

Mao Defends Bengal Bloodbath



SIRIMAYO BANDARANAIKE: "Calculated effort" to decimate Ceylon left includes execution of captured prisoners.

Diplomatic Ping-Pong:

Peking Courts Washington

Soviet CP Congress:

Bureaucrats Unite
Against Threat of Change

April 24 Demonstrations:

'Everybody's Just Sick and Tired of the War'

Arrests Mount

The Franco regime in Spain has initiated a new drive aimed at wiping out the revolutionary nationalist Basque movement. The Manchester *Guardian* of March 15 reported that some twenty persons, arrested in raids which began in late February, are presently being held without trial.

Under the terms of a decree issued by Franco last December 14, the prisoners may be held until June without being tried.

Spanish police fired several shots in a busy street in Bilbao while pursuing a young man who had been accused by a priest of stealing a copying machine to be used to produce nationalist material prohibited by the regime.

At least seven others were arrested in a raid on a house in Bilbao. The raid was conducted without a warrant.

The *Guardian* wrote that in addition to the arrests in Bilbao, some twenty-three persons have been jailed in Madrid since January on charges of belonging to the outlawed trade-union organization known as the Workers Commission.

The Spanish press has made no announcement of the most recent arrests, and the total number held by police remains a secret.

The London *Times* of March 15 reported that sources in Barcelona say daily political roundups are taking place there.

Despite the difficult circumstances existing under the totalitarian regime, protest against the witch-hunt is mounting throughout Spain.

A petition signed by 4,000 workers, students, and intellectuals, denouncing political trials and demanding that the government lift all special police powers, was delivered to the office of Vice-President Rear Admiral Luis Carrero Blanco on March 26, according to the London *Times* of March 30.

Relativity Importance

The following announcement was made on French television March 15:

"Because of the relative importance of Monsieur Andre Malraux's account of his last visit with General de Gaulle, we have postponed tonight's regularly scheduled program—'Einstein's View of the Universe.'"

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Antiwar Sentiment Focuses on April 24 Marches

On the eve of the massive April 24 antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, the rush of capitalist politicians to adopt a "dove" position began to look like a stampede.

"Some of the senators and congressmen who are now most vocally determined to get out of Vietnam were not long ago among those most vocally determined to stay in," *Newsweek* reported in its April 19 issue. "But time, events and the news from back home has [sic] altered their views. 'The mood around here,' said one Republican insider in the Senate, 'is to wash it out somehow. This is the mood of the country. Everybody's just sick and tired of the war.'"

House of Representatives majority whip Thomas P. O'Neill told the magazine:

"The people have spoken and Congress has got the message. That message is 'get out.'"

These capitalist politicians were not prepared, of course, to follow the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the public and legislate an immediate U.S. withdrawal from Indochina. Instead, they preferred to support cutting off funds for the war at some date in the future—usually unspecified—or to call on Nixon to set a timetable for U.S. withdrawal. These maneuvers were intended to serve a double purpose: deflecting the independent antiwar sentiment into the mire of bourgeois politics and protecting the political futures of the suddenly converted "doves."

"I come from the most hawkish state in the union," Alaskan Republican Congressman Ted Stevens was reported to have told Defense Secretary Melvin Laird. "I ran in '70 as a hawk. I can't do it again as a hawk in '72."

A more direct picture of the growth of antiwar sentiment was provided by an April 6 referendum in Madison, Wisconsin. Voters there were asked to approve or reject the following proposal:

"It shall be the policy of the people of the city of Madison that there shall be an immediate cease-fire and immediate withdrawal of all United

States troops and military equipment from Southeast Asia so that the people of Southeast Asia can settle their own problems."

The referendum carried in every one of the city's twenty-two wards and forty-one precincts. In working-class districts, the margin of approval was two and one-half to one. In the city as a whole, immediate withdrawal won 66 percent of the vote. In 1968, a similar referendum was approved by 44 percent of the voters.

Preparations for the April 24 demonstrations continued to bring in support for the antiwar movement from organized labor. In Los Angeles, the United Automobile Workers Western Region Six leafleted all of its 40,000 members, encouraging them to join the march on San Francisco, and provided the local antiwar coalition with an additional 50,000 leaflets for distribution throughout the city.

Four AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations) central labor councils in California, including the one covering San Francisco, have endorsed the demonstrations.

Similar support has come from unions in the East for the march on Washington. Locals of the United Electrical Workers (UE) were reported organizing transportation for their members. The Michigan state AFL-CIO assigned staff personnel to work on getting workers to Washington. In New York City, locals or districts of the Distributive Workers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and the Drug and Hospital union were among the most enthusiastic labor backers of the demonstration.

The breadth of union support in the city was indicated the week before the demonstration when the New York Peace Action Coalition placed an advertisement with the *New York Daily News*, which has the largest circulation of any newspaper in the country. The ad was signed by eighty prominent union officials in the New York area and called on working people to join the April 24 demonstration.

The National Alliance of Postal and

Federal Employees, a union representing 40,000 employees, urged delegates to its convention, held in Washington April 23, to stay over for the antiwar march.

In face of such massive sentiment, the Nixon administration decided to cooperate with the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) march organizers to a degree unprecedented in earlier demonstrations.

Prior to the November 15, 1969, march on Washington, for example, the government filled the press with rumors of planned "violence" at the demonstration and refused to grant a permit for the action until the last minute. This time, Nixon yielded early and quietly.

On April 15, Vice President Spiro Agnew approved the request of march organizers to hold the concluding rally on the grounds of the Capitol.

"Mr. Agnew's decision," the April 16 *New York Times* reported, "marked the first time that permission had been given for a mass gathering on the Capitol grounds."

Agnew also gave a permit to Vietnam Veterans Against the War for an April 19 demonstration at the Capitol, but he refused to allow another demonstration by the same group on April 23.

Antiwar protest began to blossom in the most secure bastions of the government itself. Even the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the political police—proved to be vulnerable. On April 7, J. Edgar Hoover created a scandal by demanding the resignation of three FBI clerical employees who had been doing volunteer work for NPAC during their free time.

Federal employees were also talking back to Nixon himself. Courtney R. Sheldon reported in the April 14 *Christian Science Monitor* that a task force working on a scheduled White House Conference on Youth had presented Nixon with the following sound advice:

"We propose that the Indo-China war be made the first order of business of the conference and call for an immediate and complete withdrawal from that conflict." □

Mao Presses Diplomatic Courtship of Washington

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai "was under quite a spotlight" when he met the visiting U. S. ping-pong team April 14, Norman Webster of the Toronto *Globe and Mail* wrote in a dispatch reprinted in the April 15 *Washington Post*.

"Besides the Chinese media, the meeting was covered by NBC [National Broadcasting Corporation], the Canadian Broadcasting Co., the Associated Press, United Press International, Life magazine, Reuter, the London Daily Express, three Japanese news organizations and the *Globe and Mail*."

Through these intermediaries, Chou delivered a clear message to Richard Nixon:

"In the past, exchanges between the peoples of China and the United States have been very numerous. They have been cut off for a long time. Now, with your acceptance of our invitation, you have opened a new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people. I am confident that this beginning again of our friendship will certainly meet with the majority support of our two peoples." (As reported by Associated Press.)



CHOU: "A new page in the relations of the Chinese and American people."

"At no time," Webster noted, "did he [Chou] criticize or even mention the U. S. government. . . ."

Peking has every right to seek normal diplomatic and trade relations with Washington. But in the days following the April 6 invitation to the U. S. table tennis team, the Maoist government moved — with a speed that "boggles the mind," in the words of one State Department official — toward a rapprochement with Washington that promised to have far-reaching political consequences as well.

Following the admission of three American reporters for the ostensible purpose of covering the tour of the U. S. team, *New York Times* correspondent Tillman Durdin was granted a month-long visa April 13. "Batches" of reporters would be admitted in the future, Chou promised the next day.

The Chinese premier also hinted at bigger things. He had, he remarked to the ping-pong players, never visited North America.

Nixon was quick to encourage the sudden friendliness emanating from Peking. On April 14, he announced a relaxation of the trade embargo on "nonstrategic" goods, an easing of currency restrictions that prohibit the sending of dollars to China, and several related economic measures.

"One widespread assumption here [Washington]," Robert B. Semple Jr. reported in the April 15 *New York Times*, "was that the trade would be placed on much the same basis as that with the Soviet Union. . . ."

Nixon's concessions were small in comparison with what he had already received from the Chinese leaders. The sudden approaches to Washington less than a month after the end of the Laos invasion provided American imperialism with highly useful ammunition against the antiwar movement. As the *New York Times* bluntly put it in an April 15 editorial:

"The Chinese have been most obliging in their timing, since Premier Chou's words . . . come just as the spring push has begun for marches on Washington by critics of Mr. Nixon's Vietnam policy. Premier Chou has done Mr. Nixon a good turn."

An Associated Press dispatch by John Roderick, one of the American reporters admitted to China, indicated on the basis of "conversations with Communist party officials and others who reflect Peking policy" that there were additional areas where Mao's pursuit of diplomatic relations had become indistinguishable from the "peaceful coexistence" policies of the Kremlin bureaucrats.

"The impression gained in these talks," Roderick wrote April 17, "is that if the United States would take the next step and recognize that the Taiwan problem is an internal Chinese issue, Peking would not insist on withdrawal of United States forces from Taiwan or the Taiwan Strait as a condition to further exploration."

The timing of Mao's wooing of Nixon is significant in another regard: it immediately follows the outbreak of civil war in Pakistan. Peking's backing of Yahya Khan's attempts to drown in blood the revolutionary struggle in East Bengal has put the Maoist leaders in a de facto alliance with American imperialism, the main military backer of the West Pakistani dictatorship. There could hardly be a more opportune moment to search for other areas of possible cooperation.

The *New York Times*, which speaks for the most sophisticated section of the U. S. ruling class, was quick to suggest another field where joint efforts might bear fruit. In its April 16 issue, the paper's editors wrote:

"One area of special interest to the United States would be Peking's readiness to help speed a negotiated settlement of the Vietnam war. Up to now the general view in Washington has been that Moscow has sought to persuade Hanoi toward greater flexibility at Paris while Peking has urged obstinacy, and even opposed the whole idea of negotiations.

"Whatever the accuracy of this belief, Mao Tse-tung or Chou En-lai would gain enormous prestige in the West if they made some move that visibly contributed to breaking the deadlock. Is it too much, for example, to hope that the Chinese may propose

enlargement of the Paris negotiations into a general Southeast Asia peace conference on the lines of the 1954 Geneva Conference that permitted France to disengage from Vietnam?"

Nixon, we may be sure, has not forgotten the 1954 Geneva Agreements, which were concluded while he was vice president under Eisenhower. At that time the Maoists joined the

Soviet government in pressuring the Vietnamese to accept the settlement cooked up by the Americans and the French that led to the division of Vietnam and laid the groundwork for the U. S. intervention. And in 1954, there were no U. S. ping-pong teams touring China.

