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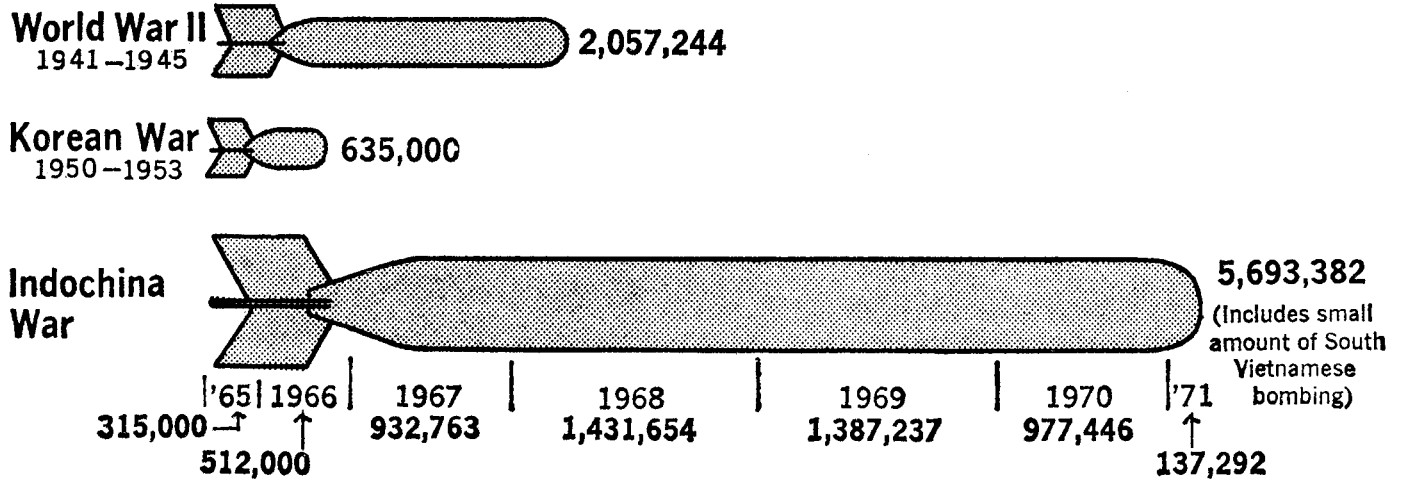
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## U.S. Bombing Tonnage in Three Wars



- New York Times

Prague Frame-up Trial Ends:

## Czech Youths Sentenced

## Rout of Nixon's Forces in Laos

## Victory in Mandel Case

Newton-Cleaver Split:

## Decline of Black Panther Party

## Sixteen 'Trotskyists' Sentenced in Prague

Sixteen of the nineteen Czechoslovak youths in the Prague witch-hunt trial of alleged "Trotskyists" were convicted and sentenced March 19, according to a Reuters dispatch printed in the March 20 *New York Times*. Reuters said that one defendant was acquitted and that two others would be tried later. Their names were not reported.

The trial of the nineteen, said to be members of the Revolutionary Socialist party, has aroused widespread protest from supporters of socialist democracy around the world, particularly in light of the fact that the nineteen were accused of nothing more than the advocacy of revolutionary ideas. (For a report on the charges, see the article on page 270.)

Petr Uhl, 29, reportedly received a sentence of four years. Uhl, a lecturer at the Central Industrial School in Prague, was considered to be the leader of the group. Reuters said that he had acknowledged writing the manifesto of the Revolutionary Socialist party in 1969 and had "... told the court that his views and activities were aimed not against socialism, society or the working class, but against the bureaucracy and the state apparatus."

The other fifteen defendants were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from one to two-and-a-half years.

Friends and supporters of the nineteen appear to have been excluded from the courtroom throughout the trial. Reuters reported:

"Among those who waited outside the courtroom for the verdicts were Rudolf Slansky, son of the former party leader who was hanged after a purge trial in 1952, Jan Sling, son of a former Communist leader [Ota Sling] who was hanged after the same purge trial, and Mrs. Marie Svermova, widow of Jan Svermova, Czechoslovak party and resistance hero." □

### 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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# Nixon's Invasion Force Routed in Laos

"We had been fighting for six weeks in Laos," a soldier in Saigon's First Infantry Division told a United Press International reporter March 19. "We would rather surrender than fight anymore."

The soldier was luckier than many of his companions. He at least was able to board a U. S. helicopter for evacuation to Khesanh.

On March 16, some 1,500 Saigon troops abandoned fire base Lolo, nine miles southeast of Tchepone, under heavy pressure from the liberation forces. Intense anti-aircraft fire prevented helicopters from landing, and the defeated infantry units were forced to hack their way through the jungle. An Associated Press dispatch in the March 16 *New York Times* reported:

"The base's artillery ammunition supply was reported to be virtually exhausted and the helicopters were unable to fly through North Vietnamese fire with new supplies.

"Everytime we go in we get the hell shot out of us," a United States helicopter pilot said . . ."

U. S. officials acknowledged that the retreating troops had been forced to destroy and abandon six artillery pieces. Said a U. S. officer: "It costs more to lose helicopters than to lose artillery guns."

The loss of Lolo was only one stage in what soon became a headlong flight of the invasion forces. On March 20, Saigon's troops were driven from two more bases, Aloui and Brown. As in the case with Lolo, the few helicopters able to get through the anti-aircraft fire were reported besieged by frantic soldiers trying to escape. Alvin Shuster described the rout in the March 21 *New York Times*:

"The base at Aloui, about 12 miles from the Laotian border and one of the first established when the allied operation began, had been the command post for the South Vietnamese armored brigade and the airborne forces. South Vietnamese tanks and other armor were heading back toward the border today [March 20] with North Vietnamese tanks reported in pursuit.

"The hasty withdrawal came after fierce North Vietnamese attacks, some

lasting more than 24 hours, against at least five South Vietnamese troop concentrations. . . .

"United States planes and American helicopter pilots once again went through heavy anti-aircraft fire to pick up the South Vietnamese troops. Several helicopters were shot down today and many were hit by ground fire. . . .

"South Vietnamese troops were again seen hanging from the skids of the American helicopters as they flew across the border . . ."

The troops of the puppet regime were so hard pressed that they were forced to call for raids by giant B-52 bombers almost on top of their own positions. In the March 20 *New York Times*, Shuster wrote that the commander of the First Division admitted some of his troops had been killed by these air strikes.

*New York Post* columnists Mankiewicz and Braden neatly summarized the results of the invasion in the March 20 issue of that paper:

"It is still possible if one places more value on captured rice than on Asian lives to call the invasion of Cambodia 'a success,' but that is no longer true of the operation in Laos. As the South Vietnamese conduct their current 'sweep'—a headlong retreat back to the border—the perfectly good old word 'rout' seems more in order."

The columnists went on to describe the magnitude and implications of the defeat:

"The South Vietnamese, if there are enough helicopters left to airlift them out, will have completed their retreat back to the border by April 1, they have announced. They have suffered heavy casualties and withdrew immediately from the positions around Tchepone—the only area in which they were outside the range of U. S. artillery—as soon as North Vietnamese attack threatened.

"It even appears they never reached Tchepone, an early announced objective, but were airlifted nearby by our helicopters so the American press—reporting that the campaign was bogged down—could report a victory. . . .

"And this army, carried into battle by American helicopters, supported by

as many as 2,000 bombings and strafing sorties a day, totally dependent on us for defense and supply, spiking its guns and heading for home one month before even the earliest pre-invasion estimates—this is the army President Nixon said can 'hack it on its own.'"

The rout of the invasion force was a defeat not only for Nixon's colonial army, but for the U. S. air force as well. American officials have done their best to conceal this fact by reporting as lost only those helicopters from which nothing at all can be salvaged.

But Harold Ellithorpe, writing from Lao Bao on the Vietnam-Laos border, gave a more accurate picture in the March 6 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*. He reported that the U. S. helicopter force lost as much as 10 percent of its initial strength during the first week of the invasion.

The March 8 issue of the German weekly *Der Spiegel* added the information that some helicopter pilots had refused to fly into Laos. The number of such refusals was large enough that the command took no action against the pilots.

The defeat of the invasion, which Nixon had originally heralded as a method of shortening the war, can be expected to add to the war-weariness of the American people. Public sentiment for an immediate pullout from Indochina has already reached the point where bourgeois politicians are forced into unprecedented measures in an attempt to contain it. On March 21, the National Peace Action Coalition [NPAC], the sponsor of the massive demonstrations planned for Washington and San Francisco April 24, placed an advertisement in the *New York Times*. The ad contained a letter signed by Vance Hartke, a U. S. senator from Indiana, calling for the immediate withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Indochina and urging all Americans to join in the April 24 marches.

This was the first time a nationally prominent capitalist politician had made such a demand. Hartke's letter indicated the fear of a large section

of the ruling class at the rapid growth of a mass antiwar movement independent of the control of the capitalist parties.

At the same time, another sector of the ruling class tried a different tactic, red-baiting NPAC and the April 24 demonstrations. In their March 10 column in the *Washington Post*, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak described the actions—which were planned in open, democratic conferences—as the result of a sinister, behind the scenes conspiracy:

"A heated backstage struggle among leftist groups competing for control of the peace movement has been won by factions advocating a nonviolent policy for this spring's antiwar demonstrations in Washington.

"The winners in this intense sectarian

battle were the Trotskyists, whose remarkable renaissance has been built through strong college campus ties and consistent nonviolence. The losers were violence prone New Leftists led by Rennie Davis, who favored revolutionary civil disobedience for the spring demonstrations."

Barely able to conceal their disappointment at the prospect of a massive peaceful demonstration instead of a fight between cops and a handful of ultraleftists, Evans and Novak apparently felt they could frighten off the expected hundreds of thousands of demonstrators with the specter of secret manipulation:

"The well-meaning students, housewives and politicians pouring into Washington to protest President Nix-

on's war policies are at the mercy of backstage power struggles between minute leftist groups as to whether or not they will be unwitting tools and victims of a possibly violent upheaval."

Evans and Novak's hysterical warnings are unlikely to have any effect on the size of the demonstrations. The overwhelming majority of the American people want the U.S. out of Indochina and a growing number of them are willing to come out in the streets to say so.

The recent victories of the Indochinese peoples, by underlining the fact that there is only one way to end the war, will be a powerful spur to the April 24 mass demonstrations for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops. □

## Nationalist Upsurge Threatens 'Islamic State'

# East Pakistanis Demand Bengali Nation

By Gerry Foley

"Air Marshal Asghar Khan, former commander in chief of the air force and leader of the Pakistani Democratic party, told reporters Thursday [March 11] that East Pakistan would certainly separate from the rest of the country if power were not transferred to the autonomist majority party, the Awami League, in the next few days," an Agency France-Presse dispatch in the March 13 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported.

"If power is not immediately turned over to the majority party, he pointed out, Mujibur Rahman, the leader of the Awami League, would no longer be able to preserve the unity of the country. Marshal Asghar, who was speaking on his return from Dacca [the capital of East Pakistan], stressed that the eastern region of Pakistan had 'in its mind' already separated from the western one, with Mujibur Rahman in fact exercising the power of chief of state . . ."

Despite the air marshal's appeal, the central government in West Pakistan, under pressure from the Punjabi-dominated Pakistan People's party (PPP), obstinately refused to accept the Awami League's de facto control of the eastern region. Four days after Asghar Khan's statement, on March

15, Mujibur unilaterally declared himself chief of East Pakistan, or, as it is now being called by the people of the area, "Bangla Desh," the Bengali nation.

"Sheik Mujib issued a total of 35 directives," a March 15 UPI dispatch reported. "He suspended collection of income taxes by the central Government and barred remittance of customs and excise duties and sales taxes which are normally sent to the central Government."

Since March 9, when East Pakistani government officials, following orders from Mujibur, refused to work for the military authorities, it has been apparent that the Awami League holds the actual civil power in East Pakistan.

As the crisis has persisted, this alternative government has widened to include more and more areas of administration. On March 12, the Awami League issued directives governing the operation of banks and economic agencies: "Today's instructions from the league," *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin reported March 12, "lengthened the working hours of banks, loosened bank payments for production and trade purposes and authorized free

transfers of funds within East Pakistan.

"The prohibition on remittances to the West remained in effect, however, and the new instructions required that withdrawals from banks for payment of wages and salaries had to be certified by the workers' organization concerned."

On March 15, Mujibur ordered a series of government activities resumed under the auspices of the Awami League.

"In the face of demands by local businessmen, Mujibur today agreed to allow ports to function; imports and exports to be moved; foreign mail and telegrams transmitted; and one hour of communications daily between East and West Pakistan, primarily to benefit banks," a March 15 AP dispatch reported.

"He also ordered the reopening of government-owned factories and foreign airline offices and payment of government wages and pensions."

With the 75,000,000 inhabitants of East Pakistan, as well as all the apparatus of government administration and economic life solidly behind Mujibur, the central government troops in

the region stayed, for the most part, in their barracks.

