington. The *New York Times*, for example, commented June 6:

"The Western diplomats [in Moscow] noted that an intensified anti-American campaign begun early last month had dwindled sharply in recent days. It was widely noted in diplomatic circles that Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, who questioned President Nixon's integrity not long ago, seemed to go out of his way Tuesday to tell the Apollo 11 astronaut Neil A. Armstrong and Ambassador Jacob D. Beam to send Mr. Nixon his greetings and 'heartfelt gratitude' for a piece of moon rock presented by Mr. Armstrong."

By attacking the struggle of "some segments" of the Vietnamese and Cambodian people as "adventurist" and implying their own neutrality, the Soviet bureaucrats are only encouraging the Pentagon to plunge ever deeper into Southeast Asia. And until Nixon is forced to withdraw, there is growing danger that he will expand the war until it bursts into a nuclear conflagration.

The Moscow bureaucrats have short memories. What was the central aim of German imperialist policy? It was to "roll back" the revolution in the Soviet Union. Stalin's kowtowing to Hitler and getting the German Fuehrer to sign a "peace pact" did not save the Soviet Union from invasion.

The aims of American imperialism do not differ in substance from those that led German imperialism to plunge humanity into two world wars.

From the standpoint of the elementary needs of the defense of the Soviet state, full support to the revolutionary struggle in Indochina is an absolute necessity. The new zigzag taken by the Soviet bureaucrats is a betrayal of the interests of the Soviet people as well as of the people of Indochina.

June 15, 1970

## South Africa

### White Students Defend Black Prisoners

White students opposed to the country's repressive laws have forced unusual concessions from the dictatorial government of South Africa.

Following the arrest of 357 students at a May 18 demonstration which had been prohibited by the police (see June 1 issue of *Intercontinental Press*), Minister of Justice Petrus Pelser yielded to the marchers' demands by promising that twenty-two black political prisoners would either be charged with crimes or released. The twenty-two have been held for more than a year under the notorious Terrorism Act, which allows the government to hold prisoners indefinitely and incommunicado without bringing them to trial.

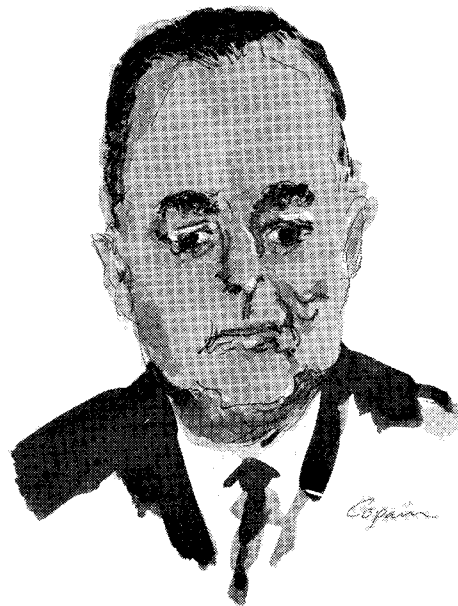
The government of Prime Minister John Vorster has announced that "less than thirty" of the 357 arrested at the May 18 demonstration will be brought to trial.

If these concessions are an attempt to pacify the students, they have not succeeded. The students are now collecting money for the defense of those of their number who face prosecution and have announced that they will continue their protests against the section of the Terrorism Act which permits imprisonment without trial.

In an article in the June 4 issue of the *New York Times*, Tertius Myburgh estimates the number of student activists as about 1,000 out of a total white student population of 50,000, but this seems an underestimate. The meeting at the University of Witwatersrand which decided to proceed with the May 18 demonstration in spite of the police ban was attended by 2,000 students.

So far the South African student movement has involved primarily the English-speaking students. According to Myburgh, "most students at the Afrikaans universities . . . appear to be uncritical supporters of the Nationalist regime." Afrikaners make up about 60 percent of the college population.

The main centers of the struggle have been, in addition to Witwatersrand, the Universities of Natal and



VORSTER: Feels pressure of white students.

Capetown. At Natal students hold daily teach-ins and have been going door-to-door in the surrounding community to explain their views. At Capetown student government officers are involved in the struggle. Myburgh quotes the president of the student council there: "We must put our views forcefully so that people hear them even if they do not agree."

The movement appears to be receiving support from at least one unexpected source. Myburgh mentions Alec Smith, son of the racist prime minister of Southern Rhodesia, who is studying at Rhodes University in Grahamstown. The younger Smith diplomatically "declines to comment directly on South African affairs, but at a student meeting last week he said there were two groups of students.

"One, he said, believes in freedom of thought and freedom to act according to convictions. The other, he declared, believes in freedom of thought but is unprepared to act in defense of it. 'I call them cabbages,' he asserted."

Most of the English-language newspapers have also expressed support for the student protests, "although they have cautioned against defiance of the law."

## New U.S. Atrocities Come to Light in Vietnam

Although it has been more than a year since ex-GI Ronald Ridenhour informed the U. S. government of the details of the My Lai massacre, none of those accused in the case have yet been brought to trial. And although several public accusations of other atrocities have been lodged in recent months, the military authorities have shown similar reluctance to take up these new charges.

Evidence that cries out for further investigation has been unearthed by the National Committee for a Citizens Commission of Inquiry on United States War Crimes in Vietnam, a non-governmental organization headed by Ralph Schoenman, the director of the American Foundation for Social Justice.

In April the committee held a hearing at which David Bressemer, a former warrant officer and helicopter pilot, told about the murder of thirty-three unarmed men, women, and children in the Central Highlands of South Vietnam in late July or early August of 1967.

Bressemer said that the murders were committed by a major who fired from a helicopter hovering over the victims. Bressemer did not see the actual shooting, but he heard conversations about it on his own helicopter radio, and he helped pick up the bodies of the victims.

"None of them were armed," he told the hearing. "In fact, one of the dead was a boy of about ten who was still holding the halter of a cow."

Bressemer also charged that following the shooting the major and his helicopter crew were awarded Silver Star medals for "heroism and bravery under fire."

Five days later, on April 11, the Defense Department told the *New York Times* that there would be an "investigation" of the charges made by Bressemer. That investigation appears to have been blocked. The Pentagon, in fact, has released no further information.

Other evidence turned up by the war crimes committee has produced even

less response from the government.

At a news conference on May 7, Larry Rottman, a former assistant information officer for the 25th Infantry Division, and Michael Uhl, formerly an intelligence officer for the 11th Brigade of the Americal Division, told of war crimes they had witnessed. According to the May 8 *Washington Post*, these included:

"A classified map from Vietnam which showed 20 villages 'totally destroyed' by saturation bombing and artillery during Operation Junction City three years ago, with the civilian population killed or displaced.

"'Mutilation of enemy bodies and the taking for souvenirs of human scalps, noses and genitals.'

"The torture of prisoners with electrical devices."

An incidental item at the end of the *Post's* article was the most interesting revelation of all:

"Rottman also said he was in Cambodia at least three times in 1967 and 1968. He said the 4th Battalion, 9th Infantry Regiment, staged an airborne assault in the second week of January, 1968, along Highway 22 four or five miles inside Cambodia." [Emphasis added.]

In these incidents the Pentagon has not even bothered to try to save face by promising an "investigation."

But the widespread public indignation following the My Lai revelations last November has forced the American government to take halfhearted action in a few cases in order not to seem to be whitewashing war crimes. Whenever charges are brought against soldiers, the procedure makes it clear that the government's chief concern is to keep publicity to a minimum.

For example, last February five marines were charged with murdering sixteen civilians — five women and eleven children — in the village of Sonthang on February 19. It was not until May 16 that the Marine Corps announced that four of the five would be tried for murder. (Charges against the fifth are being "held in abeyance," which

presumably means that he has agreed to testify for the prosecution.)

In the My Lai case, twelve officers, including two generals, face court-martial for suppressing information about the atrocity. But the events at Sonthang have not received the same amount of public attention, and the commander of the five marines, first lieutenant Louis Ambort, was fined \$500 and given a reprimand for making false official statements about Sonthang.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the government's attitude was given by the case of first lieutenant James Duffy, who was tried for murder at the end of March.

Duffy admitted having ordered the shooting of a prisoner on September 5, 1969. His defense was based on the claim that he was only doing what the army had told him to do. Testifying for Duffy, four other officers said that army policy was not to take prisoners.

The high-ranking officers who sat in judgment clearly could not allow such a defense, no matter how truthful it might be. Duffy was convicted of premeditated murder on March 29.

But a few minutes later the court reversed itself. Upon learning that premeditated murder carried a mandatory penalty of life imprisonment, the board of officers voted to reconsider its verdict. The object of the trial, after all, was to satisfy the public that something was being done, not to frighten American troops into following the laws of war. This time Duffy was convicted of involuntary manslaughter. His sentence: six months in prison and the loss of \$250 pay for each of those months.

The administration faced a very real danger in the Duffy case. The American public is not likely to remain silent indefinitely while the small fish are convicted of war crimes and the big fish, who are really responsible, go free. The government is walking a thin line between being caught doing nothing about war crimes and bringing to light enough to touch off a

public demand for the trial of high-ranking war criminals.

Washington's balancing act can be seen in the case of captain Vincent Hartmann and first lieutenant Robert G. Lee Jr., who on May 28 were charged with attempted murder for ordering their troops to fire into a cluster of huts last June.

The charge of attempted murder is more than a little peculiar from a legal standpoint, since even according to the army's account at least one person was killed in the incident.

An account in the May 30 *New York Times* quotes "Pentagon sources" as saying "that an investigation indicated the officers had believed the huts were unoccupied at the time." One wonders how the officers can be accused of attempting to murder someone they didn't believe to be present.

Even more to the point, the same article in the *Times* contains extensive quotations from an interview with Gary Nordstrom, who was serving with the company as a medic at the time of the shooting.

"The captain 'definitely knew' that at least one of the huts was occupied as he directed the placement of the gunners' weapons, Mr. Nordstrom recalled.

"'Hartmann could see people — I saw a man and a woman and two children — and one of the soldiers even told him before the firing that there were people there,' Mr. Nordstrom said. 'Hartmann said to fire anyway — that he had given an order. I'd never seen anything like it before.'"

Nordstrom also said that he had informed army investigators of these circumstances in December.

Whatever the outcome may be when and if these individual cases actually come to trial, the American government can only lose. Each new case — and we can expect that there will be many more — makes it increasingly clear to the American public that the Nixon administration, like the Johnson administration before it, is waging a genocidal war in Southeast Asia. The My Lai revelations have cracked the wall of silence surrounding American atrocities in Vietnam. It is highly unlikely that Washington will be able to stop more reports disclosing the real nature of the war in Indochina.

## 'Full of Frustration and Bitterness'

### Officers, GIs, United Against the War

Opposition to Nixon's war in Southeast Asia is continuing to rise within the U. S. armed forces. A June 2 Associated Press dispatch reported the formation of an officers' antiwar organization.

"Calling themselves the Concerned Officers Movement," the dispatch said, "about 25 officers based in Washington, most of them Navy men, have banded together to provide a forum for what they say is growing disillusionment among their ranks with the Indochina war."

The officers' group issued its first newsletter in April, charging that Washington's policies have "turned an internal political struggle into a nation-destroying bloodbath" in Vietnam.