Whether or not Mao is willing to play the assigned role in a repeat performance of the Geneva Confer-

ence, it was immediately clear that Nixon understood Peking's approaches as an assurance that the Chinese would make no serious move to block any new escalations in the Indochina war. Already on April 17—only eleven days after the invitation to the U. S. ping-pong team—General Creighton Abrams, the American commander in Vietnam, was hinting publicly at another U. S.-Saigon invasion of Laos. □

Army Presses Counterrevolutionary Drive Against Youth

Bandaranaike Asks Imperialist Aid to Crush Revolt

By Les Evans

Using arms and helicopters hastily supplied by British and American imperialism, the Bandaranaike regime pressed its military assault on rebel youth throughout Ceylon in the second week of April. Despite a press censorship modeled on that imposed by the Yahya Khan dictatorship in Pakistan to cover up its bloodbath in East Bengal, scattered reports by Western correspondents showed that thousands of persons have already been killed by the Ceylonese army and police.

New York Times Hong Kong bureau chief Tillman Durdin spent four days in the strife-torn island before leaving for China at the invitation of the Peking government. The Bandaranaike regime refused to allow Durdin to file dispatches while in the country, but an April 14 cable from Hong Kong gave this account of the situation:

"Thousands have been killed, and in rural areas, where 85 per cent of the population of 13 million live, the authority of the left-wing Government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has been reduced to scattered strongpoints. . . .

"High officials have been unreachable, and heavy censorship is not only keeping the domestic press and radio from disclosing the situation but is attempting to prevent the outside world from learning about it."

Under cover of this news embargo, the "left-wing" government has organized large-scale military terrorism against youth in general and against the civilian population in rural areas

where the youth revolt won wide support.

"Military action in heavily populated rural areas," Durdin writes, "has resulted in the killing of some insurgents, but with heavy casualties among innocent civilians. One estimate by a Defense Ministry official has put the dead on both sides at 6,000."

Many of the rebels have been shot in cold blood after being captured. The April 19 Dublin daily *Irish Times* reported that army officers have "ruled out a truce with the insurgents, raining strongholds with mortar shells and ordering executions for prisoners believed to be rebels.

"We have learned too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia.

"We must destroy them completely," said Lt. Col. Cyril Ranatunga, a 41-year-old Sandhurst graduate. "We have no choice."

"A high-ranking officer told reporters: 'Once we are convinced prisoners are insurgents, we take them to the cemetery and dispose of them.'"

It is increasingly clear that the so-called insurrection by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front) was in fact deliberately provoked by the capitalist government of Mrs. Bandaranaike.

While the government claims that a nationwide coordinated insurrection was planned, the first reported act of violence was an isolated incident—the March 6 "attack" on the U. S. embassy in Colombo—which could only have served to warn the authorities if there had been a real conspiracy.

Faced with mass arrests on frame-up charges, the young and relatively inexperienced radicals of the JVP chose to use arms to defend themselves from the government repression. The armed resistance did not begin until April 5, almost three weeks after the state of emergency was declared, and after many prominent leaders of the JVP were already in jail.

Given the unfavorable circumstances for beginning such a struggle, the strength of the resistance has shown the depths of popular opposition to the government. The extent of the fighting has been cited by Mrs. Bandaranaike and her coalition partners—the ex-Trotskyists of the Lanka Sama Samaja party, and the pro-Moscow Communist party—as evidence that the insurrection was indeed planned beforehand. But even the American capitalist press, which has universally backed the Ceylon regime, plainly disbelieved these proofs. Thus the conservative Boston daily *Christian Science Monitor* wrote April 15:

"Students of seesaw politics of Ceylon, who foresaw as long ago as four or five months the declaration of an emergency and the crackdown of the extreme Left, view the current crisis as a *calculated effort* by Mrs. Bandaranaike and the nationalist partisans in her coalition government to show the world as well as her own Trotskyite allies that her government will not be dragged or pushed any further leftward than her democratic socialist image demands." (Emphasis added.)

As for Bandaranaike's "Trotskyite" allies, these renegades from Marxism,

who were expelled from the world Trotskyist movement in 1964 when they first allied themselves with the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party, have been among the most vociferous defenders of the army's slaughter of radical youth.

Two prominent leaders of the LSSP — minister of plantation industries and constitutional affairs Colvin R. de Silva, and member of parliament Bernard Soysa — were named by the government April 18 as part of a seven-member committee to "re-establish civil authority" in the areas that have come under rebel control. This counterrevolutionary body also includes Pieter Keuneman, the head of the pro-Moscow CP, who is also minister of housing and construction in the Bandaranaike government.

All these partisans of the capitalist regime have employed the most shameless demagogy in trying to mobilize forces to crush the rebellion. In an April 9 broadcast to the nation, Prime Minister Bandaranaike lamented the casualties among the "loyal and innocent police officers" who had been killed while trying to machine-gun bands of student fighters.

"It is now clear that this movement is being backed by big money, diabolic minds and criminal organisers," the prime minister was quoted as saying by the April 15 Colombo weekly *Ceylon News*.

The Stalinist leader Keuneman, in a speech reported in the same issue of *Ceylon News*, sought to brand the revolutionary young people as agents of imperialism:

"Let us make no mistake about it. In the JVP we are confronted with a potentially fascist and terroristic movement, which serves the interests of sinister forces who have not yet declared their hand. . . .

"I appeal to all who sincerely want to see a truly free and prosperous Ceylon which can advance to socialism, to all who want to defend the victory of the people on 27th May 1970 [the date of the election of the present class-collaborationist regime], and to all who respect the will and sovereignty of the people, to rally behind the government to defeat this threat from fascism and terrorism."

But in fact it was precisely to the "sinister forces" of imperialism that Bandaranaike and her Stalinist and ex-Trotskyist allies appealed for military aid to crush the burgeoning rev-

olution. The imperialists were quick to respond. An April 13 Associated Press dispatch from Colombo reported:

"A U.S. Air Force plane landed in the capital of this strife-torn nation today with vitally needed spare parts for Ceylon's air force, which has stepped up attacks against a youthful rebel force. . . .

"Six U.S.-built helicopters were being readied by Britain for immediate shipment to Ceylon to give government forces more mobility in fighting the hit-and-run guerrillas. . . .

"British small arms and ammunition were being airlifted to Colombo from Singapore."

Both of the major bourgeois governments on the Indian subcontinent — at each other's throats on most other questions — found themselves united in their efforts to suppress revolution in Ceylon. The April 14 *New York Times* reported:

"India and Pakistan have provided helicopters, and pilots. . . .

"The Indian helicopter fleet is believed to consist of six aircraft and the Pakistani contingent of two." Ten days after the November 12 hurricane that claimed 500,000 lives in East Pakistan, the Yahya Khan dictatorship was able to provide only a single helicopter for relief work. But at the slightest sign of revolt on the subcontinent, the military regime is prepared to mobilize its entire resources to preserve the capitalist status quo — in this case even diverting helicopters from the bloody repression of the independence movement in East Bengal.

Peking's endorsement of Yahya Khan's massacre in East Bengal is all the more reproachable in light of the Pakistani dictator's antirevolutionary role throughout the region. Ironically, the day after the announcement of Islamabad's aid to Mrs. Bandaranaike, it was reported that the head of Ceylon's pro-Peking Communist party, Nagalingan Sanmugathasan, had been arrested in Colombo.

In face of the powerful alliance of reactionary forces against them, Ceylon's young rebels have done better than might be expected. The April 14 *New York Times* reported that ". . . there is no evidence that the efforts at suppression have yet been very effective, despite the success of security forces in eliminating several small rebel bands. Extensive rural areas are still under the influence of the insur-

rectionists, if not their full control, and continuance of the strict curfew that is lifted only from 6 A.M. until 4 P.M. here in Colombo and throughout the country offers evidence that the situation is still critical."

The same conditions appeared to prevail as late as April 18, when a foreign ministry official in the capital announced that while fighting had tapered off, rebel bands were believed to be regrouping in the countryside. A twelve-hour nightly curfew was continued, with violators shot on sight.

One of the main government accusations against the JVP is that it represents only a small isolated group of intellectual youth with no real mass base. This charge was repeated, for example, by the April 14 *New York Daily World*, the newspaper of the American Communist party, which has evidently taken on the dirty job of covering up for its Ceylonese Stalinist counterparts. "Although the U.S. capitalist news media is [sic] now referring to the 'Guevarists' as 'leftists' and 'Marxists,'" the *Daily World* said, "at the beginning of the revolt it was pointed out [by whom?] that they were unemployed young people with ties to reactionary elements in Ceylon." (In Colombo these kinds of charges are indiscriminately mixed with the contradictory assertion that the insurrection is a North Korean plot.)

The scope of the fighting indicates that the insurgents are by no means a small group. The April 11-12 Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the JVP "is said to have succeeded in rallying a certain number of peasants by calling for the immediate application of the measures inscribed in the United Front [government's] program."

The Bandaranaike regime has called for volunteers to help defeat the young socialists. But in doing so the government has inadvertently revealed its own estimate of the real base of the insurgence. The April 14 *Le Monde* reported that the government units "recruit only men of thirty-five to fifty-five, in order to avoid infiltration by the rebels, who find support especially among the youth." □

Healthier to Stop Breathing

Two scientists from the California State Department of Public Health reported April 15 that statistics show an increase in the death rate during the times when carbon monoxide pollution of the atmosphere is higher.

Why Bandaranaike Decided to Call Out the Army

Colombo

APRIL 1—The declaration of the State of Emergency by the United Front Government on March 16 marks, in the opinion of some here, the beginning of the final phase of the death agony of capitalism in Ceylon. It has fully confirmed the prognostication made in the May 16, 1970, manifesto of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary):

"The bitter truth, which the LSSP(R) considers it essential for the masses to understand, is that whatever parliamentary regime may be established following the general election of 27th May, capitalist rule and capitalist exploitation will continue, with increasing unemployment and hardships for the people, and with increasing likelihood of the suppression of the democratic rights of the masses, and their complete regimentation even, in the interests of the preservation of capitalist rule."

It is generally believed that the "attack" on the U.S. embassy on March 6, following the "practice alert" of the police the previous day, was a "stunt," which provided the government with a pretext for the declaration of a partial State of Emergency the next day.

Significantly enough, a leaflet, copies of which are said to have been strewn on the road and inside the embassy premises, as reported by the March 7 *Daily News*, was said, "according to an American spokesman," to read as follows: "American murderers, get out of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. Stop immediately your aid to the anti-Che Guevara movement. Peoples of Indo-China, we are with you. The Mao Youth Front."

No knowledgeable person believes that the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) had anything to do with the "attack." On the contrary, many people believe that it was contrived to provide a pretext for all-out repression of the JVP, which followed shortly after the incident.

In fact some people suspect that the U.S. embassy itself may have been behind the whole thing.

The killing of a police officer, by stabbing, clearly happened unexpect-

edly, as he happened to intervene forcibly with those who were manhandling a policeman on duty near one of the embassy gates.