Claiming full governmental authority in East Pakistan, Mujibur conceded: "I am still willing to meet President Yahya." When the Pakistani military dictator flew to Dacca the same day for negotiations with the head of a de facto independent state, he was greeted by huge, militant separatist demonstrations: "Dacca this evening erupted with massive processions through the streets," Durdin cabled March 15 from Dacca. "The crowds shouted 'Hail Independent Bangla Desh' and 'Liberation Now.'" Later in the evening, student demonstrators marched by the presidential residence in the eastern capital, chanting "Down with Yahya!" "Enemy Troops Go Home!" and "Independent Bangla Desh," according to a dispatch from Durdin the next day.

Frightened security forces sealed off the area around the presidential mansion for the length of Yahya's visit.

On the route from the airport to the center of the city, the black flag of mourning, displayed throughout the city on the order of the Awami League, replaced the Pakistani flag on a large arms factory. "Workers at a factory next door hanged an effigy of Yahya from the gate," according to a March 15 AP dispatch.

"He is no longer our president," said a union spokesman.

By the third week in March it seemed clear that a great political earthquake had occurred in Pakistan, almost certainly destroying the viability of a religious-based "Islamic state," regardless of the immediate outcome of the present crisis.

"Bengali nationalism has reached such a high pitch," T.J.S. George wrote in the March 13 issue of the Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "that what would have been considered sacrilege till very recently happened in the streets of Dacca last week: the burning of portraits of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the father of Pakistan."

Yet despite the power of this nationalist upsurge, the undisputed leader of a solidly united Bengali people seemed reluctant to make the declaration of full independence demanded by the mobilized masses. Furthermore, Mujib apparently took little action against central government forces still in East Pakistan and even allowed them to be reinforced.

Although the police were replaced

by Awami League "peace patrols" for several days during the general strike that started March 2, press reports suggested that the old security forces had been allowed to resume their activities and were following the orders of the central government. There were no reports that Mujib had taken any measures to form a national militia.

"Passengers on a Pakistan International Airways flight from Karachi



SHEIK MUJIBUR RAHMAN

to Dacca reported that at least 100 of the 160 seats were occupied by army men, most of them in civilian clothes," *New York Times* correspondent Sydney H. Schanberg cabled March 18.

"Before the crisis, the central Government had some 25,000 troops in East Pakistan. The number now is estimated at 40,000 to 60,000."

On March 19, Schanberg reported: "Some Bengali civilians were killed in a clash of unknown origin with West Pakistani troops in Joydevpur 25 miles north of Dacca."

After four sessions with Yahya, Mujibur indicated that a compromise was in sight: "We are progressing," he told the press.

In a cable from Dacca March 21, Schanberg reported that the lines of an agreement were emerging and that it called for preservation of the Islamic state: "Many knowledgeable ob-

servers now believe that a temporary solution will emerge from the talks, in which interim civilian governments will be set up in the country's five provinces—East Pakistan plus the four provinces of West Pakistan—until the recently elected National Assembly can draft a new constitutional structure for the nation."

This compromise seems to represent more or less what Asghar Khan called for March 11. It gives formal recognition to Mujibur's de facto status, enabling him to channel Bengali discontent back into the parliamentary arena and to settle the differences of the rival Punjabi and Bengali bourgeoisies in behind-the-scenes negotiations.

It is doubtful, in the context of rising social struggles on the Indian subcontinent, that the Bengali ruling class is prepared to face the risks of independence, especially when this involves basing the new state on the mobilized masses.

The explosion of popular rage in East Pakistan seems to have carried the Awami League leadership further than it wanted to go. "It was hard to tell whether Mujib was running with the tide or directing it," the *Far Eastern Economic Review* wrote in its March 6 issue. "With the streets of Dacca in chaos, he called for a total general strike which would probably have happened anyway. Shops shut up, cars disappeared from the streets and factories and businesses ground to a halt rather in response to angry and often armed crowds than to any single voice."

It might be expected, then, that Mujibur would be anxious to find a compromise that would get the crowds off the street and enable him to regain control of the situation. The chances that the bourgeoisie can ride out the crisis without a new confrontation do not seem great, however. "Yet the belief is widespread here," Schanberg wrote from Dacca March 21, "that the East Pakistanis' grievances over their long domination by the Western region are so deep that no matter what compromise may be worked out now, it will break down before long and the next push will be for complete independence." □

#### Change for the Better

Trygve Bratteli, Norway's new premier, announced March 18 that his government would establish diplomatic relations with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

## Frame-up of Prague 'Trotskyists' in Indictment

Some fifteen months after the arrest of nineteen Czechoslovak "Trotskyists," a summary of the charges filed against the defendants, now on trial in Prague, has become available in the West.

The summary was prepared in Prague on the basis of the official indictment, from which it quotes extensively. It was forwarded to the editors of *Wiener Tagebuch*,<sup>1</sup> who translated and published it in German.

The omissions in the indictment are as interesting as the actual charges. When the arrests were first announced in January 1970, the defendants were accused of sabotage and arson in addition to political "crimes."

But the days when the Stalinist bureaucracy could count on almost automatic acceptance of such slanders are long past. The Husak regime has quietly retreated from those charges, and the indictment, dated January 7, 1971, does not mention them.

Despite this retreat, what remains confirms the original evaluation printed in *Intercontinental Press* (January 26, 1970, page 64):

"The Husak regime is preparing a frame-up in the style of the notorious Moscow Trials of the thirties to silence its critics on the left. . . . The procedure is simple. Representatives of all kinds of opposition tendencies are lumped together in an amalgam accusing them of participating in a common 'plot.' Fighters for proletarian democracy on the left may thus be accused of associating with the most reactionary forces in a projected crime against the state."

The amalgam prepared for the regime by State's Attorney Dr. Frantisek Stilip does in fact come quite close to the standards of the Moscow Trials. The defendants are accused of connections with the Fourth International; with Polish opposition currents; the Evangelical Church of Germany; *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the

Ligue Communiste [Communist League—the French section of the Fourth International]; the Senate of West Berlin; SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Students Federation]; unnamed "foreign and domestic reaction"; and "right-opportunists" (i.e., supporters of the Dubcek wing) in the Czechoslovak Communist party.

The inclusion of the party opposition in the amalgam is accomplished by a trick borrowed from Stalin himself. It will be recalled that when Stalin wanted to establish a nonexistent link between certain old Bolsheviks and the assassination of Kirov—a member of his entourage—he began by requiring Zinoviev and Kamenev to confess "moral responsibility" for the crime. Prosecutor Stilip uses the same technique, proclaiming that the Dubcek wing gave "unconscious" support to the defendants.

(In this particular instance, Stilip actually goes farther than Stalin did. The latter at least based his frame-up on an actual crime, the murder of Kirov—though he himself may have been behind it. Stilip's amalgam is based on a nonexistent "counterrevolution," used to justify the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.)

The relevant passage of the indictment reads:

"In the summer of 1968, the high point was reached in the long efforts of domestic and foreign reaction to undermine and destroy the socialist order of the republic. With the essential support of the right-opportunist elements, who controlled the mass media and some party organs, preparations had been completed for an immediate counterrevolutionary putsch and the tearing of our republic out of the bloc of socialist states. An important tool for realizing these intentions was the scientifically directed ideological diversion consciously or unconsciously supported by the revisionist forces working within the Czechoslovak Communist party."

The prosecutor uses the same sort of tortured reasoning and outright falsification to link the defendants—defenders of socialist democracy—to foreign imperialism:

"In the framework of this ideological diversion and in order to split the moral and political unity of the peoples of the socialist countries, the foreign enemies of socialism support and spread seemingly anti-imperialist ideas. Therefore they also support various ultraleft movements and Trotskyist groups. These, of course, assume seemingly extreme anti-imperialist positions, but in reality they harm and discredit the revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries. Therefore, in order to weaken socialism, the spreading of Trotskyist and similar literature and its channeling into the socialist countries and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is supported."

But the aims attributed to the defendants would hardly seem to justify the "support" of "foreign enemies of socialism." The summary reports:

"The indictment says that . . . they wanted to replace the state and party apparatus by a system of so-called 'self-management of the entire people.'"

This is presumably a reference to a passage in the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Youth Movement" (a document mentioned later in the indictment):

". . . socialism cannot be achieved without destroying the bureaucratic machine as a social stratum and establishing a system of self-management. Self-management must be introduced in all areas of social life. At the point of production, self-management must take the form of workers councils exercising political and economic power."<sup>2</sup>

Stilip characterizes this demand for soviet democracy as "pseudoradical slogans and programs spread among us by foreign centers, [and] adopted [by the defendants] because of their insufficient theoretical education and limited practical experience."

In Husak's Czechoslovakia, the ideas of Lenin emanate from a dangerous "foreign center"!

Some of the specific acts charged in

1. This is the journal of the grouping led by Franz Marek, a former member of the Central Committee of the Austrian Communist party, who was expelled from the party in May 1970 along with other opponents of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

2. The full text of the manifesto is available in the March 10, 1969, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, page 238.



the indictment are almost absurdly innocuous. They include:

- Posting the "Manifesto of the Revolutionary Youth Movement" in the philosophy faculty of Charles University in Prague.

- A private meeting in Prague at which one of the defendants, Egon Cierny, "expressed radical views and spoke about the possibility of an armed uprising." (Emphasis added.)

- Organizing a demonstration expressing solidarity with the Yugoslav Communist party in the spring of 1969. (That party was holding a congress and the Czechoslovak party had not sent a fraternal delegation.)

- Organizing a demonstration before the East German embassy to protest Ulbricht's expulsion of Burmese students from East Germany.

- Encouraging members of the group to read articles by Trotsky, Bukharin, and Djilas.

- Producing 400 mimeographed copies of a book entitled *Bureaucracy No—Revolution Yes*.

- Founding a "historical-sociological club" that was registered with the Communist party youth organization and received a meeting room from it.

In a socialist democracy, the right of all supporters of socialism to express their views openly would be guaranteed, but in Husak's Czechoslovakia, such expression is a crime. Also a crime is contact with foreign revolutionists. The summary of the indictment reports:

"In the summer of 1969 [it is alleged], several members of the group took part in a trip to France . . . upon his return, the defendant Jaroslav Basta reported . . . that several articles written by [Petr] Uhl and [Sibylle] Plogstedt on the activity of the subversive group had been published in the French paper 'Rouge.'"

The indictment also charges that members of the group visited West Berlin, where the following "crimes" occurred:

"The expenses of their stay were covered by the West Berlin organization of the SDS. They met often with various groups of West Berlin students, as well as having a conference with the functionary of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel, whose participation was secured by the defendant Plogstedt."

In compiling his amalgam, the prosecutor was a bit careless here. Earlier, according to the summary, it was charged that expenses were paid "from

the funds of the West Berlin Senate, through the intermediary of the Evangelical Church"!

But what really alarms the Husak regime is the group's activity against the Soviet occupation and the Czechoslovak bureaucracy. The summary describes these passages:

"The indictment . . . goes into the 'especially strong activity' of the group before the 'first anniversary of the intervention of the allied troops.' It says a leaflet, 'Call of the ideological section of the Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia,' agitated for provocative actions on August 21, 1969. It sharply attacked the representatives of the party and the state, the Soviet Union, and other socialist states, and encouraged illegal activity.

"After enumerating additional leaflets, the indictment says that on August 24, 1969, the group brought out a pamphlet under the title 'Partial Report on the Murder Committed by the Repressive Forces during the night of August 20-21, 1969.' This contained 'crude attacks against the state organs.' . . . At the end of August 1969 the members of the group are said to have distributed a leaflet, 'Call for Solidarity,' in which they called for strikes in connection with the arrest of L[udek] Pachman and the legal measures of the national assembly. . . .

"In the period from September to November 1969 the members of the group are alleged to have worked out the so-called 'Programmatic Declaration of the Revolutionary Socialist Party,'<sup>3</sup> in which the state and political order of the republic are described as a 'bureaucratic-centralist and authoritarian system,' and the creation of a 'United Front of Popular Resistance' against this system is called for."

The indictment charges further that the declaration "called for leaflet campaigns, demonstrations, and strikes, not excluding armed battle."

The defendants are also accused of having distributed leaflets calling for a "broad action" at the beginning of 1970, on the anniversary of Jan Palach's suicide.

3. This document does not appear to have yet reached the West. An idea of the positions of the Revolutionary Socialist party can be obtained from the declaration reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, October 6, 1969, page 885.

The summary also provides some information about charges against individual members of the group.<sup>4</sup> Petr Uhl is described as the leader and accused of reproducing such writings of Polish revolutionaries as Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski's *Open Letter to the Polish United Workers Party*. Sibylle Plogstedt is said to have distributed leaflets about the Soviet invasion in Prague in August 1968 and to have provided Uhl with "ultraleft" literature from West Germany. Filipp Serrano is accused of the "crime" of translating works of "Trotskyists and revisionists," including Ernest Mandel's *On Bureaucracy*.

