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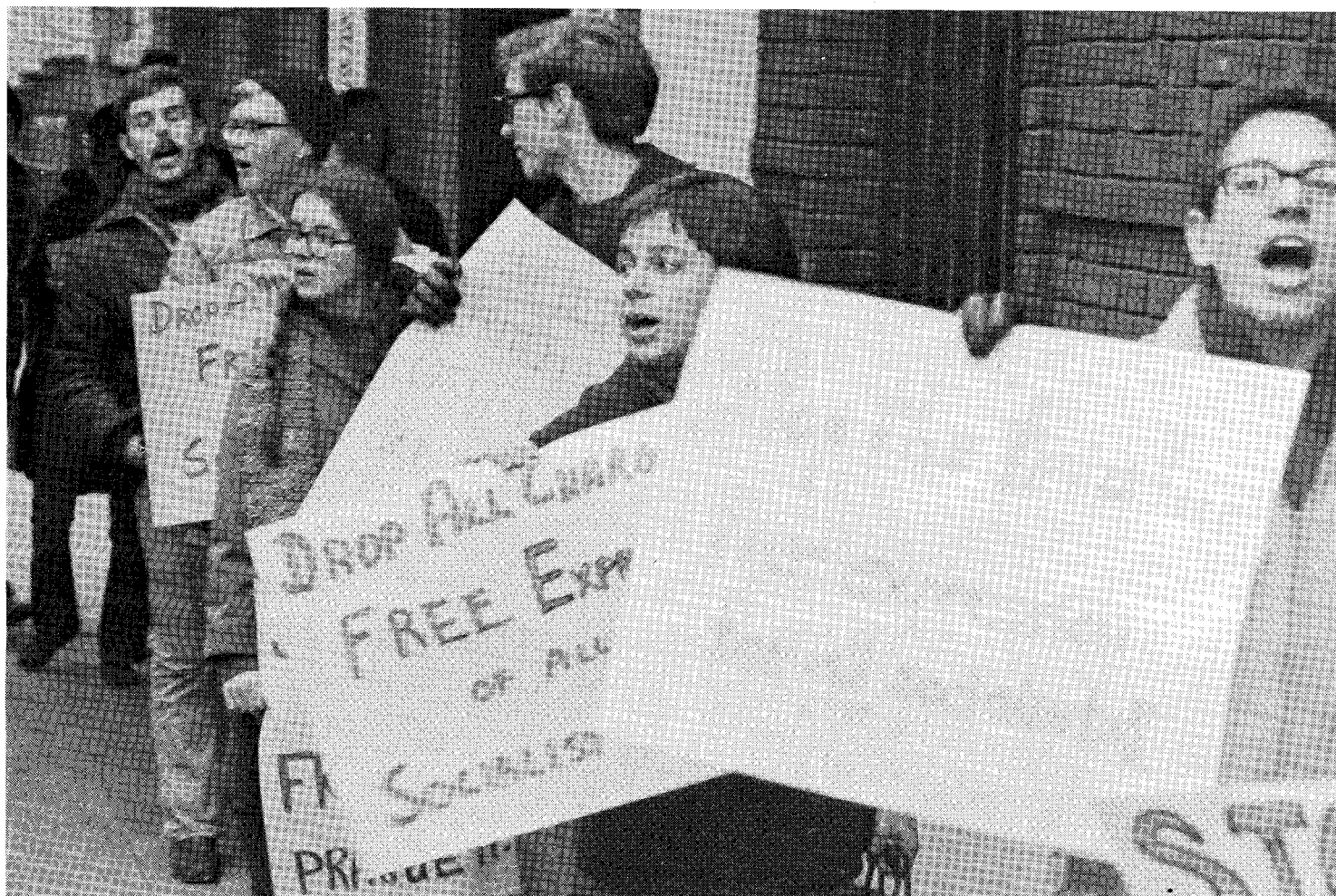
the Americas

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NEW YORK demonstrators outside Czechoslovak United Nations mission March 11 demand freedom for victims of Stalinist witch-hunt. As trial of alleged "Trotskyists" continued in Prague,

a chief prosecution witness turned out to be an agent provocateur. Protests against the trial and expressions of solidarity with the defendants also occurred in various European cities.

Free the Prague 'Trotskyists'!

Furor over Film

Delay in releasing the film *The Confession* for public showing in Chile was seized on in mid-March by the right-wing parties as a pretext for an assault on the Allende regime.

"The opposition Christian Democratic party has raised the issue of 'The Confession' in terms of Marxist ideological censorship and questioned Dr. Allende's assurances that freedoms of information and cultural expression would be maintained under his government," *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis cabled from Santiago March 12.

The film in question, produced by Costa-Gavras, creator of *Z*—a strong denunciation of the murder of a Communist deputy by Greek rightists—is based on a novel by Arthur London, a victim of the 1952 purge trials in Czechoslovakia. London was forced to confess that he was "an enemy of socialism" by secret police tortures. He was rehabilitated by the Dubcek regime and has not repudiated his support of the Communist party or the collectivist regime in Czechoslovakia. The subject of his book is Stalinist terror.

The Confession has come under heavy fire from the Chilean Communist party, a strong force in the popular front government and one of the first backers outside Eastern Europe of the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia. The CP press has denounced the film as an instrument of Yankee imperialism.

A showing of *The Confession* was called off in January after a naval attaché from Allende's staff visited the theater owner, according to the Christian Democratic magazine *Desfile*.

The Chilean distributor has announced that the film will be shown in several movie houses but no date has been set. "A theater owner said that presentation was uncertain because of threats of violence by Communist youth brigades," De Onis reported. □

Our New Address

It's easy to remember: *Intercontinental Press*, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Chou's Hanoi Visit: Will China Intervene?

By Gerry Foley

At the end of a special state visit to Hanoi, Chinese foreign minister Chou En-lai gave a strong answer March 8 to threats of a U. S.-backed incursion into North Vietnam by Saigon military forces.

"If the United States carries its adventure to the point of extending the war to all of Indochina, it will precipitate its final defeat. Definitive victory over imperialism is possible and feasible. People's China is intensifying its preparations to face the threat of war. It is ideologically and militarily prepared to deal a crushing blow to any enemy that violates its territory."

The danger of a new escalation of the Indochinese war leading to direct military confrontation between the United States and China—a conflict verging on world war—provoked obvious worry in the first weeks in March, not only in the American ruling class but in capitalist circles throughout the world. In a front page editorial March 10, the authoritative French capitalist daily *Le Monde* commented:

"The Chinese government meant to warn the United States that American military policy must recognize some limits, that it may come into collision with the full array of Communist forces in the Far East. Was this warning heeded? From the State Department's initial reactions, one would hardly think so."

Although apparently anxious not to seem a "nervous Nelly," the *New York Times*, the voice of one of the most farsighted and internationally minded sectors of American capital, advised Nixon in an editorial March 11 to take the Chinese warning seriously.

"There is probably a large element of propaganda in last weekend's highly publicized visit of Communist Chinese officials to North Vietnam, as Secretary of State Rogers has suggested—just as there is no doubt a considerable measure of bluff in recent South Vietnamese threats to invade North Vietnam.

"But it would be dangerous to ignore the warning that lies behind Pe-

king's fresh promises of support for Hanoi. It is far from convincing to assert, as President and State Department have done, that China has no reason to be concerned about the expanding war near its borders, or to assume that the Chinese would not react strongly to a further escalation. . . .

"The massive Chinese intervention in Korea in 1950 in response to General MacArthur's approach to the Yalu followed warnings strikingly similar to those that are emanating today from Hanoi and Peking. . . .

"The orbiting of Peking's second earth satellite in less than a year provides impressive evidence of the advance of Communist China in war-related technology. It hardly needs underlining that a rocket capable of orbiting a sputnik could also deliver a hydrogen bomb to a distant target on earth."

In fact, Roger's response to the Chinese warning indicated that the Nixon administration has no intention of halting its escalation of the Indochinese war. In a television interview March 9, the secretary of state was asked if he saw an increased threat of Chinese involvement in the war. He replied: "No, we don't think so. You can never be sure, but we don't think so, for . . . it's clear to the Chinese that we are withdrawing" from Indochina.

As for Chou En-lai's demonstrative special visit to Hanoi, Rogers claimed that its purpose was primarily "to give some comfort to the North Vietnamese because they have been suffering setbacks."

Admitting the possibility that present or projected escalation of the war could provoke active Chinese intervention, Rogers revealed that Washington was determined to take that risk. Indicative of Nixon's intentions also, in this context, was Rogers' repetition of the administration's main propaganda themes—(1) the U. S. is withdrawing from Indochina; (2) the Saigon army has been transformed into a powerful military machine in its

own right that cannot be prevented from undertaking whatever operations it considers necessary to win the war.

Rogers could not expect this propaganda line to reassure Peking. It was obviously designed for domestic consumption, to quiet the "nervous Nellys," thereby giving the administration a freer hand for a game of brinkmanship with Peking and Hanoi.

Moreover, at the same time it issued its warning to Washington to extend the war no further, Peking complained that the U. S.-backed incursion into Laos had been accompanied by "deliberate and intolerable provocations" against China. On February 10, according to a March 6 statement by Peking reported in *Le Monde* of March 10, an American ship intercepted two Chinese fishing boats on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin. On February 20, U. S. planes flew over the same fishing craft, directing the gunfire of Saigon torpedo boats against these vessels.

Peking also protested an incursion by an American military plane March 5 into Chinese airspace over the provinces bordering Indochina.

Along with the stick of military intimidation, however, the U. S. government seemed to be offering Peking a carrot. Almost simultaneously with the step-up in tensions between the Mao regime and Washington, a report appeared in the *New York Times* that a section of the U. S. government, the Department of Commerce, was pressing for relaxation of the trade blockade against China. Nixon favored this line, according to the article by Terence Smith in the March 10 issue of the *Times*.

In his "state of the world" address in February, Smith noted, Nixon had indicated that Washington might be ready to drop its attempts to isolate China. "Declaring his willingness to establish 'a dialogue with Peking,' Mr. Nixon pledged to 'carefully examine what further steps we might take—and how we might remove needless obstacles' to a better relationship."

The pressure Washington is putting

on Peking may indicate at least one of the actual objectives of the U. S.-backed incursions into Laos and Cambodia.

It was obvious by the third week of March, if not before, that Saigon's claims of success in Laos were false. The Thieu government's high command announced that it abandoned the village of Tchepone, supposedly the main target of the invasion, on March 12, under pressure from the national liberation forces.

"The South Vietnamese were said to have made the moves in the Tchepone River valley, the allies' principal line of air and ground communication into Laos, to avoid becoming hemmed in by a superior North Vietnamese force and to try to counter an apparent enemy move against Route 9, the supply route to the border," *New York Times* correspondent Iver Peterson cabled from Saigon March 14. This military supply line, a Thieu government spokesman told Peterson, is not "necessarily open to traffic all the time."

Heavy losses of U. S. helicopters (fifty-two admitted downed so far) supplying the Saigon troops seemed to have increased the puppet military forces' preoccupation with their overland route: "The road is expected to become increasingly important to the Laotian campaign," Peterson reported, "as bad weather begins to limit helicopter activity. Moreover, American aviation experts have expressed fears that helicopters deployed in the campaign are carrying too great a share of the supply job, and have been urging that surface supply methods be developed."

Since the Saigon incursion seems clearly a military failure, what is the purpose of projecting further such operations?

Former U. S. ambassador to Saigon General Maxwell Taylor seemed to suggest an answer in an article in the March 10 issue of the *New York Times* that urged all politicians to "unite on 'Vietnamization.'"

"The uncertainties about Cambodia, Laos and our prisoners of war are with us regardless of what course we elect to pursue. Under any circumstances, Hanoi will try to use our prisoners to extract some kind of ransom. To be prepared for such tactics we need a posture of increased strength derived from South Vietnamese military superiority over the North and a strong U. S. strategic reserve

outside Vietnam ready for contingencies."

With the military and political position of the U. S. and its clients deteriorating throughout Indochina, Washington seems to have decided to use its puppet forces as a pawn in a series of massive armed diversions. In this way, Washington may hope, the Chinese bureaucracy in particular can be frightened by the increasing threat of wider war and forced to pressure the national libera-

tion forces to make dangerous concessions to the U. S.-backed regimes.

If this is Nixon's strategy, and it is hard to see what else "Vietnamization" can mean, he is playing a dangerous game and one which the American people will not support. Even before the Chinese warning, a Gallup poll in late February showed that a majority of Americans opposed the invasion of Laos. That opposition can only increase with the growing recognition of the hazards involved. □

Demand Hard Line Against Students

Turkish Generals Fire Demirel

Apparently worried by the failure of the civilian government to suppress a powerful student radicalization, the Turkish military moved on March 12 to oust the regime of Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel.

Four high officers demanded that Demirel resign or else face a military takeover. After a three-hour cabinet meeting, Demirel submitted his resignation to President Cevdet Sunay. Sunay will now ask someone acceptable to the military to form a new government.

The coup came in the wake of student mass actions and police attacks on the student movement.

On February 19, a police invasion of Hacettepe Medical University resulted in an all-night battle, during which over 220 students were arrested. During the first week of March the government sent both the police and the army onto the campus of the Middle East Technical University during a search for four American airmen kidnapped by the Turkish People's Liberation Army. The students resisted and three people were killed in shoot-outs between the students and the army and police.

The Turkish army has given several previous warnings that it would act to prevent the spread of the student radicalization into other sectors of the population. A March 12 Associated Press report said: "Fear has been expressed that the disruptions might spread to the large Kurdish population in the east." The Kurds are an oppressed national minority living in Turkey, Iraq, and Iran.