The organization has announced that its purpose is to "serve notice to the military and the nation that the officer corps is not part of a silent majority, that it is not going to let its thought be fashioned by the Pentagon."

The GIs who are being sent to Vietnam are none too happy about it either. Joseph Lelyveld of the *New York Times* interviewed a number of Vietnam-bound draftees on June 2 at the Oakland International Airport, on their way to nearby Oakland Army Base from where they will be shipped out.

"Of about 20 soldiers who sounded as if they had given the matter thought," Lelyveld said, "only two said firmly that they felt they were going in a good cause. The rest were full of frustration and bitterness, insisting repeatedly that they were being asked to risk their lives to save the reputations of politicians and generals and nothing else. Many said they were happy about college protests."

Despite Nixon's troop withdrawals (now stalled until next October), some 35,000 fresh troops are sent to Vietnam every month. About 9,000 are dispatched from the Overseas Replacement Center in Oakland, California.

"Many of them express an angry barracks skepticism about the reports of troop withdrawals," Lelyveld wrote. "'How can they talk about withdraw-

als?' one asked. 'Every plane they send over to Nam is full.'"

"I don't think we have any business over there and I never did," Pfc. Jimmy Johnson, a truck driver from Wichita, Kansas, told the *New York Times* reporter.

Many had been urged by their otherwise conservative parents to refuse to go. "An infantryman whose father is a career officer in the Air Force said his mother offered to give him the money to go to Canada. . . .

"Specialist 4 Harold Corry of Milwaukee, who was drafted out of graduate school at the University of Wisconsin, where he was studying physics, said his father — a welder who supported George Wallace for President in 1968 — had urged him to go to jail rather than Vietnam."

### Nationalizations in Sudan

The military government of Sudan announced a series of sweeping nationalizations May 25, the first anniversary of the coup that brought it to power. All foreign-owned banks were expropriated as well as four British companies that control the bulk of the country's foreign trade. All insurance companies were ordered to cease operations and transfer their accounts to Sudanese firms.

The announcement was made by Major General Gafaar al-Numeiry, head of state, during a speech to a crowd of some 100,000 persons in Khartoum. Egypt's President Nasser and Libyan Premier Moamer Kazafi were present. General Numeiry said these measures marked the creation of a "workers state" in Sudan.

Eric Rouleau, writing from Khartoum in the June 3 issue of the English *Weekly Selection* from the Paris daily *Le Monde*, said that according to "reliable sources" there seems to have been "a first version of the speech drafted about a week earlier" which did not include the nationalizations. "Discreet but firm pressure by the unions," Rouleau said, "reputed to be among the most powerful in Africa, as well as intervention by members of the Communist Party's left wing seemingly succeeded in tipping the scales in favour of an abrupt socialization of the regime, a move which had also apparently been recommended by the Egyptian economic experts called in for consultation on May 21."

The Communist party is still illegal in Sudan and its general secretary, Abdel Khalek Mahjoub, was exiled by the government in April. He now lives in Cairo.

## French Repression Singles Out Weak Link in Left

By Gerry Foley

"The hour of justice has struck. It is up to the courts to suppress all acts of violence, which cannot be tolerated in a free country like France," French minister of the interior Raymond Marcellin proclaimed on national television May 28.

Marcellin's speech followed two days of violent demonstrations by small groups of ultraleft students. The protests were provoked by the prosecution of Jean-Pierre Le Dantec and Michel Le Bris, editors of *La Cause du Peuple* (The People's Cause), the journal of the Maoist Gauche Prolétarienne (Proletarian Left). The charge against the Maoist editors was publishing articles inciting to violence and justifying violations of the law, such as illegal strike actions.

One hour before the trial began the government outlawed the Gauche Prolétarienne. In order to put the ban in effect immediately without the statutory notice, it invoked an emergency law passed in the period following the capture of Napoleon III by the Prussians.

The decree was sweeping in nature, banning a whole series of groups allegedly controlled by the Gauche Prolétarienne. It also indicated the government's intent to suppress all the militant left organizations. The decree stated:

"Four leftist groups exist at the present time: the Parti Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste Français (PCMLF) [French Marxist-Leninist Communist party]; the Parti Communiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Communist party], called the Gauche Prolétarienne; the Ligue Communiste [Communist League — the French section of the Fourth International]; and the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme [AJS — Alliance of Youth for Socialism, the youth group of the ultraleft sectarian Lambertists].

"The most dangerous is certainly the Gauche Prolétarienne. . . .

"The plan of the Gauche Prolétarienne is to take power in France by armed struggle.

"Its objective has been publicly ex-

pressed in writings and in speeches on numerous occasions."

In an attempt to justify the repressive action, the text of the decree quoted many examples of ultraleft verbiage by the Maoists.

"In issue No. 15 of *Cause du Peuple* it says: 'Let us begin guerrilla warfare. That is what we need; organize everyone in the guerrilla movement . . . ."

"Serge July, another leader of the Gauche Prolétarienne, proclaimed March 24 during a conference at the Cercle Français de la Presse [French Press Club]:

"'The rock the bourgeoisie has picked up will fall on its own head and make a serious dent. The bourgeoisie will have lost a new battle while the idea that "if anything is to change we must pick up the gun" will have taken a new leap forward.'"

The decree claimed: "These constant incitements to armed struggle, to sabotage, and violence have had concrete results. Since January 1, 1970, the Gauche Prolétarienne has claimed credit for eighty-two violent actions, attacks, sabotage, and depredations.

"Thus unquestionably the activity of the Gauche Prolétarienne falls within the scope of the law of January 10, 1936. This law provides for banning all associations or de facto groups whose aim is to oppose the republican form of government by violence or by provoking armed street demonstrations."

The June 1 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste and the most consistent critic of the Maoists, denounced the hypocrisy of the decree: "The French bourgeoisie has barely recovered from the great fear of May [1968]. It has not been able to stabilize its political position. The French Communist party is losing its absolute control of the working class and the bourgeoisie does not have the means for satisfying the workers' demands. In this context the bourgeoisie has been watching the development of the revolutionary left nervously.

"The bourgeoisie has to wreck the revolutionary left. And to do this it must create conditioned reflexes—fear in part of the public, hatred of leftists in another, and despair in the revolutionary groups.

"It was the bourgeoisie which unleashed the violence. It sent cops onto the Nanterre campus, provoked the May 1 and 10 clashes. It protected the Nazi meeting in Paris . . . Every day it persecutes newspaper salesmen and distributors. After these activists are beaten up by the police, they are sentenced for rebellion, or hitting or wounding cops. . . .

"The bourgeoisie has bombs planted. The series of bombings in Grenoble was already suspicious. But the revelation that the explosions in Besançon (need we recall that the press at the time accused the leftists?) were the work of members of the UDR [Union de Défense de la République—Union for the Defense of the Republic, a Gaullist terrorist organization created at the time of the May 1968 upsurge] made the situation clear."

A statement by the Ligue Communiste May 27 condemned the suppression of the Maoists: ". . . the government is gradually snuffing out the last political liberties. The Ligue Communiste, which has often expressed its disagreements with the Gauche Prolétarienne, calls on the workers and students to reject any condemnation of violence when it comes from a bourgeois government for which violence is a permanent instrument of class domination.

"The revolutionary movement has no lessons to learn from those who employ armed violence against the people of the Chad, who employ the violence of the CRS [Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité—Republican Security Companies, a special riot police] against struggling workers, from those who live on the violence of the exploitation of man by man."

The banning of the Gauche Prolétarienne had two objectives, *Rouge* explained in its June 1 issue: ". . . to drive the Maoists to commit blunders that



it can turn to advantage"; and ". . . to feel out the ground, to create a precedent, so that when it thinks the political conditions are ripe, it can ban all the revolutionary organizations."

Statements opposing the ban were also made by the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié — United Socialist party], UNEF [Union National des Etudiants Français — National Union of French Students], and the AJS.

The PSU declaration said: "For several months now a vast campaign has been orchestrated against so-called ultraleftists . . . Now the government has reached a new stage in the escalation of repression with its 'anti-wrecker'\* law, the trial of Le Dantec and Le Bris, and the dissolution of the Gauche Prolétarienne."

UNEF described the decree as "scandalous because it is another measure against the far left when there has been no response to appeals to the Conseil d'Etat [Council of State, the supreme constitutional authority] against the illegal banning of left organizations in June 1968. It is another blow against the far left when the Tricolor fascists of Ordre Nouveau [New Order] continue to bellow their nostalgia for Mussolini and Hitler with impunity."

Almost the entire militant left put aside their differences and rallied to the defense of the Maoists. "For the first time in two years, almost all the left movements came together Monday evening [May 25] in support of a united demonstration," the Paris daily *Le Monde* wrote May 27. "Only the Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme (Trotskyist) was not represented," it continued.

\* On April 30 the lower house of the French parliament passed the so-called "antiwrecker" law. The implications of the law were described this way in the May 1 issue of the *New York Times*: ". . . the penal code will hold that all persons who participate willingly in an illegal demonstration [French police have the power to ban demonstrations and meetings arbitrarily] or terrorist attack are responsible criminally and civilly for any harm that may ensue to persons and property.

"It will no longer be necessary to identify the actual authors of the damage, thus introducing the notion of collective responsibility into the legal system in the case not only of commando raids whose principal aim is violence but also in the case of any peaceful demonstration that may later get out of hand."

The law was passed by the senate June 4 and has gone on the statute books.

Jean-Paul Sartre chaired the overflow meeting at the Mutualité. He opened the discussion with a brief against the repression. Sartre noted that seventy political activists were presently in prison. He stressed that the jailing of Le Dantec and Le Bris marked the first time editors of a periodical had been imprisoned in France since 1881, except for the years of the Nazi occupation.

The world-famous French writer took the post of editor in chief of *La Cause du Peuple*, trying to defeat the attempt to single out one particularly vulnerable section of the left for attack. The government, however, has refused to prosecute him.

*Le Monde* did not report any of the other speeches. It quoted only ultraleft statements by the Maoists: "A young activist of the Maoist group Ligne Rouge [Red Line] advocated 'armed insurrection to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat,' while part of the audience chanted, 'Power grows from the end of a gun.'" The capitalist daily noted that some representatives of left groups disliked by the Maoists were hooted and drowned out by the chanting of slogans like "Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao."

Alain Geismar, the general secretary of SNESup [Syndicat National de l'Enseignement Supérieur — National Union of University Teachers] during the May days and now the leader of the Gauche Prolétarienne, called on the audience to demonstrate May 27, the day of the trial.

The same evening as the meeting the police issued the following threat: "In a communiqué the Gauche Prolétarienne called for a street demonstration May 27. The prefecture of police warns that all street demonstrations are forbidden."

While the Gauche Prolétarienne invited the far left organizations as well as the worker and student "masses" to take part in the May 27 demonstration, it made clear that it was in full command.

"Of all the revolutionary groups, only the Maoists of VLR [Vive la Révolution — Long Live the Revolution] accepted the conditions of the GP [Gauche Prolétarienne]. On the basis of recent experiences no one was crazy enough to put themselves in the hands of the leaders of the 'new resistance,'" \* *Rouge* wrote in its June 1 issue.