On March 19, three days after the declaration of an island-wide State of Emergency, the International Monetary Fund announced approval of a "standby arrangement" for the Government of Ceylon to purchase foreign currencies up to the equivalent of \$24,500,000 over the next year.

The *Daily News* reported—after interviewing Finance Minister N.M. Perera—that "very harsh performance criteria have been insisted on" and that the grant "helps relieve the pressure on our reserves, which are very low." Perera was quoted as saying that he intends to make public the conditions imposed by the International Monetary Fund "since there would have to be sacrifices and hard work."

Together with the Emergency Regulations, under which all civil liberties and democratic rights of the entire population are now subject to arbitrary control or suppression by the prime minister, or by government officials, or police or military officers, the government promulgated Food Control Regulations prohibiting possession of any quantity of various specified articles of food by consumers in excess of the quantities specified in the regulations.

Reductions in Ceylon-London and London-Ceylon freight surcharges by the Ceylon-UK Conference of shipping lines become effective today, following talks in London March 26, according to yesterday's *Daily News*.

Preceding the March 6 incident at the U.S. embassy, the JVP held a mass rally at Hyde Park, Colombo, on February 27. The cabinet is reported to have met that day both in the morning and in the afternoon.

In comparison with the first JVP meeting at the same place last August 10, the crowd was estimated to be much larger—well over 10,000.

Wijeweera, one of the JVP leaders who was arrested March 13, explained that the meeting was being held "for the specific purpose of telling the na-

tion that the JVP was no underground movement and did not propose to stage coups," according to the February 28 *Daily Mirror*.

The *Daily News* of the same date reported Wijeweera as stating: "We will strike when we are provoked to do so by the armed forces, which are now trying to accuse us of conspiracy, but we are not conspirators. We can wait because we are young."

It is obvious that the primary purpose of the government is to destroy the JVP under the State of Emergency. Trials will probably be staged in due course to make out that it is a "terrorist" or "anarchist" organization that had to be suppressed in the interests of "public security."

Under virtual censorship of all publications, the Ministry of Information is using the capitalist press to build up the impression that there has been widespread preparation to use firearms and explosives for some kind of insurrection in the near future. There may well be frame-ups, of course, based on "confessions" by stool pigeons.

Sources in position to know are satisfied that the JVP was not planning any "uprising" or "terrorist" activity; although it may well be that some of its adherents accumulated small stocks of weapons or explosives in the belief that some kind of mass uprising might occur before long.

More than 350 persons are said to have been arrested so far. There can be no doubt that the majority of them have been taken in on mere suspicion or as a result of denunciation by their political, or even personal, enemies.

The police, in any case, are using their powers to arrest all kinds of persons whom they regard as "subversives." That is how members of the pro-Peking Communist party, and even some members of the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja party, have been arrested or taken in for questioning.

In that respect, something of the atmosphere of a police state now prevails. Besides making arbitrary ar-

rests, the police are using "third degree" methods in questioning those they seize.

The main political reason for the government's decision to resort to repressive measures, is undoubtedly its

realization that it has lost the confidence of the broad masses of the people to such an extent that the imposition of the further burdens required to keep capitalism going (with imperialist support) are bound to evoke

active mass protest sooner or later.

In this context, the attack on the JVP is being used to mask the attack on mass living standards and the assumption of powers to suppress all forms of mass activity. □

Peking on Same Side as Washington in Pakistan Civil War

Mao Defends Bloodbath in East Bengal

By Gerry Foley

"We are certain that, thanks to the contacts which you and your collaborators are increasing and thanks to all your efforts, the situation in Pakistan will be restored to normality," China's Premier Chou En-lai wrote to Pakistani military dictator General Yahya Khan in a letter made public April 12.

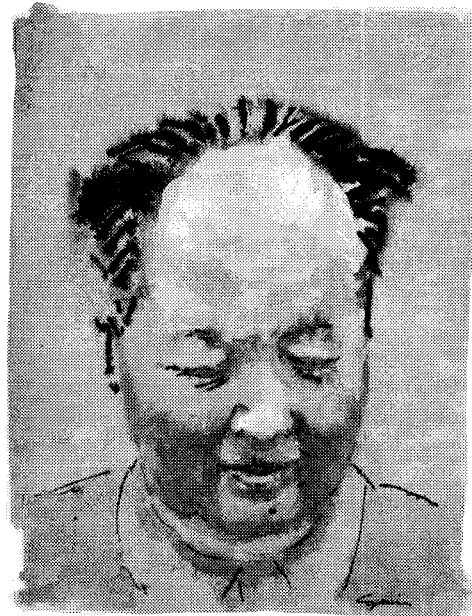
The text of the letter, quoted in the April 14 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, continued: "The unity of Pakistan and of the peoples of the eastern and western provinces of the country is essential to guarantee that the nation will survive and achieve prosperity and power. A distinction must be made between the great mass of the people and a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging Pakistan's unity."

The Mao regime evidently did not consider Chou's letter a sufficiently emphatic statement of support for the liquidation of the independence movement in East Bengal. It appears to have begun an internal propaganda campaign designed to glorify this effort.

On April 12, Radio Peking broadcasted quotes from an editorial in *People's Daily*, the Communist party organ, according to an Agence France-Press dispatch in the April 13 issue of *Le Monde*: "China resolutely backs the Pakistani government and people in their just struggle to safeguard the national independence and sovereignty of their state against foreign aggression and intervention."

Peking's moral support was greatly welcomed by the military dictatorship in Islamabad because, so far, the Mao regime has been the only government in the world to defend openly the "pacification" of East Bengal.

As increasing leaks have developed in the tight censorship imposed by the



MAO: "China resolutely backs the Pakistani government . . . in their just struggle."

West Pakistani army on March 25 when it moved to destroy the Bengali nationalist movement, the relationship of the Islamabad dictatorship to the "great mass of the people" in East Bengal has been clarified.

In one of the first dispatches from the "pacified" capital of East Bengal, published in *Le Monde* of April 14, an Associated Press correspondent reported: "Innumerable grey and white Pakistani flags fly over the subdued city of Dacca. The emblems of Bangla Desh (the Bengali nation) have been hidden or burned. Unfurling such a banner now would mean exposing yourself to immediate execution. Soldiers of President Yahya Khan are patrolling the city in jeeps or trucks, their rifles and machine-pistols at the ready.

"In the working-class neighborhoods, the soldiers circulate through a wasteland of ashes and charred bamboo poles, all that remains of the poor homes of thousands of families. These huts burned like torches when the army attacked the city during the night of March 25 to crush the autonomists. Twenty blocks of houses at least have been devastated.

"A little girl refuses to leave a smoke-filled hut. In her arms she holds a baby, her brother, and there is a terrified look in her eyes. According to neighbors, her family was killed when the army attacked. . . .

"Shots are still heard at night, while the soldiers are arresting leaders of the Awami League, intellectuals, and other Bengali personalities."

A report on the fighting by a Greek sailor, Konstantinos Xiros, whose ship was trapped in Chittagong, the main port of East Bengal, for eighteen days, appeared in the April 13 issue of the Athenian daily *To Bema*. The account was equally hostile to the resistance fighters and the army, but it gave this description of how the battles started in a city where the pro-China workers' movement has been especially strong:

"A ship loaded with arms for the regular army arrived in the port of Chittagong. The stevedores refused to unload it. Rumors spread about this arms shipment. A crowd gathered on the pier. At a certain moment, the port guards began firing on the numerous mass of people."

Most of the "great mass of the people" in the cities who survived the army massacres seem to be fleeing into the countryside to escape from the force Peking represents to the world as "their army."

"Authoritative reports indicate that perhaps 20 to 25 per cent of the peo-

ple are left in such towns as Dacca, the capital, and Chittagong and Comilla. Smaller centers are also largely deserted," *New York Times* correspondent Sydney H. Schanberg cabled April 13 from the Indian town of Agartala on the eastern border of East Bengal.

Schanberg, like some other foreign reporters, has been able to visit territory held by the Bengali resistance.

"This correspondent saw Pakistani soldiers burning villages to deny the resistance forces cover or hiding places. As the smoke from the thatch and bamboo huts billowed up on the outskirts of the city of Comilla, circling vultures descended on the bodies of peasants, already being picked apart by dogs and crows."

In order to suppress "a handful of individuals intent on sabotaging Pakistan's unity," the Islamic military dictatorship has massacred tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of Bengalis and terrorized all those within its reach.

"The central Government officially bars all foreign newsmen from East Pakistan," Schanberg continued. "But from the evidence available in secessionist-held rural areas—some of which are occasionally contested by the army—the Pakistani armed forces have killed leaders and potential leaders of East Pakistan and shattered the economic base of the region in their effort to crush the independence movement.

"On orders, the army—now consisting entirely of West Pakistani troops—has killed students, intellectuals, professors, engineers, doctors and others of leadership caliber—whether they were directly involved with the nationalist movement or not. . . .

"They want to drag us so far down that the nation will be back in the 18th century," a Bengali soldier said, "so that there will be famine and we will be reduced to eating grass. They want to make sure that no head will ever be raised against them again."

In the April 13 issue of *Le Monde*, correspondent Gérard Viratelle reported the story of one of the thousands of Bengali refugees fleeing into India: "In the countryside, entire villages are being razed. They are murdering families in cold blood. Without leaving the roads, the soldiers are machine-gunning peasant huts from military vehicles. At other times, the soldiers surround the villages, setting fire to the homes and shooting at all those who try to flee."

Although the military dictatorship has been in control of the large cities of East Bengal for more than three weeks, it has been able to put forward only the most obvious quislings in its efforts to demonstrate that it has some support among the Bengali population. The West Pakistani press has published stories about demonstrations hailing Islamic unity, such as this one on the site of a supposedly important battle:

"Pakistan zindabad, Allah O Akbar!—'Long Live Pakistan, Allah Is Great!' townsfolk shouted today during a patriotic demonstration near the railhead, according to the Pakistani news agency," a *New York Times* correspondent in Karachi reported April 12. But so far no Bengali political figures seem to have been found who are willing to support military rule or act as intermediaries between the local population and the ethnically and linguistically foreign West Pakistani troops.

The elements collaborating with the dictatorship do not appear representative in any way of the Bengali population. The most consistent support for the army seems to have come from small ultrarightist groupings.

". . . the killing of Bengalis, which has been systematic, was apparently planned long in advance," Schanberg wrote April 13. "Members of the Muslim League, an ineffectual religiously oriented party in East Pakistan long associated with the army and other West Pakistani interests, have reportedly been assisting the army in ferreting out students and other potential leaders." Thus, the only active support for Pakistani rule seems hardly more than a fifth column.

To justify its support for the Islamabad military dictatorship, Peking has argued that the Bengali nationalists represent "the emergent bourgeoisie of East Pakistan," according to a dispatch in the April 14 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*. "Mainland China looks on East Pakistan leader Sheikh Mujibur Rahman as a close associate of the imperialists, a high-level Chinese Communist diplomat in New Delhi told an Asian News Service correspondent Monday. . . .