The *New York Times* of March 13 reported that the generals gave the following reason for dumping Demirel: "The continuing attitude and behavior of the Parliament and Government has pushed our country to anarchy, fratricide, and social unrest." The generals demanded the formation of a new regime acceptable to the military. "If this is not speedily realized," they warned, "the Turkish armed forces are determined to seize power to protect the Turkish Republic as is their duty according to law."

There were four signers of the ultimatum: Gen. Memduh Tagmac, chief of the general staff; Gen. Muhsin Batur, air force commander; Gen. Faruk Gurler, army commander; and Admiral Celal Eyceoglu, navy commander.

John Cooley, writing in the March 13 *Christian Science Monitor*, reported that political observers believe General Gurler to be the prime mover and power figure in the de facto junta. Gurler "was trained in the United States, Britain, and Italy and is well known to American and other NATO staff officers, who have worked with him in affairs of the NATO alliance." □

Probably Right the First Time

"Antara, the official Indonesian news agency, is notorious for its slips. Recently it reached new heights when it reported that Information Minister Budiardjo had 'called for fresh vigour to dedicate oneself more to God, the Netherlands . . .'. The Freudian slip was corrected the next day with the note: 'Please read . . . to dedicate oneself more to God, the motherland . . .'. — *Far Eastern Economic Review*, March 6, 1971.

Defendants Muzzled in Prague Trial

The trial of nineteen persons accused of "Trotskyist activities" resumed Friday March 5 in Prague. Hearings had been halted four days earlier when the principal defendant, Peter Uhl, challenged the impartiality of the court. In the name of all the defendants, accused of being members of the Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Revolutionary Socialist Party, Uhl demanded that judicial authorities answer four questions:

(1) Had the panel of judges trying this case participated in the purge trials of the 1950s? (2) Had the judges been in contact with other government bodies besides the judiciary, such as the police and military security? (3) Were the sitting judges members of the Czechoslovak Communist party and thus obliged to follow its directives? (4) Were the judges members of other organizations parallel to the party and did they exercise nonjudicial functions?

Only the chief justice of the Czechoslovak Supreme Court is competent by law to answer such a challenge to judicial impartiality. His reply was not reported.

As the hearings resumed the defendants continued to ask embarrassing questions. The Stalinist authorities also helped to expose themselves, becoming entrapped in the contradictions and outrages of their frame-up.

The first of the defendants to testify in the reopened hearings, Jan Frolik, demanded that the judges recognize the political character of the trial.

The charges listed in the indictment are that the defendants published and circulated "ultraleft" propaganda and participated in a demonstration in August 1969 against the Soviet military occupation. Despite this, the prosecution claims that the trial is not political because the accused are being tried for their acts and not for their beliefs.

"Our acts were dictated by our opinions and our opinions expressed in acts," Frolik said, according to *Le Monde* of March 7-8. "You cannot separate the one from the other. They form a whole."

Frolik, a twenty-three-year-old student, the Paris daily continued, openly

declared that he had taken part in the political activities mentioned in the indictment. But he rejected the charge that the aim of this activity was to "undermine" socialism. "Never in our discussions," he said, "did we consider the possibility of a capitalist restoration. To the contrary, our sole objective was to advance socialism. Our criticisms were not directed against the socialist system but against certain actions and certain methods."

In the second session Monday, March 8, the judges refused to allow further testimony of this type. Schwartz, Petr Uhl's lawyer, was prevented from asking the defendant Petruska Sustrova—who gave evidence on the activities of the rest of the group—if the idea of restoring capitalism ever came up in the discussions of the young anti-Stalinists. Silenced by the judge, Schwartz made a vigorous protest, which, again, must be ruled on by the chief justice of the Supreme Court.

When the prosecution introduced evidence that a member of the group had a copy of Milovan Djilas' book *The New Class*, presumably trying to prove by this that the young revolutionist held antisocialist views, part of the defendant's reply was omitted from the record. In dictating to the court recorder, the March 7-8 issue of *Le Monde* noted, Judge Zelenka left out the part where the accused said he borrowed the book in question legally from the library of the History of Socialism Institute, which was closed during the "normalization."

As the testimony proceeded, it was revealed that the government's case rested primarily on the report of an agent provocateur, a certain Cechal.

Cechal joined the group in the fall of 1969, when the youths were beginning to prepare for a celebration of the first anniversary of Jan Palach's protest suicide, which occurred January 16, 1969.

The informer, defendant Pavel Lukacovic said, encouraged the rest of the group, mainly students, to involve workers in their demonstration. Since Cechal was a trade-union representative at the Kladno foundries, the others gave him two separate drafts of

a proposed leaflet to be handed out at the demonstration for him to study. Neither draft had been approved. A few days later, copies of one of the drafts began appearing in Prague.

This development, Cechal told the group, indicated that there was a traitor in the organization. He proposed to find the guilty member and "physically liquidate him." The group rejected this suggestion. Cechal proposed that the organization turn to "conspiratorial work." This proposal was also rejected.

At its next meeting the organization decided to dissolve. Cechal opposed this decision, recommending that the group continue its activities. He had already sent his report to the secret police. A few days later the arrests began.

During the hearings, Petruska Sustrova was questioned about her deposition relating to her fellow defendants. Sustrova, the twenty-three-year-old mother of a small baby, explained that the police promised that they would release her if she testified about the rest of the group. Next they promised her her freedom if she would persuade her fiancé Vavrinec Korcis to give himself up to the authorities. He turned himself in, but Sustrova was not released.

The pressures the secret police could bring to bear on the young mother of an infant child may easily be imagined. In the mass purge trials of the 1950s, the families of the victims, even their small children, were treated as criminals.

In a Dutch television interview filmed in August 1970, Jan and Karl, two sons of Ota Sling, one of the defendants in the Slansky trials, described their experience in the purges. (See "Czechoslovakia Today—An Interview in Prague," *Intercontinental Press*, February 15, 1971, p. 140, for an English translation of the interview.)

Ota Sling was hanged as a "Zionist." His wife was also jailed. His sons were sent to special orphanages, which they described as "children's prisons." Jan and Karl were denied the right

to higher education and the better jobs. They were even forced to change their names because the bureaucratic bosses decreed that the "Zionist" name Sling was to be "eradicated."

But the name "Sling" has come back to haunt the shaky Stalinist bureaucracy, propped up by hundreds of thousands of troops sent in by the Kremlin. Karl and Jan Sling, along with the sons of Rudolf Slansky himself, the chief scapegoat of the Stalinist purges, joined the supporters of the nineteen alleged Trotskyists in the corridors outside the courtroom. The group demanded to be let in to witness the Stalinist legal farce.

"Monday morning [March 8], sever-

al lawyers protested the presiding judge's refusal to admit the public," the March 10 issue of *Le Monde* reported. "The judge replied that if all those who held entry tickets were allowed in, 'the courtroom would overflow.' When this answer was relayed to the friends of the accused waiting in the corridor, it provoked general hilarity."

The fact that the children of the purge victims, together with the supporters of young revolutionists fighting for workers democracy, could mock Stalinist hangmen in their own court building confirmed what the hearings themselves indicated. The time is long gone when all-powerful

prosecutors could trumpet anathemas against the victims of the bureaucracy, certain that these would be echoed by Stalinist parties around the world. Today, only the most degenerate pro-Moscow sects would dare defend the persecution of the young socialists in Prague.

Apparently embarrassed, the "normalized" Stalinist regime in Prague seems to want to keep the trial as inconspicuous as possible. So far, the behavior of the Czechoslovak authorities suggests a new vulnerability to public opinion in the Stalinist apparatus. Widespread protests and publicity may force it to release its grip on its intended young victims. □

'Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!'

New York Pickets Defend Prague Nineteen

"Stop the trial now! Free the Prague nineteen!" was the message shouted by demonstrators in front of the Czechoslovak mission in New York City March 11. Some forty persons took part in the picket line demanding an end to the prosecution of nineteen "Trotskyites" being tried in Prague.

The pickets carried signs in English and Czech demanding "Free Expression for All Socialist Views," "Stop the Trial," "Bureaucracy, No! Socialism, Yes!" and "Free the Prague 19."

Leaflets distributed to passersby explained the purpose of the demonstration:

"We protest the political trial now going on in Czechoslovakia. Nineteen people, mostly students and young workers, have been charged by the Husak regime with the 'crime' of being 'Trotskyites.' 'Trotskyite' is used by the Czech government leaders as an epithet referring to anyone opposing the present regime."

The demonstration was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Free the Prague Nineteen. The committee's initial sponsors include a broad representation of well-known civil libertarian and left figures as well as leaders of the antiwar and other mass movements. Some of the sponsors are:

Irving Beinin of the New York weekly *Guardian*; Clara deMiha of the Jeanette Rankin Brigade; Ruth Gage-Colby, a coordinator of the National

Peace Action Coalition; Isa Hanna of the New York University Organization of Arab Students; Mary Kochiyama of Asian Americans for Action; Nan Maglin of New University Conference; Donald R. Makuen, dean of Manhattan Community College; Raymond Markey, chairman of the political action committee of AFSCME [American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees] local 1930; Dave McReynolds, cosecretary of the War Resisters League; Joanna Misnik of the Young Socialist Alliance; Marxist scholar George Novack of the Socialist Workers party; and Paul Sweezy, editor of the socialist journal *Monthly Review*.

The committee's leaflet outlined the charges against the Prague defendants and explained the significance of the case:

"This trial exemplifies the repressive atmosphere prevailing in Czechoslovakia since the 1968 Soviet invasion. If the Husak regime is successful in convicting and imprisoning the 19, it will continue to stage such trials against the other socialist opponents of the present Czech rulers.

"While we may not agree with all the views of the accused students and workers, we support the right of all socialist views to be freely heard. We demand their immediate release and the dropping of all charges against them. We are joined in this demand

by many figures from the progressive and revolutionary movements around the world."

Joanna Misnik attempted to deliver the committee's statement to the mission, but the bureaucrats inside were not answering their door that day. She reported earlier the mission's third secretary had invited her to lunch so that he could explain the trial of the young revolutionaries. The invitation was withdrawn when he was informed that it would not result in the picket being canceled. □

Nine Sentenced in Trinidad

"Three officers and six soldiers have been sentenced to prison terms of two to twenty years for taking part in the Black Power rebellion April 21, 1970," according to an Agence France-Presse report in *Le Monde* of March 5.

The nine were arrested when the Eric Williams regime crushed an army revolt opposing suppression of mass demonstrations against foreign control of the island republic's banks, businesses, and government.

During the crisis, the U.S. government stationed ships carrying 2,000 Marines off the coast of Trinidad, ready to intervene if Williams failed to quell the protests. (See "The Revolt in Trinidad," *Intercontinental Press*, May 4, 1970, p. 396.)

A pamphlet, *The Civil Wrongs of Irishwomen*, has been published by the women's liberation movement in Dublin.

Ultraleftists Split from Ligue Communiste

By Daniel Bensaid

"The minority tendency of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International), the Trotskyist organization led by Alain Krivine, has announced its decision to leave this organization," the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported February 21-22. "The minority took with them between 200 and 300 members (primarily students from Censier and high-school students from the schools in the south of Paris) out of the membership of 1,200 that this party claims in the capital city."

[*Le Monde* noted that the splitting group had existed as a minority in the Ligue Communiste since the founding congress of the organization in April 1969, when the faction had opposed the new formation adhering to the Fourth International. "This tendency has persisted more or less continuously," the Paris daily continued. "Some of its leaders are attracted today by certain features of the 'spontanéist' current."

[The minority made their intention to split clear, *Le Monde* indicated, at a February 13 meeting of the Ligue Communiste Central Committee, where the majority accused them of preparing to set up a new organization. The Groupe 66 in Marseilles and the current around the publication *La Voie* had reportedly joined with the Ligue Communiste minority in planning to create a new formation.

[At a general assembly of the Paris cells of the Ligue Communiste February 13, "the minority walked out, singing the 'International,'" according to *Le Monde*. "They have announced that they will bring out a journal next week and form a new revolutionary organization 'with the aim of continuing the struggle to build a revolutionary party.'"

[On February 24, Henri Maller and Isaac Joshua, leaders of the former minority, held a press conference at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris. They announced that they had just established a new movement called "Révolution" and a monthly journal of the same name.

[In their press conference, according

to *Le Monde* of February 26, the leaders of the split-off group raised two criticisms of the Ligue Communiste. They accused the organization's leaders of using "bureaucratic methods" and taking an "abstentionist attitude" toward the February 9 demonstration of Secours Rouge [Red Aid, a far-left united front against repression] in the Place Clichy. The ex-minority leaders also expressed opposition to the Ligue Communiste position of recommending a vote for Communist party candidates in the runoff balloting to follow the upcoming municipal elections. "There is no freedom of expression for the revolutionary movements in Communist party-run municipalities," the *Révolution* spokesman declared.

[The ex-minority leaders expressed rather vague and ambiguous support for Trotskyist ideas in general, *Le Monde* wrote, as well a predilection for the rhetoric of Maoism. "The members of *Révolution* claim to base themselves on Trotskyism as the first manifestation of revolt against Stalinism but consider the analyses of the Fourth International 'outdated.'

"While they do not believe that Mao Tsetung Thought offers an overall strategy, they support the Chinese cultural revolution."

[We have translated the following article, which comments on the split, from the March 1 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste.]

* * *

The Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste has found itself in possession of documents reporting contacts between the leadership of the minority tendency and other groups with the aim of forming a new organization in the fall. The documents also noted that the minority tendency has held joint educational conferences with other European groups.

This is splitting activity and a violation of the discipline of the Fourth International. It is an attempt to prepare a split inasmuch as its objective is not helping to formulate the line

of the organization but to destroy this organization to found another. It is a violation of discipline inasmuch as these comrades chose to collaborate on a preferential basis with certain European groups behind the backs of the sections of the Fourth International that now exist or are being built in these same countries. They showed no concern for the work of these sections or their future. That is, the minority chose to consider it more profitable to work with forces rival or in open political opposition to comrades collaborating with us in the same international organization. This is a strange kind of internationalism, to say the least, where revolutionary loyalty has no place.