"Thus common action by the revolutionary organizations was limited to the May 25 meeting in the Mutualité. However, united mass actions were possible and necessary for May 27, the day of the trial. The sectarianism of the GP prevented all agreement — a strange way of defending imprisoned members!"

The trial opened with a reading of letters from witnesses who failed to show up. Alain Geismar's letter said: "Please excuse my absence from this court . . . This will let you know, your honor, that I will testify today in the street."

The Maoist demonstrations were abortive. "There were few 'new resistance fighters' in the universities Wednesday, May 27 (and still less in the factories!)," the June 1 *Rouge* reported. "Early in the afternoon they had all gone to the working-class suburbs to get ready to carry out the big action of the day. The operation was to consist of besieging a target (which we will not mention). The activists were told to take the train in the suburbs and arrive all together at the Gare Saint-Lazare. They were to regroup in the Salle des Pas Perdus, and then they would march on their objective.

"Only a dozen 'top leaders' knew the plan of the operation. Unfortunately (unfortunate coincidence or malicious indiscretion), the platforms of the station were black with CRS and gray with plainclothes cops when the train carrying the 'partisans' arrived. The 'civilians,' equipped with photographs, pointed out the so-called leaders to their colleagues in the Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité, who diligently arrested them.

"Those who escaped did not even have the energy to go to the meeting called in the Faculté des Sciences by the left sections of SNESup at 5:30 p.m. Some 1,500 students attended this meeting. It was the members of the VLR who led about a hundred of these students against the cops stationed a few meters away on the Rue Jussieu.

"In the same way, at the Beaux-Arts, it was the professional independents of

\* The Gauche Prolétarienne has tried to take over the legend of the CP-led resistance movement under the Nazi occupation, giving it a Maoist twist. It characterizes the bourgeoisie as an "occupying power" and calls for a "partisan" struggle against it.

the student movement who touched off the clashes. Before a diffuse gathering they proclaimed the intent of their action. It was to strike at the symbols of 'luxury and bourgeois insolence' — deluxe automobiles, art galleries, smart shops, etc.! The clashes in the evening took on the same improvised and absurd character.

"On May 27," the *Rouge* article concluded, "a few hundred militant Maoists tried to revive the memory of May. They managed only to make a sad and miserable parody of it. Those who were in the front lines in the struggles of May 1968 could not help but be struck by the contrast between those days and the 'actions' of May 27 and 28, 1970. The extraordinary maturity, the political responsibility of tens of thousands of demonstrators in May 1968 gave way to absurd projects (the attack on the Saint-Germain drugstore, on the Café de Flore, etc.), to exhortations devoid of any political meaning, like the tract distributed May 28 by the VLR which ended up with a call to action addressed to 'all the frustrated, all the indignant, all rebels. . .

"The mighty, spontaneous irruption of the masses into the streets, striking back with their own violence against the violence of the police gave way to chaotic brawls by a few anemic groups (in all, there may have been a thousand students who participated directly or indirectly in the confrontations). While the 'onlookers' were revolted by the violence of the police as always, they did not join the fighters."

Even the capitalist daily *Le Monde* expressed some sympathy for the small bands of confused demonstrators overwhelmed by a massive array of well-armed and brutal police.

"The demonstrators had no illusions," *Le Monde* wrote May 30. "They did not think they could drive the police back or make a 'sortie' out of the 'liberated' territory bound by the Rue de Santeuil and the Rue Censier . . . But there was no question of winning any 'military' victory but simply of 'making a stand.' More than real guerrilla warfare, it was a caricature of guerrilla warfare, symbolic guerrilla warfare.

"Some German boy scouts passing through the neighborhood were peacefully taking pictures, like tourists who happened to run into a village festival. But these scouts, like all scouts, were young. They got hit with billy clubs.

They left, rubbing their heads, not understanding why three cops at a time jumped them without warning."

"Of the many incidents reported," *Le Monde* said May 29, "two seemed most outrageous to those who witnessed them. At five minutes past midnight on the corner of the Rue de Vaugirard and the Boulevard Saint-Michel, facing the Sorbonne, two youths protested when they saw two young girls being severely 'corrected' by the police. One policeman jumped the youths, a grenade launcher in his hand. He struck one of them violently with his weapon. The victim — a native of Toulon in Paris on a holiday — did not move. His face was covered with blood. . . .

"Two minutes later, a teen-ager — he could not have been eighteen years old — was coming up the Boulevard Saint-Michel. He made a remark — which was out of place — in a loud voice to a group of policemen arriving on the run. He did not notice two individuals in civilian clothes and in shirt sleeves. Blackjacks suddenly appeared in their hands. They jumped him, threw him to the ground, and beat him with all their strength, aided by several policemen who came to back them up."

In their professional zealotry the cops beat up a number of journalists wearing official armbands. Even an editor of the ultrarightist *l'Aurore* reported that he was brutally beaten and cursed by the cops.

The areas where demonstrations occurred were sealed off by the police. About 350 persons were arrested.

At the trial Father Michel Blaize, a Franciscan monk and editor of the magazine *Frères du Monde*, testified on behalf of the Maoist editors.

"If Le Dantec and Le Bris are blamed for expressing sympathy and admiration when the people act in the only ways available to them, I ask — why have we not been arrested also? This indulgence is suspicious . . . Violence? When I see the speedup on assembly lines, the slums, the persecution of youth by the police, I think that you have the wrong people on the defendants' bench."

Courégé, a lawyer defending the Maoists, argued: "This republic began with the bazooka [de Gaulle's coup of May 1958]. At that time Chaban-Delmas and Debré were not against violence."

The other defense lawyer Leclerc pointed out: "No one has ever been arrested for his writings except under the occupation. How is this possible today? On the basis of the laws of 1893 the defendants are called 'criminals.' This designation has its historical origin. I can do nothing about it.

"These laws, which resulted from fear of the anarchists, were in fact used against Jules Guesde and Lafarge [founders of the French socialist movement]. This trial is the beginning of the end of freedom. It shows the weakness of the regime. Of course, they do not arrest Monsieur Jean-Paul Sartre. What a scandal that would be in the world. They prosecute unknowns and seize their paper.

"But M. Sartre said that he took responsibility for the paper, while not sharing its opinions. And therefore the fact that he has not been arrested has very grave implications. It proves that freedom of thought is being jailed here . . . Are these men responsible for the wave of violence spreading in France and in the world? No . . .

"There is no longer any need to force the papers to put up bonds in order to muzzle them. Today 50 percent of their income comes from advertising . . . Today activist journals are springing up like small flames. And these little revolutionary papers are being hounded . . . Where will it end? Seize the most terrible of books, the Communist Manifesto."

In their abstract extremism and intoxication with ultraleft phrases, however, Le Dantec and Le Bris in fact took a defeatist attitude toward the defense of free speech, claiming that a dictatorship already existed. At the same time they made a caricature of Marxism.

Le Dantec said: "There is no fundamental difference for a Marxist between the oppression of foreign capitalism as in 1940-1945 and the oppression of so-called French capitalism today . . . We are living today in France under a bourgeois democracy, with all the elements of fascist oppression."

The court sentenced Le Dantec to one year in prison and Le Bris to eight months. It ordered all copies of issues No. 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 of *La Cause du Peuple* seized. The trials of dozens of demonstrators indicted as a result of the May 27-28 clashes are to follow.

### Yuyitungs Held in Taiwan Military Prison

The Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan has still brought no formal charges against two Philippine-born Chinese newsmen who have been held in a military prison in Taipei since May 5. The two brothers, Quintin and Rizal Yuyitung, were forcibly deported from the Philippines on orders of the Marcos government for publishing articles supporting the radical student movement. They had operated the daily *Chinese Commercial News* in Manila for more than twenty years.

The case is a major scandal in the Philippines where it is viewed as a direct attack on freedom of the press and a threat to all critics of the government. Quintin Yuyitung is a former president of the Manila Overseas Press Club and is well known among Filipino journalists.

The international press has also begun to comment on the case following a May 18 resolution by the International Press Institute condemning President Ferdinand E. Marcos for the deportation.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review*, published in Hong Kong, devoted two

pages to the case in its May 21 issue under the title "The Martyrs of Manila":

"Although Immigration Commissioner Edmundo Reyes went through the motions of giving the Chinese newsmen a fair hearing up to the morning of Monday, May 4, that same afternoon they were arrested at the press club then whisked to an aircraft at Manila domestic airport. They were flown to Basa airbase in Tarlac where they slept overnight. An air force plane took them to Taipei the next day.

"The lawyers and friends of the two, together with a number of senators and congressmen, denounced the methods used to get rid of the brothers. After the May 4 hearing . . . friends of the brothers complained that the authorities deliberately got rid of the lawyers of the accused to railroad the Yuyitungs' deportation. The Chinese journalists did not even have a chance to say goodbye to their wives and children, it was pointed out."

Commissioner Reyes "explained" it all by claiming that the Yuyitungs planned to seek political asylum in a foreign embassy or leave the Philip-

pines for Hong Kong or Shanghai. This merely confirmed that the Marcos government wanted not just to deport the brothers, but to send them to Taiwan where they face possible death sentences for their political ideas.

"It now is very obvious just where Marcos stands as far as his relations with the leftists are concerned," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* commented. "His handling of the Yuyitungs is the most decisive move he has made with the ushering in of the new decade—and especially since the start of massive dissent from a large segment of Filipino studentry."

The International Press Institute has set up a committee to investigate the case and has sent a delegation to Taipei to intervene on behalf of the Yuyitungs. This has forced the Chiang Kai-shek regime to depart from its usual practice of putting political dissidents before a secret military tribunal. The May 25 *New York Times* reported:

"The Nationalist Government, reportedly overriding the objections of usually influential security officials who prefer to maintain secrecy in such cases, has cooperated with the press institute's committee and issued a series of assurances that the brothers are being treated well and will have an open trial, with reporters and observers from the institute permitted to attend. . . .

"The committee, which includes one American, Barry Bingham, publisher of the Louisville Courier-Journal, was allowed to meet on Friday with the brothers in their rooms at the Taiwan Garrison Command, the military agency responsible for security affairs."

### Was Yon Sosa Executed by Firing Squad?

More information on the reported killing of Yon Sosa and two of his followers by Mexican troops was given in a May 29 *Prensa Latina* daily news dispatch.

Sosa's mother, Maria de Jesus Paz, visited the cemetery in Tuxla Gutierrez, where her son and his comrades are supposed to have been buried.

"He was a good son. I always feared for his life, but he was always prepared to die; he was fighting for an ideal," Mrs. Sosa told the Mexican newspapers.

The coroner reported, according to the Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, that there were twelve bullet holes in the body of Fidel Rexcaco Xitumul, one of Sosa's purported companions, plus another in the back of his head. The body of Cahueque Juarez also showed twelve bullet holes. The body of the man alleged to be Yon Sosa was ripped by eight high-powered bullets, which perforated the skull, heart, lungs, and liver.

None of the documents or arms reportedly taken from the guerrillas have been turned over to the ministry of the interior, according to *Excelsior*.

Local journalists in Tuxla Gutierrez, the

headquarters of the Thirty-First Army Corps, have protested that they were not allowed to photograph the bodies. The body of the man alleged to be Sosa was never identified by friends or relatives.