"The diplomat alleged that U. S. imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, and Indian 'expansionism' were trying to cause chaos and confusion in East Pakistan."

Despite these charges, however, the weight of all the great powers interest-

ed in the East Bengal conflict has fallen on the Pakistani side of the scales: "The heaviest weapon the secessionists have in any numbers is the 3-inch mortar, although they have captured a few heavy guns," Schanberg noted in his April 13 dispatch. "The Pakistani military are using jet fighter-bombers, heavy artillery and gunboats—mostly supplied by the United States, the Soviet Union and Communist China."

Washington has avowed a policy of neutrality toward the conflict, apparently anxious to avoid charges of complicity in the slaughter, which it can ill afford at a time when indignation at its atrocities in Vietnam is so high. "Two days ago officials conceded under questioning that the United States had sold Pakistan approximately \$40-million in 'nonlethal' military equipment since April, 1967, but acknowledged that up to 25 per cent of it had been ammunition," James P. Sterba cabled April 15 from New Delhi. "Today they asserted that 'not more than 10 to 15 per cent' of the equipment had been ammunition.

"Officials also disclosed that the latest United States shipments of military spare parts had been delivered shortly before March 25."

The most essential supplies for the Pakistani repressive campaign—gasoline for the planes bringing in military reinforcements from West Pakistan and bombing rebel-held towns and rural areas, as well as for the motorized strikes into the countryside to terrorize the population and prevent the consolidation of liberated territories—seemed to be coming indirectly from the U. S., from the Pentagon's main base in Southeast Asia: "Moreover, the Pakistani planes must take on gasoline in Bangkok, since reserves are very limited in Dacca," Gérard Viratelle wrote in a dispatch from Calcutta published in the April 13 issue of *Le Monde*.

The West Pakistan government-controlled press has made it clear that both Washington and Peking are backing the dictatorship's "pacification" effort.

"Peking's protest note to New Delhi accusing India of flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan has pleased the government in this country," Qutubuddin Aziz noted in a cable from Karachi in the April 10 *Christian Science Monitor*. A paragraph further on, he said: "Statements of United States State Department

spokesmen about developments received front-page display in newspapers and created a favorable reaction."

Of the three powers most directly interested in the Bengal conflict — the U. S., China, and India — the last is in the most difficult position.

"It is inevitable that India will serve as a place of asylum and perhaps as a refuge for certain Bengali rebels," Viratelle wrote in the April 15 issue of *Le Monde*. "And it would be very difficult in the present state of things to prevent an arms traffic between the two parts of Bengal [West Bengal in India and East Bengal, which has been part of Pakistan]."

"However, up till now the Bengalis have complained bitterly of the inaction of the Indian leaders in this regard. Among other things, the Indian heads fear that if arms were supplied to the resistance, they would fall into the hands of Maoist elements. Without pushing the parallel too far, it will be noted that on request of Mrs. Bandaranaike, India has lent the Ceylonese some helicopters to repress the 'Guevarist' rebels."

Viratelle failed to note that since the armed resistance of the Ceylon People's Liberation Front developed in early April, both Pakistan and India have sent substantial military equipment to the Colombo regime to support its attempt to suppress the popular rebellion. They have done this at the same time that they have been threatening each other with war over the question of alleged Indian support to the Bengali resistance.

As for the mostly pro-Peking East Bengali left, Viratelle noted that it remains convinced that the Mao government will ultimately come to the aid of the Bengali people. In the same way, many Bengali nationalists reportedly believe that Sheik Mujibur Rahman is with them in their struggle and leading them — despite evidence that he was arrested by the army on the first night of fighting and despite the fact that he always opposed the creation of an independent Bengali state and led his supporters unarmed into a slaughter of genocidal proportions.

Confused and virtually defenseless in the face of the army onslaught, the resistance fighters apparently are reluctant to believe that they have been betrayed by all forces they looked to for leadership and support.

Even some well-informed capitalist reporters, usually careful to point out

that Peking puts its national interest before its revolutionary rhetoric, found it difficult to believe that the Mao regime would pass up such an un hoped-for opportunity to expand the socialist revolution in Southeast Asia.

Thus, in the April 10 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Joseph C. Harsch wrote: "What happens after



YAHYA: Appreciates Peking's vote for the status quo in Pakistan.

that [Bengali independence] worries everyone because its closest emotional ties are with the Indian province of West Bengal, and both of them have strong Maoist influences in their political fabric.

"It is perfectly conceivable that East Bengal (East Pakistan) will draw West Bengal out of India to form a revived Bengali state. It is further possible that this revived state of Bengal would then seek to enter into closer relations with China.

"One slide of Chinese influence down the south slope of the Himalayas to a lodgement on the Bay of Bengal would be viewed with equal alarm and unhappiness in New Delhi, Moscow, and Washington. . . .

"The immediate practical problem is how to prevent China from taking advantage of the present state of affairs."

When Peking's attitude became clear, the conservative *Christian Science Monitor* devoted the lead editorial in its April 14 issue to praising the Mao regime's political maturity.

"For the Chinese the temptation must have been enormous to aid and abet

the independence movement in East Pakistan. With proper timing and aid it is probable, indeed almost certain, that they could have set in motion a political movement which would have first made East Pakistan independent of West Pakistan and converted it into a new East Bengal. . . .

"It could easily have meant that someday Bengal would have gone Communist, in the Maoist rite. And that would have teamed the hundred million people of a reunited Bengal with the seven or eight (?) hundred millions of China. . . .

"What a gorgeous daydream for Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai!

"But then, there is always in power politics that miserable 'other side of the coin.'" (The capitalist paper was referring to new diplomatic alignments supposedly unfavorable to China that might result.)

"Would Peking then come out the real winner, or the real loser?"

"The answer is much too uncertain to make the game worth the candle.

"Or at least that must have been the calculation in Peking because the men there have made their first important move in this game and the move was clear, uncompromising support for the government of West Pakistan. . . .

"This was a vote for the status quo, as opposed to the unsettling of Asia. . . .

"Particularly interesting to Westerners is that this move also fits comfortably with Peking's new chumminess toward the United States. Being friendly to Americans (not necessarily to the government in Washington, which they seem to want to keep in a separate drawer) and behaving with such commendable restraint toward Pakistan and India is the behavior of a prudent great power behaving in a sophisticated manner."

The Mao group's militant anti-imperialist language has had considerable attraction for Third World liberation fighters impressed by the defeat of capitalism in China and in search of allies. In the same way, the abstract democratic rhetoric of the "great cultural revolution" has held wide appeal for young rebels in the advanced capitalist world opposed to authoritarianism and disgusted by the bureaucratic conservatism of the European workers states and mass workers' organizations.

However, in this century the struggles of oppressed nationalities again

and again have been the acid test of the democratic principles of socialists and progressives. The liberation war of the Bengali people seems likely to prove another example of this.

In their fight against authoritarianism and conformism, the rebel youth

of today have aligned themselves more than any preceding revolutionary generation with the struggles of oppressed nations for self-determination. For these young revolutionists there could hardly be a more repulsive spectacle than the alliance of the

Mao regime with the Pakistani dictatorship—than this league between a bureaucratic despot raised by his idolators to the status of a "revolutionary" god on earth and the mass murderers who head the "Islamic" state. □

East Bengal

The Spark That Could Set India Ablaze

By Tariq Ali

[The following article is taken from the April 6 issue of the Dublin daily *Irish Times*.]

* * *

The brutal massacre of Bengalis conducted by the invading armies of the West Pakistani dictator, General Yahya Khan, is the penultimate act of a tragedy that began in 1947, when Pakistan was established. The curtain will come down only with the withdrawal of the invading armies, the establishment of an independent East Bengali State and the end of Pakistan as we have known it up till now.

The origins of the present crisis in East Bengal are to be found in the very creation of Pakistan and the division of the Indian sub-continent on a religious basis. The struggle to establish a separate Moslem state reflected the uneven development of two national bourgeoisies (the Hindu and the Moslem). The fear of the Moslem feudal landlords and petty bourgeoisie that a united India would mean the hegemony of the Hindu bourgeoisie saw the creation of a freak state—Pakistan—which comprised two geographical entities separated from each other by 1,000 miles and having only one factor in common, the Moslem religion. The region of East Bengal contained the majority of the population (over 60%), but the two major props of the new state were confined to West Pakistan, namely, the Pakistan Army and the civil service. These two elements right from the very beginning guaranteed the dominance of the feudal landlords over the politics of the entire country. Thus the first two decades of Pakistan's existence

saw a continuous intrigue becoming irresistible. The feudal politicians moved into the background and the Army seized direct control via the Ayub *coup d'etat* in October 1958. Thus majority rights were denied to the Bengali masses from the very start.

These rights did not entail political representation alone. Economically as well the eastern part of the country was ruled by the central government in West Pakistan. The departure of the Hindu entrepreneurs and "gombeenmen" to India in 1947 had created a vacuum in the East Bengali economy and this vacuum was filled, not by the Bengali petty bourgeoisie, but by non-Bengali business interests, predominantly from West Pakistan. This economic exploitation which began immediately after partition led to an annual extraction of 3,000 million rupees (£1 equals Rs.12) from East Bengal by West Pakistani capitalists. The bulk of foreign exchange earned by Pakistan came from jute, a commodity produced only in East Bengal, but these earnings were squandered in West Pakistan. No benefit accrued to the eastern part of the country at all. An interesting comparison can be made by examining the sums of money granted for development projects by the central government. Between 1948 and 1951 a sum of Rs. 1,130 million was sanctioned for development. Of this only 22.1% or Rs. 250 million went to East Pakistan. This gap continued to increase. In addition the large majority of what industrial enterprises were set up in East Bengal were dominated by West Pakistani capital.

East Pakistan, therefore, gradually became a neo-colony. Its raw material

was used to develop Karachi and the Punjab and it was used as a market for dumping industrial commodities produced in West Pakistan; commodities which it could have obtained at half the price from nearby India if the central government had not disallowed all trade with New Delhi and Calcutta. The reasons behind the discrimination of East Pakistan were simple. The West Pakistani vested interests rightly feared that if a national bourgeoisie were allowed to develop in East Bengal, its economic strength added to its political power would make it a vital and dominating force in Pakistani politics.

They were, therefore, determined to prevent this from happening and thus, together with the economic and political discrimination inflicted on the Bengalis there was added a certain form of racial discrimination. Bengalis were not allowed any meaningful representation in either the armed forces or the civil service and the excuse was an old one inherited from the days of British imperialism: The Bengalis are an inferior race not capable of fighting as are the Punjabis—a martial race. These myths, invented by British imperialism because it did not trust the Bengalis politically, have been taken over in their entirety by the West Pakistani ruling class.