The Central Committee of the Ligue Communiste scrupulously avoided using any police-type procedures. It did not try to find out which comrades wrote the incriminating documents or which comrades participated in the factional schools and conferences. It simply asked all members of the organization to declare their opposition to the split perspective implied by the documents and thus to affirm their desire to participate in collective debate to solve the problems and perfect the orientation of one organization, the Ligue Communiste, the French section of the Fourth International.

Thus, the Central Committee did not ask any comrades to renounce their differences, their criticisms, or their opposition on any question. It asked only that members of the organization declare their position as to the conditions and framework of democratic discussion among activists. This is what the minority comrades refused to do by walking out of the general assembly and resuming their previous splitting activity.

We have no intention of making any moralizing criticism of the attitude of comrades, of accusing them of any dishonesty in their actions. If they are convinced that they are right, that they are acting for the good of the revolution, and if, on the other hand, they are convinced that the Ligue Communiste has become an ob-

stacle to the revolution, or at best a useless, spoiled instrument, any means would be justified to free the best energies of revolutionists from this dead shell. *However, this would be true only if in this struggle they educated the militants following them.*

When constructing a new organization is projected it means that the old one is considered definitively and irremediably corrupt and degenerated. That is, the process of degeneration has culminated in final collapse. This was the position Lenin took on the Second International after the vote on war credits in 1914; it was Trotsky's position on the Third International after the advent of Nazism in Germany and the defeat of the German CP.

If the minority comrades thought that the Ligue Communiste had gone over the brink, they should not have concealed this from the membership. They should not have rested content for more than a year with conducting a skirmishing campaign, using buttoned foils. They should not have side-stepped debates on fundamental questions like the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist Party]. To the contrary, they should have raised loud protests, said where, when, and why the Ligue Communiste became hopelessly degenerated. They should have roused the entire organization when the question was acute. But maneuvering in a hopelessly corrupt organization in the midst of a period when the vanguard is reconstituting itself, when entryism even in mass workers parties is violently denounced by the minority comrades, is inexplicable behavior.

The fact is that in any case their arguments are insufficient. Even if the leadership of the Ligue Communiste were right-wing and bureaucratized, the minority would have to explain why, in a period when the revolution is on the rise internationally, a sound, revolutionary leadership could not be established. Internal documents are circulating, and speakers as well. Are the rank and file masochists, or do they have a preference for bureaucracy? None of the factors that explain the existence of bureaucracy in workers parties (mutually isolated cells, lack of time on the part of members, a low political level) operate in a small organization that meets in frequent national conferences and general assemblies. Or did the minority feel incapable of conducting a real

political debate to persuade the organization to accept its line, and incapable of competing for leadership?

It is true that the central nucleus of the minority did not participate in the formation of the left faction in the UEC [Union des Etudiants Communistes—Union of Communist Students, the CP campus organization] nor in the initial work of building the JCR [Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Communist Youth, the organization that emerged when the left faction was expelled from the UEC], nor in the leadership of the Ligue Communiste itself at the time when it devoted itself almost entirely to tendency debate. As a result the leading nucleus of the minority has neither much experience nor much credit in the matter of building an organization.

Finally, the minority would still have to explain why the hopelessly degenerated Ligue Communiste finds itself raised to the top of the wave in real mass mobilizations. Why was it the Ligue Communiste that gave impetus to the Burgos campaign inside Secours Rouge, thereby giving this agitation its mass character? Why, moreover, was it the Ligue Communiste that inspired the student strike, that threw all its forces against every other far-left organization in organizing the demonstration at the Lycée Chaptal? Why has the Ligue Communiste for several months conducted the most effective struggle against fascism? . . .

These are the things that should have been explained to the membership. But instead the minority concealed its views in debate. It appealed to outside forces, principally student groups, to put pressure on the organization. It presented a list of nit-picking criticisms which at most could have demonstrated the failure of the present leaders but not of the entire organization. It would have been more profitable for the minority comrades destined to form a new organization to address themselves to these questions . . . and more profitable as well for those supporters of the majority who, according to the minority itself, are still salvageable.

For our part, we do not regard this paltry and pathetic split, without verve or spirit, as a mere youthful error or indiscretion.

At the first congress of the Ligue, the leaders of the minority showed their reluctance to draw a firm rev-

olutionary line against student pressures and the post-May spontanéist euphoria, as well as its loathness to take up the Trotskyist tradition of struggle against Stalinism.

Subsequently, as our activity shifted toward the factories, the minority leaders more and more clearly expressed their fear of throwing themselves into the organized working-class movement, of fighting to win the masses of workers away from the reformist leaderships, their fear of getting their hands dirty and compromising themselves in this battle. Parallel to this, they declared their preference for autonomous working-class groups, "committees of the unionized and nonunionized," which were not conceived as possible transitional groupings but as permanent instruments of industrial work.

Timidity in organizing the vanguard, hesitation in the face of mass work—these are the two faces of centrism in our time.

Today, the minority comrades have chosen the discipline of Secours Rouge, a vanguard grouping and not a mass working-class organization, *against* the discipline of the revolutionary organization. And they have done this when the "representativeness" of the Comité d'Initiative [Steering Committee, the leading body of the Secours Rouge] is known to all . . .

In our view, this wavering political attitude, without sinews or firmness, neither fish nor fowl, half hound and half hare, is the result of the pressure exerted by the mass of new intellectual and technical middle layers on a vanguard not yet emerged from the student ideology.

It does no good to affirm abstractly the decisive and leading role of the proletariat in the socialist revolution, if the purpose of this in practice is better to submerge the working class in an antimonopoly alliance, a new historic bloc, or a people's revolt, depending on which school you belong to. To prefer the discipline of Secours Rouge to that of the revolutionary organization and at the same time refuse to wage a resolute fight in the organized workers movement means blithely setting out on the road of petty-bourgeois centrism.

The fact that after the first congress a good part of the minority were able to find a place in the organization without difficulty and the fact that discussion is continuing after the split

indicate that tendency debate remains possible in the Ligue Communiste. In our opinion this reality represents a stunning refutation of the Stalinist arguments that tendencies are harmful

as well as a rebuke to Social Democratic practice of debate without discipline.

As for those who have left, two roads are open to them besides "Trot-

sko-spontanéist" degeneration. They may become a critical satellite of the Ligue, or some (we hope) may return to the organization. They are facing a crossroads. History will decide. □

An Insider Gives His View

Behind Nixon's Indochina Escalation

By Allen Myers

"I must say that without television it might have been difficult to get people to understand a thing."

"I am certain a Gallup poll would show that the great majority of the people would want to pull out of Vietnam."—Richard Nixon, March 9, 1971.

While he was on the subject, Nixon could have mentioned the Gallup poll released March 6. It showed that—despite television—69 percent of the American public believed Nixon was not telling them the truth about the Indochina war.

Nixon's credibility is not going to be helped any by Daniel Ellsberg's article in the March 11 issue of the *New York Review of Books*: "Laos: What Nixon Is Up To." Ellsberg is well qualified to provide a certain insight into what Nixon is trying to do in Southeast Asia. He spent eight years as a "strategic analyst" for the RAND Corporation, the air force think-tank in California; worked three years for the Defense and State Departments on Vietnam problems; and during the first months of the Nixon administration was a consultant on "Vietnam options" to Henry Kissinger, Nixon's top advisor.

When someone with Ellsberg's background writes an article with such a title, we cannot, of course, expect that he is going to tell his readers why American imperialism feels it necessary to hang on to Southeast Asia. But what he does provide is an analysis of the strategy Nixon is following in his attempt to hold on.

Ellsberg writes because he doesn't think the strategy will work, at least not at an acceptable price.

He sees Nixon as motivated in Indochina by two factors. One is per-

sonal political ambition:

"For twenty years—since the 'fall of China' and the rise of McCarthy—Rule 1 of Indochina policy for an American President has been: Do not lose the rest of Vietnam to communism before the next election." (But, Ellsberg adds, "there was also Rule 2, learned shortly thereafter, in Korea: Do not fight a land war in Asia with US ground combat troops either.")

"Like Kennedy and Johnson before him, Richard Nixon believes he cannot hold the White House for a second term unless he holds Saigon through his first."

The other factor, Ellsberg writes, is not quite so parochial:

"There is good evidence that the President is, even more than his predecessors, a 'true believer' in the cold war premises they all shared, including that of the importance of maintaining US power in Asia, showing strength to the Russians and Chinese, containing communism—monolithic or not—and avoiding the reverberating damage of a US failure or humiliation."

Or, translated out of the language of State Department liberalism, maintaining and, if possible, expanding the area of the world available for capitalist exploitation.

What this has meant concretely for the White House, according to Ellsberg, has been "acting . . . to achieve both an indefinite fighting stalemate in Vietnam and support for such a stalemate in the US."

"Vietnamization" has never been taken seriously even by Nixon himself. Ellsberg discloses the evaluation of the Vietnam situation made by the Pentagon in 1969 at the time Nixon concocted the "Vietnamization" slogan:

"US military advisers held out no

hope whatever that Saigon could be held with any assurance for three years, or even one year, if no US military personnel remained in South Vietnam. No foreseeable improvement in ARVN [Army of the Republic of Vietnam], or amount of US aid, including air support, would prop up Saigon reliably in the face of North Vietnamese forces if all our troops went home. Both US troops and airpower were needed, in sizable amounts, for years, perhaps indefinitely." (Emphasis in original.)

Top U.S. military leaders, according to Ellsberg, have always maintained that holding Saigon "with reasonable assurance and with adequate safety" will require a minimum of 200,000 U.S. troops indefinitely stationed in the country. He regards the figure as inflated, but not extremely so:

". . . the semi-permanent minimum may well turn out to be not much lower than 100,000 for the end of 1972 and after. It is more likely to prove higher; and it will almost certainly not be less than half that figure, long after 1972."

Since Ellsberg wrote, his figures have been confirmed by Pentagon budget estimates. William Beecher reported in the March 7 *New York Times* that the Defense Department was planning to have 150,000 troops in Vietnam during the summer of 1972 and 50,000 one year later.

Nixon apparently believes that a troop level in this range will relieve the pressure from the American people, who, as he acknowledges, want to get out of Indochina.

The problem, from Nixon's standpoint, is that 50,000 or even 150,000 troops may prove insufficient to ac-

comply with the military task assigned them.

There is already little more that can be done in the way of expanding the Saigon dictatorship's conscript army. C. L. Sulzberger noted in the March 5 *New York Times*:

"About 2,000,000 South Vietnamese in various categories now carry arms. South Vietnam has more helicopters than any of our European allies in NATO."

Those 2,000,000 in arms constitute one out of every nine men, women, and children in all of South Vietnam. And Saigon is a long way from controlling the entire country.

Sulzberger continued by posing the crucial question: "The test is whether this impressive organization is able to stand on its own feet."

In fact, however, Saigon's army has consistently proved unable to pass any but the most simple tests and even then only when backed by massive U. S. air support.

Nixon's dilemma in this situation is, as Ellsberg puts it, to ". . . deter the North Vietnamese forces . . . from making embarrassing gains at will in Laos; or worse, from coming south to overpower ARVN; or worst of all, attacking the reduced US units, either destroying them or forcing them home . . ."

Nixon's solution, says Ellsberg, was "to restore and increase the threat of bombing the North." This is hardly a novel observation. What has escaped most commentators, however, is the explanation he offers as to *why* Nixon believes this solution will work:

"But how could Nixon and Kissinger believe, after the experience of the Sixties, that threats of massive bombing could solve their problems in Indochina? What could new threats promise now, when the *practice* of sustained bombing under Johnson had in fact failed to deter or physically to prevent even the Têt offensive?

"Nixon's answer was that the Democrats had moved too gradually and too predictably, and had never threatened or used *heavy enough* bombing." (Emphasis in original.)

To make his threats convincing to the Vietnamese, Nixon has to *show* that the American public will accept "a semi-permanent and geographical-ly extended war." Thus, Ellsberg argues, Nixon's repeated escalations of the war are only secondarily motivated by purely military considerations:

"In fact, tactical success is not what these initiatives are all about. Their real significance, in every case, is that they are concrete *warnings* to the Hanoi leadership, and to their Soviet and Chinese allies—violent warnings to back up verbal threats."

If the Indochinese peoples cannot be bludgeoned into a settlement on Nixon's terms by one escalation, there is always a larger one in reserve. The progressive escalations, Ellsberg writes, "point . . . toward the program that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff have urged *over the last decade* in the absence of a permanent and 'acceptable' settlement by Hanoi: the final destruction of 'the will and capability of North Vietnam to wage war.' Or to survive." (Emphasis in original.)

Such a perspective exposes the fraudulence of Nixon's simultaneous claim that "The war is trending down." To agree with the latter proposition, says Ellsberg, "is to *define* 'the war' narrowly as 'what is trending down': US ground troops, US casualties, budget costs. It is simply to ignore those aspects of the war that are 'trending up': US air operations and ground fighting outside South Vietnam, and the resulting deaths and casualties we are sponsoring in Laos and Cambodia."

Ellsberg indicates what Nixon's strategy of genocidal saturation bombing has already cost the populations of Indochina: 1,000,000 Cambodian refugees in the last nine months (out

of a population of 6,500,000), a *tripling* of the number of refugees in South Vietnam during Nixon's administration, a minimum of 120,000 South Vietnamese civilians killed during the same period.

Nixon is now extending the same slaughter into Laos:

"As in Cambodia, the first operations are in relatively unpopulated areas; and as in Cambodia, the North Vietnamese forces will most likely fight back in more heavily populated lowlands and against towns, where our bombers will seek them out. Then the refugees will come—many of them from areas where they have lived for years in the vicinity of Pathet Lao or North Vietnamese troops—to the fetid enclosures on the outskirts of towns that are not being bombed, leaving their dead behind them."