Sosa and his comrades were supposedly killed by troops of the Thirty-First Corps on May 16. The commander of the patrol claimed that his men shot the guerrillas in self-defense.

Mexican authorities said that if the alleged guerrillas had requested asylum it would have been given them.

The coroner's report, however, indicates that the men were executed. Any one of the eight wounds suffered by the man claimed to be Sosa would have been fatal.

Moreover, *Excelsior's* account is in the style customarily used in Mexico in reporting executions by a firing squad, including in some instances a bullet in the temple or back of the head as a coup de grace.

The victims are generally described as having been shot while fleeing.

Serious suspicions now exist that the guerrillas appealed for asylum but were murdered, probably on instructions from the bloody Guatemalan regime.

**PHOTO NEXT PAGE.** Part of the contingent of 5,000-10,000 young workers and students organized by the Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International, which participated in the May Day parade in Paris called by the CP-led General Confederation of Labor (CGT). The CGT monitors excluded the "leftists" from the march, trying to keep them to a separate section in the rear. The official parade was dispersed immediately when it arrived at the Place de la Bastille, leaving the revolutionary contingent face to face with the police, who had been told by the CGT monitors: "The wreckers are behind." The Communist League avoided the trap by dispersing its followers before the police were able to attack.





## New Interest in Trotsky on the Left

By Kailas Chandra

Bombay

A quarterly discussion journal called *Marxist Veekshanam* [Marxist Outlook] has been launched by the Kerala Institute of Marxist Studies, an organization sponsored by the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI]. The first issue, published in March, listed K. Damodaran, a CPI Central Executive Committee member and a leading party theoretician, as editor-in-chief. The magazine featured an interview with the Hungarian philosopher Georg Lukacs.

"Any history of 1917 [i.e., of the Russian revolution] without Trotsky is nonsense," Lukacs said. "If we do not mention the important role played by Trotsky nobody is going to believe what we have to say about history." Lukacs is further quoted as saying that his defence of Trotsky's role in history did not mean that he agreed with Trotsky's views.

In another article, editor Damodaran himself severely criticized the "cruel and devilish activities and inhuman crimes perpetrated" by Stalinists in the name of Marxism. This is the first time that an outstanding leader of the pro-Moscow CPI has publicly condemned the atrocities of the Stalin period in the USSR. Damodaran was one of the few CPI leaders who openly criticized the Soviet armed intervention in Czechoslovakia. For that "crime" Damodaran was censured by the Dangeite leadership of the CPI which did not give him a ticket to contest for the Rajya Sabha [upper house of parliament] of which he was a member till recently, representing the Kerala Legislative Assembly constituency.

The editorial board of *Marxist Veekshanam* has invited all Marxist tendencies, naming them separately (with the exception of the Trotskyists), to use the pages of the journal on the problems of the Marxist movement in India. In response, M. Rashid, editor of *Chenkathir*, Malayalam journal of the Socialist Workers party [SWP], the

Indian section of the Fourth International, in Kerala, wrote a letter to *Marxist Veekshanam* asking why Trotskyists were excluded and wanting to know whether it meant that the ban imposed on Trotsky and his followers by Stalin in the twenties still held good for the *MV* editorial board.

Managing editor Surendranath, a CPI trade unionist, replied, assuring Rashid that the "omission of Trotskyists" from the list was only a "clerical error" and the journal did not consider Trotskyists as untouchables in the Marxist movement. He also said that articles by Trotskyists would be published in the *MV*. He went a step further, promising that the second issue would carry both Rashid's letter and the editor's reply. The *MV* has also mentioned Trotskyist leader Ernest Mandel's book *Marxist Economic Theory* among the "recent Marxist publications."

In the wake of the collapse of the Stalinist-sponsored multiclass "united fronts" there appears to be a growing interest among Kerala intellectuals about Trotsky and his writings. A book has been published in Malayalam under the title *Three Faces*, consisting of three essays, one of which is "Trotsky, the Literary Critic." More than half the book (about 100 pages) is devoted to Trotsky. The author, Professor Arvindakshan, is a known CPI fellow traveller. He has translated several works of Lenin and Plekhanov into Malayalam for the CPI publishing house.

Four years ago while still working on the editorial staff of the CPI daily *Navajivan*, Arvindakshan wrote an article, "Trotsky, a Great Cultural Leader," in a Kerala cultural magazine. The CPI leadership did not take any open action against him for the serious "crime" of praising Trotsky. But within a few days he left or was forced to leave the party newspaper.

This was not the first time that Trotsky was publicly appreciated in

Malayalam literature. Professor Kuttipuzha Krishna Pillai, a literary critic and rationalist, and also the president of the Kerala Sahitya Academy, incorporated an essay on Trotsky in his well-known book *Vichara Viplavam* [Revolution in Thought]. It was an appreciation of Trotsky as a revolutionary.

Even the former Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)—the "left" split from the CPI] chief minister, E. M. S. Namboodiripad, wrote a book in the early thirties (when he was just orienting to Marxism) on the Russian revolution in which he praised Trotsky as the "greatest revolutionary hero humanity ever produced." Later as a Stalinist he explained that while writing the book he was ignorant of the developments in the Soviet Union and the subsequent role of Trotsky.

Recently a translation of the "Last Words of Adolf Joffe"\* appeared in the weekend edition of a new Malayalam daily *Viplavam*. The translator, Manmohan, was a former activist of the CPI(M) on the student front. He became a (Naxalite) Maoist for a while. Now he is close to the Trotskyist movement in Kerala.

\* Adolf Abramovich Joffe joined the Bolshevik party with Trotsky in 1917. He was elected to the Central Committee and was an important organizer of the October revolution. He was famous as a Soviet diplomat. He led the first Soviet delegation to Brest Litovsk, was first Soviet ambassador to Germany, negotiated the peace treaty with Poland in 1921, and was later ambassador to China and Japan. In 1927 he became gravely ill, but Stalin refused to allow him to go abroad for medical treatment because of his support to the Trotskyist opposition. On November 16, 1927, Joffe committed suicide to protest the expulsion of Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Communist party, leaving a letter which was a powerful political indictment of Stalinism.

The amount of sunlight reaching Washington, D. C., has been reduced 16 percent in recent years because of air pollution, the Smithsonian Institution reports.

# Right-Wing Attacks on Rise in Bombay

### Bombay

Supporters of Shiv Sena [SS], a reactionary regional chauvinist organization, raided the office of the Girni Kamgar Union, a textile workers' union controlled by the pro-Moscow Communist party of India [CPI], here on May Day. Three persons, who were in the office, were beaten, and furniture and literature relating to the Lenin centenary celebration were destroyed. A police party supposed to be guarding the office did not intervene. The intruders made good their escape when the residents of the building chased them.

Earlier an SS gang tried to break up a meeting and an exhibition organized by the Indo-Soviet cultural society in the labour area to celebrate the Lenin centenary. There have been stray attacks on CPI workers in some other areas as well.

This was the second time Shiv Sena hoodlums attacked the GKU, a once powerful union that is now almost defunct.

The CPI has become the main target of the SS attacks because it is known that the CPI is a divided house on how to tackle the Shiv Sena menace. There is a section associated with CPI Chairman S. A. Dange himself which feels that the SS should be "fraternized" with because it represents a "just" nationality movement of the Marathi-speaking people. There is another section which stands for organized resistance against Shiv Sena, pointing out that the grouping has been fostered by the capitalist class and its agents to break up the militant trade-union movement in Bombay city.

Between the two conflicting tendencies, the CPI is not in a position to defend itself effectively or join with other left parties like the CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)], the Socialist Workers party, Lal Nishan, Revolutionary Socialist party, etc., which are prepared to fight the SS menace unitedly.

The "success" of Shiv Sena is the outcome of the opportunist policies of the traditional left parties, particularly the CPI, which have consistently sabotaged the struggles of the organized sections of the working class,

like the textile workers in the city.

SS chief Bal Thakeray, who publicly admires Adolf Hitler (recently he told a public meeting in Goa that India needs a "benevolent Hitler"), has been inciting his followers to disrupt rallies organized by the "communists and their fellow travellers"—especially in the labour areas.

As a result the CPI and other parties have been avoiding meetings of workers in areas considered at one time to be their stronghold. The SS leader has combined his anti-Communist campaign with a "hate Muslims" tirade.

The hard core of the Shiv Sena in Bombay, known to be patronized by the police force, consists of elements of the underworld, bootleggers, and the matka-dealers [gamblers]. But sections of the Marathi-speaking youth and young workers facing problems of mass unemployment have also been attracted by the SS slogans that jobs available in Maharashtra should be reserved only for Marathi-speaking people.

Various trade unions that were once controlled by the left parties are now being captured by the SS, and workers are being divided between Marathi and non-Marathi categories. SS is known to be financed by some industrial houses. Chief Minister Naik himself disclosed this some time ago.

The SS is also known to be receiving large funds from American agencies with the main objective of breaking up leftist organizations.

Of late the SS has been adopting an anti-Muslim communal stance as well, and it has been making common cause with the Jan Sangh and its paramilitary wing, Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh [RSS] in a campaign termed "Indianization"—in reality the "Hinduization" of Muslims. SS chief Thakeray has been saying at public meetings that he would annihilate Muslims who "sympathized with Pakistan."

There has been a common front between the SS and Jan Sangh, the organizations directly responsible for the communal riots that have flared up in Bhiwandi, Jalgaon, and some other towns of Maharashtra. The suf-

ferers in the riots have invariably been the Muslims—petty shopkeepers, workers, and slum dwellers. More than 200 persons have been killed in these riots.

Reaction is thus raising its ugly head in the form of communal and linguistic riots in the face of which the working-class movement feels completely paralyzed. The state government and its police force have been charged openly with abetting these communal forces.

A move is already afoot in Bombay to organize a voluntary corps of the workers, the "Workers Defence Corps," to protect the organized labour movement against the Jan Sangh and the Shiv Sena.

Various youth organizations have combined to set up an "Anti-Communal Youth Front" in the city to combat the danger of communalism and regional chauvinism.

But the traditional left parties have not yet realized the danger posed by the JS-SS combination.

## Peasants Starving in Brazil

Hundreds of starving peasants attacked the central market and food shops June 3 in the city of Quixada in northeastern Brazil. They managed to carry away \$10,000 worth of foodstuffs before the police could stop them, according to a June 4 Agence France-Presse dispatch.

Soldiers guarding a train carrying food through the famine-ravaged Northeast fired on a crowd that tried to storm the cars, according to the *Correio da Manha*.

The Northeast is normally a desperately poor region. A long drought, which threatens the water supply even of Rio de Janeiro, has produced a famine.

Radical peasant unions were developing rapidly in the area until they were suppressed by the military dictatorship installed on April 1, 1964. The region also has a tradition of direct action by poor and exploited peasants in the form of armed bands, the *cangaceiros*.

## Correction

In our last issue on page 540 Nixon's projected budget deficit was given as \$1,800,000 for 1970 and \$1,300,000 for fiscal 1971. This should have been \$1,800,000,000 and \$1,300,000,000 respectively.

# Report on the My Lai 4 Massacre

By Allen Myers

*MY LAI 4. A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath* by Seymour M. Hersh. Random House, New York, N. Y. 210 pp. \$5.95. 1970.