The cumulative effect of decades of oppression has now been seen by the entire world. Because of the massive pressure generated by the mass movements of 1968-'69 (which resulted in the overthrow of Field Marshal Ayub Khan), the Yahya Khan dictatorship was forced to make certain concessions, one of which was a general election based on adult franchise. The na-

tionalist programme of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League, enshrined in the famous six-points, won 98% of the votes in East Bengal (total population: 75 million) and this gave the league a majority throughout the country. The West Pakistani ruling class correctly saw the verdict of the people as a threat to its class interests. A Bengali majority meant the beginning of the end of the business monopoly which the west had enjoyed and furthermore opened the possibilities of exercising civilian control over the enormous military expenditure. The Pakistani Army, as the main upholder of West Pakistani capitalism and feudalism, decided on a massacre in collaboration with the leader of the 'Radical' People's Party, Mr. Bhutto.

A pretence was made of negotiations and it was here that the limitations of the Awami League came out into the open. As a petty bourgeois party with a petty bourgeois programme it found itself in a pre-revolutionary situation. Its willingness to negotiate was resented by the masses who understood much more clearly than the Awami League leaders that Yahya was negotiating only to gain time in order to pour in troops from West Pakistan. Mujibur Rahman did not prepare either his party or the masses for an armed struggle, despite the fact that he controlled the entire country for a few weeks when a situation existed which can only be described as bourgeois dual power! The grim results of this failure are to be seen in the streets of Dacca and Chittagong; hundreds of thousands of Bengalis lie dead, massacred in cold blood by the invading army. The Left in East Pakistan was at a disadvantage from the start because it never understood the importance of the national question and because it failed to play a leading role in the anti-Ayub opposition because of the latter's "friendship" with China. As a result the leadership of the Bengali struggle passed over to Mujibur Rahman's Awami League, and though the Left made an about-turn it was done in a fragmented way and was too late to retrieve the situation. Today, however, the revolutionary Left can play a decisive role in the struggle, by organising both itself and its social base. The struggle to be successful will have to transcend its nationalist limitations.

The role of Bengal as a whole in

the history of the Indian sub-continent has been such that it has given a political lead to the rest of the country. The old adage that, "What Bengal does today, India does tomorrow," has a certain relevance, which Mrs. Gandhi, the Indian Prime Minister, understands perfectly well. That is why she makes demagogic noises stressing her sympathy for the Bengali people. She is forced into such a posture to appease West Bengal, which is also on the boil.

An independent East Bengal or even the armed struggle designed to achieve it could have extremely serious repercussions for the Indian bourgeoisie as far as West Bengal is concerned. Already we have seen a one-day general strike in West Bengal in solidarity with the oppressed masses of East Bengal. The logic is very clear; the road has been opened to a united Bengali nation with a population of well over 100 million people. And few are in doubt that a united Bengal would be very rapidly confronted with the permanent revolutionary process. The non-existence of a bourgeois-

sie in the east combined with the weakness of a bourgeois State apparatus would seriously limit the options. And if one also takes into account the Maoists and the Trotskyists of the Fourth International already control some "liberated areas" not far from the border, then the prospect of a Socialist Bengal becomes even clearer. Thus the perspective of Bengal as a red base preparing to take social revolution deep into the heart of India, becomes a spectre haunting the United States and its client regimes in Asia. Even as one writes one hears that the more far-sighted capitalists in West Pakistan are preparing to consider a confederation with Iran and Afghanistan. Thus a new geographical entity begins to take shape—a rump of reaction in South Asia to form the "new frontier" of United States imperialism. But one can predict with a certain amount of confidence that even this State will not last long. The advancing Indo-Chinese revolution coupled with an armed struggle in India, would make it only a short-term possibility. History is moving extremely rapidly these days. □

Golda Meir Worried About Panthers

The existence of the Black Panthers of Jerusalem first came to international attention when members of the group were arrested by Israeli police for attempting to organize a demonstration March 3 against housing and job discrimination. [See *Intercontinental Press*, March 22, page 261.]

The group—consisting predominantly of Sephardic Jews, that is, Jews originally from North Africa and the Arab East—demands that the government spend more money on improving the lives of the Sephardis than on attracting new, largely European, immigrants.

At the time of the arrests, the government minimized the importance of the Panthers, stating that they had very few members and that they were an artificial creation of the socialist anti-Zionist Israeli Socialist Organization (ISO). Recent developments have shown, however, that the government estimate was inaccurate.

Walter Schwarz, in an article published in the March 21 *Observer* of London, reports that the Panthers are now conducting a national recruiting drive, and that government representatives admit to considerable apprehension about the impact of the new Sephardic movement.

"Mrs Meir is worried about the Panthers," Schwarz wrote. "She is especially incensed at the name they have chosen, because the American Panthers are

thought of here as anti-semitic. But she is even more concerned about the emerging statistical evidence of how far Israel has moved away from the egalitarian image it still holds of itself."

During the past twenty years the Sephardis have been the targets of right-wing propaganda seeking to direct them against the even more exploited Arab community in Israel, rather than against the almost wholly European government.

Although the Black Panthers of Jerusalem are not anti-Zionist, and have even declared that they have no connection with the ISO or any other "antistate" (i.e. anti-Zionist) group, the development of a movement hostile to the current government among this formerly reliable sector of the population has grave implications for the Zionist regime.

Schwarz was told by Elie Eliachar, leader of the Council of Sephardic Jews, "Now, if we get peace [with the Arabs], we shall have civil war at home."

The Panthers have distributed 5,000 membership applications in their current recruiting campaign. They report that 3,000 have already been returned.

Schwarz said that he had seen 900 completed applications at the home of a Panther member, and that the Panthers now are "working with embryonic Panthers in Tel Aviv and other cities, as well as rural settlements." □

New Attack on Palestinians

By Jon Rothschild

The Hashemite regime of King Hussein in Jordan has intensified its attempts to liquidate the Palestinian resistance movement. The new assaults began in the last week of March as negotiations seeking a "political" settlement of the Middle East crisis at the expense of the Palestinian people moved into a critical stage. Fighting in Amman, the capital, and near the northern cities of Irbid and Jerash flared as the Jordanian army tried to oust the fedayeen from areas that have been Palestinian strongholds for the past several years.

The latest round of fighting was touched off when the army opened fire on a Palestinian women's demonstration.

Eric Pace, in a report published in the March 29 *New York Times*, wrote that the army quickly established control of the center of Amman. This was the first time since before the beginning of the September civil war that government troops were able to move with impunity into the heart of the city.

The Cairo agreement ending the civil war stipulated that the fedayeen were required to evacuate Amman, as well as other major cities. But until now, Hussein's regime has been unable to fully enforce the agreement. This has been a source of increasing concern to the government.

If the negotiations between Israel and the Arab states result in a peace agreement that denies the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, elimination of the fedayeen will be a crucial necessity for enforcement of the settlement. On the other hand, if the negotiations break down and fighting resumes along the Israeli-Arab borders, the existence of the Jordanian regime will almost certainly be challenged by a new upsurge in the Palestinian revolutionary movement. Eric Pace in the *New York Times* of April 2 quotes an "Amman scholar who is close to the royal palace" as saying that if the cease-fire on the Suez front ends, "the fedayeen will be racing down the main streets of Amman."

It is this possibility that has prompted the Jordanian government's intensified assault on the Palestinians.

Hussein has combined the new attacks with his usual demagogic rhetoric about solidarity with the Palestinian fight against the Zionist state of Israel. But members of his armed forces have been more candid. Army commander in chief Field Marshal Habes al-Majali, in a cable to the king made public April 3, called the fedayeen "these Communists and atheists" and said that the armed forces would be "as tough as steel" in dealing with the commandos.

Fedayeen sources in Beirut, Lebanon, issued a communiqué April 4 charging that government forces had attacked several commando bases in the Jordan River valley, with the aim of preventing Palestinian operations against Israel.

The Hussein government has demanded concessions from the commandos that go beyond the Cairo agreements. The latter allowed the part-time commando militia to keep its arms in specified places in the capital. Wasfi Tal, the Jordanian prime minister, has insisted not only that all the regular fedayeen leave Amman but that all militia weapons be removed from the city as well.

On April 5 the fedayeen began complying with this order, according to the April 6 *Manchester Guardian*. Correspondent David Hirst said, however, that rank-and-file fedayeen objected to the pullout:

"The guerrilla leadership confronted its local Amman commanders in the capital's Wahdat refugee camp yesterday [April 4] and reportedly had great difficulty getting them to accept the need for this evacuation.

"Al Fatah's members evidently accepted the argument, reluctantly, but there are strong doubts about the left-wing Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine."

On April 6, Hussein set a two-day deadline for the commando withdrawal, threatening that "the result will be cruel" if the Palestinians were not out



—David in "Direct from Cuba"

HUSSEIN: "The result will be cruel" if the fedayeen do not leave Amman.

of Amman on schedule. But on the day the time limit expired, Yasir Arafat was quoted by the *New York Times* (April 9) as denying that the Palestinian leadership had agreed to the pullout.

Meanwhile, the commandos appeared to be holding their own in the north. On April 6 Palestinian sources reported repelling four infantry and armor assaults on commando positions near the town of Jerash.

A representative for the General Command of the Forces of the Palestinian Revolution was quoted by the April 9 *New York Times* as saying that the fedayeen had launched a military offensive in "all parts of Jordan, especially along the Jordanian-Syrian border." The General Command official also said that the fedayeen would not conclude any further agreements with Hussein because the government had "violated the existing one."

Washington is backing Hussein's latest offensive against the Palestinians by increasing its aid to the Jordanian army. The *New York Times* of April 8 reported that Nixon plans to ask Congress for a \$45,000,000 grant to supply Hussein with new tanks, four-

engine transport planes, and other military equipment during the fiscal year beginning July 1. This represents an increase of \$15,000,000 over the past year's aid level.

The *New York Times* was quite straightforward in its explanation of the reason for the aid increase:

"Officials said that the Administration's policy had the tacit approval of Israel, which is known to believe that Middle East stability would be enhanced by the elimination of the guerrilla threat. During the Septem-

ber crisis, Israel allowed United States aircraft to fly over her territory to deliver arms and munitions to the King's troops."

Fedayeen sources reported continuing battles with the army during the second week in April. The *New York Times* of April 15 said that Jordanian troops in Amman were conducting house-to-house searches for weapons in former centers of fedayeen strength. The same article reported that the Central Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization had announced,

despite Arafat's earlier denial, that the commando withdrawal from Amman had been completed.

In the wake of the renewed fighting, the radio program Voice of Assifa (operated by al-Fateh), broadcasting from Cairo, has been denouncing the Hussein government and appealing to the Jordanian soldiers to resist the commands of their officers. "Your family and your brothers are waiting to welcome you into the ranks of the revolution," one such broadcast said. □

Twenty-Fourth Congress of Soviet CP

Bureaucrats Unite Against Threat of Change

By Allen Myers

The Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Soviet Communist party, meeting in Moscow March 30-April 9, took place one full year after the date called for in the party's statutes. During the course of that year, Polish workers had risen to demand the institution of socialist democracy, U. S. imperialism had escalated its offensive against national independence movements in Indochina and the Middle East, and within the Soviet Union itself dissident intellectuals had continued to broaden the fight for democratic rights.