Ellsberg also describes the full measure of Nixon's concern for the human casualties of his latest escalation:

"What is Richard Nixon's best estimate of the number of Laotian people . . . that US firepower will kill in the next twelve months?

"*He does not have an estimate.* He has not asked Henry Kissinger for one, and Kissinger has not asked the Pentagon; and none of these officials has ever seen an answer, to this or any comparable question on the expected impact of war policy on human life. And none of them differs in this from his predecessors." (Emphasis in original.) □

Switzerland

Berne Sit-In Protests Prague Trial

Swiss revolutionists occupied the grounds of the Czechoslovak embassy in Berne February 28 to protest the trial of nineteen anti-Stalinists in Prague accused of disseminating Trotskyist ideas.

A correspondent writing from Berne in the March 1 issue of the French Trotskyist weekly *Rouge* reported: "About fifty members of the Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire [Revolutionary Marxist League, an organization sympathizing with the Fourth International] sat in . . . under banners demanding 'Freedom for Petr Uhl and his Comrades,' and 'Freedom for the

Czechoslovak Revolutionary Militants.'

"The demonstrators distributed a leaflet in French, German, and Czech explaining the reasons for the trial against our Prague comrades and summarizing their program. Participants in the action explained to the journalists present the meaning of their demonstration of solidarity with the Czechoslovak revolutionists.

"This militant demonstration of internationalism was the kickoff to a more extensive campaign our organization intends to wage on this issue in all areas of its activity." □

Mounting Labor Support for April 24

By Howard Wallace

The April 24 mass demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Indochina, to be held in Washington and San Francisco, are receiving unprecedented support from the organized labor movement. Moreover, it is a tangible support going far beyond the level of formal endorsement.

An example of labor's active opposition to the war is given in the latest issue of the UAW [United Auto Workers] newsletter for region 6, which comprises nine Western states. It reports:

"Delegates to the Western Region 6 Community Action Program (CAP) conference in Sacramento voted March 3 to support and participate in the April 24 Peace March and Rally to be held in San Francisco and Washington, D. C., and instructed CAP officers to help organize UAW membership support."

CAP is the political arm of the UAW, the equivalent of the AFL-CIO's COPE [Committee on Political Education]. The newsletter goes on to say:

"UAW President Leonard Woodcock, in Sacramento for the CAP and Region 6 conferences, was in attendance at the session. Said Woodcock regarding support of the National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC] march: 'Amen!' Endorsement by Council delegates was unanimous."

It is not surprising that the most impressive opposition to the war is shown by unions outside the AFL-CIO, where president George Meany's tight grip and hawkish stance have kept many unions in line behind Nixon's policy. In addition to the UAW, support for April 24 is coming from Teamster rank-and-filers and other forces outside the AFL-CIO.

However, important new breaks in Meany's grip have occurred within the federation. For example, Amalgamated Clothing Workers local 42 in Oakland, California, unanimously passed a resolution in support of April 24. Likewise, the entire State Federation of Teachers in California has elected a delegate to NPAC to work on building the march.

Painters local 4, which represents

some 3,000-4,000 San Francisco Bay area painters, has endorsed the April 24 demonstration. Endorsement has also come from:

Tim Twomey, vice-president of the San Francisco Labor Council; Robert Lenihan, regional director, National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians; Art Carter, secretary-treasurer of the Contra Costa Labor Council; Jake Jacobs, president, Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers local 1-5, AFL-CIO; United Electrical Workers [UE] district councils 1 and 7; Paul Chown, international representative of UE in Berkeley; and Paul Schrade, western director, UAW.

Several area labor councils in Cal-

Greece

Senate Report Doubts Junta 'Was Sincere'

Two staff members of the U. S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee have submitted a report claiming that the State Department has been too credulous about the Greek junta's promises to restore constitutional democracy. The report, according to a March 5 *New York Times* article by John W. Finney, said: "The [U. S.] embassy [in Athens] appears to have operated on the assumption that the regime was sincere in its declared intention to return to parliamentary government" by the end of 1970.

The report further charged that the embassy "appears to be more concerned with the regime's 'image' than with the substance of its actions."

One example of a projunta attitude on the part of Washington mentioned in the report is a fact sheet released by the State Department which claims that "with minor exceptions, all institutional laws necessary to put into force the Constitution were promulgated by the end of 1970 as pledged by the Greek Government."

The report said that in reality "the Constitution is by no means yet in

ifornia have requested NPAC speakers. A San Francisco local of the International Association of Machinists is considering endorsement and is expected to support the demonstration.

NPAC also has speaking engagements before the Building and Construction Trades Council, the "hard hats."

Art professors who are members of the American Federation of Teachers are preparing posters directed at union members to be displayed in union and hiring halls. A San Francisco television station has expressed interest in showing these posters on the air and in filming a union meeting at which the members vote to support the demonstration.

NPAC representatives are holding meetings with UAW officials to coordinate plans on a regional basis. The officials assure NPAC coordinators that the demonstration will have a UAW contingent marching under its own banners. □

effect; elections have not been scheduled or even promised and martial law is still in effect superseding the guarantees of due process for which the Constitution provides."

The authors of the report, James G. Lowenstein and Richard M. Moose, charged that they were followed by Greek plainclothes policemen during the last three days of their week-long stay in Greece, after they had talked to opposition leaders. □

Kuwait Bails Out Hussein

Sheik Sabah as-Sabah as-Sabah, ruler of Kuwait, has resumed payment of Kuwait's \$45,000,000 per year subsidy to King Hussein's Jordanian regime. The subsidy was first suspended in September following Hussein's attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement. In mid-November the subsidy was resumed; and in January, after further fighting between the Palestinians and the Jordanian government, it was suspended again.

The latest resumption was the result of a personal appeal to as-Sabah from Hussein, who said that if the subsidy were not immediately resumed, Jordan would have to reduce its armed forces.

Nixon Pays Off the 'Hard Hats'

Nixon's claim in 1970 that a "silent majority" in the United States supported his war of aggression in Southeast Asia rested in large part on his assertion that the organized working class was prowar. The "evidence" most frequently cited for this contention has been the attack by several hundred construction workers on a group of antiwar youths in New York City on May 8, 1970.

It was revealed after this clash that union leaders put heavy pressure on the rank-and-file "hard-hats" to participate in the foray; contractors paid bonuses and gave time off to the "pro-war" workers, and the actual assault was led by professional ultrarightist organizers.

Now Nixon has paid off the union officials who conspired to provide him with such a valuable piece of propaganda.

In late February Nixon suspended the Davis-Bacon Act (passed in 1931), which required contractors on federal projects to pay "prevailing" wage rates. After suspension of the act, contractors may negotiate contracts with union or nonunion workers without paying union scale wages.

A report by Robert L. Tomasson in the March 7 *New York Times* quotes several building trades union members and officials reacting to Nixon's action:

Jack Wood, secretary-manager of the Detroit Building Trades Council, called it "a blatant antilabor move that will have no effect whatsoever on combatting inflation."

Peter J. Brennan, president of the New York Building and Construction Trades Council and chief organizer of the prowar labor demonstration of May 1970, also accused Nixon of "union busting."

Bill Healy, a union member for twenty-two years in Los Angeles, was more explicit. He is quoted as saying that Nixon "is picking on unions when he should go after big business, banks and loan companies who are driving construction costs up with their high interest rates."

John Zancanaro, president of the Milwaukee Building and Construction

Trades Council, stated: "It's been obvious that construction workers have supported the President since the days of the street demonstrations. Now with these latest moves he's had it."

It is difficult to give credence to the

Australia

Gorton Forced Out as Prime Minister

John Grey Gorton was deposed as prime minister of Australia March 10. In an ironic touch, he was forced to cast the deciding vote against himself.

Gorton's political demise stemmed immediately from a dispute with his defense minister, Malcolm Fraser. Their differences were not over principles—always in short supply in any bourgeois cabinet—but were caused by Gorton's fears of his underling's ambitions.

Fraser had become embroiled in a fight with the chiefs of the army, who had phased out the Australian "civic action" program in Vietnam. The defense minister was upset not so much by the action as by the fact that the press had been told before he had.

Gorton apparently decided the quarrel could be used to rid himself of Fraser. In the middle of the controversy, a journalist named Alan Ramsey reported in the daily *Australian* that the army chief of staff had accused Fraser of "extreme disloyalty" (not to Australian capitalism, but to him). Gorton issued a denial, but it was later revealed that Gorton had seen the article beforehand and had refused comment, thus in effect encouraging Ramsey to publish it.

Fraser then resigned in a huff, charging that Gorton was "not fit to hold the great office of prime minister."

The Liberal party, the senior partner in the ruling coalition, seized on the dispute as an excuse to rid itself of a leadership that has been losing ground to the opposition Labor party in every election since 1969.

At a Liberal party caucus March 10, a confidence vote on the Gorton leadership was tied, 33-33. Gorton, recognizing the trend, then cast the deciding vote against himself. He was rewarded with the post of defense minister by the new prime minister, William McMahon.

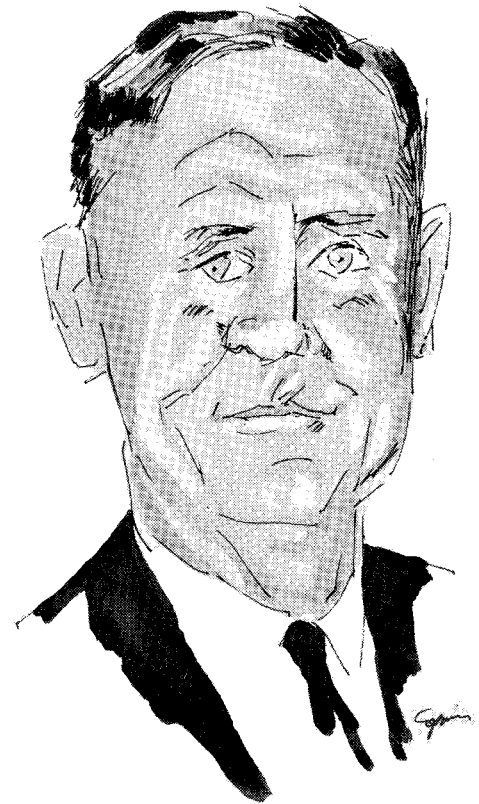
McMahon immediately made it clear that his administration would continue

possibility that Nixon's payoff could have been unexpected even for the ossified councils of the building trades unions.

There have been proposals in one union to raise a fund to promote Nixon's defeat in the next presidential election in 1972—by backing the Democratic party candidate. Answering Nixon's "betrayal" by throwing support to the other wing of the capitalist two-party system—the bureaucrats' stock solution—can be expected to lead to more of the same. □

the policies of his predecessor, including slavish support for, and participation in, the U. S. destruction of Indochina.

The definitive word on the whole affair



GORTON: Loses confidence of Gorton.

was offered by reporter Ramsey during the parliamentary debate. As Gorton was speaking, Ramsey shouted at him from the press gallery, "You liar!" As a reward for this comment on bourgeois politics, Ramsey was promptly ejected from the building. □

Pentagon Has Dossiers on 25,000,000 in U.S.

By Jon Rothschild

If you are a resident of the United States, there is a one-in-eight chance that the Defense Department has a file on you, containing your name, sex, place of birth, and a reference to a dossier containing other information. Assistant Defense Secretary Robert J. Froehlke, testifying at hearings being held by the Senate Constitutional Rights Subcommittee, said that the Defense Department has such files on 25,000,000 Americans.

The Defense Central Index of Investigation [DCII], established in 1965, is the central file for "counter-intelligence" and criminal investigation for the Defense Department.

John Hall, in the *Washington Post* of March 3, quotes Froehlke's testimony: "The DCII contains about 25 million index cards on personalities and 760,000 cards on organizations and incidents. On an average day, 12,000 requests are processed and 20,000 additions, deletions and changes are made.

"The index has grown at a rate of 2,500,000 annually but is expected to level off this year."

The extent of military snooping in the U. S. has been revealed by the Senate hearings to be far greater than at first supposed. The initial disclosures, made last December 16 by Senator Sam Ervin, charged the army with spying on merely 800 civilians in the state of Illinois.

The legislators show little concern over the revelations. The most radical proposal advanced so far has been to put this showpiece of American democracy under "civilian" control and exempt legislators from surveillance.

The Pentagon responded with a new directive that prohibits surveillance of "federal, state or local officials, or of candidates for such offices."

Further, the Pentagon designated a "task force" to reform the spy system. However, Hall quotes one former undercover agent, Edward D. Sohler, a member of the task force last year, as saying that its main function was "lying" to congressmen, newsmen, and others who inquired about intelligence activities.

The Pentagon's spy network is but the top of the surveillance iceberg. Ben A. Franklin reported in the *New York Times* of February 18 that Ogden Reid, a congressman from Westchester County, New York, has "disclosed that a total of 319 Government officials, including the leaders of 19 civilian agencies, were aware of the Army's broadly stated intention to spy and gather dossiers on law-abiding civilian activity." The 319 officials included the adjutants general of each of the fifty states.

Ogden said that the list of agencies that had received the army's surveillance plan in the spring of 1968 included, according to Franklin's report, "the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Treasury Department, the Justice Department, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Subversive Activities Control Board and the General Services Administration, among others."

Reid assumes that the "top people" in the agencies did not know about the plan, that it was begun and cleared by officials at the "lower level."

However, there is evidence to the contrary. Richard Halloran, in the March 3 *New York Times*, writes: "A senior Pentagon official asserted today [March 2] that the 'highest' officials of the Johnson Administration initiated Army surveillance of legitimate civilian political activity in 1967 and 1968 and were aware of many details of that operation as it expanded."