In 1968, Colonel George Patton, son of the World War II tank commander, sent out Christmas cards reading: "From Colonel and Mrs. George S. Patton III—Peace on Earth." Attached to the cards were color photographs of neatly stacked piles of dismembered Vietnamese bodies.

It is a measure of the atrocity committed at My Lai in March 1968 that this incident seems tame in comparison to others reported by Seymour Hersh in his new book, *My Lai 4*, subtitled "A Report on the Massacre and its Aftermath."

Hersh is the reporter whose story on the wires of the Dispatch News Service finally brought the scope of the atrocity to public attention last November. His book is based on more than fifty interviews with members of Charlie Company—the unit which carried out the slaughter—as well as on "a limited number of transcripts of interrogations" of witnesses conducted by the army's Criminal Investigations Division (CID).

Hersh's narration is unemotional and factual, with a minimum of interpretation or editorializing, a technique that allows the events themselves to emerge in their full horror. Insofar as possible, and particularly in the chapters covering the day of the massacre, the story is told in the words of the participants themselves.

The testimony of the GIs makes it clear that the massacre did not occur in the "heat of battle," for there was no battle. The sole American casualty was Herbert Carter, who said "I can't take this no more," and shot himself in the foot after seeing another GI shoot a Vietnamese boy in the neck. None of the soldiers questioned by Hersh mentioned even one shot being fired at them by "enemy" forces.

Charlie Company moved into My Lai 4 early in the morning of March 16, as most of the villagers were in their homes eating breakfast.

"The killings began without warning. Harry Stanley told the C.I.D. that one young member of Calley's platoon took a civilian into custody and then 'pushed the man up to where we were standing and then stabbed the man in the back with his bayonet . . . The man fell to the ground and was gasping for breath.' The GI then 'killed him with another bayonet thrust or by shooting him with a rifle . . . There was so many people killed that day it is hard for me to recall exactly how some of the people died.' The youth next 'turned to where some soldiers were holding another forty- or fifty-year-old man in custody.' He 'picked this man up and threw him down a well. Then [he] pulled the pin from a M26 grenade and threw it in after the man.' Moments later Stanley saw 'some old women and some little children—fifteen or twenty of them—in a group around a temple where some

incense was burning. They were kneeling and crying and praying, and various soldiers . . . walked by and executed these women and children by shooting them in the head with their rifles. The soldiers killed all fifteen or twenty of them. . . ."

Lieutenant William Calley's platoon, the first, has received the most attention because of the charges against that officer. But the second platoon, commanded by Lieutenant Stephen Brooks, and the third, which followed the first two into the hamlet under the command of Captain Ernest Medina, were equally involved in the atrocities:

"The second platoon went into My Lai 4 with guns blazing. Gary Crossley said that some GIs, after seeing nothing but women and children in the hamlet, hesitated: 'We phoned Medina and told him what the circumstances were, and he said just keep going. It wasn't anything we wanted to do. You can only kill so many women and children. The fact was that you can't go through and wipe out all of South Vietnam. . . ."

"Carter testified that soon after the third platoon moved in, a woman was sighted. Somebody knocked her down, and then, Carter said, 'Medina shot her with his M16 rifle. I was fifty or sixty feet away and saw this. There was no reason to shoot this girl.' The men continued on, making sure no one was escaping. 'We came to where the soldiers had collected fifteen or more Vietnamese men, women and children in a group. Medina said, 'Kill every one. Leave no one standing.'" A machine gunner began firing into the group. Moments later one of Medina's radio operators slowly 'passed among them and finished them off.' Medina did not personally shoot any of them, according to Carter, but moments later the captain 'stopped a seventeen- or eighteen-year-old man with a water buffalo. Medina told the boy to make a run for it,' Carter told the C.I.D. 'He tried to get him to run but the boy wouldn't run, so Medina shot him with his M16 rifle and killed him . . .'"

## Knock Off for Lunch

For more than three hours the systematic slaughter of every living creature in the hamlet continued. By the time Medina called a halt for lunch a little after eleven o'clock, "Grzesik recalled that at that point he'd thought there couldn't be a survivor left in the hamlet. But two little girls showed up, about ten and eleven years old. John Paul said they came in from one of the paddies, where they apparently had waited out the siege. 'We sat them down with us,' Paul recounted, 'and gave them some cookies and crackers to eat.' When a C.I.D. interrogator later asked Charles Sledge how many civilians he thought had survived, he answered, 'Only two small children who had lunch with us.'"

The two children were unusually lucky: scores of children were murdered that day.



Medina and his superiors reported a "body count" of 128 "Viet Cong," a version of the day's events accepted without question by reporters in Saigon and duly reported in the American press. A study by the Unified Buddhist Congregation of Vietnam, released in January of this year, reports 394 civilians killed, 176 missing, and 23 wounded.

The latter half of Hersh's book is concerned with events after the massacre: the whitewashing "investigation" conducted by the army in the days immediately following March 16, and the chain of events initiated by Ron Ridenhour which eventually led to the public disclosure of what had happened.

In March 1969 Ridenhour sent letters describing what he had learned of the massacre to President Nixon, the State and Defense Departments, the Pentagon, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and some two dozen members of Congress, including leading "doves."

Most of the letters were simply ignored. Five were routinely referred to the army. Only Senator Udall of Arizona, Ridenhour's home state, and L. Mendel Rivers, the reactionary head of the House Armed Services Committee, wrote personally to the Pentagon about the matter. (Rivers's letter seems to have been written as a courtesy to Udall.)

## Had to Tell Congressmen Something

In order to be able to tell the congressmen something, the army began an investigation. It is clear that the decision to prosecute Calley was not dictated by any concern for justice. Hersh quotes the explanation of one "military source": "If they don't prosecute somebody for this, the Army's going to get clobbered. And if the story ever breaks without the Army taking any action, it would be even worse."

So on September 5, Calley was charged with murder, the army released a brief statement that did not even hint at the magnitude of the crime, and the Pentagon and those in the government who knew crossed their fingers and hoped against hope that the truth would not reach the public.

Ridenhour, meanwhile, had grown impatient with the army's delaying tactics and in the course of the summer had offered his story to *Life*, *Look*, *Harper's*, and *Newsweek*. All four magazines turned it down. It was only after Dispatch News Service sent out the report written by Hersh that the story really broke into the press. And only after this breakthrough did the army begin to bring charges against other participants in the massacre.

Since that time another army investigation has unearthed evidence of a similar massacre at Co Luy, a village two miles east of My Lai 4. In this case, which also occurred on March 16, 1968, Captain Thomas Willingham has been charged with the unpremeditated murder of twenty Vietnamese.

Hersh, who unfortunately only mentions Co Luy in passing, says that in late 1969 "the Song My village chief testified that as many as 900 persons were killed in Co Luy by American GIs."

The "why" of the My Lai massacre is explained in the first two chapters of Hersh's book. He describes the prior experiences of Charlie Company and the war that is being

waged in Quang Ngai province, in which My Lai is located. Much of Quang Ngai is a "free-fire zone." This means that "The U.S. forces did not need to get approval from Saigon or local officials before staging bombing missions and artillery attacks. . . . Frequently a pilot who would find himself left with some bombs or other ordnance after completing a routine mission would simply drop them on any likely-looking target. Artillery units devised a fire concept known as 'harassment and interdiction,' in which rounds of artillery were fired at irregular intervals at no targets in particular."

This contempt for Vietnamese lives was heightened by the demand for big "body counts":

"Competition was especially high in 1967-68 among the units [of the American Division] over the number of enemy killed. . . . For many brigade and battalion officers of the new division, Vietnam was a chance to put in some combat duty, earn battle ribbons, then come home with the combat experience they thought was vital to future promotion. . . .

"One brigade commander ran a contest, and celebrated his unit's 10,000th enemy kill by giving the GI who shot him a week's pass. . . . Many battalions staged contests among their rifle companies for the highest score in enemy kills, with the winning unit getting additional time for passes."

The attitude thus created among the soldiers was summed up in a remark of one GI in the division: "If you can shoot artillery and bombs in there every night, how can the people in there be worth so much?"

Charlie Company, like other units before and since, had this same attitude instilled by its commanders, by what it saw, by the mistreatment of prisoners. The obvious hostility of the people of the province caused them frustration and reinforced what they were told. The progressive deterioration of the company was described by one soldier:

"It was like going from one step to another, worse one. First, you'd stop the people, question them, and let them go. Second, you'd stop the people, beat up an old man, and let them go. Third, you'd stop the people, beat up an old man, and then shoot him. Fourth, you go in and wipe out a village."

The mother of one of the GIs involved in the massacre expressed this process in different words: "I gave them a good boy, and they made him a murderer."

Hersh's book proves beyond any doubt, and without even trying to do so, that the My Lai massacre was in no way exceptional—except in the fact that participants are being brought to trial. The GIs who murdered the helpless inhabitants of My Lai 4 had been taught by words and example that they were doing nothing unusual.

Michael Bernhardt, for instance, though he did not kill any of the villagers himself, "had felt no remorse for the Vietnamese civilians while watching them get slaughtered, but he had thought that perhaps he was the odd one. 'Maybe this was the way wars really were,' he later explained. 'Maybe what we saw in the movies and on TV wasn't so, that war was running around and shooting civilians and doing this kind of thing. Maybe all along everybody else knew. I felt like I was left out, like maybe they forgot to tell me something, that this was the way we fought wars and everybody knew but me.'"

## Samizdat I

By Michel Lequenne

[The following review has been translated from the March 1970 issue of *Quatrième Internationale*, published in Paris.]

\* \* \*

*Samizdat I*. Published jointly by Editions de la Vérité and Editions du Seuil. Paris. 646 pages. 20 francs [\$3.60]. 1969. In French only.

The first writings of the antibureaucratic opposition in the USSR to come to our attention were like the West Indian islands that dazzled their discoverer without giving him an inkling of the immense double continent whose approaches he was exploring. *Samizdat I* is the next stage, something like the mouth of the magnificent Orinoco River which to an alert spirit reveals endless lands and gigantic mountains beyond.

The number, variety, and tenor of the writings in this first collection of *samizdat*—that is, self-published literature circulated from hand to hand secretly and parallel to the official publications—is unambiguous evidence that the antibureaucratic opposition is a mass phenomenon.

This literature has its peculiar characteristics. It is still underground and has only broken through the heavy crust of police terrorism in a few places. But a flood of *samizdat* flows through these cracks. One need only read these documents to realize that it no longer represents the cry of a few isolated individuals, declaring their moral indignation and their refusal to be accomplices of the system. What these documents represent is the thought of the best elements of an entire people. Of course, this thought is still being expressed by a heroic minority, but it draws its power from the knowledge that it is the authentic voice of the workers and of socialism.

Although *Samizdat I* is a volume of more than 600 pages, it includes only a part of this production revealing the awakening of the Soviet people. (It is for this reason that it bears the number "I" which indicates that more is to come.) And the limitations of the volume mentioned by its editors are made clear by the inclusion of annotated lists—themselves incomplete—of works circulating in the USSR. The lists were published by the *Chronicle of Current Events*, itself a *samizdat* publication which has accomplished the feat of appearing regularly for more than two years. It has also striven to give balance sheets of the repression.