The reaction of the Soviet party chiefs to these events was to attempt tighter controls at home and an understanding with Richard Nixon in the international arena.

While recognizing the impossibility at this time of formally "rehabilitating" Stalin, the congress clearly moved in the direction of reestablishing the autocratic norms of party life of the Stalin era. This could be seen in three factors: the emergence of a new strong man at the head of the party; the conscious encouragement of Great Russian chauvinism; and the threat of a purge of unreliable elements within the party rank and file.

The congress unanimously ratified the position of General Secretary Leonid I. Brezhnev as undisputed leader of the Soviet bureaucracy. Coverage of the congress by the Soviet mass media and the sycophantic adulation directed at Brezhnev by the delegates

left no room for doubt.

Newspapers listed Brezhnev's reelection before their reports on the Politburo elections. This was a reversal of the procedure in reporting the previous congress and a contradiction of the general secretary's formal subordination to the Politburo, the Soviet CP's highest body.

In another departure from tradition, Soviet television broadcast live Brezhnev's entire six-hour keynote speech March 30 and his closing remarks April 9.

Throughout the gathering, Brezhnev was the recipient of more fulsome personal praise than has been heard in the Soviet Union since Khrushchev was deposed.

Geidar A. Aliyev, first secretary of the Azerbaijan party, in a typical statement, declared:

"In all the work done by the Central Committee an enormous role belongs to . . . Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, who by his indefatigable activity and constant concern about the good of the people has won universal love and respect."

The top bureaucrat of the Tatar Autonomous Republic declared that Brezhnev's opening report for the Central Committee "contains provisions and conclusions enriching Marxist-Leninist theory by its analysis of the contemporary aggravation of the general crisis of capitalism and of devel-

opment of the world revolutionary process."

Political dissent within the Soviet Union has frequently involved attempts to defend the rights of minority nationalities. The continued forced exile of the Crimean Tatars, for example, has been the cause of a series of protests. The reaction of the 5,000 congress delegates was to proclaim approval of a paternalistic Great Russian chauvinism obligatory for all party members. Brezhnev, a Ukrainian, opened his remarks on nationalities:

"All the nations and nationalities of our country, above all the great Russian people, played their role in the formation, consolidation and development of this mighty union of equal nations that have taken the road to socialism. The revolutionary energy, dedication, diligence and profound internationalism of the Russian people have quite legitimately won them the sincere respect of all the other peoples of our Socialist motherland."

Members of other nationalities dutifully elaborated on the theme that of all the equal nations, Russia was most equal.

The Azerbaijani, Aliyev, praised "the friendship and mutual assistance of Soviet peoples headed by our elder brother, the great Russian people."

An Armenian delegate waxed so eloquent over "the role of the culture of the Great Russian people" that he

completely forgot the equally ancient culture of his own nation.

Sharaf Rashidov, head of the Uzbek party, gave his approval to the privileged status of the Russian language:

"... the great striving of people of all nationalities to learn the Russian language is convincing evidence of the dedication of Soviet peoples to this union, of their love and respect for their elder brother."

The congress also ratified Brezhnev's proposal for an exchange of party cards. This was the method used in Czechoslovakia following August 1968 to eliminate members considered unreliable. Those who could not prove their loyalty to the leadership were simply denied new cards and thus effectively expelled from the party without any formal proceedings.

Taken together, these moves constituted a reversal of the limited easing of controls that the bureaucracy had granted to the masses in the years after Stalin's death. Even the partial revelations made by Khrushchev about Stalin's tyranny were put under the ban by Brezhnev:

"Some people sought to reduce the diversity of present-day Soviet reality to problems that have irreversibly receded into the past as a result of the work done by the party to surmount the consequences of the personality cult."

It was significant, however, that the Kremlin leadership did not feel strong enough to flout public opinion by attempting to restore Stalin's reputation, as some of the more ossified bureaucrats had hoped. [See *Intercontinental Press*, February 1, page 81.] The late dictator's name was not mentioned even once during the congress.

It is unlikely that such evasions will conceal the import of the congress decisions from the Soviet masses. Shortly before the opening session, historian Pyotr L. Yakir made public an open letter to the assembled bureaucrats in which he criticized "the reappearance of Stalinism in the political, social and cultural life of our country."

Yakir is the son of Ion Yakir, a Soviet general who was shot in 1937 during Stalin's purge of the army. The younger Yakir has been active in the fight for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union for several years, and has been particularly vocal in demanding an honest evaluation of

the period of Stalin's rule. His open letter became available to Western reporters in Moscow and was described in the March 31 *Christian Science Monitor* and by Bernard Gwertzman in the March 30 *New York Times*.

Yakir wrote that "an overwhelming part of the creative, scientific and technical intelligentsia" is worried because "a dangerous tendency toward the re-birth of Stalinist methods of government has become apparent."

One of Yakir's objections concerned the treatment of writers whose works are published abroad:

"The foreign publication of documents with critical contents is considered a condition increasing the guilt of their authors.

"Why do those who think this way not ask themselves the question: What caused the so-called washing of dirty linen in public? Who would think of writing to the United Nations, of appealing to world public opinion, if his own leadership gave him a convincing answer to serious questions bothering serious people?"

Yakir, who has not been allowed to work as a historian since 1968 and whose daughter has been removed from school because of her father's activities, said he had been told by prosecutors and secret police on three separate occasions that "only out of respect to the memory of my father they have not arrested me for 'anti-Soviet activity.'"

Yakir's letter answered the bureaucrats:

"I am a historian and citizen of my country, not just the illegally persecuted son of Yakir who perished under Stalin. I have the right, like all citizens of the U. S. S. R., to present the leadership with questions and the right to demand answers from them."

A prime concern of the Soviet bureaucrats is to isolate questioning intellectuals like Yakir from the working masses. The example of Poland has shown them what is in store if they fail.

The CP chiefs outlined a dual strategy of repression of dissidents combined with limited economic concessions to the workers. Brezhnev himself threatened the intellectuals who might step out of line:

"The party and the people have never and will never reconcile themselves to attempts, no matter who makes them, to blunt our ideological weapon and cast a stain on our banner. If

a writer slanders Soviet reality and helps our ideological adversaries in their fight against socialism he deserves only one thing—public scorn."

Both Brezhnev and Premier Aleksei Kosygin, who delivered the economic report, promised an increase in the production of consumer goods. At present, Kosygin admitted, only one Soviet family in three has a refrigerator. Half the households own a television set or washing machine. If the new plan is fulfilled, by 1975 two-thirds of all families will have refrigerators and 72 percent will have televisions or washing machines. Kosygin also promised an increase in the output of automobiles for private buyers from the present 124,000 annually to 800,000 a year by 1975.

These goals are to be achieved by increasing investment in consumer industry and agriculture from the current 24 percent of government investment to 30 percent.

In his opening speech, Brezhnev wooed the workers with promises of wage increases. During the period of the plan, he said, the minimum wage will be raised from 60 rubles [1 ruble equals US\$1.10] per month to 70. Average wages in industry are supposed to rise from 122 rubles to 146. In agriculture, the target is an average wage of 98 rubles.

Brezhnev explained to the delegates—whose own incomes were not reported—that these concessions were made necessary by rising expectations on the part of the workers:

"We have many years of heroic history behind us, comrades, when millions of Communists and nonparty people consciously accepted privations and hardships, were content with the bare essentials and denied themselves the right to demand any special amenities.

"This could not but reflect on their attitude toward the production of consumer goods, toward their quality and range. But that which was explicable and natural in the past, when other tasks, other undertakings, stood in the forefront, is unacceptable in the present conditions."

These concessions, however, appear largely illusory. Heavy industry will continue to receive an overwhelming share of available resources.

Of the 500,000,000,000 rubles to be invested in the 1971-75 period, only 8,700,000,000 will go to light

industry and 14,000,000,000 to food processing.

Brezhnev claimed that 42 percent of the output of defense industries actually consists of consumer durables such as refrigerators. But since Stalin's time, Soviet statistics have been notorious for always proving whatever political point the bureaucracy wishes to make. It is relatively simple to distort the real picture by assigning inflated values to consumer goods.

If the ruling caste is still faced only with the beginning stages of disaffection domestically, the congress demonstrated that Moscow's former ability to rule the world Communist movement by fiat is now nothing but an irretrievable memory of the past.

Although Gustav Husak was trotted onstage to thank the Soviet bureaucrats for the August 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia, the congress was forced to listen to dissenting views on the subject. Rumanian party chief Nicolae Ceausescu told the delegates:

"Our party declares itself against any interference in the internal affairs of other parties, which leads to the weakening of their unity and of their capacity to fight against the class enemy."

Enrico Berlinguer, who led the Italian delegation, explained to his Soviet hosts that internationalism "is based on recognition of the full independence of every country and every Communist party, and leaves room as it has already and as it will do for moments and motives of disagreement and difference."

The inability to win acceptance of the invasion even three years after the fact must have been particularly disturbing to the Soviet leaders in light of the fact that the situation in Eastern Europe remains explosive. Brezhnev told his colleagues in regard to Czechoslovakia:

"The various remaining internal antisocialist forces may, in certain conditions, become active and even mount direct counterrevolutionary action. . . ."

Sharper criticisms of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia undoubtedly would have been heard had not the Chinese and Albanian Communist parties declined to send delegations. Their absence provided the opportunity for a series of factional attacks upon the Chinese leadership.

In the face of Nixon's escalation of the Vietnam war throughout In-

dochina and his threats of military intervention to help King Hussein destroy the Palestinian resistance, a united front of the two most powerful workers states is an urgent necessity. Brezhnev, however, thought it more important to raise the question of the 1969 Sino-Soviet border clashes and to denounce Peking's "slandorous inventions" and "anti-Soviet" line.

His perfunctory call for "cohesion and joint action" against U.S. aggression in Indochina was not accompanied by an announcement of any increase in material aid to the Indochinese peoples, or even by a promise to end Moscow's scandalous diplomatic recognition of Lon Nol, the U.S. puppet in Cambodia.

At the same time, Brezhnev made it clear that he was eager to reach an understanding with U.S. imperialism, even at the price of proclaiming its beneficent intentions:

"We proceed from the assumption that it is possible to improve relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U. S. A. Our principled line with respect to the capitalist countries, including the U.S.A., is consistently and fully to practice the principles of peaceful coexistence, to develop mutually advantageous ties and to cooperate with states prepared to do so in strengthening peace[!], making our relations with

them as stable as possible."

Brezhnev went on to assure Nixon of his acquiescence in the latter's efforts to suppress the Palestinians:

"Our country is prepared to join other powers, who are permanent members of the Security Council, in providing international guarantees for a political settlement in the Middle East."

The plea for Nixon's cooperation was sweetened with a present to the White House. The same day that Brezhnev spoke, March 30, the Soviet delegate at the Geneva disarmament conference introduced a draft treaty that would outlaw bacteriological weapons without prohibiting the use of chemicals.

The Soviet government had previously insisted that any agreement must ban both types of weapons simultaneously. This approach was rejected by Nixon, who wants to remain free to "defoliate" and poison Indochina.