Reporting on Froehlke's testimony to the Senate subcommittee, Halloran says: "Although he mentioned no names, Mr. Froehlke's testimony clearly referred to Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Secretaries of Defense Robert S. McNamara and Clark Clifford, Secretary of the Army Stanley R. Resor, Deputy Attorney General Warren Christopher, Under Secretary of the Army David E. McGiffert and a special assistant to the President, Stephen Pollak.

"Mr. Froehlke, asked by a newsman to define the extent of President Johnson's involvement, said: 'I don't know. I didn't think it proper to carry my inquiries that far.'"

Froehlke also said that "the committees of the Congress were made aware of the military's participation in the collection of civil disturbance information."

Halloran says that Froehlke referred "specifically to a Senate Government Operations subcommittee session in April 1968, in which the Under Secretary of the Army, the Assistant Chief of Staff for intelligence, and the Attorney General were questioned on intelligence about the Poor People's March."

It should be noted that some of the individuals referred to were not only leading officials in the Johnson administration, but today pose as opponents of the war in Vietnam and sterling friends of civil liberties. The most glaring example is former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, now considered to be one of the key leaders of the liberal wing of the Democratic party.

Because of the widespread protest following the initial disclosures of the military spy network, the Nixon administration is making a few placating gestures. According to the February 25 *New York Times*, the Justice Department has taken over a large measure of domestic "intelligence" work. A Justice Department computer receives information from the FBI and ninety-three U. S. attorneys around the country. From this input, weekly descriptions of "potential civil disorders and other political information are printed" and forwarded to various government agencies. Also a "civilian" panel has been appointed by Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird to "direct, manage and inspect" domestic military intelligence. This watchdog panel consists of the under secretaries of the army, navy, and air force, in addition to the director of the Defense Intelligence agency. □

Unity Movement Is Target of Countrywide Raids

Leaders of the Unity Movement of South Africa, in exile in Lusaka, Zambia, have confirmed reports in the press that a number of well-known members of their organization were arrested by the Vorster government in sweeping raids February 10.

The arrests were made in Natal, Transvaal, Western Cape, and the Transkei provinces. The government has not revealed the reason for the raids and the arrests. Under the Terrorism Act no charges need be filed. The same law denies legal representation to defendants and permits the police to hold them indefinitely.

In a joint statement issued in Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam February 20, I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement of South Africa; Dr. A. I. Limbada, treasurer of the same organization; and N. Honono, president of the All-African Convention, reported that they had been able to ascertain the names of fourteen of the twenty or more said to have been thrown into prison.

A number of these had been living under bans or restrictions that would have made it impossible for them to engage in "subversive" activities.

The statement identifies the known names as follows:

"Mr. Leo Sihlali, former President of the Unity Movement and presently executive member of the Unity Movement of South Africa. He finished his term of imprisonment on Robben Island in 1969. He was picked up in the Transkei. He was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act when he was arrested. A teacher by profession, he was dismissed for opposing Bantu Education.

"Mr. Louis Mtshizana, a member of the Society of Young Africa (S. O. Y. A.), an affiliate of the Unity Movement, concluded his prison sentence in 1970. He too served in that notorious concentration camp—Robben Island. A lawyer by profession, Mr. Mtshizana was originally arrested and convicted in connection with his legal defence of members of the P. A. C. [Pan-Africanist Congress] in East London, Cape Province.

"Mr. Alfred Wilcox, secretary of the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa (A. P. D. U. S. A.), an affiliate of the Unity Movement, was dismissed from his job in the Simons Town Harbour on the grounds that he was a security risk. His dismissal was in contravention of the so-called Simonstown Agreement which the British Government bandies about as a cover to do its dirty work of selling arms to racist South Africa. Mr. A. Wilcox, a diligent organiser, has been under a ban for many years in Cape Town.

"Miss Gwen Wilcox and Mr. Robert Wilcox are executive members of the Cape Town branches of A. P. D. U. S. A. and S. O. Y. A. respectively. The former, a teacher by profession, was still under a ban when arrested.

"Mr. Kader Essack of Pietermaritzburg, Natal, is an executive member of the Unity Movement. A lawyer by profession, Mr. Essack was banned for five years. At the expiration of the ban last year, it was reimposed for a further period of five years."

Besides these, the following are known to have been arrested:

"Mr. D. Lobi and Frank van der Horst, Chairman and member of Executive, Cape Town Branch of APDUSA, respectively.

"Mr. J. B. Vusani, lawyer; Mr. R. Moeng, leading members of the Johannesburg Branch of APDUSA.

"Mr. M. Njonga and S. Van Katharam, both members of the Durban Branch of APDUSA.

"Mr. and Mrs. Bera. They are not members of the Unity Movement, but Mrs. Bera is a sister of the Treasurer of the Unity Movement, Dr. A. I. Limbada, who is in exile."

The authors of the joint statement declare that the arrests came as no surprise. What was surprising was that the imperialist communications media publicized their affiliation:

"It has been a strict policy of the White South African press, and therefore of the imperialist press in general, never to mention the name of the Unity Movement. Whenever its members have been banned, executed,

banished, jailed, or placed under house arrest, they were just names, if reported at all, without political affiliations being indicated. Only recently 25 of our peasant members were arrested and detained. Of these, five are still under the 180-day detention. Before then 65 peasant members were simply slaughtered in the Rustenburg area in the Transvaal on the grounds that they were agitators. There were no prosecutions and not a word in the press, despite the fact that we called the attention of the press to this cold-blooded murder."

In their joint statement, Tabata, Honono, and Limbada offer the following reason for the raids and arrests:

"It is quite clear that the police are acting on a countrywide basis in a desperate bid to destroy all the organisations affiliated to the Unity Movement. These arrests give the lie to the boast of the racist regime that they have destroyed all resistance by the oppressed people of South Africa. The very fact that they still maintain Proclamations 400 and 413, which make it possible for any policeman to arrest any Black man or woman, at any time of the day or night, and keep him under detention indefinitely, and continue to ban any meetings of more than 10 people in the Reserves—all this gives a lie to their claim. On the contrary, the resistance is gaining momentum. It is an undeniable fact that the people of South Africa, including the vast majority of the peasantry, are openly rejecting *Bantustans* (so-called independent Reserves), with what they popularly call a 'Baboon's Parliament,' together with all those inferior apartheid institutions created for a child race.

"Their demand for self-determination, which has become common currency today, is proof of their resolve to carry on the struggle for liberation." □

Controversy in Israel

Defense Minister Dayan has proposed a change in the Israeli law that prohibits "illegitimate" persons from marrying. The National Religious party has threatened to quit the governing coalition if his proposal is approved.

Strikes Warn Tories on Anti-Labor Bill

By Ross Dowson

The government is hoping that the postal settlement approved March 6 will begin to turn back the tide of rising union demands and block the mounting movement against its proposed union-busting Industrial Relations Bill.

Even as the government succeeded in driving the leadership of the postal workers into capitulating, it was given a sharp rebuff by the 50,000 Ford workers who are on strike in some twenty-two different plants. Fifteen unions rejected, after another ten-hour marathon bout of negotiations, an improved pay offer of 14.2 percent that would have conceded hourly paid workers an average earnings increase of £4 10s. a week—well over the limit that the government has tried to clamp down on the unions.

On March 1, the British workers as a class took a giant step forward in a mighty demonstration of protest and determination to defeat the government's anti-labor bill. More than 1,500,000 workers downed tools in the biggest political stoppage since the General Strike of 1926. [See *Intercontinental Press*, March 15, page 223.]

Their demonstration, backed by the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers [AUEW], the Boilermakers, the Sheet Metal Workers, and joined by the Mersey dockworkers, members of the Transport and General Workers Union [TGWU], which was not party to the strike call, shut down the entire motor industry, Scottish shipyards, and all major steel plants. Thousands more operations were closed down when members of the engineers union walked out and other employees refused to cross AUEW picket lines. Ford Dunlop, Europe's biggest tire factory, had to lay off 3,000 workers when 1,400 engineers stopped. No national papers appeared.

Some 2,000 London engineers marched past Congress House shouting "general strike," and inviting those inside to join them at Hyde Park. There they were addressed by the North London district organizer who told them:

" . . . regardless of what the Trade

Union Congress [TUC] General Council says, let us fight every foot of the way to protect our freedoms. We must confront the government with the ultimatum that if they do not change course there will be a national stoppage."

A Labour party member of Parliament added:

"There is a time when the talking has to stop. We are speaking the language the Tories understand when we walk off the job on a working day."

On every count the March 1 stoppage—a building action for March 18—was a colossal success. The March 18 demonstration is geared to coincide with the special assembly of the Trade Union Congress being held at Croydon to decide the overall strategy of the organized labor movement.

The lines are now being drawn.

The 1,600,000-strong Transport and General Workers Union has thrown its weight behind the mounting pressure on the TUC for strike action. By a vote of 38 to 1 its general executive decided to reject the official report of the TUC General Council where it opposes any industrial action against the bill. General Secretary Jack Jones declared that "we want a strike of unions against registration. Anyone registering should be considered a scab or blackleg." [Under the proposed law, only registered unions can legally strike.] The general executive also recommended to the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions that it should support the March 18 strike.

Together the TGWU and the AUEW cast more than 1,800,000 out of the 9,400,000 votes that will determine TUC policy. However, the prostrike Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs, with over 200,000 members, has a voting strength of only 123,000—the difference being the result of rapid growth.

The leaders of the third largest union, the General and Municipal Workers, are supporting the line of the TUC General Council headed by Victor Feathers, that the strike actions

only serve to alienate the broad general public without making the government modify the bill. This position of conciliation and retreat before the opponents of labor has the support of the top brass of the parliamentary Labour party.

The National Council of Labour, composed of the leadership of the TUC, the Labour party, and the Co-operative Union, has gone on record as urging everyone "to concentrate behind" what they call their "positive leadership."

Hugh Scanlon, president of the AUEW, told his union's youth conference at Eastbourne March 4 that millions of workers are looking to the TUC to lead the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill. The March 1 stoppage, he said, has shown the country the type of lead that is wanted. After repeating his invitation to other unions to join the second one-day strike on March 18, he assured the delegates that the AUEW would not be deterred from their "democratic mandate" for further action. □

EDA Hits Kremlin's Ties to Greek Junta

The executive committee of the EDA [Enosis tes Demokratikes Aristeras—Union of the Democratic Left, the group reflecting the views of the anti-Moscow faction of the Greek Communist party] issued a statement February 28 attacking the Soviet government for continuing cultural exchanges with the Greek military dictatorship.

Although the Soviet government claims that all such exchanges have been stopped, the EDA statement, which was mailed to foreign news agencies in Athens, charged that a Soviet ballet company had performed for members of the junta the night of February 27.

A Reuters dispatch in the March 1 *Washington Post* reported that the EDA statement said among other things:

"Expressing the feelings of the Greek people and those who are presently jailed in dark prisons for their struggle for the democratic ideals, we strongly protest for the dishonest way with which the Soviet ministry of culture has treated Greek and world public opinion."

Behind the Political Murders in West Bengal

By Naren Bose

[Naren Bose is the West Bengal secretary of the Socialist Workers party (SWP), the Indian section of the Fourth International, and editor of the West Bengal revolutionary Marxist newspaper *Larai* (Struggle). He is also an organizer of the Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh (PSKS—Village Workers and Peasants Union).]

* * *

Calcutta

In India, the state of West Bengal appears to us as "Golgotha." Every day the number of political murders and assassinations mounts higher. The general election in India has started and it is to be ended during the second week of March. In West Bengal, as there is no state assembly, there will be dual elections, both for the national Lok Sabha (parliament) and for a new state assembly.

Since the elections were called January 15, the interparty riots have become more violent. The killing of party workers, members, political candidates, and, most recently, central leaders, is a sign of the bankruptcy of the capitalist parties and of the traditional left parties as well.

From the beginning of January to March 3, at least 300 political murders were committed. There are many wounded persons who may die of their injuries. The hospitals are being filled with wounded political activists.

Killing of Hemanta Basu

On February 19, Hemanta Kumar Basu, chairman of the All India Forward Bloc (a militant nationalist party), was murdered in broad daylight. He was a well-known fighter against British imperialism. At the end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties, he fought against the bureaucratic leadership inside the Congress party and helped Subhash Chandra Bose to form the Forward Bloc. Since its inception this party has represented a section of the nationalist population of India, particularly in Bengal.

Though we had fundamental differences with Hemanta Basu, we viewed him as one of the outstanding figures of the century in India. We believe that this murder will go down in history as a great crime. We deeply mourned at his death. The humanism of Hemanta Basu is so well known that we need not recount it here.

Basu, in addition to his position of leadership in the Forward Bloc, was a candidate to the state assembly from a constituency in Calcutta.

Three other candidates have also been murdered in West Bengal. On January 27, Sitapati Banerjee of the Forward Bloc was murdered at Chanditala, in Hooghly district; Jagdopal Roy of the wing of the Congress that supports Indira Gandhi was the next victim, in Suri. On February 17, a Bangla Congress party candidate was killed. Besides these four, about seven candidates have been wounded in the interparty strife. All these crimes have been committed in broad daylight and in most cases the murderers were able to escape.

Why Murder?

The British imperialists handed over political power to the Indian capitalists after bleeding the nation dry and finally partitioning the country into India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947.

The British left India, but their capital remains. Moreover, they forced India to become a "permanent" member of the British Commonwealth. After 1947, with the national bourgeoisie as its caretaker, British capital in India was more secure than before.

At the outset, the new national government run by the Congress party was very popular. For about two decades, until 1967, the Congress ruled and made exactions from the impoverished masses in the same manner as the imperialists had. As a result, people's endurance reached its limit.