With such an indictment as this, it is hardly surprising that the Husak regime has reversed past practice and decided to exclude the press from the trial of the Prague "Trotskyists." Even for hardened Stalinists, it must be embarrassing to admit publicly that spreading revolutionary ideas constitutes "undermining the republic." □

4. The *Wiener Tagebuch* summary mentions the names of eleven defendants at various points in the text. The following list of the nineteen defendants is from the March 8 issue of *Rouge*. Where *Wiener Tagebuch* spells the name differently, the alternative spelling is in parentheses: Radan Base, 20, law student; Jaroslav Basta, 22, student; Matilda (Matylda) Brozovska, 27, office worker; Karel Cambula, 47, technician; Egon Ciesny (Cierny), 25, student; Jan Dostal, 21, law student; Jan Frolík, 23, student; Jiri Hofman, 20, worker; Vavrinec Korcis, 23, student; Petr Lukasevic (Lukacovic), 22, laboratory assistant; Sibylle (Sybilla) Plogstedt, 24, student; Filip Serano (Serrano), 24, editor; Karel Sremes (Pavel Sremer), 24, microbiologist; Tomas Sigmund, 27, student; Jaroslav Suk, 22, philosophy student; Petruska Sustrava, 23, employed by the post, telephone, and telegraph department; Maria Taskova, 25, student; Petr Uhl, 29, teacher; Ivan Verma, 24, student.

## Cologne Protest on Laos

Some 800 persons demonstrated in Cologne February 12 against the U.S.-Saigon invasion of Laos. Apprentices, university students, and high-school students joined the action, which was organized in a space of only three days.

Sponsors of the demonstration included SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Student Federation], the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten [GIM—International Marxist Group, the German section of the Fourth International] and Revolutionaer Kommunistische Jugend [RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth], the Republican Club of Cologne, and the philosophical faculty of the University of Cologne. □

## Newton-Cleaver Feud Marks Decline of Panthers

By Allen Myers

On March 8, Robert Webb, a leader of the New York branch of the Black Panther party, was shot down on 125th Street in Harlem. Hit in the back of the head at point-blank range by a bullet from a .357 Magnum, Webb died that night.

In statements released to the press, other New York Panthers immediately charged that Webb's murderers were California Panthers sent into the city by Huey Newton, Panther minister of defense, after Newton had expelled the New York branch in February.

In California, Newton and David Hilliard, the party's chief of staff, denied the charges and accused the police of killing Webb in order later to frame Newton and Hilliard.

Whatever the truth in the incident, it served to emphasize the depth of the division that has split the Panthers' top leaders into two warring factions.

This division first came into public view on February 26 during an interview on a San Francisco television station. Involved were Newton, who appeared in person, and Eldridge Cleaver, the party's minister of information, who spoke by telephone from his Algiers exile.

Cleaver startled Newton by abruptly demanding "that David Hilliard be dismissed or resign from the position of chief of staff of the Black Panther party so that we can go about the work of putting the party back together again."

Cleaver blamed Hilliard for the expulsion of the party's New York branch and the earlier expulsion of nine of the eleven Panthers now on trial in New York on conspiracy charges.

Newton responded the next day by expelling Cleaver and all Panthers living in Algiers. Cleaver, in turn, expelled Newton and Hilliard and three other members of the party's central committee and reinstated the New York Panthers.

Since then, the two factions have exchanged a long series of hyperbolic



NEWTON: Expels New York and Algiers Panthers.

charges—virtually all of them personal attacks.

The March 6 issue of the party's weekly newspaper, the *Black Panther*, which is controlled by the Newton faction, bore on its cover the headline, "Free Kathleen Cleaver and All Political Prisoners."

Kathleen Cleaver, who is married to Eldridge Cleaver and lives in Algiers, is a member of the Panther party central committee and is the party's minister of communications. The newspaper accused Eldridge Cleaver of holding Kathleen Cleaver as a prisoner, beating her, engaging in affairs with other women, and having murdered a man named Rahim, said to have been Kathleen Cleaver's lover. The following passage is typical of the tone of the article:

"Of course, the chauvinist behavior he [Eldridge Cleaver] exhibited and the resulting murder of Rahim was endorsed by the Algerian government of Houari Boumedienne, who himself being an extreme chauvinist and op-

portunist, gave Eldridge the plot of ground in which to bury Rahim; and Boumedienne kept it quiet for him. Yasir Arafat and Al Fatah might accept this, but we know that Dr. George Habash of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine would never accept this. The Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Republic of China would never have tolerated this kind of behavior. . . .

"Even though, if Kathleen is allowed to speak for herself, she will probably support the ravings of her personal, mad oppressor, we know that to speak otherwise at this time would be a death warrant for her. So we will understand."

Cleaver and his faction replied that Hilliard was controlling Newton with "mind-bending drugs." Pointing at Newton's \$650-a-month apartment in Oakland and Hilliard's recent purchase of a \$60,000 house, they charged the two were using party funds for personal advantage. Finally, they accused their opponents of creating a personality cult around Newton. (In addition to publishing large photographs of Newton and lavish praise for "the invincible thoughts of Huey P. Newton," the *Black Panther* had recently baptized Newton "Supreme Servant of the People.")

Although the feud has attracted a great deal of attention in the press, there is really nothing new in it, other than the involvement of the party's highest leaders. The bureaucratic and sectarian practices on display now have been characteristic of both of the present factions since as far back as January 1969, when the *Black Panther* announced a "purge" of the party.

In the ensuing period, hundreds and perhaps thousands of members have been expelled, including whole branches at a time. Almost invariably, the reasons given consist solely of personal attacks. A typical example was provided by a statement announcing the expulsion of Elmer Pratt—known as Geronimo in his political work—in the January 23, 1971, *Black Pan-*



ther. Signed by Newton, the statement said in part:

"He [Geronimo] advised the Party that he had organized some other fools, that they were armed and that if his demands were not met, he would 'move on' (assassinate) our Chief of Staff, David Hilliard. This nape further stated that he in fact didn't like the manner in which the Chief of Staff conducted himself or the Party's business, and that he felt he needed to be removed anyway. . . .

"But, the most disgraceful, counter-revolutionary, piggish and dog-like thing this pig has done is to state openly that if the Party would not go along with his ideas, he would assassinate the Supreme Commander and Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, Huey P. Newton."

Geronimo was further accused of using party funds to buy liquor and drugs; rape; and of having bought Christmas presents for his friends ("'Christmas' being the high holiday of the pig capitalists . . ."). The content of the ideas Geronimo allegedly wished to force on the party was not mentioned.

The very same issue of the paper contained a sectarian attack on Angela Davis by Eldridge Cleaver. He declared that the case of the imprisoned Black Communist party member, who faces a possible death sentence, was a "smokescreen" sent up by "the U. S. fascists, with the active collusion of the U. S. Communist Party." Cleaver added:

"And now we see the entire propaganda apparatus of the U. S. fascists, and the propaganda apparatuses of all its friends around the world, going into hysteria over the sweet case of Angela Davis. This is nothing more nor less than a calculated tactic by reactionary forces to hide from the eyes and ears of the world the case of Bobby Seale. . . ."

This was the first time the name Angela Davis was mentioned in the paper. (Since the split, the *Black Panther* has announced its support for the defense.)

The split in the Black Panther party is a remarkable parallel to the fragmentation two years ago of SDS [Students for a Democratic Society]. Hamstrung by bureaucratic organizational practices and the lack of a program for mobilizing the masses of the Black community, the party turned inward and is now devouring itself.

The disintegration, however, pro-



HILLIARD: Cleaver faction says he controls Newton.

duces greater dangers than that of SDS. The vicious charges being thrown back and forth can only aid the U. S. government's attempts to imprison scores of Black Panther members.

## Maudling Challenged in Dutschke Case

A group of internationally famed British scholars including Christopher Hill, Master of Balliol, have founded a branch of the Council for Academic Freedom and Democracy at Oxford. They say that in the past two years the threats to and violations of academic freedom have included the employment of security firms in universities, the attempted employment of political informers, and dismissals.

A delegation of three students and three teachers from Oxford and Cambridge are trying to see Home Secretary Maudling to discuss the repercussions of the deportation of Rudi Dutschke, the German socialist student who was recuperating in Britain from a bullet in the brain fired by an ultrarightist in an assassination attempt.

Each group will have its own petition on academic and individual freedom with lists of signatories.

The petition from senior members of

The case of Bobby Seale, the party chairman, who is now on trial on murder charges in Connecticut, is only the best known of many. (Seale has refused to take sides in the split until his trial has concluded.) Newton, Cleaver, Hilliard, Geronimo, eleven New York Panthers, and others around the country are all objects of political attacks by the government and must be defended, no matter how much more difficult the present feud makes the defense.

An equal danger is created by the Panthers' long history of ultraleft rhetoric about "picking up the gun," their willingness to use hooligan tactics to settle political disputes, and the practice of declaring every opponent an "enemy of the people."

This danger was illustrated clearly in the killing of Robert Webb, who, according to his supporters, was trying to prevent sales of the *Black Panther* at the time he was shot. Tolerance of hooliganism now provides cops and provocateurs with an opportunity to gun down members of one faction and blame it on the other. And it is not at all excluded that the cops might extend this tactic against other organizations on the left as well.

It appears at this point that the disintegration of the Panthers has proceeded too far to be checked by any of the party's warring factions. The task now is to minimize the damage and draw the lessons of the debacle. □

Oxford University, drafted by Christopher Seton-Watson, asks the home secretary to comment on four points:

1. The possibility that the Dutschke decision will deter foreign students from studying at British universities.
2. The role of the security services in British universities in relation to foreign students.
3. The desirability of maintaining the freedom of British universities to select their own personnel at all levels within the bounds of law and precedent, and without the intervention of governmental political tests.
4. The difficult position into which students and teachers of politics and modern history, who are constantly concerned with revolutionary politics in their academic work, have been put by the definition of political activities handed down in the Dutschke case. □

# Sanrizuka Farmers Win Support in Airport Fight

By Wataru Yakushiji

Osaka

"The peasants' militancy has not diminished in the slightest. . . . They are now fully prepared for a prolonged struggle, organizing cooperative farming works. . . . Day after day they receive financial contributions from all over the country and the Hantai-domei [protest alliance] has no financial difficulties at all. One peasant organization after another has offered to mobilize solidarity demonstrations and there has even been an offer from Ibaragi prefecture [north of Chiba prefecture where the peasant struggle is taking place] to mobilize thousands of peasants. . . . The young leadership of the Hantai-domei is enthusiastically planning to organize a national peasants' action committee. They are quite determined and ready for a prolonged fight. The zero hour has not yet arrived."

The above quotation is from the March 19 issue of *Asahi Janaru*, a quality weekly magazine with a nationwide circulation, which describes the current battles of the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Peasant League Against the New Tokyo International Airport. This organization, representing some 300 peasant families, has been fighting since 1967 to prevent the forcible expropriation of its land for the construction of a massive airport complex.

On February 22 of this year the government of Chiba prefecture [in which Sanrizuka is located], under orders of the Sato regime, began the "compulsory expropriation" of peasants' land. Since 1967 Kodan [New Tokyo International Airport Public Corporation] has managed to take over some 99 percent of the land it demanded for the airport, about thirty-six miles east of Tokyo. Only nine acres of the total 1,400 acres remain to be expropriated.<sup>1</sup> This last, disputed land lies at the end of a nearly completed 13,000-foot runway.

1. Kodan was able to push through agreements with two groups of villagers giving it control of the bulk of the land by October 1969, when the actual construction work began.

The conservative prefectural governor, facing local elections on April 17, was at first cautious in using police violence to evict the remaining farmers. He called up 3,000 riot police February 26, then to temper criticism declared a two-day "armistice" as the month ended.

On March 2, the governor, with Premier Sato's direct endorsement, moved to forcibly oust the embattled farmers. More than 3,000 "onlookers," sympathetic to the farmers, prevented the police from having a free hand to attack the holdouts. Some even joined with militant students and workers, who had come to aid the peasants, in throwing stones at the police.

The government increased its force of riot police to 5,000 through March 6. These forces were used to prevent crowds of sympathizers from getting near the site where the farmers had barricaded themselves into several small "fortresses."

The police, aided by private guards hired by Kodan, finally succeeded in smashing the barricades and removing peasants who had chained themselves to trees and other objects. The revolutionary peasants, with their worker and student allies, burned tons of old automobile tires, threw Molotov cocktails, and defended themselves with sharpened bamboo shafts.

As of March 6, when the Chiba prefectural government and Kodan insist the expropriation ended, 461 persons had been arrested and 821 were injured. The police sought to prevent medical teams from giving aid to the wounded.<sup>2</sup>

The Hantai-domei itself mobilized about 3,000 men and women in the struggle.<sup>3</sup> In addition some 600 primary and junior high-school students

2. Prior to the February-March clashes, perhaps 3,000 persons had been arrested and 1,000 injured over the period from the first major confrontation in October 1967.

3. Peasant women were in the forefront of this fight. Many said this was the first time in their lives they had won the right to speak out openly in a political struggle.

participated, as did as many as 10,000 militant workers and students who came from all over the country. The Japan section of the Fourth International helped to organize a contingent of some 1,500 persons, many of whom were arrested or injured.

Though the government insists that the "compulsory expropriation" was successfully concluded, the opposition has not in fact been defeated. Kodan is in no position to begin construction on the land it claims to have expropriated.

The Hantai-domei prepared in advance for the present situation by digging more than fifty underground caves from which to carry on the fight. Since March 7 peasants and their allies have remained in these caves and fortified them against attack. The armed forces have thus far refrained from trying to seize these redoubts as this could only be accomplished at great risk of killing numbers of the defenders. Given the broad sympathy in the country for the embattled farmers, the government has tried to avoid fatal clashes.