The Soviet draft treaty thus proclaimed the Kremlin's willingness to look the other way, and even provide a certain cover, while Nixon carries out his crimes.

In this concession to imperialism, as in the domestic policies it adopted, the Stalinist ruling caste remained firmly within the traditions established by its mentor. □

'Why Just Calley? Why Not Angela Davis?'

Copenhagen

In a letter to U. S. President Richard Nixon, the Danish Forsvarskomite for Angela Davis og Bobby Seale [Committee to Defend Angela Davis and Bobby Seale] has protested the release of Lieutenant William Calley, who was sentenced to life in prison for his part in the Mylai massacres.

In its letter, the committee said: "We definitely agree that Lieutenant Calley may have been carrying out the orders he was given and that those really guilty of the massacres are the American authorities, especially the men who order young Americans to fight an immoral war waged against a people. But we must point out that Calley himself has confessed his crimes and has been sentenced for mass murder.

"At the same time, thousands of per-

sons who have neither confessed to any crime nor been sentenced, are being held in jail in the U. S. A. waiting for their cases to be decided. Since you have introduced this new practice of releasing prisoners, we expect that these persons will be freed pending conviction. In particular, in the name of justice, we suggest that you immediately order the release of Angela Davis and Black Panther party chairman Bobby Seale."

The Forsvarskomite for Angela Davis og Bobby Seale is supported by twenty political parties, youth organizations, peace groups, and trade unions.

The committee has just published a pamphlet describing political repression in the U. S. A. and the cases against Angela Davis and Bobby Seale. □

Rightist Exiles Shoot Yugoslav Ambassador

Copenhagen

The Yugoslav ambassador in Stockholm and a woman employee at the embassy were seriously wounded April 7 by two Croatian exiles armed with pistols. A third functionary was able to get away by jumping out a window.

The Croatian exiles entered the embassy offices on the pretext that they were applying for a passport. Shortly thereafter, a series of shots, shouts, and screams were heard.

The police forced their way into the building and convinced the armed men to throw their pistols out of the window. The ambassador was found lying in a room with his hands tied behind his back, bleeding from bullet wounds in his head, groin, and leg.

The two Croatian exiles were led from the building through a back door. According to witnesses, they shouted: "Long Live Free Croatia! We belong to the Ustashi. Thousands of Croats sympathize with us. We regret nothing." And they sang "Croatsians, the Time Has Come to Break With the Serbs."

The attack was expected by many Croatsians in Sweden after what happened in the Yugoslav consulate in Goteborg this January 1. That time also two Croatsians from the Ustashi movement forced their way into the legation and held five members of the staff hostage for two days. They demanded that a twenty-three-year-old member of the Ustashi, Milenko Hrac, then awaiting execution for throwing a bomb into a movie theater in Belgrade, be set free and sent to Spain, where many of the Ustashi leaders live. They also demanded that \$100,000 be sent with him.

But the Yugoslav government refused to negotiate with gunmen and gave the Swedish police a free hand. Shortly thereafter, the two men gave themselves up. Nothing came of the incident that time.

The two men who took part in the attack on Ambassador Rolovic told the Swedish police during questioning that they were members of the Ustashi, a notorious fascist organization

said to have about 30,000 members outside Yugoslavia, whose aim is a "liberated Croatia" under a king.

The Ustashi movement was founded by Ante Pavelic, who for a time was the head of the "free Croatia" established by Hitler and Mussolini. During the second world war, the Ustashi collaborated with the Nazis who were occupying Yugoslavia. The Ustashi followed a policy of exterminating Serbs and Jews, murdering 150,000 to 700,000 people.

Many of the Croats who were on the side of the Germans in the second world war never returned home after the peace but remained in Germany, where for many years they have terrorized Yugoslav *émigré* workers.

In recent years, the Ustashi are reported to have threatened fifteen persons with death and carried out their threats. Two years ago they began a campaign of attacking Yugoslav dip-

lomatic missions around the world. In the week after the campaign was announced, bombs exploded in embassies and consulates in West Germany and the USA.

With the influx of Yugoslav *émigré* workers into Sweden, where the Ustashi has about 100 members, the terror has spread to that country also.

* * *

The Yugoslav press expressed its profound astonishment Friday April 9 at the Swedish authorities' lack of alertness, especially after the terrorist attack on the consulate in Goteborg. "The Swedish authorities do not understand that these people are not 'victims of Communism' or 'romantic freedom fighters for national rights,' but members of an extensive criminal organization exploiting the Swedish officials' anti-Communist blindness and abusing Swedish hospitality," the Belgrade paper *Rad* wrote.

According to the Yugoslav wire service Tanjug, there have been twenty-seven attacks since January 29, 1967, on Yugoslav embassies and consulates around the world. □

Democratic Republic of Congo

Gbenye in Collusion with Mobutu

Brussels

The Mobutu regime has recently sought by several maneuvers to break up the Congolese resistance, both the underground within the country and the exile movement. The main item in these moves was an offer of amnesty and permission for the *émigrés* to return home.

This maneuver had some effect. It widened differences within the MNC-Lumumba [Mouvement National Congolais-Lumumba — the Lumumba Congolese National Movement], the coordinating body of the Congolese resistance. The small opportunist group around Christophe Gbenyé moved further away from the majority of the members and leaders of this organization and its youth movement, the Jeunesses MNC-Lumumba.

Gbenyé did, in fact, return to the Congo and has become "reconciled"

with Mobutu, who bears a major part of the guilt for the murder of Patrice Lumumba.

After this spectacular reconciliation, Gbenyé returned to Uganda, where the majority of the Congolese political exiles live, some 80,000 in all. He tried to convince them to return to the Congo, submit to Mobutu, and dissolve the guerrilla units in which about 1,500 to 2,000 partisans are still fighting.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee of the MNC-Lumumba at the beginning of February 1971, these proposals were rejected and Gbenyé was suspended from all his functions in the MNC.

But the Congolese resistance must now face new threats. Since the army's recent seizure of power in Uganda, the military regime is sliding further to the right. As a result there is real

risk of collusion between Gbenyé—who has friends very high up in Kampala—and Mobutu, collusion that could make life very difficult for the

Congolese revolutionary militants in Uganda.

It is to be hoped that the international solidarity of all the revolution-

ary forces in Africa and throughout the world will prevent new crimes from being committed against the Congolese resistance.

Bolivia

Fresh Details on Teoponte Guerrilla Front

New details on the experience of the Bolivian guerrilla front led by Osvaldo "Chato" Peredo from July to October 1970 have been uncovered by an English journalist.

Roy Perrott of the London *Observer* conducted extensive research in Bolivia. His conclusions were reprinted in the February 20 *Montreal Star*.

Chato Peredo took over leadership of the guerrilla organization after his brother Inti was murdered by police in September 1969. By July, Chato felt that the Ejército de Liberación Nacional [ELN — National Liberation Army] was ready to reopen a rural guerrilla front. According to Perrott, financial backing for the operation came from Cuba and the Tupamaros of Uruguay.

Peredo selected the area around the mining village of Teoponte, about 100 miles north of La Paz. The seventy-five fighters involved included not only Bolivians, but also revolutionists from Chile, Peru, Brazil, and Argentina.

"The idea of forming a guerrilla force," Perrott wrote, "had been discussed at secret meetings of leaders of the 22 political clubs in the Bolivian Universities' Confederation.

"Planning was hasty, occupying no more than a few weeks, because of pressure for action. . . .

"One striking thing about the guerrilla force — and an illustration of a trend towards consolidation of the left in Latin America today — was that about a third of the volunteers were not Marxists.

"They were rather liberal-minded Catholics or Christian Democrats who had come to believe in the rightness of 'armed struggle.'"

Only half a dozen of the seventy-five had had any guerrilla training, Perrott reported. Despite their lack of experience, the guerrillas went on the offensive the same day — July 19 — that they arrived in the Teoponte area.

Thirty members of the force attacked and blew up an American-owned gold-panning plant. During the raid, they also captured two German technicians who were later exchanged for the release from prison of ten members of Che Guevara's guerrilla force.

"The explosion, reverberating downriver, not only alerted one distant police post, it brought the peasants' and miners' families out to the street to see what was up. The guerrillas led them to the main food store, opened it with the manager's key, and stood back. But the peasants nervously declined to help themselves."

According to Perrott, Peredo's band had a "naive optimism" that the peasants and miners of Teoponte would quickly rally to their side.

"In Cuba," he wrote, "Fidel Castro did not win the trust of the peasants until, after months of campaigning, he had established protective control of an area. And Guevara found, after as long as 11 months in the field, that the snowball effect of real revolt, the sense of common cause, was immensely hard to produce; he could only counsel more and more patience. But, with the army trucks already rolling towards Teoponte, would the 75 ever have the time?"

Perrott considers that the ELN seriously underestimated the preparations that the U. S. government and its puppets had taken against the guerrilla threat:

"Officers and instructors of virtually all Latin American armies have for some time been getting counter-insurgency training at a North American military centre, although Bolivia was regarded as especially vulnerable because the U. S. supplies all arms needed and runs a permanent training camp in the country to teach anti-guerrilla methods.

"In 1967 Guevara rarely encountered patrols of more than 30 or 40 soldiers until the final months. This

time, within a few days, the army had stationed a cordon of about 2,000 men around the Teoponte area, while strong patrols of American-trained rangers, with special jungle skills, were sent into the bush, directed by helicopters."

The first clash between the ELN and the army came on July 28. At a cost of only one dead, the government forces ambushed a guerrilla patrol, killing eight and wounding several others.

As they attempted to escape the encircling troops, the guerrillas found the dense jungle "both a shelter and a trap."

"They had chosen a part of the country where food plants are scarce. Always on the move, needing to preserve silence, they could do little hunting. Peasant dwellings in the area were scarce and had little to offer."

A number of the guerrillas died of starvation and fatigue. By the time of the final battle with government troops in mid-October, there was no doubt of what the outcome would be.

"Six survivors stumbled away, including the leader, Chato Peredo. They took refuge at a forest encampment with miners who offered protection against any threat of instant execution by the army."

Shortly before, "leftist" General Juan Torres had been installed as president in an attempt to head off a popular uprising. Torres could not afford to treat his captives as he doubtlessly would have done under other circumstances. In November, the six survivors were deported to Chile. □

'Equal Opportunity' Under Nixon

A recent study by the Associated Press of public universities in four southern states of the U. S. showed that although predominantly white schools have six times the enrollment of predominantly Black colleges, the former receive 140 times as much federal aid.

Political Crisis and Revolutionary Struggle

By Livio Maitan

The new coup by the officers who have just replaced Levingston with Lanusse came as a shock to no one in Argentina. For some time, all of the classical symptoms of an impending coup had been appearing more and more plainly, and open polemics were taking place between the leaders of the different tendencies. Fundamentally, the events of recent weeks are simply a confirmation of a crisis involving actual political and social disintegration of the system, which is incapable of projecting even minimally effective solutions to the most pressing problems or to produce a political leadership of any homogeneity or stability whatever.