The popular discontent began to reach massive proportions in 1965-66. In some places in India and par-

ticularly in West Bengal, there was a breakdown of law and order.

The crisis was reflected in the political differentiation into right and left political parties. The Congress no longer had a monopoly on the nationalist sentiment of the country as it proved itself incapable of delivering the goods to the people. Consequently, people chose the path of struggle.

This was a very favorable period for leftism. The leftist parties, however, which for long years had talked about struggle and revolution, now shrank back. They failed to lead people in a struggle for socialism.

In 1967 the country's fourth general election was announced. Both the right and left parties benefited from this election. The rightists began to consolidate their forces. The leftists, too, cheated the people by channeling the mass discontent into the electoral arena.

Although the people were leaderless, their anti-Congress hatred was deep and in the 1967 general election the Congress governments were overturned in nine states out of sixteen.

In Bengal and Kerala the picture was different. Here the left parties came to power. The Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers party of India warned the left parties that in this age of revolution no basic change can be brought about simply by occupying ministerial posts under the hegemony of a capitalist state. But the desire to win political power was too strong among the left leaderships and they paid no attention to the Trotskyist warning.

The multiclass United Front of left parties came to power twice—in 1967 and in 1969-70—but in each case they were turned out again because of their own interparty clashes and internal disunity. Thus the net result of the leftist governments in Indian states was the beginning of serious fratricidal riots. As the leftist parties have nothing to offer their cadre, the leaders have convinced their members to try systematically to annihilate the workers and leaders of opponent par-

ties in the name of expanding their own sphere of influence.

The resulting clashes have taken on a more murderous character because the left parties, as the rightists did before them, are recruiting antisocial and lumpen sections of the people to their ranks.

The capitalist class desires to promote this internecine warfare on the left. They are allocating more and more money for this purpose. This takes the form of open sales of arms and ammunition to the radical organizations and outright donations to

left political parties. The capitalists' calculation is that the feud on the left can set back the mass radicalization even more than religious riots.

The Trotskyists in India are too numerically weak to fill the leadership vacuum on the subjective side. The Naxalites or Communist party (Marxist-Leninist) [Maoists] had some initial successes but ultimately failed because of their romantic attitude towards the Indian revolution. As adventurers, they started killing individual "rich" people and low ranking police employees. In the process they

misdirected the revolutionary energy available in the country and themselves split into innumerable factions and groups.

Today the only party with a clear revolutionary perspective is the Socialist Workers party. The task of the SWP during the election and post-election period is to begin to win the people to the strategy of mass struggle as opposed to parliamentary reformism. This is an uphill fight, but there are already signs of disillusionment with elections among the broad masses as well as discontent among the cadres of the left parties. □

Greek Trotskyist Prisoners' Appeal

Role of the Stalinists in the Junta's Jails

[We have translated the following appeal by imprisoned Greek Trotskyists from the January issue of *Ergatike Pale*, the clandestine organ of the KDKE (Kommounistiko Diethnistiko Komma tes Ellados—Internationalist Communist party of Greece, the Greek section of the Fourth International). These victims of the Athens military junta, held at Aegina and Korydallos prisons, describe the political gangsterism practiced by the Stalinist inmates of these institutions against fellow prisoners with whom they are in political disagreement.

[This report further confirms the information published in our February 8 issue on similar practices by Greek Communist party members on the island prison of Leros.

[The note at the end of the appeal is by the editors of *Ergatike Pale*.]

* * *

To the workers organizations in Europe and all other areas, to the vanguard militants, to the Internationalist Communists, and to the press of the Fourth International:

Declaring our principled condemnation of, and our moral indignation over the treatment we are being subjected to by the Stalinists, we Internationalist Communists, sentenced to long terms in the prisons of Aegina and Korydallos by the tribunals of the capitalist military dictatorship, appeal to you for solidarity.

We have had to pay a high price for our revolutionary activity. But the

daily suffering imposed on us by the corrupt regime of capitalist reaction is not the only penalty we must endure. This victimization is supplemented by the methods of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which are similar to those of the military dictatorship.

In their turn, the Stalinists are making desperate efforts to cover up their own corruption by bringing heavy pressure to bear against revolutionary ideas and those who uphold them. In its death agony, the mortally decayed Stalinist movement has been driven to commit glaring and shameful provocations.

Our double imprisonment is one more consequence of the defeat the Greek workers movement suffered in 1967 owing chiefly to the role played by the degenerated Stalinist movement.

From the first days of our imprisonment, we have witnessed bureaucratic leaders doing all they could to domesticate and fetter the thinking of inexperienced militants unsuspectingly sucked into the orbit of the various fragments of Stalinism.

To achieve this, the Stalinist chiefs have resorted to provocative slanders against the internationalists and to shameful distortions of Marxist ideas. They have continually cultivated traditional "Hellenic Christian" idealist prejudices and servility, as well as promoting apathy. In the case of the so-called Bureau of the Interior, they have even derided working-class holi-

As a diversion, they have offered superficial, dishonest self-criticism of the "leadership." By a systematic cultivation of obscurantist taboos, they have tried to block any contacts with Fourth Internationalists and all confrontation with revolutionary ideas. They have resorted to forms of bribery.

Against any rank-and-file militant daring to take a step out of the swamp of Stalinist decay, the bureaucratic bosses have employed every sort of inhuman threat and slimy intrigue.

At the same time, the Stalinists' own failings—their tendency to cultivate the most pessimistic moods at times and the most overoptimistic ones at others, and to promote confusion, their inability to foresee political developments—and the Internationalist Communists continually subjecting these failings to Marxist criticism, have stirred the bureaucratic leaders to a frenzy. In an effort to ward off revolutionary ideas and inhibit many of their rank-and-file militants from raising questions, they have engaged in the most unscrupulous machinations against us.

An example of this is the case of Comrade Panagiotes Doumas. At the end of November the authorities sent him to the Ephtapyrgios prison in Thessaly to isolate him. His transfer was accompanied by the spreading of false accusations and lies. It was claimed that he had been in contact with representatives of the Asphaleia [the secret police] and that they had

given him a hacksaw to help him escape. This was supposed to be intended as a provocation to justify harsh measures against the rest of the prisoners and reduce the support they enjoyed because of their discipline.

The role of the Stalinists in this transfer has not yet been ascertained. However, we must point out that Comrade Panagiotes Doumas (sentenced to life, plus eight years in prison)¹ arrived here with a broken foot as a result of the torture he was subjected to by the Asphaleia. Furthermore, the Ephtapyrgios Thessalonikes prison where he was taken is one of the worst. Conditions there so badly undermine the health of the prisoners that they have even less chance for survival than in most of the other jails. The staff is made up of the most brutalized dregs (ex-criminals) of the "correction" service. We have had no word of our comrade's fate since he was taken away.

A few days later, the Stalinist bureaucratic plotters felt the need to undertake a new intrigue. With the help of the Korydallos prison administration, they obtained the transfer of Comrade Sophrones Papadopoulos. A group of Stalinists belonging to the "Interior" faction met December 10, 1970, with the prison administration. In the context of their collaboration and give-and-take arrangement with the authorities, they asked the officials to remove our comrade from that jail so as to isolate him from the political prisoners.

This second case of Comrade Sophrones Papadopoulos acquired special significance and a rather provocative character. The three-man Stalinist committee that called for his transfer admitted our accusations. They circulated the story of their request through the cells. We even heard them say: "Your staying in this prison hurts both your people and ours." Along with this, they circulated the slander that our comrade was an Asphaleia agent.

The episodes that followed made it possible to delay the transfer of our comrade but not to block it. The Stalinist bureaucrats in their sinister connivance with the prison administration reach a new low in violating revolutionary proletarian morality.

1. In several cases, Greek military judges have handed down cumulative sentences against revolutionists that exceed life imprisonment. It may be that the Athens dictatorship believes that such grotesquely exaggerated penalties sound more intimidating than simple life sentences. — IP

On December 29, 1970, Comrade Sophrones Papadopoulos (sentenced to life, plus four years) was sent to the damp, unhealthy prison of Kerkyra. He has been isolated and denied all opportunity to denounce the inhuman living conditions he has encountered there or the unscrupulous and unspeakable baseness of the Stalinist-bureaucratic plots.

We strongly condemn the bureaucratic clique of the "Esoterikoi" (members of the Bureau of the Interior of the KKE [Kommounistiko Kommatas Ellados—Communist party of Greece]).² Specifically, we denounce the "Interior" committee composed of Thanases Grevias, Thanases Panoutsopoulos, and Giannis Spartes, who engaged in shameful haggling to get our comrade transferred.

It must be stressed, however, that although the "Dodekatikoi" (supporters of the Twelfth Plenum, i.e., of Koliogiannis) have not taken part in the campaign against the Fourth Internationalists, this does not absolve them of responsibility.³ Their display of tolerance and their avoidance of taking a position in the concrete incidents that have occurred cannot wipe out their guilt, when these episodes are taking place in the narrow confines of this prison and when we know that their methods are no less vicious than those of the Esoterikoi.

It must be stressed also that in several ways, both direct and indirect, many rank-and-file militants, and even cadres, belonging to the various Stalinist splinter groups have made known their rejection of these foul machinations against us.

In fact, all these outrages committed by the intellectually and morally perverted dregs of Stalinism show how far this bureaucratic movement has gone in abandoning communist principles, a process which is progressing geometrically. The highest levels of the leadership are consciously throwing communism overboard and

2. The Greek Communist party is split into three main factions: the pro-Moscow wing headed by Kostas Koliogiannis; the anti-Koliogiannis faction led by Mitsos Partsalidis, now living in exile in Rumania; and the Bureau of the Interior. — IP

3. The conduct of the various Stalinist factions appears to have more to do with the relationship of forces than with proletarian scruples. At the Leros prison where the Koliogiannis group has a strong organization—although representing a minority of the inmates—it has taken the lead in persecuting other prisoners. — IP

transmitting this attitude to the rank and file. They tell the ranks that internationalism, Trotskyism, is the enemy, to strike it, to slander it, to intrigue against it. This requires purging the rank and file of communist ideas.

Workers of the world, vanguard fighters, we appeal to your conscience, to your revolutionary spirit, and to your sense of justice. These are the only forces that can support our moral and principled outcry, the only forces that can help us defend our spiritual and physical integrity.

We appeal to you with all our strength and soul, with all our honor as revolutionary fighters, in an effort to evoke the broadest condemnation in the revolutionary vanguard of the inhuman and reactionary machinations directed against us by the Stalinist bureaucrats who are capable only of crimes and shameful betrayals.

Signed: The Fourth Internationalists in the Aegina and Korydallos prisons.

Late January 1971.

* * *

The above appeal clearly exposes the intent of the Stalinist bureaucracy to isolate, break, and assist in the physical annihilation of the Fourth Internationalist militants. It is natural at this time for the decayed and crumbling KKE bureaucracy to concentrate its hatred, its slanders, and its violence all the more against the Internationalist Communists. The most thoughtful rank-and-file activists of the KKE, and even its cadres, are beginning to realize the ideological and political bankruptcy of Greek and international Stalinism and are becoming disgusted by Moscow's friendly gestures toward the military dictatorship. They disapprove of the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Warsaw Pact armies and are dumbfounded at the antibureaucratic revolt of the Polish workers. All of us are duty bound to expose the criminal campaign of the Stalinists and to defend the Fourth Internationalist fighters. □

Or Even the Possibility

According to a release from the Australian News and Information Bureau, Minister for Defense Malcolm Fraser "... told a meeting of the Victorian Branch of the Australian Institute of International Affairs in Melbourne that recent events in Laos and Cambodia had demonstrated not only the inevitability but the likelihood of other countries falling should the attempts to preserve South Vietnam's independence fail."

Canada's Interest in a United States of Europe

By Ross Dowson

[The following speech was given by Ross Dowson, executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist organization, to a seminar at Brandon University in Brandon, Manitoba, held January 29-30. The subject of the seminar was "The Implications and Possibilities of an Economically and Politically United Europe." Other speakers were J. R. Roy, head of the commercial policy division of the Department of External Affairs of the Ottawa government; and Bruce Howard, M. P., parliamentary secretary to the minister of industry, trade and commerce. We have taken the text of Dowson's remarks from the February 15 issue of the Toronto socialist weekly *Labor Challenge*.]

* * *

To the question, "What are the possibilities of an economically and politically united Europe?" I would answer, "They are excellent." In fact, I would say that an economically and politically united Europe is an historical inevitability.

At the same time I would hasten to add that this unity will not take place and cannot take place on the basis of some kind of integration of the present capitalist states, through a process of developing experiments such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, or the European Economic Community—the Common Market. It will take place only with the overthrow of capitalism and the formation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The unification of Europe is necessary. The underlying cause of World War I was the fact that the capitalist forces of production, in particular those of Germany, had outgrown the boundaries of the European national states. Europe could not develop economically, even 60 years ago, with all the restrictive customs and duties, the copyrights and the patents, the price differentials and so forth, sus-

tained by the multiplicity of national states. It could not do so in the twenties, following its Balkanization by the victors of World War I at Versailles. Nor could it do so in the forties, following World War II and its re-Balkanization by the victors at Yalta and Potsdam.

If this necessity for a united Europe was once illustrated by the need to unite the coal of the Ruhr with the iron of Lorraine, today it is even more vividly expressed by the separation of vital means of production from the human labor power essential to their operation. Hundreds of thousands of Italians, Yugoslavs, Spaniards and Portuguese, under pressure to sustain their families, are driven from their homelands to seek employment in Germany and Switzerland. There they live like pariahs, subject to the tyrannies of the modern production line, layoffs and mass unemployment.

Following the devastation of World War II, with massive aid from the United States, European capitalism was reestablished and underwent a period of rapid economic growth.