However, while important documents may still exist in obscure areas, those assembled here constitute an impressive body of revelations, a most powerful beam of light on the Russian reality. And more, the documents here are the most unchallengeable testimony that real communism survives in Russia, underground, is reemerging, developing, and is returning to its roots. This authentic com-

munist shows a merciless lucidity—a lucidity that makes all the Sovietologists, specialized journalists, and political philosophers of the West look ridiculous. It passionately rejects Stalinism, post- and crypto-Stalinism, and strikes out with a boldness worthy of the men of 1917 on the road leading to the new political and antibureaucratic revolution.

Aside from a few older reference documents, the writings in this book begin with 1956. In thirteen years the ground covered is considerable and the evolution in thinking seems to proceed in geometrical progression. Of course, in 1969, as we know, there are still people like Medvedev who continue to think that the bureaucracy can be persuaded to reform itself; even they are expelled from the party for this conviction.

What counts is that the documents have gone from the timid criticisms of the "thaw," diluting the responsibility in a collective *mea culpa* (see "Les Leviers" [The Levers] by A. Iachine [Yashin]),<sup>1</sup> from violent but small-scale explosions like Konstantin Paustovsky's speech "Contre la nouvelle caste de petits-bourgeois" [Against the New Petty-Bourgeois Caste We Must Wage an All-Out Fight], to documents as important as those by Yakir, Yakhimovich, Kosterin, and Grigorenko.

We are already familiar with these names from books that have appeared recently. *Samizdat I* reprints all or part of some documents already available but the main body of the volume is made up of writings previously unpublished in French, including documents of decisive importance. It is impossible within the limits of an article like this to analyze each one. I will restrict myself, without following the order of the volume which combines a chronological sequence with a certain division according to themes, to distinguishing the various levels appearing in these highly diverse writings.

The importance of the antibureaucratic opposition must not make us forget the depth of the Stalinist disease that has infected all of Russian society. This can be best gauged probably by the transcript of the discussion, which supposedly preceded but in reality followed, the decision to fire the teacher Gerlin, the wife of the literary critic Yuri Eikhenvald, from her high-school position. Both Eikhenvald and his wife had signed the appeal on behalf of Ginzburg and Galanskov.

The whole logic of the [purge] trials is reflected in this discussion by cultivated "socialist" citizens. Gerlin did not take a position on the possible guilt of those sentenced. She demanded respect for the constitution. One of her colleagues, a mathematics teacher, got indignant: "But

1. We are listing titles of the articles as given in French together with English transliterations from Russian of the names of authors.—IP

they are our enemies. We can't let them take advantage of the law to hurt us. That is inadmissible! Would they be squeamish about how they treated us if they had the chance? . . . You can't try criminals according to the law! On that basis, you'd have to let them all off!"

Another of her colleagues, a history teacher, reproached Gerlin for acquainting her students with the poets of the revolutionary period who were condemned under Stalin but rehabilitated under Khrushchev. We can understand why Gerlin ended her final speech, saying: "I am ashamed, I am so ashamed that I cannot lift my head, I am ashamed, ashamed for you, comrades . . ."

The Stalinist perversion of thought is a pustulating sore that not even a hot iron could cure overnight.

The other aspect of bureaucratic degradation is police cynicism. Pavel Litvinov captured it in its simplest, most "natural," coolest, self-assured form in his account of his "preventive conversation with the KGB" (page 417). The discussion begins like this: "Pavel Mikhailovich, we have information that you and a group of individuals intend to publish and distribute the transcript of the recent trials of Bukovsky and associates. We warn you that if you do this you make yourself liable to imprisonment. . ." Not once does the policeman seem to raise his voice, become violent. The violence lies in what "liability to imprisonment" implies.

There are thousands of political prisoners in the USSR today, rotting in prisons and camps, who "live under inhuman conditions of forced labor, on starvation rations, and subjected to the arbitrariness of the administration." (Appeal to Communists: To the Presidium of the Conference of Communist parties in Budapest, March 1968, page 353.)

Testimonies on the nature of these camps now abound and confirm one another. However, the leader Marchenko (whose book *Mon Témoignage* [My Testimony] is to be published shortly by *Le Seuil*) expresses what is to be found there with the greatest power and the maximum conciseness.

These camps are death camps, "where the most powerful means of pressure is starvation," where the normal ration is 2,400 calories per day, provided essentially by 700 grams of black bread. The prisoners pay for their food as well as their clothing with their wages (of which 50 percent is deducted to support the camp. . .). You can only spend five rubles a month for food (including tobacco)—from what remains of your wage after the deductions are taken out. But you can be deprived even of this right to spend seventeen kopeks per day for an *infraction of the rules*.

"For example, the historian L. Rendel (sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for belonging to an illegal Marxist circle) was deprived of his canteen rights for two months for bringing soup to sick comrades. The same happened to the writer Sinyavsky for communicating with another writer, his friend Daniel, when he was in the camp stockade. . ." The strict diet lowers the ration to 1,300 calories. Daniel has undergone this diet.

These are the facts and revolutionary Marxists cannot permit those in lands distant from the USSR, who claim to be communists, to remain unaware of them. We must hound *those who do not want to know* with such documents. The brief period of "de-Stalinization"—the operation

supervised by the bureaucracy—has now given way to a period of furious "re-Stalinization." Millions of gentle souls do not want to recognize that Stalinism was not a *product of Stalin*, but is a system that arose in specific historic conditions and that survives and perpetuates itself. The only Russian communists worthy of the name are the oppositionists who express themselves in the *samizdat*.

A comparison of their language with that of their adversaries leaves not a shadow of a doubt. The credentials of the oppositionists are the years they have spent in prison camps (for example, Yakir has seventeen years of imprisonment to his credit, from the age of fourteen to thirty; Kosterin spent twenty-three years in labor camps and prisons), years which did not alter their Leninist convictions in the slightest—quite the contrary.

As for their cause, it is equally clear what it is. These men and women are taking up the struggle again where their parents had to break it off when they were laid to rest by Stalin in the common graves where the party that took power and built the first workers state was buried.

Sons and daughters are not empty words. That fact is apparent from the signatures on the September 24, 1967, appeal against the attempts to rehabilitate Stalin—Antonov-Ovseenko, Yakir, Serebryakova, Larin (Bukharin), Radek, Shlyapnikova, Yenukidze, Ivanov (Kalinin), Pyatnitsky, Smilga. All these names of heroes of October, among many others, are names of Stalin's victims. Now they are names of oppositionists who are standing up against oppression while the daughter of Djughashvili is wringing tears from the American bourgeoisie over her fate and that of her terrible but necessary daddy.

The cause of these oppositionists first of all is a defensive struggle against the attempt to "revive Stalin and the Stalin era," against the "policy of rehabilitating the entire bureaucratic system . . . the attempt to mask its past crimes and give it a more decent appearance"; a defensive struggle against "the new leaders . . . who hope . . . to rehabilitate their own past, the past of Stalin's top comrades-in-arms, of those who began their careers in the commission to purge the party in 1934-36 and who occupied the posts left vacant by the victims of the Stalinist repression in 1935-39"; against "the avowed tendency in favor of the *strong hand*"; against the search for a new "strong man"; against a new "period of terror and illegality without which the bureaucracy cannot defend itself from the political activity of the masses, who terrify the new partisans of the dictatorship." (*Kolokol*, the organ of the dismantled Union of Communards, *Samizdat I*, page 267.)

About the goals of the oppositionists there is no question. Their aim is to restore communism to its true path for a "world October" ("the sons and daughters of the murdered old Bolsheviks . . .").

The instruments of their activity, however, are somewhat inadequate. If the revolutionary generation in the imperialist countries has had some difficulty in recovering the buried theoretical capital, this task is still more difficult under the bureaucratic system. The total extermination of the Trotskyists at the beginning of the second world war, the almost totally effective ban on Trotsky's books, and the sealing of the frontiers have left the work of this anti-

bureaucratic fighter almost unknown in the USSR.

But the keen eyes of the Russian communists cannot be deceived about "Lenin's right arm, the leader of the International, the commander who forged the victory." Invoking all these titles, the poet Vadim Delone scorns the claim that Trotsky betrayed. The hatred of the bureaucrats has won the gagged Trotsky the good will of the new generation of Leninists. This generation is seeking the truth and it will find it.

It is a moving experience to read the text "Who Killed Trotsky?" (page 303) which appeared in 1966 in the underground magazine *Cahiers de la démocratie socialiste* [Notebooks of Socialist Democracy]. Error and truth are mingled here in the characteristic way of news spread by word of mouth down a long chain of intermediaries.

Czechoslovakia, the weakest link in the chain of bureaucratic workers states, is further along than the USSR in discovering Trotskyism. Karel Bartosek, whose "Vingt-trois thèses sur la crise et la révolution" [Twenty-Three Theses on Crisis and Revolution] are published in an appendix to *Samizdat I*, writes: "Above all, we must analyze Trotsky's doctrine of a political revolution against the bureaucracy, evaluate precisely in what respect it is valid today in our conditions and in what respects it is illusory and limits his anti-Stalinist ideology." These last words show the extent to which the author still misunderstands his doctrine.

But the hour is not far off when the last barriers will be broken down. And that will be decisive for the final stage, the stage of organization, of developing the instrument of the political revolution. Already the question has been posed. Yakhimovich stated the certainty of this development: "It [this youth] is going to found, it is inevitably going to found a new party."

Grigorenko warned on Kosterin's seventy-second birthday: "Remember, above all, you must not let the enemy cut down with impunity the fighters who march in the front rank of your movement." In his "Open Letter to the Citizens of the USSR" of September 1968 Alekseev, after developing a complex program of immediate action for the heterogeneous opposition, also ended by raising the question of forming a "new party."

Everything suggests that such a party will not be long in developing because, despite the repression, the bureaucratic system is dangerously sick. Its opponents are fully conscious of this fact. Yakhimovich writes: "The Stalinists feel that the ground is slipping under their feet, that the fatal hour appointed for them by history is approaching. Their panic is the panic of condemned men, condemned men still at large. . . They still have a powerful weapon in their hands today, they hold the levers of power, but their hands are weak. They are the hands of criminals. Communists of the world, arrest them before it is too late!"

In protesting against the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Marchenko explained the underlying reason for the weakness of the bureaucracy: "Are our leaders really worried about what is happening in Czechoslovakia? In my opinion, they are not only worried, they are scared. And this is not because developments in Czechoslovakia threaten socialism or the security of the Warsaw Pact nations, but because these developments threaten to undermine

the authority of the leaders of these countries and cast discredit on the very principles and methods of government which prevail today in the socialist camp" (page 400).

Almost as if in echo to this, Bartosek points out the "antihistorical" character of the invasion of his country and its primary consequence: "the destruction of the largest Communist party in Central Europe" (pages 607-608).

Antibureaucratic communist organizations have already emerged in the USSR as well as in Czechoslovakia. They have been dismantled. The "gradualist" opposition (because we could not accuse it of "reformism" without doing it an injustice) has founded an initiative group for defending civil liberties, some of the principal leaders of which have already been hit by repression.