\* \* \*

The Sanrizuka struggle has three aspects: (1) a peasants' struggle to defend their right to live in face of capitalist exploitation; (2) a revolutionary struggle against a military base; and (3) a citizens' struggle to protect their daily lives from the environmental destruction caused by the airport.

Since 1966, when the government first decided on Sanrizuka as the site of a new international airport capable of handling big jet transports, the peasants' struggle has more and more taken on an anticapitalist character. Of course it was a movement to protect private farmland. But in confrontation with the capitalist state, which represents the interests of imperialist capital, the movement soon went beyond its initial petty-bourgeois character.

Already in 1968, young peasants, often the sons and daughters of rather well-off farmers, began to take the

lead in the struggle. This was a direct reversal of the general tendency of young people to desert the rural areas and migrate into the cities.

(This migration is so widespread that Japanese agriculture is popularly referred to as "Sanchan-Nogyo," that is, farming done by grandparents and older women. The youth and even the middle generation peasant men drift into the cities, often never to return to their homes.)

The return of the youth of Sanrizuka to the land was in large part a conscious renunciation of the values of capitalist society—whose contradictions are most sharply expressed in the tightly organized repressive system in force in the urban centers. To declare themselves "peasants" under these circumstances had for these youths a rebellious significance that was part and parcel of the worldwide youth radicalization. It was only natural then that the Sanrizuka peasant movement would actively seek allies among the young radicals on the university campuses.

This expanded movement drew certain political lessons in the course of the struggle. It was learned that the present Tokyo International Airport at Haneda, which the government claims is too small, is being used militarily by the U. S. and Japanese air forces as part of the aggression against the people of Vietnam. The peasants vowed to prevent their own land from being used for such a purpose by the imperialists and declared their solidarity with the Vietnamese National Liberation Front [NLF]. In the February-March clash, the farmers hoisted NLF flags above their barricades and fortresses.

Thus since 1968 the struggling peasants of Sanrizuka must be counted among the vanguard mass movements opposing the Japan-U. S. Security Treaty and for the unconditional return of Okinawa to the mainland.

In this process also, the peasants learned the reformist nature of Sohyo [General Council of Trade Unions of Japan], the Japan Socialist Party [JSP], and the Japan Communist Party [JCP]. The only consistent supporters of the Sanrizuka fight have been the anti-imperialist radical youth, in particular the Trotskyists.

The aspect of a citizens' struggle against environmental destruction is a recent development. Of course the inhabitants of nearby villages and towns have been fearful of the inevitable noise of ascending and descend-

ing aircraft. But at the beginning there was no general understanding of the degree to which life would be disrupted by the new airport—not only by the planes but by the heavy traffic to and from the airport.

Since the middle of 1969 there have been important fights waged in other parts of the country around the issues of air and water pollution. The bad experiences of the inhabitants of Itami, where Osaka International Airport is located, became known.

There have been national scandals at the death and suffering resulting from chemical poisoning of the environment by various kinds of industrial pollution.<sup>4</sup>

The government has begun to talk of creating an industrial center in the regions surrounding the new airport. Experiences elsewhere have convinced the residents of Sanrizuka that they want no part of such an enterprise as long as the only criterion in its construction is its profitability to big capital and not its effect on human health. Two or three years after the completion of the airport, the whole

4. The so-called Minamata disease is the best known of these fatal afflictions, caused by mercury-laden wastes dumped into a bay at Minamata by the New Japan Nitric Chemicals company. The same "disease" has appeared in Niigata prefecture where it is known as Agano River Mercurialism. In Toyama prefecture there is the so-called Itai-itai disease, in reality cadmium toxicosis. And the fourth of the widely publicized syndromes is Yokkaichi Asthma, a result of heavy air pollution created by a petroleum chemical complex in Yokkaichi near Nagoya.

## Women Give Trafalgar Square New Image

The British Department of the Environment tried to prevent the women's liberation movement from using Trafalgar Square in a demonstration scheduled for March 6.

The women planned to use part of London's huge and famed square to stage a short mime portraying how society casts females from birth in what has become woman's traditional role.

The department decreed that such a project would destroy the image of the square "as a major national setting for serious public meetings based on making speeches."

Trafalgar Square has been the scene of innumerable meetings, rallies, and actions of all kinds.

When Connie Harris, who was in charge of arrangements for the Britain-wide women's action, protested the department's decree, she was told that although perfor-

area can expect to share the dusty poisonous air now found at Kashima, fifty miles to the east, and at Yokkaichi.

Even schoolchildren ask their teachers why they do not fight the airport in order to preserve conditions suitable for study. The Shonen-Kodotai [Schoolboys Action Group] has been one of the most militant organizations in the long Sanrizuka protest.

Whatever the final outcome in Sanrizuka, the struggle there has had an inestimable impact on the radical movement in Japan. This has been so especially because the Sanrizuka struggle embodies so many elements fundamental to the worldwide youth radicalization that give it a universality beyond its local significance. This fight has helped in the generation of a new wave of radicalization in Japan for the first time since 1968-69.

The general radicalization is reflected in the challenge in the unions to the entrenched bureaucracies, and in the interest among younger workers in pressing demands that go beyond wage increases, such as for workers control, etc. The student movement has begun to rebuild its base. There have been important struggles against the government's proposed immigration law aimed at restricting the rights of Koreans and Chinese residing in Japan. The continued mass mobilization in Okinawa is another symptom of the mood. The Japan section of the Fourth International is prepared to make its contribution to the battles that lie ahead. □

mances of the type planned had been allowed in the past, the regulations would be interpreted more strictly in the future.

By strange coincidence, the women's demonstration happened to be the first event to be strictly interpreted.

As protest mounted, officials decided it was the better part of wisdom not to choose this particular action as the first in stricter interpretation of the regulations.

Some 4,000 women marched without further trouble, giving Trafalgar Square a new image, which—strictly interpreted—was highly in keeping with the times. □

### Like Having Nixon Head Peace Corps

Chiang Ching-kuo, son and heir apparent of Chiang Kai-shek, is the director of the "China Youth Corps." The younger Chiang is sixty-one years old.

# Important Victory Scored in Ernest Mandel Case

By George Novack

On March 11 a three-judge federal court in Brooklyn, New York, by a two-to-one decision, upheld the right of Ernest Mandel, internationally known Belgian Marxist, to obtain a visa to lecture at colleges and conferences in the United States. The judges declared that the United States government could not ban an alien visitor even though the visitor advocated "the doctrines of world Communism" and revolution.

Their decision rendered unconstitutional sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act, known as the McCarran-Walter Act, one of the key pieces of ultrareactionary legislation passed at the height of the McCarthy witch-hunt in 1952. The court granted a preliminary injunction against U. S. Attorney General John Mitchell and Secretary of State William Rogers who had excluded Mandel from speaking in the United States in the fall of 1969.

The judges' ruling backed a joint suit filed in June 1970 by Mandel and eight distinguished scholars from six leading Eastern universities. The plaintiffs were Professor Norman Birnbaum, department of anthropology-sociology at Amherst; Professor Noam Chomsky, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Richard A. Falk, professor of international law, Princeton; Professor Robert Heilbroner, New School for Social Research; Professor Wassily Leontiev, Harvard, who is chairman of the American Economics Association; Professor David Mermelstein, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; Professor Louis Menashe, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn; and Professor Robert Wolff, department of philosophy, Columbia University.

These academic figures contended that the rejection of Mandel's visa application for an American speaking tour in October-November 1969 restricted the right of Americans to hear the opinions of other scholars in their fields.

Corliss Lamont, chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the committee, which had initiated the case, hailed the deci-

sion as a significant civil liberties victory extending the First Amendment of the Constitution to cover the right to hear and to know alongside the right to freedom of expression.

In its thirty-page opinion, the court majority supported the right to "free and open academic exchange." It proclaimed invalid sections of the immigration law as "imposing a prior restraint on constitutionally protected communication."

The government had contended that Mandel had written and published material advocating and teaching "the doctrine of world Communism." It maintained that the attorney general was not required "to have factual support to justify his discretionary decision not to grant temporary admission since the power to exclude is absolute and waiver of exclusion purely a matter of grace."

The court majority gave credence to what it called the validity of the country's concern with "the threat of international Communism" and supposed public apprehension about doctrines teaching "that the entire frame of government, including its basic constitution, must be uprooted by the forcible seizure of the total power to govern." It nonetheless ruled that the First Amendment protected the right of debate.

They stressed the distinction between advocacy and acts. The Supreme Court has held that there is "a dichotomy between the protected freedom to preach the doctrines thus legislatively pronounced to be abhorrent to the nation's free institutions and the punishable illegality of taking significant action to initiate subversion and revolution."

The Brooklyn court majority stressed that the First Amendment guaranteed "to the people as sovereign" their right to "an open and wide-ranging debate, publication and assembly, to review the government they have created, the adequacy of its functioning and the presence or absence of a need to alter or displace it."

The dissenting judge, Bartels, con-

tended that his colleagues, while recognizing "the sovereign power to exclude in the interest of self-preservation," had subordinated this to the First Amendment guarantee of freedom of expression. He stated that "in the hierarchy of priorities the imperative of national security in dealing with aliens" must come first.

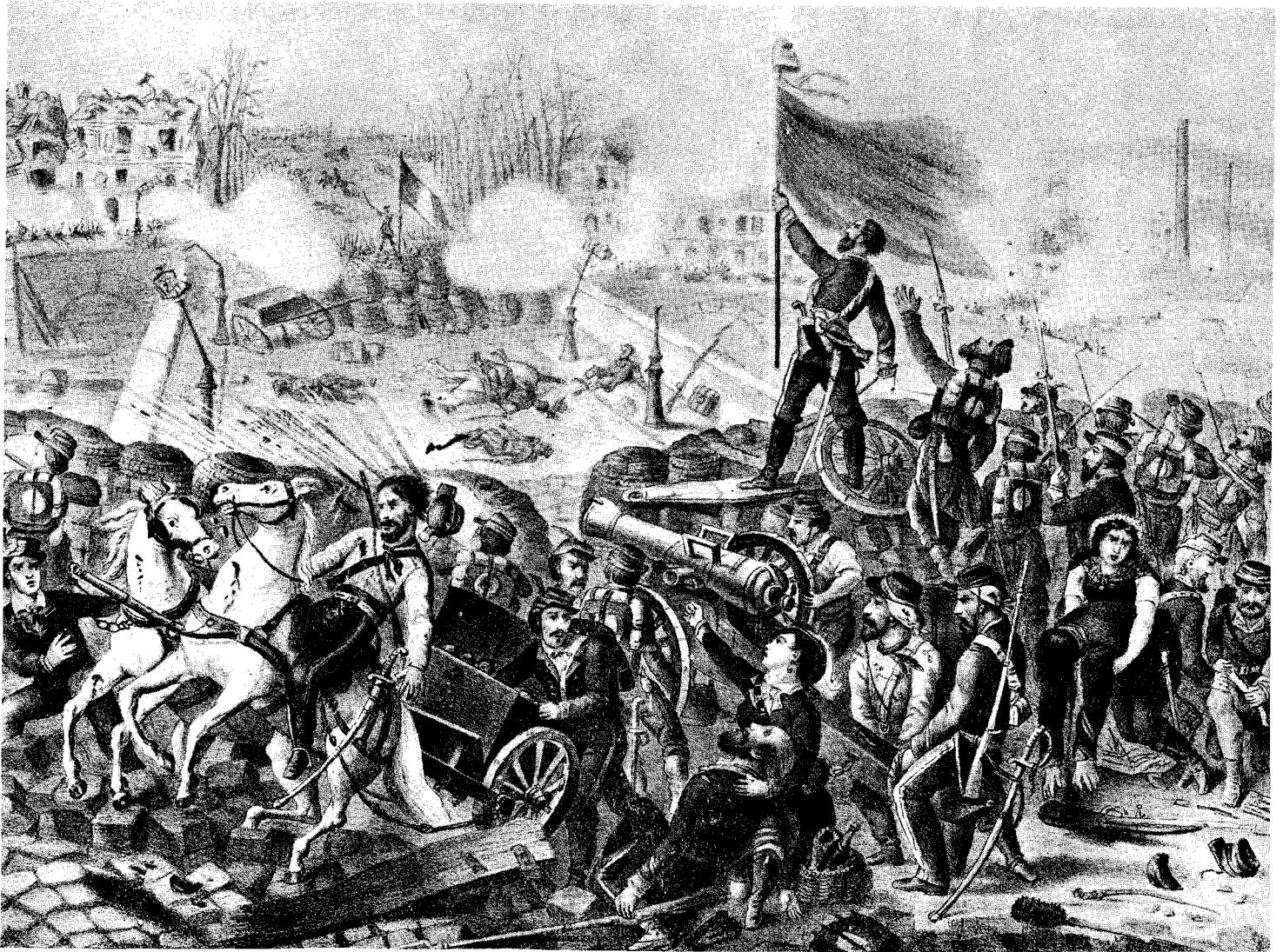
"The loss of thousands of lives and the expenditure of billions of dollars attest to the fact that the Federal Government has reached the judgment that the continued worldwide growth of the Communist movement as practiced in its tyrannical form is inimical to the best interests of this nation."