Leading European industrialists and financiers, through their political representatives, set in motion a process of capitalist unification of Europe. They aimed to overcome at least the sharpest contradictions between the operations of their business holdings and the anachronistic existence of a multiplicity of bourgeois national states. They aimed to develop on a pan-European scale a unified home market such as their U.S. counterparts possess on the North American continent. Along with a whole series of immediate projections such as the European Coal and Steel Community, Euratom, and the Common Market, there was even talk of setting up a European government with real powers, with political authority and a common currency.

Where a decade ago there were high hopes and great expectations for a United Europe the prevailing mood

today is one of disillusionment, frustration and cynicism. The European Coal and Steel Community, unable to meet the structural crisis which first hit coal and then the steel industry, is bankrupt. Euratom is now moribund. What remains is the Common Market, wracked with internal dissension but into which Britain is now preparing to enter.

The fundamental cause of this change lies in the growing social crisis and the slowing down of economic growth of the past few years, the rise in structural unemployment, particularly among the youth, the crisis in the world monetary system, and the pressure which all these factors exercise on the capitalists in all European countries.

The Common Market itself, rather than a factor in the process of realizing a dynamic European unification, has become much more an attempt to stave off U.S. domination—at best to arrive at a successful economic competition with U.S. capitalism which has made big inroads into the European market.

Having put capitalism back on its feet in Europe, the U.S. monopolists have been driven by their vast accumulation of surpluses of capital, and a tremendous glut of goods pouring off their production lines, to move into the European market on a big scale. The annual sum invested by U.S. companies in those countries now in the Common Market increased fourfold from 1958 to 1965. In Switzerland, for example, U.S. investment, a mere \$25-million in 1950, by 1966 had risen to \$1,210-million. The total value of U.S. investment in Europe in 1966 was \$17.5-billion. U.S. subsidiaries now control 80 percent of Common Market computer production, 24 percent of the motor industry, 15 percent of synthetic rubber production and 10 percent of the petrochemical industry.

Even the powerful European multinational corporations that have been formed through the interpenetration

of European capital, without the capitalists of any particular nation predominating, cannot match the capital reserves of the U. S. corporations, nor U. S. technology. Their major advantage is lower relative labor costs, and the crisis is leading them to resort to deflationary policies and to antiunion legislation in order to counteract the falling rate of profit and the decline in their share of exports on the world market.

The fact that the present deepening crisis of European capitalism does not coincide with a severe slump or even a generalized recession only underlines the incapacity of the system to resolve its basic contradictions.

For the fact is that even under such relatively favorable conditions of economic development, the elements of social crisis and social revolution have come to the surface once again in Europe; and the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, the contradiction arising out of private property and wage labor, has been posed with a sharpness that has not been seen there in many decades.

The clearest expression of the crisis so far was the revolutionary upsurge in France in May 1968. Sparked by the students, it culminated in the most massive general strike in world history with hundreds of thousands of workers occupying the factories.

In Italy, buffeted by strike wave after strike wave, parliamentary democracy is in a state of paralysis and if the parties of the left have failed to give direction one can nonetheless only conclude that the country is approaching a prerevolutionary condition.

In Spain the harsh repression employed by the decaying Franco regime no longer blocks the workers, students and oppressed nationalities from struggle, and even stirs them up. Britain, seesawing between a reformist Labour regime and a Conservative regime for the past two decades, finds the working class once again in militant trade union struggle.

It is these forces, the organized might of the European working class, joined by the revolutionary youth, who are destined to bring about an economically and politically united Europe. This process will commence through a victory in one country and through example will spread through-

out Europe to result in the creation of a Socialist United States of Europe.

The alternative to a socialist Europe is not a peaceful evolution, but the triumph of reaction which could eventually lead to fascism. In the last analysis what blocks the old ruling classes of Europe from attempting a coup such as in Greece is only the relationship of forces between the workers and the capitalist class and the fear among the latter that to set up a strong state would ignite a massive countermove by the working class.

Before taking up the second aspect of the question before us, the implications of a socialist Europe for the Canadian working people, I would make a few observations on Britain's entry into the Common Market and its impact on Canada.

Now saddled with a relatively run-down industrial plant, Britain can no longer profitably compete in the neo-colonial world against the United States and Japan. What was, as the British Empire, a primary source of wealth and power, has now, as the Commonwealth, become a drain on the shrinking British treasury. Hence Prime Minister Heath's refusal to renounce his government's intention to sell arms to apartheid South Africa, in the face of threats that should it do so the Commonwealth would disintegrate. The Heath government has apparently made its choice.

What effect will this have on Canada? Britain, after the United States, is Canada's biggest customer. Of the \$1.2-billion worth of goods that were shipped to her from Canada in 1968, Britain accepted 90 percent duty free. Almost half enjoyed tariff preference over goods coming from the U. S., Japan and the Common Market. According to an article in *Financial Post*, with Britain's entry into the Common Market only a fourth of these Canadian exports would suffer no direct effect. Some 30 percent would not only lose free entry status but would be up against EEC preferences. These include wheat, newsprint, aluminum, and wood pulp. Some 25 percent would lose free entry status and would face reverse EEC preferences.

This would cost Canadian commercial interests something. But it is not excluded that they see the deepening British crisis as threatening the entire

international trade and monetary fabric and, if getting into the Common Market would solve Britain's problem, they are prepared to pay the price. After all, while Ottawa has the public purse strings tied tight on welfare for the unemployed they are loose for the granting of subsidies to business interests in trouble. Besides the Canadian capitalist class might hope that Britain, rather than stepping behind the Common Market tariff wall, may succeed, if only to a limited degree, in opening it up—to them.

But the immediate impact of British entry would be to thrust Canadian trade more into the U. S. market—to make Canada even more dependent than it is now on its relations with the U. S. State Department. From the record of the Liberal and Tory governments over the past decade or so, that means further losses for the Canadian people in whatever control they have now over the country's natural resources, over its economy, and a further crippling of what little sovereignty Canada has left. It would tend to drive Canada more into the area of trade with Japan. That trade, already extensive, is almost exclusively in the form of unprocessed materials, largely lumber, coal, copper and iron ore.

Hence Britain's entry into the Common Market only serves to increase U. S. monopoly capital's economic domination of Canada and tends to make her role in world affairs, certainly under Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments, ever more subservient to these reactionary interests. As Mr. Trudeau explained to a press conference in Jakarta—any serious opposition to Washington's foreign policy, to his mind, "would not be tolerated and would not make any sense."

Mr. Trudeau proved to be a bold and vigorous man when confronted last October by the actions of a handful of terrorists. He imposed the War Measures Act which at one blow suspended the most elementary rights of every Canadian. But when it comes to relations with the U. S. military-industrial complex, Mr. Trudeau and the Canadian capitalist class have accepted the role of junior partner of the U. S. ruling class in the exploitation of this country's natural resources and the skills of her work-

force, and serve as abject apologists for its worldwide offensive and exploitative rule.

Mr. Trudeau defends this shameful role as if there were no alternative—with the underlying suggestion that it is imposed upon us and any opposition would not be tolerated.

But there are growing numbers of people across Canada who think there is an alternative—who want Canada to play an independent role in opposition to the policies of the U.S. They want Canada to break from such aggressive military nuclear-armed alliances as NATO-NORAD [North Atlantic Treaty Organization-North American Air Defense Command], which compromise their good name by propping up such oppressive military regimes as the Greek and the Portuguese. They want Canada to condemn sharply U.S. aggression in Vietnam and Cambodia and cease supplying military equipment for such purposes. They see no reason why plants and mills owned by U.S. interests should be prohibited from shipping goods to Cuba or China by made-in-Washington regulations, because they are said to have a military or strategic importance.

They do not see why U.S. corporations should be allowed to close down plants they have bought up because they lower the profit level of a newly-formed conglomerate. They think that they should be taken over, retooled if necessary, for the production of marketable goods, and operated under the control of those who work there.

Mr. Trudeau's suggestion that Washington would not tolerate such a policy fails to take into account the feelings of the American people who are by no means united behind Nixon and in increasing numbers are demanding an end to his war in Vietnam. It is to say that we Canadians are lesser people than the Cubans and the Vietnamese who have been standing up before U.S. imperialism—and in the case of the Vietnamese for decades, in the face of the most fiendish forces of death and destruction.

Which brings me to the implications of an economically and politically united Europe—as I see it, a United Socialist States of Europe—for the people of Canada.

A victory for socialism would great-

ly stimulate the struggle here in Canada for a new, a socialist Canada, and the struggle for socialism throughout the West and the Third World. At the same time it would further stimulate the rising struggle for genuine socialist democracy in the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The brutal and oppressive regime that imposed itself on the isolated and backward workers state in Russia, its abrogation of basic political rights, its suppression of entire nationalities and their culture, has brought widespread doubts and discredit on the entire concept of socialism.

The socialism that will arise in the advanced industrial countries of Western Europe will present a completely different physiognomy to the world.

Social planning will develop on a continental scale, thereby permitting a rapid growth of productive forces through the elimination of present-day duplication and waste. It will utilize

200 in Jerusalem Demonstration

Protest Jailing of Israeli 'Black Panthers'

Some 200 Israelis demonstrated in Jerusalem March 3 against the arrest of a dozen members of a "street gang calling itself the 'Black Panthers,'" the *Washington Post* reported March 4. The demonstration was held in defiance of a police ban.

The twelve Black Panthers were arrested for the "crime" of distributing a handbill outside the city hall calling for a demonstration to protest discrimination against "oriental Jews"—Jews from North Africa and the Arab East who constitute a majority of Israel's population—in jobs and housing.

In Israel a demonstration without a permit constitutes incitement to commit an illegal offense. The Black Panthers had applied for a permit but were denied it on the grounds that the demonstration might disturb the peace. Previously, laws prohibiting demonstrations were usually used against Arabs.

Jonathan Randal, the *Washington Post's* Jerusalem correspondent, described the Black Panthers as well as members of approximately fifteen other such "gangs," as follows: "The average street gang member is one of a half dozen children of parents earning between \$120 and \$170 a month, a salary which sounds better than it really is because of Israeli taxes, the highest in the world. . . ."

"Jerusalem city statistics show that in 1966-67 some 19 per cent of families

all existing resources and end the unemployment of people and the underemployment of equipment. It will mean the rapid dissemination of technological progress and scientific knowledge throughout the whole economy.

It will also mean that the use of all resources will be democratically determined by the mass of workers organized in democratically elected self-management workers councils in the plants and on a local, regional, national and international level.

This socialism will broaden the realm of human freedom not only for the workers as a class, but for everyone who works, far beyond anything even visualized by humankind.

We Canadians will have to ensure that nothing is allowed to stand in the way of the free development of a Socialist United States of Europe, and to ensure that all our resources, should they be called upon, are fully available to aid in its success. □

here were receiving social welfare payments and that 36.8 per cent were living in what the housing ministry listed as substandard dwellings."

Most of those living in the "substandard dwellings" are "oriental Jews." Besides these forms of economic discrimination, the "oriental Jews" suffer from a Kafkaesque interpretation of law and custom. Randal reports the case of a "gang" member who was not accepted into the army because of a "juvenile delinquency" arrest record and was told to get a steady job for one year. However, he was unable to find work because he was not an army veteran.

The Israeli press has been quick to blame the existence of groups such as the Black Panthers on the Israeli Socialist Organization [ISO—better known by the name of its publication, *Matzpen* (Compass); an anti-Zionist socialist group with both Jewish and Arab members]. One member of the ISO Central Committee, Haim Hanegbi, was arrested along with the Panthers. □

Putting His Own House in Order

California's senate leader announced March 12 that he would advocate abolishing the legislature's subcommittee on un-American activities. He made his decision after learning he was listed in the group's files as a subversive.

A Triumph of Trivia

The Soviet Union by Dev Murarka.
Walker and Co., New York, N. Y.
240 pp. \$7.50. 1971.

Dev Murarka is the Moscow correspondent of the *London Observer*. His book is the embodiment of the worst traditions of bourgeois journalism.

Who but a bourgeois journalist would try to encompass the entire Soviet Union in a book of this length?

Murarka really does try to cover everything: history, geography, politics, economy, art, literature, music, foreign policy, government institutions, etc., etc. His method is simply to pile one detail atop another with-

out regard for their interconnection or relative importance.

For Murarka, all details are equal. The *Potemkin* mutiny is neither more nor less important than Sergei Eisenstein's film about the event. The split between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks receives no preferential treatment over Ivan the Terrible's temper or a 1953 government decision to cut food prices.

Major social and historical developments, which are difficult to fit into a sentence, simply get squeezed out by the superficial details. The peculiar features of Russian capitalism that made it the weakest link in the imperialist chain are omitted to make room for a "history" that consists of

capsule biographies of the czars.

After a while, this superficiality begins to read like a parody of a children's textbook. One can imagine unfortunate ten-year-olds sitting down to memorize:

"The four outstanding painters of this period were Marc Chagall, Vasily Kandinsky, Kasimir Malevich and El Lissitsky. . . . Among the sculptors of this period the most outstanding were Vladimir Tatlin, Naum Gabo and Antoine Pevsner."

Murarka's pursuit of details does not even have the virtue of being particularly accurate or thorough. He places Trotsky's birth nine years early. He gets thoroughly muddled between the Julian and Gregorian calendars. And when it would be too much trouble to look up a precise figure, he substitutes a vague phrase. Thus we are told that private agriculture contributes a "significant share" of production but "the bulk" comes from collective farms. A commission to draw up a new Constitution was established "some years ago."

The Soviet Union is a triumph of trivia. It is difficult to imagine why Murarka took the trouble to write it — although it obviously wasn't very much trouble.

—David Burton

REVIEWS

Pabulum from Kim Il Sung

Premier Kim Il Sung Is Dear to Their Hearts. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Pyongyang, Korea. 91 pp. No price listed. 1969.