However, the act which preceded the founding of this group, the largest oppositionist demonstration organized in the USSR since 1927, has been justly characterized by Grigorenko as a historic date. Some 400 persons gathered—a large part of them almost spontaneously—for the funeral of Alexei Kosterin.

The documents assembled by Grigorenko in connection with this occasion would merit publication in popular pamphlet form. No honest worker who considers himself a communist, it seems to me, no matter how anesthetized before, could fail to be moved by such documents, which are unquestionably the most powerful in the *Samizdat I* volume, even though this book is so rich in poignant writings.

The power of these documents comes not principally from the speeches of Bolsheviks, or even the account of Kosterin's life story (the biography of a man who was a communist as early as 1916, a hero of the civil war with astounding exploits to his credit, an unbreakable deportee in the white hell of Kolyma). No, as convincing as all this is, it tells us nothing fundamentally new. What is new, on the other hand, are the reactions to this revelation of authentic Leninism on the part of representatives of oppressed nationalities (Crimean Tatars, Ukrainians, Chechen-Ingush) and a "passerby."

Since I cannot quote extensively enough to do justice to the subject, I will limit myself to one quotation, which is perhaps not the most moving but which seems to me to be the most promising. Zampira Assanova, a Crimean Tatar who is a doctor, tells this story:

"My school, university, life instilled in me aversion, worse still, hatred toward Marxism-Leninism and the personality of Lenin himself. I say that such feelings were instilled in me, but not that anyone ever told me anything bad about Lenin. To the contrary, he was always spoken of in superlatives, almost like a god. But I could not feel any affection for him because all the evil that we were subjected to in our lives was exalted in the papers, in the manuals, in the speeches of the high party functionaries, and on the radio and television as simply carrying out Lenin's precepts.

"And I said to myself: Since he was able to teach such dismal things he could only have been a dismal specimen! That is why I did not want to read Lenin, did not want to learn—and did not learn—his doctrine."

Despite meeting the Leninist Kosterin, Zampira Assanova admitted after this that her prejudices against Lenin were not yet overcome.

"However, hearing today the speeches of Kosterin's closest friends . . . and remembering what he himself said, I said to myself: No, such people cannot profess a bad doctrine. Surely here also, as in religion, the self-interested servants of the doctrine have altered its real meaning to suit themselves and their profit. And here before you, comrades, before the memory of a great man whom all the Crimean Tatar people and I myself loved, before the memory of the Bolshevik writer, communist, and democrat Aleksei Yevgrafovich Kosterin, I solemnly swear to study the teachings of Lenin and to struggle to have them carried out in real life in their authentic form." (Page 475.)

While saluting the initiative of the editors of this book, I must also make a criticism of them. We have had many political disagreements with them but the subject to which this book was devoted is the area where we perhaps have the least. I will only note for the record that they exhibit a certain sectarian rigidity, which can go to the point of pedantry, toward the documents and their authors.

The truly grave fault of the editors lies elsewhere. It is distressing that in denouncing Stalinist methods, they themselves employ these techniques against their political adversaries within the workers movement. And they do this on the most important theoretical question treated by them.

The Fourth International (which they chose to ignore, thereby already deceiving their readers) distinguishes three sectors in the world whose development is uneven and combined and in which the problems of the revolution take on different forms and rates. These sectors are: the imperialist countries, where the task posed is a proletarian social revolution; the colonial and semicolonial countries, where the task is national liberation and the first stages of permanent revolution (the accomplishment of the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution by and under a proletarian leadership); and, finally, the workers states, where the task on the agenda is an antibureaucratic political revolution.

No one in the Fourth International entertains the stupid notion that there can be separate "worlds" and the least attentive reading of our publications<sup>2</sup> will reveal this to anyone who wants to see it. But this stupid idea is slanderously attributed to us in a footnote (page 306), which moreover makes an amalgam between our positions and those of a former leader who left our movement as a result of numerous disagreements.

We can easily show that the inability to distinguish between these different sectors of the world leads the editors of this book to absurd positions. Two quotations alone will suffice. The first is this: "The *international* crisis of Stalinism, that is, the extension to Eastern Europe of the crisis of imperialism, whose most acute expression at that time was the general strike of August 1953 in France, was one of the elements in the battle begun by the prisoners (in Vorkuta)" (page 30).

2. *Le complot trotskyste en Tchécoslovaquie* (the Trotskyist Plot in Czechoslovakia), documents of the revolutionary opposition, published as a supplement to *Rouge*; and, for example, *la Dialectique actuelle de la révolution mondiale*. (The latter is available in an English translation, "The Dynamics of the World Revolution Today," in *International Socialist Review*, Fall 1963.)

The second is: "The shocks that shook the bureaucratic edifice were only the echo of those which were then shaking the European bourgeoisie, beginning with the French bourgeoisie. Millions of soldiers called up did not want to go to Algeria. The PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party], which voted for the special powers to wage total war asked by Guy Mollet, had to break the movement before it receded. As for the interaction of the struggle of the workers in the East and West, it was so striking that the colonialist Suez expedition and the invasion of Hungary interlocked" (page 35).

These mechanical combinations, it seems to me, require no comment. They are a caricature of Marxist analysis.

The resolution of such disagreements, I believe, however, will not be unrelated to the development of the gigantic events heralded by the *samizdat*. For (whether you want to recognize the fact or not), the Fourth International exists, lives, and struggles. And the realization of the historical perspectives recalled in *Samizdat I* will inevitably be *its* victory.

## Healy 'Reconstructs' the Fourth International

*Healy "Reconstructs" the Fourth International—Documents and Comments by Participants in a Fiasco*. Introduction by Joseph Hansen. Published by the Socialist Workers Party, 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. 40 pp. 35 cents. 1966. Reissued 1970.

In April 1966 the "International Committee," an ultraleft sectarian grouping dominated by the Socialist Labour League of which Gerry Healy is the leader, held a conference in London which the majority of the participants hoped would prove to be a historic milestone in the "reconstruction" of the Fourth International (to which they did not happen to belong).

The enthusiasm at the gathering waned, at least among a sizeable minority, as the participants experienced Healy's methods at firsthand. They were thrown out. Naturally they began to circulate documents about what had happened. The material included letters by Healy himself.

Assembled in a pamphlet, with an introduction by Joseph Hansen, the documents caused a furor in the Socialist Labour League. A member of the Fourth International, Ernest Tate, who sought to sell the pamphlet at the entrance of an SLL meeting in London, was beaten up by stewards in the presence of Healy himself.

Tate sent a letter to various journals of the left, protesting what had been done to him. They published it. Healy immediately went to the bourgeois courts to file suit for "damages."

Out of print for some time, this forty-page pamphlet is again available. If you are interested in such esoteric corners of radical politics as the internal life of the "International Committee" under Healy's leadership, this should be on your bookshelf. Also good for an hour or two of light political reading on your vacation.

## Excerpts from Court Record in Salonika Trial

[The following is an account of a military trial held at the end of January and beginning of February of nine activists belonging to a Greek antidictatorial group accused among other things of being under Trotskyist influence. Our translation is from the German of Manos Markakis, who wrote the introduction and comments and translated the court transcript from the original Greek.]

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### Introduction

A military trial of the nine students took place January 29-February 5 in Salonika. They were accused of violating Special Law 509/1947. This was the savage measure utilized by the bloodstained Greek "democratic and parliamentary" reaction—the parliamentary government of the conservative People's party and the Liberals led by Konstantinos Tsaldaris and Demistokles Sofoulis—to ban the workers parties and organizations in the period of the second civil war (1947-1950).

Among the organizations outlawed were the Greek section of the Fourth International and the Communist party.

Under sanction of this law, the Greek reactionary forces of that time destroyed the left movement and executed thousands upon thousands of fighters for no crime but their ideas. Today the medieval Pattakos dictatorship is resorting enthusiastically to the same law, which has remained in force since 1947.

After a seven-day trial, the following comrades were given severe sentences, most of them more severe than the royal prosecutor had asked for. The penalties originally demanded are noted in parentheses next to the actual sentences.

1. Antonios Liakos, twenty-three years old, philosophy student, life imprisonment (twenty years).
2. Triantaphyllos Mytaphidis, twenty-three years old, philosophy student, life imprisonment (eight years).
3. Anastasios Darberis, twenty-six

years old, physics and mathematics student, life imprisonment (twelve years).

4. Stavros Katsaros, thirty-two years old, worker and former chemistry student, life imprisonment (twenty years).

5. Michael Arabatzoglou, twenty-one years old, assistant foreman, ten years (twelve years).

6. Panagiotis Kaisidis, thirty-two years old, book salesman, law student, ten years (ten years).

7. Elias Oikonomou, twenty-four years old, agricultural and forestry student, eighteen and a half years (eight years).

8. Petros Elkas, twenty-six years old, construction worker, four years (five years).

9. Eleftherios Kaponis, twenty-one years old, law student, two and a half years' imprisonment, plus two and a half years' banishment to the village of Langadas in Salonika province (three years).

The charges contained in the indictment were as follows: The accused founded an illegal resistance organization called "Student Struggle" and later "People's Struggle." This organization was active from May 1967 to September 1969. In April 1968 it distributed a leaflet entitled "Young Socialists" and in June another with the title "The World Revolutionary Youth Call for Struggle." The organization published the journal *People's Struggle*. The indictment claimed, finally, that the accused pasted up posters and carried out bombings.

### Excerpts from the Testimony

*Deputy Director of the Salonika Asphaleia (secret police) Epaminondas Papagianopoulos:* In February Mytaphidis went to Athens and contacted Trotskyists. After his return the group built a duplicating machine. In April they distributed the "Young Socialists" leaflet and a handbill with the slogans "Down with the Dictatorship," "Long Live Workers May Day." In June they distributed the leaflet "The World Revolutionary Youth Call for Struggle." On orders from the organization, Ka-

ponis wrote a manifesto on the agrarian question which harshly criticized the regime's policy toward the farmers.

*Presiding Judge Phokion Karapanos:* Wasn't that at the time the farm debts were canceled?

*Papagianopoulos:* Yes. In that month Darberis joined the organization on Liakos's recommendation. Together with Mytaphidis, these two wrote and distributed a leaflet entitled "Dialectical Materialism—Perfecting Humanity."

*Presiding Judge:* Was it of a theoretical character?

*Papagianopoulos:* Yes. The organization was interested in educating its members in theory. In November 1968 the organization distributed the leaflet entitled "Sunday, November 2," which dealt with the funeral of Georgios Papandreou.

*Presiding Judge:* The funeral which 500,000 people attended . . . ?

*Papagianopoulos:* Yes.

*Presiding Judge:* But Athens does not have 500,000 inhabitants.

*Papagianopoulos:* Yes, but people also came from the surrounding area.

*Presiding Judge:* That makes sense; there are 1,800,000 people in Greater Athens.

*Papagianopoulos:* In November 1968 Mytaphidis wrote and distributed the leaflet "The Dictatorship and Its Downfall." In this leaflet they examined the possibility for a popular uprising.

*Presiding Judge:* They wanted this to produce a dictatorship of the proletariat?

*Papagianopoulos:* Of course, a dictatorship according to the forms Trotsky and the others established. In the same month they distributed the leaflet "The Law on Students' Rights" and the analysis "The Law Is Aimed at Disciplining the Students" . . .