When Mandel was refused entry in 1969, this reversion to McCarthyism stirred vigorous protest, especially in academic circles. Two Nobel laureates, Salvador Luria and George Wald; the presidents of Stanford, Princeton, and Vassar; and faculty members of more than fifty universities condemned the ban. This public outcry provoked an open split at the top of the Nixon administration. While the State Department recommended lifting the ban, the attorney general refused to budge. A November 27, 1969, *New York Times* editorial called Mitchell's stand "an incredible example of autocratic insensitivity."

The government will most likely appeal the decision knocking out the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act to the U. S. Supreme Court. If a majority there sustains the lower court ruling that the sections are unconstitutional, this would have broad implications in view of the subsequent exclusions of Gisela Mandel, the Pakistani socialist Tariq Ali, and others under the act. □

### Algeria Nationalizes Oil

Algeria's president Houari Boumediene announced at an Algiers trade-union meeting February 24 that his government was nationalizing a 51 percent share of all French-owned oil companies in the country. French assets in natural gas were also nationalized. Boumediene promised to pay compensation to the former owners.



APRIL 2, 1871. Communards in foreground, under red flag, halt advance of counterrevolutionary Versailles troops flying the tricolor. Scene is a barricade on the Pont de Neuilly. Rev-

olutionaries made a sortie but were driven back under heavy artillery fire. In a fierce engagement the Communards held their barricade in face of elite military units from Versailles.

## The Communards Live On in the Struggles of Today!

# Paris Demonstration Set for Commune Centennial

March 18 marks the one hundredth anniversary of the uprising of the proletarian Paris National Guard that brought the Commune to power. This first successful socialist revolution—though it lasted only seventy-two days before being crushed by the bourgeois Versailles regime in a terrible massacre—has been for a century a source of inspiration to workers' parties everywhere. It has served also as a model of how society can be run in a truly socialist and democratic manner. During the centennial of the events of

March through May 1871, there will be commemorations of various kinds in many parts of the world.

Plans for a giant International Demonstration of Revolutionary Youth in the French capital were announced in the March 1 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly organ of the Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International]. The initial call for the demonstration was approved at the Red Europe conference of European revolutionary organizations held in Brussels Novem-

ber 21-22 with an attendance of 3,500 activists from every country on the continent.

"The project of a mass mobilization converging on Paris has now been launched in most West European countries," *Rouge* reported.

In France itself, the Ligue Communiste has decided to develop a nationwide mobilization focused on the planned demonstration in Paris. "The goal is to bring thousands, or tens of thousands of youth and revolutionary workers from all over France and the



rest of Europe to Paris (probably on May 15-16) for a gigantic demonstration. . . .

"The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Commune must not be limited to a single demonstration followed by a rally. The mobilizations May 15-16 must be the culminating point of a period of agitation in the high schools, the universities, the youth centers, in the market places, and at the factory gates.

"Only in this way can the international demonstration in Paris be a striking success, making it possible to give a single focus to the struggles and demands of the youth and at the same time affirm the organic link between the youth movement and the revolutionary proletariat."

In initiating the work of building the mobilization, the Ligue Communiste expressed the hope that all revolutionists would unite in the actions: "Any group or individual that agrees with the political conception of the commemoration is invited to participate fully in this effort. The cells of the Ligue Communiste and the Comités Rouges [Red Committees] will support united committees to build the Commune commemoration everywhere and will propose that the existing struggle committees take responsibility for organizing the mobilization."

In contrast to the traditional commemorations of the Commune, the Ligue Communiste proposed to make the May 15-16 actions an affirmation of political solidarity with the example of the uprising and the need for applying its lessons today.

"For us, the centenary of the Commune is not an occasion, as it is for the PCF [Parti Communiste Français — French Communist party], for burying the heroic (but adventurist) fighters of the bygone nineteenth century. It is not an occasion for paying homage to 'those who stormed the heavens,' of extolling their courage while advocating parliamentary roads to socialism from now on. Let the PCF organize the funeral ceremonies. No mourning procession! No burial rites! . . .

"Commemorating the centennial of the Commune means affirming the timeliness of the revolutionary aspirations of the Communards as they are expressed today in the struggles of the working class and youth. It means affirming our faith in the political lessons of the Commune (refusing to convert them into dead icons)."

The two main themes of the demonstration were chosen to relate the example of the Commune directly to the fight for socialism today.

"First of all, we must give concreteness to the slogan 'The Commune Is Not Dead; It Lives in the Struggles of the International Youth and Workers Movement.' The march must not be merely commemorative, celebrating the great deeds of the Communards. It must raise the essential slogans of the struggles since May 1968.

"Secondly, both in the period of preparation and in the demonstration itself, we must strongly stress the political theme that 'The Commune Is the Symbol of Workers Democracy, the First Organized Form of a Workers State, the Concrete Expression of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.' It is equally important to point up the contrast between the bureaucratic and dictatorial regimes of the Eastern bloc — where a privileged bureaucracy has usurped power from the workers, depriving them of their right to orga-

nize and express themselves politically — and the Paris Commune (the precursor of Soviet power), the achievement of real workers democracy.

"From this standpoint, we must utilize the centennial to popularize our concept of socialism (to popularize the slogan of a Republic of Workers Councils) and to declare the solidarity of the youth and the revolutionary workers with revolutionists in Eastern Europe, such as Kuron and Modzelewski in Poland, Petr Uhl and his comrades in Czechoslovakia, the Russian oppositionists, etc. . . . We must popularize their fight against the bureaucracy that holds power and for the establishment of genuine workers democracy, for a state in the hands of the workers, such as appeared for the first time in history in the Paris Commune.

"In the present political situation (the events in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the Stalinist reaction in the USSR), this aspect of the mobilization is extremely important." □

## Governments, Oil Companies 'Complacent'

## Lead Pollution Worse than Mercury

British experts have warned that lead pollution may be a more critical threat to human life than mercury pollution. Robert C. Cowen, writing in the March 8 Boston *Christian Science Monitor*, quotes Professor Derek Bryce-Smith of Reading University, Great Britain, as saying: "No other toxic chemical pollutant has accumulated in man to average levels so close to the threshold for overt chemical poisoning."

Dr. Kenneth Mellanby, director of the Monks Wood Experimental Station and one of Britain's top environmentalists, says that he thinks the scare about mercury in tuna was exaggerated, but that lead pollution is much more dangerous. Mercury pollution, according to Mellanby, although it does cause serious local damage, is not nearly as universal a pollutant as lead. Lead from automobile exhaust has been found in the Arctic and in ocean waters far away from shore.

Jacques Cousteau, the oceanographer, told the Council of Europe last year that the percentage of lead in

the upper one hundred meters of the ocean is five times what it was fifty years ago.

Professor Jean Piccard has warned that the lead, which concentrates mostly in upper waters, may damage plankton, the source of a large part of the world's oxygen, and the beginning of the food chain for much of marine life.

Professor Bryce-Smith further pointed out that 30 percent of the children living in British cities already have too much lead in their blood, according to criteria developed by London's Great Ormond Street Hospital for Children.

Up to the present, there have been no diagnosed cases of severe lead poisoning from general atmospheric or water pollution, but Dr. Mellanby and other experts, the *Christian Science Monitor* reports, "wonder about subclinical, but still deleterious, effects."

Dr. Mellanby insists that "the margin of safety is such that we should not take the risk unless avoiding it would be absolutely ruinous, and it wouldn't



be. I think we shouldn't take the risk, especially for young children."

"He adds," according to the *Christian Science Monitor*, "that he expects lead will eventually be phased out of gasoline. But it does seem surprising that, in view of the sharp concern over mercury contamination, governments have been complacent about lead."

Inasmuch as the source of the pollution is a best-selling product of American oil companies, there is nothing surprising about this complacency at all.

The British scholar Dr. Malcolm Caldwell made some apropos observations on this in a lecture in Singapore recently. "Giant international corporations rank as 'great powers' in today's world, since they can make and unmake governments and lead nations into war," he said, according to a February 24 Associated Press dispatch.

"Standard Oil of New Jersey, for instance, has a bigger annual turnover than the gross national products of Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore combined.

"In fact, the Standard Oil group as

a whole stands third only to the United States and the Soviet Union as an economic entity."

Caldwell pointed out that since the American oil companies controlled three-fifths of the U.S. gross national product, it was perfectly understandable that "they can dictate foreign policy."

"This kind of economic inequality is extremely dangerous," Dr. Caldwell said, "because these vast industrial empires answer only to a handful of the leading shareholders."

It could be added that the dictation is not limited to foreign policy. □

## South Africa

# The Long Struggle for Freedom in Pondoland

Lusaka, Zambia

The fact is a Pondoland revolt is going on. With their usual tactic of throwing up a smoke screen, the February 16 press reported "a battle between rival tribal gangs in the Lusikisiki district, Eastern Pondoland, over grazing rights."

It stated that 600 persons were involved, of whom twenty-eight were killed. A "later battle" was mentioned in which four were killed.

To reduce the fight to tribal factionalism is a patent lie.

In this region the leaders have long been associated with the All-African Convention, which sent organizers among the African peasantry as early as the first part of the forties.

This is the region where I. B. Tabata was arrested in 1948 on a charge of incitement after addressing the many peasants on the mountainside on the fraud of the so-called Rehabilitation Scheme.

The Rehabilitation Scheme, which in many villages was forced on the people by the chiefs cooperating with the government, was designed to smoke out of the Reserves a greater number of Africans by depriving them still further of their plots of land and their cattle.

Thus landlessness became an instrument of greater economic exploitation of the Africans, who comprise three-quarters of the Black population, which itself (Africans, Coloureds, In-

dians) comprises four-fifths of the total population.

A system of apartheid laws maintains what is in effect forced labor—cheap Black labor—which is channeled into the mines, farms and industries. African trade unions are illegal, and to strike is a criminal offense.

All African labor is decreed by law to be migrant labor. That is, Africans cannot enter the cities of South Africa as their right or stay even in locations (segregated ghettos outside the cities) as their right.

Through labor bureaus in the Reserves, they are hired, perhaps for a year, as contract labor in the mines, etc. Then they are shunted back or dumped into barren areas where there is little or no work.

Since several million Africans had previously gravitated to a big industrial city like Johannesburg, living there in the locations, some with women and children, this forcing of Africans to be only migrants has resulted in a million or more being thrown out of the cities. The industrialists, both Afrikaners as well as English-speaking, have made an uproar over the policy, arguing that it is a dangerous brake on the economy, since skilled labor, which is desperately needed, can be drawn only from the whites; i.e., one-fifth of the population. Africans are excluded from skilled work, only a few Col-

oured or Indians being permitted to become skilled or semiskilled.

The peasants focused their revolt in the fifties against the Rehabilitation Scheme. And the All-African Convention, which, as a federal body representing Africans, is affiliated to the Unity Movement, encouraged the formation of independent peasant committees operating clandestinely in defiance of their chiefs and white officials.

Peasant resistance to the Rehabilitation Scheme first spread throughout the Transkei, Cape Province, the largest Reserve of more than a million Africans. From there it spread to Zululand in Natal Province, and later to the Reserves in the Northern Transvaal.

A picture of the terrorism employed by the fascist, racist government in crushing this resistance is to be found in the memorandum presented to the Liberation Committee of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in December, 1963. The memorandum was drawn up by the Unity Movement of South Africa and the All-African Convention and presented by a delegation headed by I. B. Tabata, president of the Unity Movement.

The Pondoland revolt broke out in 1960. It was brutally suppressed by government armed forces. Under Proclamation 400, which applies only to Africans, a policeman can arrest an African in the Reserves at any

time, day or night, without charges; and the victim is not entitled to a trial. He can be held indefinitely.

This "law" has been the scourge of the Africans ever since 1960, for it was not lifted when the Transkei became what was cynically called an independent Bantustan.

N. Honono, the president of the All-African Convention, was the first to be arrested under this law. He was kept in solitary confinement for six months and then placed under close house arrest. He is now in exile, hav-

ing escaped into Swaziland in 1963.

It was in 1961-62 that the African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa was established as the political wing of the Unity Movement of South Africa. While a large number of intellectuals, white as well as Black, were fleeing the country, the APDUSA, whose organizers operated in the cities and the Reserves, gained many adherents. Some peasant leaders in the Transkei and in Northern Transvaal, by joining the APDUSA individually, brought their people in-

to the federal body, the Unity Movement.

The current unrest in Pondoland, then, is a continuation of a very long struggle on the part of the African peasantry against repression, against the whole system of apartheid, and in particular against the notorious Rehabilitation Scheme.

The world must not be deceived into reducing to faction fights what is a long, indomitable struggle for liberation among the most exploited section of the Black population in South Africa. □

## Canada

# Trudeau Sharpens Attack on Quebec Defendants

Paul Rose was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Montréal court March 13 for allegedly participating in the killing of Québec labor minister Pierre Laporte last October 16. The circumstances of the conviction set an ominous precedent for the upcoming trials of a broad spectrum of Québec independentist leaders who face charges not directly related to the death of Laporte.