... the revolutionary ideas of Premier Kim Il Sung," are, according to the anonymous author, "pabulum for the revolution." It is easy to believe. The author also produces a good deal of pabulum in the course of demonstrating the "boundless respect and reverence of the South Korean people for Premier Kim Il Sung."

In the very first chapter (Tracing Back the History of Reverence and Adoration), we learn that the South Korean people "unanimously say:

"Premier Kim Il Sung is truly the hero of our nation."

"Marshal Kim Il Sung is the very great sun of our nation who illumines the path ahead of us."

With such unanimity among "workers, peasants, fishermen, puppet army soldiers, youth and students, journalists, educationists and conscientious national capitalists," it is hardly surprising that the most galling part of the U. S. occupation of South Korea is the enforced separation from Kim

Il Sung. A common saying among South Koreans, as reported by the author, is:

"Let's drive out the U. S. imperialists and achieve the unification of our country at an earliest possible date to hasten the day when we can lead a happy life in the bosom of the respected and beloved Leader Premier Kim Il Sung."

The fact that "the hearts of all the South Korean revolutionaries and patriots today are throbbing vigorously with the infinite loyalty to Premier Kim Il Sung, the sun of the nation," is no mere hero worship of the "incomparably modest," "peerless patriot and national hero," but is based on his talents:

"That Premier Kim Il Sung is with us, indeed, proves itself to be a great strength which promises the bright future of Korea and makes the enemy perish."

During the anti-Japanese resistance, the author tells us, ". . . we said General Kim Il Sung was a man who had descended from heaven."

State power, to judge from this book, was the means of Kim's re-ascension.

—David Burton

Franco Jails Sociologist

Spain's leading sociologist, Amando de Miguel, has been under military arrest since late February. He has been ordered to face trial on charges that could bring him up to six years in jail. His crime: having criticized a sermon given by an army chaplain.

The sermon was delivered by Father Jose Bachs at a ceremony commemorating the outbreak of the civil war. According to Richard Eder, writing in the March 5 *New York Times*: "After praising the spirit of the Civil War days, Father Bachs said, 'May the Lord guide our new crusade of nowadays to liberate us from alien ideas, from foreign doctrines.'

"Mr. de Miguel wrote that Father Bachs' rhetoric was exaggerated and crude. He added that there was a lot of talk about 'new priests' but that somebody should worry about the 'old ones.'"

Although the news of de Miguel's arrest has not been published in the Spanish press, it has created "a sensation" in university circles. De Miguel is regarded as a moderate by what Eder calls the "intellectual left."

Apparently in Franco's "crusade" against "alien ideas," if the Lord is not an effective ally, the military is still available.

The Constitution and the People of Ceylon

[The following article appeared in the February issue of the *Samasamajist*, the journal of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International. The translation from Sinhala was done by our correspondent in Colombo.]

* * *

On 10th December 1947, the British Parliament passed an Act, called the Ceylon Independence Act. The preamble to that Act was as follows:

"An Act to make provision for, and in connection with, the attainment of fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Nine days later, His Majesty the King of England made an order, which declared as follows:

"The appointed day for the purpose of the Ceylon Independence Act shall be the 4th February 1948."

It was in this way that Ceylon was granted "independence" by British imperialism. It was in this context, too, that Dr. Colvin R. de Silva published a pamphlet under the title *Independence—Real or Fake?*, which sold in thousands of copies to the crowds that assembled at "Independence Square" on 4th February 1948, to witness the "independence" celebrations.

On 21st July 1970, members of the House of Representatives, including members of the SLFP, LSSP, and CP (Moscow), and members of the UNP, FP, and TC,* unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"We, the Members of the House of Representatives, in pursuance of the mandate given by the People of Sri Lanka [Holy Ceylon] at the General Election held on the 27th May 1970, do hereby resolve to constitute, declare, and proclaim ourselves the Constituent Assembly of the People of Sri Lanka for the purpose of adopting, enacting, and establishing a Constitution for Sri Lanka which will declare Sri Lanka to be a free, sovereign, and independent Republic pledged to realize the objectives of a socialist democracy including the fundamental rights and freedoms of all citizens, and which will become the fundamental law of Sri Lanka, deriving its authority from the People of Sri Lanka and not from power and authority assumed and exercised by the British Crown and the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the grant of the present Constitution of Ceylon nor from the said Constitution, and do accordingly constitute, declare, and proclaim ourselves the Constituent Assembly of Sri Lanka . . ."

The fact that the UNP, FP, and Tamil

Congress have also subscribed to the position that the members of the House of Representatives were given a "mandate" by the people of Ceylon to declare and proclaim themselves to be the "Constituent Assembly of the people of Sri Lanka" is not surprising. These parties are at one with the parties of the SLFP-led United Front in attempting to foist a new bourgeois constitution on the people of Ceylon in the name of the people.

The members of the present House of Representatives are no more representative of the people of Ceylon than any previous House of Representatives elected under the Soulbury Constitution. Whatever mandate they may have can be understood in consideration of the following facts:

1. Only voters registered by the Department of Elections in accordance with the existing laws of Ceylon, under the present constitution, participated in the election of members to the House of Representatives on 27th May 1970. Over half a million people of Ceylon, belonging primarily to the plantation proletariat, had no votes in the elections, by reason of the reactionary citizenship laws enacted by the UNP Government in the first Parliament elected under the present constitution.

2. Even those who voted in the elections were divided into electorates on a completely unequal basis, determined by the reactionary delimitation of electorates whereby the more thinly populated and politically backward areas have been given higher representation than the more thickly populated and politically advanced areas.

3. All employees of the Government, including hundreds of thousands of workers, could not come forward as candidates at the elections, by reason of the administrative regulations of the Government and the provisions of Section 13 of the Soulbury Constitution, which deny public servants any political rights other than to cast their votes in an election.

4. Only the UNP, SLFP, LSSP, CP (Moscow), FP, and TC were granted the right to put forward candidates on payment of a deposit of 250 rupees [5.95 rupees equal US\$1], under the existing election law, whilst all other political parties and all mass organizations were obliged to pay a deposit of 1,000 rupees to put forward a candidate.

5. The main political issue that was posed in the last elections was whether the UNP should be permitted to retain control of the administration, or whether the SLFP should take control, in association with the LSSP and CP (Moscow). Vast numbers thus voted for the "lesser evil."

6. The single paragraph in the lengthy manifesto put forward by the SLFP-led United Front at the elections could hardly have been read, let alone properly under-

stood, by the overwhelming majority of the 23 lakhs [one lakh equals 100,000] of voters who voted for the United Front on 27th May 1970.

If the people of Ceylon can be said to have given a mandate to the members of the House of Representatives "to draft, adopt, and operate" a new constitution, as may be decided by them unanimously or by a majority, then *every Act* passed by the House of Representatives and *every action* of the Government can also be said to be done in terms of the mandate of the people of Ceylon. This is the false claim of all bourgeois governments, and is the reason why the bourgeoisie have chosen to rule through parliaments or national assemblies wherever division and deception of the people through such institutions is possible.

Today, in line with such reasoning, the 23 lakhs of voters who voted for the United Front on 27th May 1970, and even those who did not have a vote or did not vote for it, can be told that they have given a mandate to the House of Representatives, in terms of which:

1. Ceylon is to remain within the Commonwealth, in association with the British imperialists, their Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand partners, and their Asian and African collaborators.

2. The UNP, FP, and TC shall have a direct say in the drafting of the constitution and in all legislation placed before the present Parliament, whilst no mass organizations of workers, students, and peasants shall have any such say.

3. Imperialist, Indian, and Ceylonese capitalist property and exploitation in Ceylon shall continue indefinitely.

4. Representatives of the Ceylon Government may have secret consultations with the British, American, French, and other imperialist bankers, financiers, and industrialists, and enter into secret agreements with them, behind the backs of the people of Ceylon.

5. The value of the rupee may be further devalued by an increase in the rate of FEECS [Foreign Exchange Entitlement Certificate Scheme] established by the UNP Government from 55% to 70%.

6. The people of Ceylon may be permitted to eat such food, dress in such clothes, and see such plays or pictures as the Government and its officials may prescribe in the name of "austerity" or "morals."

7. The police may arrest any person or break up any assembly, if they consider it necessary for "national security" or "public safety" or for the maintenance of "public order"; and freedom of speech, assembly, and association may be restricted in whatever way the Government may consider fit.

8. Workers may be shot down by the police or even by private agents of capitalist proprietors on the plantations and elsewhere, if they are regarded as endangering capitalist property or the safety of the capitalist class.

9. The unemployed must wait patiently, without any form of economic assistance, while a limited number of jobs are handed out to those who conform to the racial, religious, political, or other requirements of the Government or of private employers, and provided they pay the

* Sri Lanka Freedom party, Lanka Sama Samaja party, pro-Moscow Communist party, United National party, Federal party, and Tamil Congress.

necessary "pagga" [bribes] or do the necessary "poojas" [offerings in Buddhist temple ceremonies] to the bureaucrats who recruit them.

10. Workers may be kept even for years on probation or as casual workers; and even so-called permanent workers shall continue to be liable to arbitrary suspension, dismissal, or lock-out.

11. Bonuses may be cut at will, and all wage claims may be deferred indefinitely, while the cost of living continues to rise and pay cuts are imposed as "compulsory savings" for the Government.

12. No worker may strike for political rights or for economic benefits or to remedy any injustice, if the Government decides that the strike affects the "national interest" and imposes compulsory arbitration or declares a "state of emergency" to illegalize strikes.

13. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the public service may be denied the right to form unions in association with other workers outside the public service,

or even with each other, except within the limits of each department or service or category to which they belong.

14. Hundreds of public servants in the middle grades may be denied political rights and even the right to be represented on "Advisory Committees" in the establishment in which they work.

15. Thousands of public servants may be thrown out of employment if they are over 55 years of age.

This list can be multiplied and will multiply as the woes of the people of Ceylon multiply under the deteriorating conditions of the capitalist system. In the circumstances that the so-called "Constituent Assembly" has no mandate to act in the name of the people of Ceylon, the LSSP(R) also declares that a socialist democracy can only be established in any country by the masses themselves, through organs of their own, and under their own control, after they have destroyed the organs of capitalist rule. □

had the cheek to say that this rotten trick was the fixed policy of his government and declared that he would continue to pursue it. This only shows that the Nixon government is bent on going down the road of expanding its war of aggression in Indochina.

For the Nixon government to willfully "escalate" the war in Indochina in a big way is highly dangerous. The U. S. bourgeois press has pointed out that he is taking the road the Truman administration took in Korea many years ago. But Nixon claimed that U.S. imperialist actions of enlarging the aggression "present no threat" to China and said: "I do not believe" that China has "any reason . . . to react to it." Nixon's attempt to tie the hands of the Chinese people in supporting the Laotian people and the other peoples in Indochina in their war against U. S. aggression and for national salvation can never succeed.

Laos is not in Northwest Europe or South America, but in north Indochina. She and China are linked by the same mountains and rivers and have a common boundary of several hundred kilometres. Nixon should not lose his head and forget such common knowledge of geography. By spreading the flames of aggressive war to the door of China, U. S. imperialism certainly poses a grave threat to China. The Chinese people cannot be indifferent to such rabid acts of aggression on the part of U. S. imperialism. The Chinese people have rich experience in struggle against U. S. imperialism and we know very well how to deal with the U. S. aggressors. We must warn Nixon once again that the 700 million Chinese people will never let you run amuck in Indochina.

Though it shows its teeth and claws and adopts an insolent air, U. S. imperialism is in reality only a paper tiger putting up a death-bed struggle. The Nixon government's reactionary policy of persisting in expanding the war in Indochina *started with the aim of injuring others only to end up by ruining itself*, as the law of development which governs all reactionary policies shows. U. S. imperialism will certainly suffer the consequences of its frantic war adventures. □

Since the war was escalated into Cambodia, the population of Pnompenh has doubled, by official estimates.

Documents

China's Answer to Nixon on Laos Invasion

[Following is the full text of the article entitled "Don't Lose Your Head, Nixon" that appeared in the February 20 issue of the Peking *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily). The article was signed "Commentator," generally taken to be a pen name used for official statements of the Chinese Communist party. The translation is by *Peking Review* (February 26 issue).]

* * *

U. S. imperialist chieftain Richard Nixon made a speech reeking with gunpowder at his February 17 press conference. Keeping silent for about ten days after the massive invasion of Laos by U. S. imperialism, Nixon finally came forward with wild warcries, openly revealing his diabolical warmonger features.

Nixon minced no words in making several points clear:

1) To achieve their goal of aggression, the U. S.-puppet troops invading Laos on a massive scale "will stay" there "if it takes a longer time."

2) The Saigon puppets themselves can "make decisions" on invading north Viet Nam.

3) As long as he considers the U. S. forces in south Viet Nam "threatened," he will "take strong action" and is not going to "place any limitation up-

on the use of air power" of the United States.

4) "There will be Americans in south Viet Nam and enough Americans," as long as the so-called U. S. prisoner-of-war issue is not settled.

In this way, Nixon in fact told the whole world that he is wilfully continuing to carry out the criminal plan of persisting in and expanding the war of aggression in Indochina. He is not only prepared to stick to its mad course in Laos, but also plans to step up bombing raids on north Viet Nam further, and even unleash the Saigon puppet troops to mount, with the co-ordination of the U. S. aggressor troops, surprise attacks on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, thus expanding the war of aggression in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina to a still larger scale. Showing his ferocious features, Nixon has indeed reached the height of arrogance.

Nixon's mad talk has again proved to the world that U. S. imperialism wants to hang on in south Viet Nam, and the so-called "troop withdrawal from Viet Nam" is only a ruse aimed at deception. By using this ruse, U. S. imperialism yesterday extended the flames of the war of aggression to Cambodia; and resorting to the same ruse again, it spreads the flames of aggressive war to Laos today. Nixon