*Presiding Judge:* What is Oikonomou? An orthodox Communist or a Trotskyist?

*Papagianopoulos:* He is orthodox. I don't know whether he went over to the Trotskyists or not . . . Katsaros used to be a student and then became a worker. After the revolution [the April 21 putsch] he became a sailor and traveled to Cuba.

*Presiding Judge:* Was Katsaros ac-

quainted with the organization or not?

*Papagianopoulos*: Probably not. He was formerly a member of the Lambrakis Youth [the youth group of the Union of the Democratic Left] but he was isolated because of the Trotskyist tendency of this organization . . . In May they distributed the leaflet entitled "The Trial of the Thirty-Nine in Salonika." They also distributed new leaflets on the theme of "unity on the left" . . . They are dangerous criminals with considerable ideological passion.

*Royal Prosecutor*: Can you tell us how extensive the membership of the organization was?

*Papagianopoulos*: There are other members but they are not very active. I am firmly convinced that if we had not put a stop to its activity the organization would have expanded onto a wider scale.

*Royal Prosecutor*: Did they have any contacts with other organizations or with foreign countries?

*Papagianopoulos*: No, the group was not ideologically homogeneous. If they received directives from abroad, my service is not informed of it.

*Corporal Vassilios Karamtsou of the Salonika Asphaleia*: Liakos and Mytaphidis were students in the school of philosophy at the University of Salonika. They tried first to form a left student movement on campus with Trotskyist tendencies but without any specific political label and independent of all parties.

*Presiding Judge*: Tell me, please, what Trotskyist means.

*Karamtsou*: Trotskyists are supporters of the views of Trotsky, a leading figure in the October revolution.

*Presiding Judge*: Everyone knows that. What I want you to say is if Trotskyists are heretical Communists.

*Karamtsou*: Yes . . . Their tactic was to publish material after carrying out actions. Then there would be a pause for a few days. . . . Some theses of the Patriotic Front [Stalinists] were criticized in this leaflet [the second put out by the group].

*Presiding Judge*: They attacked the Patriotic Front?

*Karamtsou*: On some tactical points and especially on the question of collaborating with bourgeois parties and organizations.

*Presiding Judge*: Were the accused opposed to cooperation?

*Karamtsou*: Trotsky was for coop-

eration with revolutionary parties but not with bourgeois ones . . .

*Royal Prosecutor*: You referred to Trotskyists and pro-Chinese. Are both the same?

*Karamtsou*: They are both anarchistic offshoots, offshoots of the international Communist party. Trotsky talks about permanent revolution and world domination.

*Presiding Judge*: I will make it clear then. They are a perversion of nature in association with Trotsky and Mao Tsetung.

*Royal Prosecutor*: Can you tell us which ones are pro-Chinese and which are Trotskyists.

*Presiding Judge*: You can tell us. They are everything but Greeks.

*Defense Lawyer*: Witness, you said that the Spanish émigré Marisa brought Katsaros and Georgeos Kostopoulos together. Are you aware of the fact that Katsaros and Georgeos come from the same place and were school chums from the time they were in the fifth class at the gymnasium? Why, then, did they need Marisa from Paris to put them in contact?

*Karamtsou*: Perhaps they needed her for security reasons.

*Presiding Judge*: Did the accused decide to follow the hard line here in Salonika, or did Katsaros set such a line?

*Asphaleia Lieutenant Vassilios Mitsou*: Armed struggle was discussed and approved in meetings in Salonika. Katsaros supported it.

*Presiding Judge*: What kind of men are Liakos and Mytaphidis?

*Mitsou*: Restless elements and malcontents from the orthodox Communist organizations.

*Presiding Judge*: Are Trotskyists and pro-Chinese the same thing?

*The Defendant Kaisidis*: No. . . .

*Presiding Judge*: I wouldn't know about that, I am a simple man.

*The Defendant Oikonomou*: As a man, as a student, and as a member of the Lambrakis organization, the situation following April 21 and the counterputsch of December 13 did not leave me indifferent.

*Presiding Judge*: What situation did not leave you indifferent?

*Oikonomou*: The April 21 putsch and the December 13 counterputsch.

*Presiding Judge*: Forget the characterizations. You aren't here to make propaganda. If you want to propagandize then talk to the audience and

not to me. What were your goals; to carry out a popular uprising?

*Oikonomou*: To bring down the government.

*Presiding Judge*: By a popular uprising and a foreign invasion! Here in your leaflets you talk about armed struggle.

*Oikonomou*: We only made a prognosis that the Greek people would resort to armed struggle if they were permanently oppressed by the government.

*Presiding Judge*: Bombs and leaflets, is that the same thing?

*Oikonomou*: More or less.

*Presiding Judge*: You are insulting our intelligence and your own. Maybe you want to walk out of here like a hero surrounded in an aura of glory for your ideological friends.

*Oikonomou*: The witnesses wanted to make me look like a criminal, to portray us as professional criminals.

*Presiding Judge*: Did anyone bother you after the revolution (the April putsch)?

*Oikonomou*: Not directly, no, but indirectly.

*Presiding Judge*: What does indirectly mean? Give me an example.

*Oikonomou*: Stifling the students' rights.

*Presiding Judge*: What student rights are you talking about?

*Oikonomou*: There are ten professorial chairs at our school, only three are occupied.

*Presiding Judge*: Listen, Oikonomou, this state is not nervous and we are not interested in human rights. Didn't you see what happened in the Council of Europe? We are not in it now and so shut your mouth. Did you read what happened in Iraq?

*Oikonomou*: No, there are no newspapers in jail.

*Presiding Judge*: A few patriots there wanted to oppose the government with bombs, and forty-two persons were hanged.

*Presiding Judge* [to Katsaros]: Did you have contacts with Greek refugees in Paris who are opposed to the present state of affairs? Clearly all Greeks living in that city are not opposed to it.

*Katsaros*: All are opposed to it.

*Presiding Judge*: Tell me, did you go to Liakos or did he come to you?

*Katsaros*: Since you are so interested in some mysterious initiation into revolutionary activity, I will answer you. Revolutionists are produced by dif-

ferentiation in the masses. . . . This trial is public and the verdict of the public is more important to us than the decision of the judges.

I believe in historical materialism and in its scientific methodology as a criterion for analyzing science, economics, politics, and philosophy. I am not a Trotskyist and not an anti-Trotskyist.

The weapons of the workers' struggle are not bullets but political mobilization, strikes, and demonstrations. But these weapons—the press, strikes, etc.—are outlawed. Bombings do not constitute armed struggle.

*The Defendant Mytaphidis:* After the April 21 putsch some chose to seek peace and quiet, others chose militant action. . . .

(On the characterization of the accused as anarcho-Communists, Mytaphidis said): Scientific socialism and anarchism are direct opposites, both in their view of the world and in their methodology.

*The Defendant Liakos:* The indictment states that our organization took orders from international anarchist organizations. That is not true.

(On the charge of "anarcho-Communism," he said): I believe that the driving force of history is the class struggle. The opposite of this view is anarchism, which substitutes dynamite and terrorism for the class struggle.

Our organization did not believe in such methods. Its aim was to mobilize the popular forces and to do organizational work among the students, the proletariat, and later the peasants, the entire Greek people.

Our organization attacked the regime and its roots. Democracy is not possible on the basis of a parliament, a stock exchange, and court intrigues. Workers committees and assemblies must be formed.

*Presiding Judge:* Do you know of any state based on such a system? In God's name, Liakos, do you believe in 1970 that any state exists with such forms?

*Liakos:* Of course.

*Presiding Judge:* What you said here about parliament and committees. Tell me does such a state exist or not?

*Liakos:* If there is no such state that doesn't mean that it isn't possible. It is a few steps away.

*Presiding Judge:* Astounding. Then your vanguard was for founding such a state. What do you say now? What

do you know about the workers! Have you ever worked in your life?

*Liakos:* I have worked since I was in the fifth class of the gymnasium.

*Presiding Judge:* Where?

*Liakos:* In a drug factory. As a drug salesman.

*Presiding Judge:* You had a good job like that and you still protest.

*Liakos:* I was not objecting to my job but to the exploitation of my labor by capital. Dynamite and bombs are not the beginning of armed struggle. If we had wanted to wage such a struggle, we would not have chosen targets like the Olympic Airlines and the Third Army Corps center but much more important targets in the army.

The bombings were only a small part of the struggle. The purpose of our organization was to revive the organizations and the ideology of the working class. If we had stained our hands with blood, we would have had a difficult time in winning support among the popular masses.

*Presiding Judge:* Knock it off.

*Liakos:* You are not letting me speak.

*Presiding Judge:* No, I am not letting you propagandize. This is not a university. This is the temple of justice.

*Liakos:* But this temple of justice is not interested in human rights. You said so yourself.

*Presiding Judge:* You're no better than Mytaphidis. You're a dope, I might add.

(The royal prosecutor spoke, among other things, about the history of revolutions. He divided them into social and political revolutions on the one hand and "popular-military revolutions," like the April 21 "revolution," on the other. He talked about the documents on the October revolution, the Moscow trials in Stalin's time, and the current Soviet trials against the writers and Trotskyism.)

*Presiding Judge:* Was your statement at the Asphaleia headquarters correct or not?

*Liakos:* That statement was produced by the use of force.

*The Defense Lawyer Dragatsis:* As opposed to criminal cases, political trials have a special problem. It is not the job of the police to judge the accused by historical, social, and psychological criteria. But political trials must take such criteria into account to form an objective picture. . . .

After the last war, troubled condi-

tions developed and the country found itself in dramatic difficulties. Today we face a crisis of institutions, standards, and men. The cause of this crisis is the uneven development of today's society. This unevenness has a powerful influence on the fate of underdeveloped countries.

It is impossible and impermissible for young people not to be concerned about such distressing facts. Throughout the world the youth are filled with a longing for social justice and freedom from the authority and interference of the state apparatus.

A radical opposition is necessary in a healthy society. The court must recognize that today's youth live in a time filled with contradictions. At the same time man has conquered the moon, hundreds of thousands of children are starving in Biafra. At the same time, moreover, the American government is allotting billions of dollars for the war in Vietnam, enough money to transform Vietnam, India, and Latin America into a paradise.

## U.S. Bars USSR Unionist

The United States Justice Department on June 4 denied a visa to a Soviet labor official. Boris A. Averianov, director of international affairs of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, had been invited to participate in a symposium in Onaway, Michigan, sponsored by the United Auto Workers (UAW) and the United Nations. The symposium, scheduled for June 14-20, will discuss pollution.

In April a Soviet labor attache, invited to attend the UAW convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey, was prevented from traveling there.

In the case of Averianov, the State Department refused to recommend that he be granted a visa. It seems unlikely, however, that such a recommendation would have had much effect. On May 5 Shirley Graham DuBois was denied a visa to visit Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee, in spite of a State Department request that "legal" prohibitions against her be waived. And in a case last fall which proved highly embarrassing to the administration, the Justice Department overrode a State Department recommendation and barred Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel. His wife Gisela has also been denied a visa.

It thus appears that the Nixon administration has adopted a consistent policy of denying Americans the opportunity to hear the views of foreign spokesmen for any tendency on the left. But this is the first time that the policy has been extended to cover attendance at an event sponsored by the United Nations.