The Trudeau regime has made every effort to use the Laporte slaying by a small group of ultraleftists of the Front de Libération du Québec [FLQ—Québec Liberation Front] as a pretext for widespread repression of the entire Québec nationalist movement. Rose's trial was stage-managed by the prosecution to lend credence to the government's claim that an "insurrection" was imminent in October. This was the reason given by Trudeau for invoking the War Measures Act October 16, suspending civil liberties in Canada.

That the government had political aims going beyond the specific charges in this case was clear from the handling of the prosecution of Rose and his codefendants. Rose was not permitted to have the attorney of his choice, Robert Lemieux, the well-known civil-liberties lawyer who himself faces charges of "membership" in the FLQ. When Rose attempted to speak in his own defense, he was accused of disrupting the courtroom and barred from being present during most of his own trial.

Rose further challenged the all-male jury as biased against Québec sep-

aratism, and unrepresentative of the Québec population because women are excluded by law from jury service. He exposed the alleged confession of his codefendant Francis Simard as a police forgery, and pointed out that the news reports of this supposed confession before the trial were highly prejudicial to an "impartial" verdict. The aim of the prosecution's procedure was to put the ideas of the Québec separatist movement on trial, not the specific acts attributed to the FLQ. Even in regard to the Laporte case, while Rose freely admitted participating in the kidnapping as an act of political protest, he refused to offer any testimony as to individual responsibility for the killing, and despite the conviction, his participation in Laporte's death remains unproved.

The government has used the atmosphere of hysteria whipped up around the Rose trial to renew its attack on the "Montréal Five," a group of prominent independentists accused of having connections with the FLQ but not of any responsibility for the Laporte killing. The five—trade-union leader Michel Chartrand, author Pierre Vallières, teacher Charles Gagnon, lawyer Robert Lemieux, and former Canadian Broadcasting Company producer Jacques Larue-Langlois—won an important victory against the government frame-up on February 12 when they succeeded in having charges of seditious conspiracy quashed. Chartrand and Lemieux were released at that time, although they still face trial on charges of supporting the FLQ.

On March 10, however, the three members of the Montréal Five still in jail were brought into court and Vallières was confronted with ten additional counts of "inciting to kidnap" three federal and provincial cabinet members and "inciting to murder" three judges and a lawyer.

The March 15 issue of the Toronto socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge* charged in a front-page editorial that the new accusations "bear all the marks of the same phony campaign that the Trudeau and [Québec premier] Bourassa governments have been trying to sustain against these leading Québec independentists since the War Measures Act was invoked.

"According to Robert Lemieux . . . the Crown's 'evidence' in the new sedition cases consists of letters, speeches, newspaper articles and communiques of the Vallières-Gagnon Defense Committee which Larue-Langlois headed a year ago. (The committee gave rise to the present Movement for the Defense of Québec Political Prisoners.) Most of this material has been public information for many months."

Chartrand, who is president of the Montréal Central Council of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, is making a nationwide speaking tour during the month of March to raise money for the defense of the Québec political prisoners. His tour is being sponsored by the Emergency Committee to Defend Political Rights in Québec, P.O. Box 58, Station M, Toronto 21, Canada. □

## Maoists Assault Trotskyist Leader

[The following report is taken from the March 15 issue of the Toronto revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Labor Challenge*.]

\* \* \*

On Wednesday, Feb. 24, Dick Fidler, a leading member of the League for Socialist Action [the Canadian Trotskyist organization], was attacked and beaten by three supporters of the Canadian Party of Labor, a small Maoist grouping.

Fidler came upon the three about midnight pasting CPL posters on the League for Socialist Action headquarters in Toronto, and asked them if they had permission to do so. Their response was to attack him and beat him until diverted by the approach of a passing taxicab driver. Fidler was severely bruised.

The Toronto LSA has distributed the following statement to CPL members and the local radical press.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action protest this attack. In our view it is an attack on and threat to the whole left.

"Such attacks make it easier for the authorities to divide the left and to attack it. They lend justification to charges that those on the left are the source of violence in this society. They

can open up the left as a whole to attack by these authorities—they selves the promoters and perpetrators of violence in Canada today.

"There are a number of groups within the radical movement which hold widely varying views. Are the differences between these groups to be settled by physical violence until the group with the strongest members wins out? Using physical violence to this end is an old discredited Stalinist tactic and we must make sure that it does not return to plague the left.

"We, in the League for Socialist Action, have important political differences with the Canadian Party of Labor. We are ready at any time to discuss these differences openly and democratically with CPL.

"We believe that democratic relations between the different left groups are essential to the development of the left as a whole. Do the members of CPL have such a lack of confidence in their political ideas that they must attack their opponents on the left physically rather than participating in democratic debate with them?"

"The Canadian Party of Labor must publicly apologize for this attack and commit itself to cease the use of physical violence against its opponents on the left." □

## REVIEWS

### Soviet Art Exhibition in London

Londoners who wish to see the exhibition of Soviet art and design called "Art in Revolution," sponsored by the Arts Council, will have to go—not just to the Hayward Gallery—but also to the Anneley Juda Gallery.

Even at that they will miss the PROUN [for the new art] Room designed by Lazar Lessitsky in 1923. This room of twelve square feet, designed by the eminent architect, typographer, and artist, was completely reconstructed down to the last detail at the Hayward. But officials, unable

to remove it, agreed to seal it up and paper it over—so it would not even be known to have existed.

The paintings in the Anneley Juda Gallery were originally in the Hayward exhibit. They were removed on the insistence of officials of the government of the USSR, who loaned material for the exhibit. The items that met with bureaucratic disapproval include works by the major figures of that incredibly free, innovative cultural upsurge that immediately followed the October revolution—Vladimir Tat-

lin, Lyubov Popova, Kasimir Malevich, and Lissitsky.

The story of the exhibition is a sorry one of bureaucratic dictation and obsequious compliance.

It appears that top officials of the British Arts Council held discussions in Moscow in June 1970 with Deputy Minister of Culture Popov. They were shown lists of exhibits that were available but claim only to have come to agreement on the project when Soviet officials agreed to include some works of the 1920s which were suppressed during and since Stalin's time as decadent.

In the meantime, Haywood Gallery officials went about borrowing various works, including some by Lissitzky from the widow of the American rebel journalist Lincoln Steffens.

When the Moscow loan arrived, it was discovered to be a rejected list.

Arts Council Chairman Lord Goodman's protests to Popov were to no avail—the exhibit went on—and when Moscow gallery officials arrived and demanded the removal of the borrowed materials, the British officials complied.

With the agreement of Minister for the Arts Lord Eccles, they blotted out the Lissitsky room, and they even wrote into the catalogue—in a summary of the ingenious stage director Meyerhold's last work—that "he never lived to see its completion" and that it offers "a tantalizing glimpse of what Meyerhold might have achieved."

Meyerhold was not only barred from completing this work but all his work was proscribed, and he disappeared under the torture and murder machine of Stalin.

—Ross Dowson

### After a Lengthy Investigation

The British Foreign Office announced March 19 that Chou En-lai had apologized for the sacking of the British embassy in Peking in 1967. Chou reportedly blamed the incident, which occurred during the cultural revolution, on a "bad element." It's probably only a matter of time until we'll be told the culprits were directed by Liu Shao-chi.

### The Wonders of Science

A recent study by the W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research has discovered that workers paid low wages are not as happy as workers who get higher wages. Next they'll be telling us that higher-paid workers aren't as happy as capitalists.

## Concerning a Kidnapping in Brazil

[The following statement, entitled "A Propósito de un Sequestro" (concerning a kidnapping), was issued under the date "February 1971" by Ponto de Partida (Starting Point), a group of Brazilian revolutionists. The translation from Portuguese is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

The No. 1 task of the Brazilian revolutionary vanguard seems to be to rediscover Marxism. As Debray said in *Punto Final*, the lengthy and profound theoretical debates in which Marxists engaged at the beginning of this century are still timely in our days. This statement in itself involves nothing new, except for the fact that it was made by Debray.

With his book *Revolution in the Revolution?*, this young French revolutionist polarized the theoretical debates over the question of the Latin American revolution. Now, five or six years after publication of his book, the author suddenly and humbly declares that he failed to recognize the importance and relevance of the theoretical gains Marxism had accumulated over a whole historical period.

Let us leave aside for the moment the humility underlying this statement—which reveals a revolutionist anxious to improve his mastery of Marxism—in order to take up one important point. How was it possible for a young revolutionist with a deficient knowledge of theory to draw a whole generation of political activists onto a path already condemned by the historical experience of the past?

It would be a gross oversimplification to regard Debray as the author or the cause of the phenomenon known in Latin America as "foquismo." It is much more reasonable to view him as the product of a situation, in a cause-effect-cause relationship. In making his confession, Debray leads us to believe that until a short time ago he was unaware of the role played by *Iskra* in the development of Marxism in Russia.

In his book *In Defense of Marxism*, Trotsky says that *Iskra* began with a struggle against so-called economism in the workers movement and against the Narodniks (Social Revolutionary party). The main argument of the "economists" was that *Iskra* was wasting its time on theorizing while they sought to lead the real workers movement. The main argument of the Social Revolutionaries was: "*Iskra* wants to found a school of dialectical materialism, while we want to overthrow Czarist autocracy."

It should be pointed out that the Narodniks took what they said literally. Bombs in hand, they sacrificed their lives fighting Czarism. The editors of *Iskra* replied: "Under certain circumstances a bomb is an excellent thing but we should first clarify our own minds." It is now part of historic experience that the greatest proletarian revolution in history was not led by the party that started off with bombs but by the one that started with dialectical materialism.

This digression is necessary in considering the panorama of the Brazilian revolution. We cannot hide our dismay at the lack of perspective of valiant revolutionists

who seem to have lost their historical bearings. As if Marxism had not long ago demonstrated the decisive role of the masses in historical progress, a sector of the Brazilian left is trying to substitute for this reality the will of a few dozen men. Lenin said that the Narodniks were petty bourgeoisie armed with bombs and revolvers. We need not note that for Lenin the expression "petty bourgeoisie" was a sociological category and not a mere epithet as it is in our time.

Would it be arbitrary to apply this same characterization to the handful of men "armed with bombs and revolvers" who kidnap ambassadors in Latin America, confident that by this they are doing their utmost for the revolution? Before answering this question, we must ask another: Is it possible that the Brazilian revolutionists, who raid banks and kidnap ambassadors in the name of some kind of abstract revolution that has nothing to do with the actual functioning of society, have never asked themselves why the government in Brazil is able to keep thousands of revolutionists in prison without the exploited masses being able to put up any kind of resistance?

Search through all the documents and publications of the Brazilian "armed groups" and you will not find anything referring to this question. Distinguished by a cloying overuse of adjectives typical of unscientific writing, revolutionary political literature in Brazil has been reduced to intellectual emptiness, to moralistic, abstract affirmations of subjective will.

Idealist philosophers have never tired of accusing Marxists of holding a fatalistic view of history. In making this assertion, they have based themselves on the Marxist principle that history is governed by laws inherent in its development. These philosophers, thus, have claimed that for Marx man was a simple object of history, incapable of directing it in accordance with his ideals. Underlying these arguments lurked the intent to obscure the character of Marxist thought as a guide to action. Marx saw history as governed by intrinsic laws. It was the task of men to discover these laws, in order to gain greater freedom in acting on history than was possessed by those who simply deny the existence of historical laws. We will see further on that fatalism is more characteristic of idealist thought, or the thinking of those persons, who, while they do not call themselves idealists, in practice underestimate the Marxist conception of history.

This brief incursion into the realm of philosophy is intended only to point up the risks and consequences to which all those who seek to deny historical laws, or forget the dialectical method as a means of comprehending a concrete reality, are condemned.

The Brazilian young vanguard that threw itself blindly onto the path of armed struggle committed a still greater error than denying historical laws. It disregarded or denied its own social reality, thus failing to see even the context in which these laws operate. It was a greater error inasmuch as even the idealist philosophers who view the world as the product of spirit never carry this

aberration to the point of lying down in front of a locomotive. But that is what the disoriented Brazilian vanguard has done.

Disregarding the elementary principles of the class struggle, ignorant of the workers themselves, and incapable of comprehending the deeper significance of the relationship of social forces—the Brazilian vanguard cut itself off from the masses and reduced revolution to a contest between the state apparatus and a few hundred revolutionists. The consequences were to be expected. History seems to mock those who simply ignore what it has previously shown.

The imprisonment of hundreds of valiant revolutionists and the breakup of the armed groups require a profound rethinking of positions. Let us follow Debray's example and humbly turn to the ABCs of Marxism.

## I. An Attempt at an Answer

What enables the government to act without apparent opposition in Brazil is the absence of organizations through which the exploited masses could express their discontent. Unless you understand this, you will not understand why fifty-one percent of the population in the big cities cast spoiled or blank ballots in the last elections, without any mass movement of protest against the government occurring before or after the vote. The elections revealed to the depths the disparity between the hostility of broad sectors of the masses toward the dictatorship and the lack of organization through which this antagonism could find expression.

The wage squeeze and the absence of trade-union freedoms have made the military dictatorship in Brazil real to the workers. Only the light-minded could claim that the proletariat is content to see its wages pushed down so that the bourgeoisie can accumulate investment capital. Atomized and disorganized, the working class saw in the elections a chance to combine.

In the proletarian belt around São Paulo fifty-one percent of the ballots were blank or spoiled. Some thirty percent were cast for the candidates of the MDB [Movimento Democrático Brasileiro—Brazilian Democratic Movement, the moderate legal opposition], giving this slate the majority of the remaining votes. The last figure reflects the opposition of the more backward sectors of the working class.

The solidity of the Brazilian military government is then directly related to the impotence of the masses, and this impotence will persist as long as the masses remain disorganized. This is the crystal clear truth that the foquistas could not perceive. It is not enough, however, to grasp the significance of organizing the masses. It has to be taken into account that discontent in itself will not lead the masses to struggle. Unrest may remain latent for a long period. In the beginning it will express itself, in fact is expressing itself, in minor class frictions that only foreshadow great confrontations in the offing.

On the basis of these small-scale struggles the class is consolidating its vanguard. A political leadership must intervene in this process and forge the organization that will enable the workers to move en masse. The task of the leadership is to take an isolated development and utilize it as an experience that must serve as a general model for organizing.

## II. Political Prisoners and the Masses

When Lenin said that workers in their economic struggles could only rise to the level of trade unionism, he indicated the difference between a political and social vanguard. A social vanguard arises from the economic struggles of the class and does not go beyond narrow trade unionism.

Since it does not concern the subject we are attempting to deal with here, we will not go more deeply into the question of the formation of the political vanguard. For now it is sufficient to note that it is the product of a complex process, whose crucible and mold are the mills, the factories, and the shops.

Finally, let us come to an element new to the Brazilian vanguard—the working class, its social force, and its immediate struggles.

When the workers of a plant protest against bad working conditions, some individuals step forward as the spokesmen of the class vis-à-vis the bosses. Thus the distinction begins to appear between the "mass" and the "vanguard," in this case, the social vanguard. Generally the workers who stand out from the group are distinguished by a more acute intelligence and willingness to sacrifice themselves for the sake of the class. Later they are seen by the body of workers as their "representatives," while the bosses regard them as potential enemies, who must be isolated from "society." The inevitable victims of reprisals, this vanguard receives the support of their fellow workers in the factory. In this way an interdependence arises between the social vanguard and the class.

Left to its own fate, closed in by the factory walls, this vanguard cannot broaden its horizons or see the connection between the economic struggle in the factory and the social system as a whole. This is where the role of the political vanguard comes in. It is the task of the Marxist revolutionists to orient and educate this layer of factory leaders. By educating this vanguard, they form lines of communication by which the elements of class consciousness can be transmitted to the masses. These same lines of communication enable the masses to come to know and respect their regional and national political leaders.

The instinct that led the workers to defend their leaders in the factory can, to the degree these lines of communication are strengthened, lead these same workers to defend their political leaders from the reprisals of the government. No one is unaware of the multitude of factors that play a part in the formation of the social vanguard, speeding or delaying its development. We have simplified the process of the linkup between the political leadership, the social vanguard, and finally the masses, so as to present merely a general picture.

A few days ago, the FIAT workers in the Argentinian city of Córdoba occupied their factory and held the managers prisoners as a means of pressing the demand for reinstatement of seven of their comrades. The government gave the workers three hours to get out of the factory. Immediately the nearby factories began solidarity strikes. The government retreated and ordered the dismissed workers reinstated. This incident shows how solidly the masses support their vanguard. It also reflects a certain stage in the relationship of social forces. And finally it reveals the power of the organized masses.

From now on let us drop the term "foquista." Both the severe defeats inflicted on the Brazilian vanguard

because of attempts to put these false conceptions into practice and the self-criticism of the principal theoretician of foquismo, Régis Debray, have made this term virtually a pejorative. In fact, even those who have not risen above the foquista conception are subjecting this perspective to partial or technical criticisms and want to avoid the label. Taking into consideration these special features and the inadequacies of the term "foquismo"—since none of these vanguard groups ever succeeded in actually forming a guerrilla foco—let us call this political deviation "vanguardismo" [vanguardism]. We are convinced that this term more precisely characterizes the essential error of the political conception.

### III. Kidnapping and Freeing of a Political Prisoner

But let us once more turn to the statements of the former theoretician of foquismo, Régis Debray, in the January 5, 1971, issue of *Punto Final*. In this interview, Debray explained that he was released as a result of mass pressure.

"There's a reason why they sent me to Camiri; there's a reason why they built a jail there. Camiri is a locality



DEBRAY: Changes his mind on "foco" strategy.

where there is no university and no workers' organizations. There is a small oil-workers' aristocracy—a union controlled by the pro-Barrientos and pro-Yankee forces, like many of the oil-workers' unions around the world. And that union never took any interest in the question [of political prisoners]. If I had been in Cochabamba, or in La Paz, in the Panóptico prison in the capital, like all the other political prisoners, I would have been released earlier. At the time of the coup that overthrew Ovando, there was a power vacuum for a few hours. A group of armed university students went to the penitentiary and used force to get the political prisoners released."

If even the most elementary mass movements presuppose a certain organization, political struggles to obtain the release of popular leaders obviously require much more. Vanguardism is distinguished principally by a tendency to simplify the dynamic reality as a way of gaining an illusory self-assertion with respect to the real world. The petty bourgeoisie view historical reality only through the "prism" of their own self-centeredness.

It is hard for a petty bourgeois to grasp what Marx meant when he said that "the class struggle is the motor force of history." A petty bourgeois invariably tries to detach political events from their social base, since a fundamental contradiction exists between a class analysis of events and the social position and training of the petty bourgeoisie.

Revolution is a long, molecular process marked by successive advances and retreats. The way to build a revolutionary vanguard and prepare for new leaps forward is to understand the profound significance of class struggles at the peaks, and still more at times of ebb.

What result is achieved by kidnapping an ambassador and forcing the government to release a few dozen revolutionists? The very next day this same government can jail hundreds of other revolutionary activists with impunity, without the masses being able to offer any kind of resistance.

Marxists are led to oppose the kidnappings not as a question of principle. What we are arguing about is the conception that lies behind these actions, since that is the nub of the question. When the Narodniks took up bombs and revolvers to overthrow the Russian autocracy, they were unconsciously leaving the masses out of their plans. History decided the question and condemned them.

The military dictatorship in Brazil broke up and disorganized the mass movement. As a result of this, and other conjunctural factors which it took advantage of, it was able to pump some life back into the system, generating a real acceleration of economic development. By achieving definite successes in this area, it was possible for the dictatorship to neutralize the opposition of broad sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, winning them back as a basis of social support for the system.

In this way, the Brazilian bourgeoisie gained a new lease on life for a period in history. We will not deal here with the profound contradictions accompanying this new stage of capitalist development in Brazil, which foreshadow crises in a relatively short time. Likewise we are not going to deal in depth with other international factors, such as the general crisis of world capitalism, which accelerates the drive toward a crisis in Brazil and conspires against the relative stability achieved by Brazilian capitalism. The important thing is to keep this reality in mind. No revolutionary group can ignore it with impunity. The "ostrich" policy is as reprehensible here as anywhere else.



The military dictatorship has temporarily achieved a favorable relationship of social forces. This is the basic factor permitting it to keep thousands of revolutionary activists in prison.

The kidnappings of ambassadors and the armed actions of a vanguard do not alter this reality. More than a century ago, Marx discovered that capitalist development has inherent contradictions that lead to cyclical crises. The Brazilian model is no exception to this law. The abrupt invigoration of economic advance has merely produced a violent sharpening of the contradictions and acceleration of movement in the direction of a crisis.

The Marxists grasp the force of the social reality operating along these lines. They know periods of economic strangulation announce their approach by stirring up profound social discontent, the pressure of which reaches from the most exploited strata of the population into the intermediate social layers. They understand that these periods are marked by deep-going dislocation of the petty-bourgeois masses, which withdraw their support from the system.

The level of organization of the workers and the political clear-sightedness of their party will be the decisive factors in transforming an economic and social crisis into a revolutionary one. On these occasions, the correctness of the tactics of a workers party is measured by the proletariat's capacity to draw behind it the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie. It would be a great mistake to think mechanically that these crises emerge without prior warning signs. To the contrary, such crises are the sum of small contradictions accumulating in time and space, and expressed initially in minor class frictions.

Preparing the proletariat and educating its political vanguard begin with the molecular struggles developing at the grass roots of society in periods of ebb like the one Brazil is experiencing today. The task of the vanguard is to merge with the masses and grow with the ascending wave, to appear finally as the conscious core of the process. Any group today that wants to skip over this stage of preparation will once again suffer condemnation by history.

Why don't the masses protest today in Brazil against the political constraints? Not even the most case-hardened vanguardist would go to the ridiculous extreme of claiming that the masses look with favor on the repressive actions of the dictatorship. But with the accumulation of successive defeats, and with their inability to understand the cause of these setbacks, the petty-bourgeois "revolutionists" will not be long in claiming that this failure to protest is the fault of the ignorant and backward masses, incapable of comprehending the altruism of the vanguard.

Few if any workers are ready today to participate in a strike for the release of the political prisoners in Brazil. This fact, however, does not justify the conclusion that in all the thousands of plants in the country workers are not mobilizing somewhere at this very moment to prevent the firing of some shopmate who participated in some economic struggle.

Class solidarity springs from concrete social experience. When the workers see a punitive action against their leaders in the factory, they realize on the spot that the measure is directed against them and not just the immediate victim. Whether or not collective protests occur against the boss's action depends on the organization of the masses at the factory level.

On the other hand when a young revolutionist, imbued with the best of intentions, raids a bank, these same workers do not see the connection between such an action and the problems of their own daily lives. With their heads full of revolutionary notions and schemes divorced from the social reality, such young revolutionists want to struggle against the government. This type of thought and action is alien to the lives of the workers who see themselves permanently subjugated by the harsh reality that surrounds them.

#### IV. A Recent Experience

When the Argentinian military managed at great cost to contain the rising in Córdoba in 1969, the prisons were filled with working-class leaders. It is a historical law that if the revolutionary thrust is not strong enough to sweep the exploiting classes from power, there will be a definite period of ebb, marked by a reactionary counteroffensive. At that point the stage begins in which the chief task of the revolutionary vanguard is to retreat with the masses, organizing their withdrawal.

Revolutionary periods demand a great concentration of forces from the broad masses. All nerves and muscles are strained to the maximum. If the movement is defeated, demoralization sweeps the masses and also has repercussions on the revolutionary party. The primary task is to gauge the extent and depth of this mood. A thorough grasp of these facts makes it possible to determine at what point the retreat can be halted. Then, defensive slogans are formulated, designed to preserve the mass organizations—trade-union rights, a free workers' press, and so forth. Turning the struggles toward the future, agitation is begun among the masses around slogans linked to the release of imprisoned political leaders.

This pattern was followed in Argentina. The movement defeated in May 1969 resumed its advance in the final months of the year, forcing the military dictatorship to release the working-class leaders, even the most important one at the time, Ongaro.

However, in the Argentinian case it is important to point out that although the vigorous mass movement had sufficient thrust to force the military to release the majority of the political prisoners, the absence of a well-defined political vanguard in the form of a revolutionary party of the working class remained a factor. This absence, in our opinion, was the main cause of the ebb of the movement, which, while it won great victories, did not threaten the power of the Argentinian bourgeoisie.

The example is of special interest because it coincides in time with the first kidnapping of an ambassador in Brazil, the capture of Elbrick. This action, carried off in September, achieved its objective. Fifteen revolutionists were released. However, at the end of the year, at least 200 more political prisoners were being held in the jails of Brazil. At the same time in Argentina, the jails were being emptied. Many other more recent examples could be cited such as Bolivia, Peru, and Chile in 1970. All of these cases confirm the rule that the only force that can compel a reactionary government to backtrack is one based on the mass movement.

#### V. Arguments that Reveal a Concept

In Marx's view, only the masses could make history. The vanguardists never say the contrary. You need only

read the arguments used to justify the kidnappings, however, and the concept underlying such actions immediately becomes clear. The first such argument is that "in Brazil there is no other way of getting the prisoners of the dictatorship released from jail." In fact, this statement does not stand up under examination, especially when you consider that while releasing fifteen prisoners the government jailed another 200.

The essence of foquismo is its voluntaristic concept of history. The foquistas believe only in the results of their vanguardist actions. They are convinced that without the kidnappings the imprisoned revolutionists in Brazil would be condemned to suffer twenty or thirty years in jail. The revolutionary Marxists, on the other hand, with their ability to interpret the world situation and with their faith in the masses, can say without the least fear of error that history is advancing much too quickly in our time for us to think that civil liberties can be eliminated for two or three decades in Brazil. The justification used by the vanguardists indicates a certain amount of fatalism, which can also be expressed in the form of contempt for the masses. They are incapable of basing themselves on the conviction that the masses will engage in new struggles inevitably involving the demand for the release of all the political prisoners. When that happens, we are certain that the dictatorship will have to release all the political prisoners and not just give up fifteen in exchange for 200.

An incautious vanguardist might argue: "Well, the Marxists might well be right but they forget that when we kidnap an ambassador we demand the release of the best revolutionary cadres." No one would question the worth and dedication of any of the revolutionists exchanged for kidnapped ambassadors. Still less would anyone cast doubts on the worth of those still imprisoned in Brazil. However, upon employing this criterion, our hypothetical, incautious vanguardist must be very unhappy after the kidnapping of the Swiss ambassador. In the last analysis, it was the Brazilian military dictatorship that decided which revolutionists could be released and which could not (four lists were submitted for the dictatorship to choose from).

On the basis of these facts, it would be a light-minded and overhasty assumption to claim that the best revolutionists were those the government vetoed, or, that the revolutionary dedication of many of the seventy released is open to question. A hasty consideration can boomerang against the one advancing it.

## VI. An Unfortunate Author

The theoretical poverty of some authors of economic and sociological works becomes glaringly obvious when they touch the sphere of politics. In his work *Subdesarrollo y revolución* [Underdevelopment and Revolution], published in Mexico in 1969, Ruy Mauro Marini sought to justify the kidnapping of Elbrick. He wrote: "However, the action demoralized the armed forces, demonstrated the Brazilian government's subordination to Washington, etc. . . ." (Page 157 of the work cited.)

For Ruy Mauro Marini the Brazilian government's decision to accept the conditions imposed by the kidnappers was a public confession of political subordination to American imperialism. Now that we have seen the results of kidnapping diplomats of other nationalities, Marini's rea-

soning could lead us to conclude that Brazil's "political subordination" extends to all the countries whose ambassadors have been kidnapped. On the other hand, we could also conclude that Uruguay is "independent" of the United States.

If Marini were a Marxist, he might be able to understand what Trotsky was trying to point out when he said: "Marxism is based on the concept of a world economy, not an amalgam of national peculiarities, but a powerful reality with a life of its own, created by the international division of labor and the world market, which in our time dominates the national markets." Marxists do not recognize any political "subordination" but a political and economic interdependence embracing the capitalist world as a whole.

## VII. Concluding Arguments

It is also customarily claimed that the kidnappings expose the fissures in the state apparatus, revealing the dissension among the various groups of officers in the government. This statement is incontestable. The only problem is that it leaves the following question unanswered. What profit is there in exposing these divisions if the masses are unable at the moment to take advantage of them to attack the regime? Wouldn't it be more reasonable to break once and for all from these vanguardist conceptions and relearn Marxism? The task of the revolutionary vanguard is not simply to expose the fissures in the state apparatus to the masses. It is first of all to build a power that can take the place of the bourgeois state. This power can only be based on the organized masses. And the job of organizing the masses begins with the leading nuclei in the factories.

When the heavy battalions of the working class go into battle in Brazil, these struggles will be reflected in the state apparatus, uncovering many fissures. The deeper these divisions, the better the proletariat's chances to continue inflicting blows on the system.

The more blows the system suffers, the broader and deeper will be the dissension within the bourgeoisie. All of the institutions of capitalist society will be shaken by class confrontations. The army itself will be undermined at its base and split at its summit.

The next argument that we propose to take up has not been chosen arbitrarily. If the vanguardist conceptions appear only partially in the two arguments previously considered, they are fully revealed in the following one. In petty-bourgeois left circles it is fashionable to say that the kidnappings make "an impact on the masses," or that they are very good "as a means of generalized armed propaganda," and that "the masses applaud such actions."

Make an impact on the masses, to what end? What exactly is this armed propaganda supposed to achieve? No one ever explains this! Can it be they don't know that the strength of the proletariat lies precisely in its hold on the main lever of bourgeois power, the factories? Otherwise, they would have to admit that the propaganda is directed principally at the petty bourgeoisie, always ready to be thrilled by spectacular actions.

To those who declare that the masses applaud the kidnappings, Marxists say, "Thank you very much." Here at last we have a complete confession! From the makers

of history, the masses have been reduced to the status of mere spectators.

All we need do now is to imagine the exploited masses of Brazil all packed into one super football stadium, the arena of a decisive contest between a few hundred revo-

lutionists and the bourgeois state. The spectators are left with only two alternatives: to applaud or to boo the revolutionary team. There will be no boos; those who lack confidence in the masses can rest assured of that. The military dictatorship remains the main enemy. □

## Documents

# Big Sydney Antiwar Rally Hears Tampoe, Iiyama

[Some 1,000 persons attended a conference to plan actions against the Vietnam war held in Sydney, Australia, February 17-21. The gathering called antiwar demonstrations for April 30, May 30, and June 30. A mass rally, held the first day of the conference, heard a number of international guests who were attending the meeting. The following report of this rally is taken from the February 24 issue of *Tribune*, the weekly newspaper of the Australian Communist party.]

\* \* \*

Sydney: Eighteen hundred people attended a public rally last Wednesday night at the Sydney Town Hall to hear the seven overseas speakers attending the National Anti-War Conference held in Sydney last week.

The seven overseas speakers included the four guests invited by the Moratorium—Peter Wiley, American anti-war activist; Michael Uhl, former US Army lieutenant connected with the inquiry into war crimes now being held in the US; Prof. Philippe Devillers, French expert on Indochina; and Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union.\*

Other overseas speakers were Alister Taylor, New Zealand anti-war activist; Patti Iiyama, American student activist;\*\* and Mr. H. D. Malaviya, a secretary of the World Peace Council.

Peter Wiley, the first speaker of the evening, said there were now six people's armies operating in different countries in South-east Asia.

In Cambodia, one year after the Lon Nol coup, there were 110,000 Cambodians under arms, with a main-force guerrilla army of 5000.

In South Vietnam, although there was reduced armed action, the focus was now on mass non-armed campaigns in the cities. The "Burn US Vehicles" campaign currently taking place, and poorly reported in the Australian press, is an example of this.

The strength of the NLF has led the US to desperate escalation of its war of

genocide to include all of Indochina.

Now, in the US, the ruling circles are putting out feelers in the mass media concerning possible use of tactical nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

Harrison Salisbury, closely linked with the White House, wrote in the *New York Times*, February 3, that many considered the "answer in Vietnam was the use of tactical nuclear weapons".

What is necessary in the US today, Peter Wiley said, was to build a new movement built from the bottom up, with regional rather than national organisation.

Professor Philippe Devillers, leading French political scientist who brought a number of messages from the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam] delegation in Paris, told the Sydney Town Hall audience that PRG leader Mme. Nguyen Thi Binh had urged that Australia should respond independently to the PRG offer for the safety of its forces from attack provided a deadline is set for their withdrawal from South Vietnam.

President Nixon's "emotional campaign" on the prisoner-of-war issue had been deliberately designed to obscure the significance of Mme. Binh's offer of a ceasefire once the US agreed to withdraw its forces by June 30, 1971, Professor Devillers said.

But if the US chose to ignore the offer, which was one of the most positive in the whole diplomatic history of the war, that was no reason why Australia should do the same.

Professor Devillers said the main problem facing every government and every political party in the world was the containment of the military-industrial complex of the United States. Every country had to devise its own means to achieve this purpose.

Australia was in a very favorable position to influence the USA, since whatever happened she would be defended by the USA if she were attacked.

In the meantime, Australia had the power and opportunity to do whatever she liked.

It was necessary for every country to avoid being "defended" by the US in the way South Vietnam was being "defended", since that meant the country's total destruction.

Professor Devillers said that the major consideration behind the French government's decision to end the Algerian war in 1962 was the realisation that France

could not live with a hostile North Africa.

He said he believed that Australia would come to a similar decision in relation to South-east Asia.

"Australia's future certainly lies in a policy of rapprochement, recognition and respect for the peoples of Asia," he said.

"It is doubtful if that future is being promoted by the presence of Australian fighting men in South Vietnam and elsewhere in South-east Asia."

Michael Uhl, a former officer of US Army Intelligence in Vietnam, told of his work in the USA since his discharge early last year, helping organise GI veterans to give public evidence exposing the war crimes flowing from US policies.

He said that since the disclosure of the My Lai massacre, the organisation had been developed, based on the principle that My Lai was not the isolated or aberrant behavior of a few drug-crazed GIs, but that it was the general rule and result of American high policy that sponsors so-called "search and destroy", "pacification", free fire zones, pattern bombing and body counts.

A committee under Senator Edward Kennedy had substantiated in its report that 30 percent of the South Vietnamese people were homeless from "pacification" on the ground and pattern bombing from the air.

He told how he had seen, for example, a young Vietnamese girl singled out for interrogation, wired up to a field telephone and given electric shocks until she fell to the ground menstruating and screaming.

Mr. Uhl said that those who claimed that organising veterans to expose war crimes was a "liberal issue" were wrong. His experience showed that genocide is a political reality that the liberal mentality tends to refuse to grasp.

"Today it is the responsibility of every American to drive from power the renegades and criminals who govern the US today, and the corrupt academics and the huge corporate interests that stand behind them," he said. "It's time to redistribute the power those small groups hold, both within America and internationally."

Ceylonese trade union leader Bala Tampoe received a warm response from the Town Hall audience.

The Vietnam war, he said, was part of the long war that had been waged in the world for many years between im-

\* P. Bala Tampoe is also secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.—IP

\*\* Patricia Iiyama was the Socialist Workers par-candidate for secretary of state in California in the November 1970 elections. She was in Australia on a national speaking tour sponsored by the Socialist Youth League.—IP

perialism and world revolution.

In revolutionary Russia a link in the chain of capitalism broke at a certain time in World War I. But, as Leon Trotsky had said, at the time "what broke was not only the link but the whole chain".

In the next major threat to break the chain, in Spain, Hitler and Mussolini organized a joint fascist action and their success there paved the way for the triumph of fascism.

Australians were allies of Britain in that war, but "we in Ceylon were colonial slaves of Britain and we wanted no part of Britain's war but wanted to be free."

To be anti-war is good, Bala Tampoe said, but it is only a sentiment. What was necessary, he said, was to understand what caused war. It was the State that caused war, and the State can only act if the people let it. In Ceylon, the State dare not do anything in support of the Indochina War, because if it did the vast majority of the people would rise against them.

In one case the wharfies in Colombo, in his union, had heard a rumor that there was material for the Vietnam war on an American ship they were unloading. They walked off the ship immediately, without instructions from the union, and asked the union to check before returning to work.

Alister Taylor, from New Zealand, told the audience of the experiences of the New Zealand anti-war movement. He stressed the importance of action and demonstrations. The movement continually needed to develop new forms of action. After giving examples of actions taken in New Zealand, he stressed the anti-apartheid demonstrations that had been even bigger than the anti-war marches.

Patti Iiyama, a Japanese-American student from the University of California, Berkeley, stressed the role of the university students and the need to emphasise the slogan of "immediate withdrawal of all the troops" as the slogan which would enable the largest mobilisation, and if achieved, the greatest support conceivable to the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese revolution.

World Peace Council representative Mr. H. D. Malaviya, told the public session that the Australian anti-war movement had scored significant successes in the past year "which had echoes in the whole world."

This growth of the movement had coincided with the unprecedented upsurge of the people in the USA against the Indochina war.

Mr. Malviya said that these develop-

ments in new areas were evidence of the growth of solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, a solidarity which must be constantly strengthened until the US imperialists are forced to withdraw.

Despite the fact that the members of the audience were asked to pay a \$1 entrance fee to help cover the expenses of the conference, a total of \$550 was collected during the meeting. □

## West Germany

### March in Solidarity with Black Prisoners

Approximately 1,500 demonstrators marched through Zweibrücken, West Germany, March 6, demanding freedom for Black Panther party chairman Bobby Seale and for two Black Americans imprisoned in Zweibrücken.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Black Panther Solidaritätskomitee [Solidarity Committee] and supported by a number of different left groups.

The two Blacks held in Zweibrücken, Larry Jackson and William Burell, were arrested last November as the result of an incident near the U. S. air base in Ramstein, and have become known as the "Ramstein 2." Jackson and Burell were arranging a meeting between Panther communications secretary Kathleen Cleaver and GIs stationed at Ramstein. On November 19, they were fired on by a German guard outside the air base, and they fired back in self-defense. They have been held since then on a charge of conspiracy to murder.

A leaflet distributed by one of the groups participating in the demonstration, the Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend [RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth], explained the significance of the case for German revolutionists:

"It is important for the revolutionary left of West Germany to understand that the arrest of the Ramstein 2 is also directed at them.

"The relationship of forces in the federal republic does not permit the openly political destruction of the left organizations by the state. At present, the attacks on their legal rights consist of criminal proceedings against those sections that can be framed in court. . . .

"We must understand the day of solidarity in defense of the Black comrades in Zweibrücken as a step toward unity of the left in action against the attacks of the capitalist state!"

The demonstrators had come "from all parts of the federal republic," according to the March 8 issue of the daily *Saarbrücker Zeitung*. The *Frankfurter Rundschau* of the same date reported that about two dozen American Blacks also participated.

The action proceeded peacefully until shortly before its conclusion, when police attacked some of the demonstrators without warning. Eight persons were injured in the assault. □

#### Plus One More Commercial

United Press International reported March 20 that 92 percent of U. S. radio and television stations failed to go off the air as they should have when an accidental nuclear alert was sent out February 20. One-third said they did nothing because the alert was cancelled and another third thought the message was false. The news agency didn't say, but the final third probably figured we'd appreciate soft music during our last moments.

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