With the Onganía military dictatorship, which attained power in 1966, the Argentine bourgeoisie was able to think for a short period that it had entered a phase of relative stability. In fact, thanks to increased exploitation of the working class and pauperization of plebeian and petty-bourgeois strata, it was possible to achieve a certain economic recovery. At the same time, the maneuvers of the ultrabureaucratized trade unions, which in fact were collaborating with the regime, helped to bring about a stagnation in the mass struggle. The interlude, however, was brief. In May 1969 large mobilizations by the workers and students in Córdoba and Rosario marked an abrupt turn. The revolutionary crisis shaking the Latin American continent was also enveloping Argentina.

The history of the past two years is the history of the Argentinian bourgeoisie's desperate attempts to find an alternative solution. Its response to the 1969 upsurge was repression, but repression could not halt the mass movement. This is why the life of the Levingston regime—which, from the standpoint of its social content, was no different from that of Onganía—was distinguished by constant factional warfare taking place, broadly speaking, between the advocates of a policy of more determined repression and the advocates of a "nationalist-

populist" operation aimed at winning a certain mass base for the regime and assuring the collaboration of the traditional political forces. The polemics over political orientation dove-tailed, moreover, with those over economic policy. The supporters of a more "national" policy tinged with protectionism clashed with supporters of a "liberal" policy, which in fact would promote the penetration of foreign capital (American, in the first instance).

The question of whether a Peruvian-style solution should be expected in Argentina has in fact been discussed in Argentinian political circles.

A few weeks ago, for example, ex-President Frondizi made a prolonged visit to Peru, during which he voiced significant judgments. In the petty-bourgeois left also there are currents that openly praise the regime of Velasco Alvarado (e.g., the *Izquierda Nacional* [Nationalist Left] of Abelardo Ramos, which publishes the articles of the capitulationist Ismael Frias, who left the Fourth International in 1965 along with Michel Pablo).

For their part, the Argentinian revolutionary Marxists consider a Peruvian-style solution as a rather unlikely variant. In fact, Argentina differs structurally from Peru, where both before and after the 1968 coup the agrarian question has remained one of the key problems in the country, and which has not undergone industrial development of the scope Argentina has. At the same time, the Peruvian army, above all in a context of relative stagnation of the mass movement, offered assurances for carrying out a cold transformation. There were many opportunities for keeping a check on the process from above, at least for one entire stage. But this is not the case for Argentina, where the army itself is deeply divided and—in the last analysis, the decisive factor—the masses have been on the offensive since 1969.

In fact, a turn in the Argentinian political situation would be possible only on two conditions: (1) if the gov-

ernment made important economic concessions to the masses, thereby broadening the unions' margin for maneuver and refurbishing their credibility somewhat; (2) if an agreement were reached with the political formations believed to hold real influence over the electorate. This poses the problem of a compromise with Peronism. It could even, at last resort, raise the question of the exile returning from Madrid. But, in the specific case, in the context of militant mobilizations of the working class, of a radicalization of broad petty-bourgeois layers, of the development of new revolutionary vanguards (inside the Peronist movement as well), such operations would entail enormous dangers for the bourgeoisie. A process might be touched off that no one could control, and the system itself would be threatened with collapse. This is why it is easier for politicians or military officers playing political roles to talk about "national-popular," "constitutional," or "Peruvian" solutions than it is for them to indicate the precise forms by which such solutions could be implemented. This is why it is easier to promise elections as a basis for returning to "normality" than to set a date for voting and, most of all, stick to it.

During the last two months, student, popular, and working-class mobilizations have continued almost without letup. Sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and even the professionals have been involved. The epicenter was the large industrial city of Córdoba, where the workers staged several general strikes and organized big street demonstrations including thousands and even tens of thousands of participants. It was the working class in the big factories of the city that led a movement which, while stimulated by the continual deterioration in the standard of living (according to official figures prices rose 29.9 percent between February 1970 and February 1971), acquired the increasingly political content of a struggle against the military dictatorship and capitalist exploitation

in general. Moreover, precisely in Córdoba, the process of the political ripening of the new working-class vanguard has gone the furthest. Militant unions like those in the automobile industry (SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord—Concord Workers Union] and SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer—Materfer Workers Union]) have opposed the old capitulationist, corrupt bureaucracy. Student youth have participated in the struggles of the workers. Organizations devoted to armed struggle have won considerable influence and staged spectacular actions. The lessons of May 1969 and the latest repressions have made clear to thousands and tens of thousands of workers that class struggle in Argentina has now reached the level of armed confrontation and that the military dictatorship can be combated only by revolutionary violence.

During the last year Argentina has unquestionably been the Latin American country where urban guerrilla actions have developed most spectacularly (in certain aspects they have reached a higher level than in Uruguay itself). Five organizations have played a leading role—the FAP [Fuerzas Armadas Peronistas—Peronist Armed Forces], the FAR [Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias—Revolutionary Armed Forces], the Montoneros, the FAL [Frente Armada de Liberación—Armed Liberation Front], and the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army]. The first three groups claim to be Peronist (suffering deepgoing differences that simply reflect the differentiation in the Peronista movement as a whole. The FAL claims to be Marxist-Leninist (it arose partially out of the PCR [Partido Comunista Revolucionario—Revolutionary Communist party], which in turn was founded by youths who left the CP a few years ago). The ERP was created as the result of a decision by the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party], the Argentinian section of the Fourth International, which provides the political and organizational leadership. In the recent period, owing both to its own increase in strength and the difficulties experienced by the other organizations, the ERP has emerged as the most dynamic force, the one most capable of carrying out spectacular actions of the

sort that can win very wide sympathies.

The strategic perspective the Argentine comrades are following is the one laid down by the Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International—elaborated and made more precise by the last two national congresses of the PRT—of a prolonged armed struggle, a revolutionary war, which might involve the intervention of the imperialists and thus could not be waged without profound ties to, and increasing participation by, the masses. The Argentinian comrades have no illusions that they can deal the class enemy a death blow through the activity of small vanguards, and they have rejected from the start *foquista* theories like those formulated in Régis Debray's celebrated pamphlet, which were more or less openly taken up by nuclei of revolutionary militants in Argentina and elsewhere. For the Argentinian revolutionists the battles of the last months are only the initial phase of the revolutionary war that is shaping up. Their actions represent only the beginning of a struggle that will of necessity be prolonged and very difficult. Their goal is to build up their forces, to train militants for combat, to win influence and sympathy by forms of armed propaganda, to establish the first direct links between armed struggle and the specific dynamic of workers' struggles.

These actions, which have come in rapid succession since the start of the year, especially in February and the first half of March, and which have made a very great impression on the daily and weekly bourgeois press, can be categorized as follows:

a. Actions aimed at acquiring funds by expropriations carried out in the old Bolshevik tradition (the most spectacular stroke was the one in Córdoba which, according to the Argentinian press, brought its organizers 121,000,000 pesos [350 old pesos equal US\$1].

b. Actions aimed at acquiring arms and medical supplies (the most spectacular stroke in this area was at a clinic in Buenos Aires).

c. Actions designed to win the sympathies of the most deprived strata by handing out food (meat, milk, etc.) taken from big distributing firms.

d. Actions linked to workers' struggles (the most important so far was the one carried out by an armed detachment which invaded the FIAT fac-

tory in Córdoba and held a meeting there).

All these actions have effectively achieved their objective of armed propaganda. At the present time the ERP is the best-known revolutionary organization and has won very broad sympathy—in some big plants, too. From the technical point of view, even the enemy has had to recognize that the ERP has scored some points.

Any fear that such armed actions might isolate the organization from the masses is absolutely without foundation in the Argentinian context today. The converse is true. The working masses, the student movement activists, and the plebeian strata of the big cities warmly welcome the initiatives of the revolutionary organizations. During a general strike in Córdoba, the banners of the ERP were greeted with strong applause by the thousands of demonstrators (even the bourgeois press itself had to admit this). The same day, despite the opposition of certain so-called revolutionary groups, including the pro-Chinese, thousands of persons went to the city prison, where the activists of the armed organizations were confined, and listened enthusiastically to short speeches that some prisoners (belonging, according to the press, to the Montoneros and the ERP) delivered from their cells. A few days later, 5,000 persons joined the funeral procession of a young worker killed by the police. The coffin was draped in the flag of the ERP. Finally, no food distribution could be carried through without the active participation of the population in the districts where these operations take place.

Let me repeat again. This is only the initial phase of a very prolonged struggle. Our PRT comrades are perfectly aware of this. They are aware also that future developments depend to a decisive extent on their ability to transform the sympathy and influence they have won into solid ties with the mass movement, on their ability to integrate armed action into the dynamic of the struggles of the working class and all the poor strata in their country. Their basic strategy does not prevent them, moreover, from exploiting the few opportunities that exist for legal or semilegal activity and will not prevent them from exploiting more extensive possibilities that may be offered by conjunctural turns in the political situation—turns

which at present are improbable but which cannot be absolutely excluded. In any case, the initiatives our comrades have taken in recent months are a milestone in the experience of the armed struggle in Argentina and will be analyzed with the greatest interest by other revolutionary move-

ments in Latin America.

This is why the United Secretariat of the Fourth International at its last meeting drew "the attention of the International and of the revolutionary workers' movement to the importance of the Argentinian events and to the tasks of international solidarity which

flow from it," sent its warmest greetings to the PRT and expressed "its fraternal solidarity with the militants who are victims of the dictatorship's repression and imprisonment." We have no doubt about the response to this appeal.

March 31, 1971

REVIEWS

The Wars Against the Native Americans

Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee
by Dee Brown. Holt, Rinehart and
Winston, New York, N. Y. 487 pp.
\$10.95. 1970.

During the American civil war, General James Carleton led a Union army into New Mexico. Failing to find any Confederate soldiers in the area, he decided to make war on the peaceful Navahos. Within two years, his superior firepower had driven the survivors into a barren reservation on the Pecos River.

In a letter to Washington asking rations for his captives, the general frankly described the plundering of the Navahos:

"These six thousand mouths must eat, and these six thousand bodies must be clothed. When it is considered what a magnificent pastoral and mineral country they have surrendered to us—a country whose value can hardly be estimated—the mere pittance, in comparison, which must at once be given to support them, sinks into insignificance as a price for their natural heritage."

Dee Brown's book, subtitled "An Indian History of the American West," covers the period 1860-1890, the years in which the U. S. government succeeded in subduing or slaughtering the last unconquered Native Americans.

It is an incredibly brutal story, one that constantly calls to mind comparisons with what Washington is doing in Indochina today. To the invading whites, the Native Americans were less than human, a nuisance to be confined in constantly shrinking reservations or simply shot down in cold blood.

The genocidal campaign was so thorough that even the names of many

tribes are today all but forgotten:

"No one remembers the Chilulas, Chimarikos, Urebures, Nipewais, Alonas, or a hundred other bands whose bones have been sealed under a million miles of freeways, parking lots, and slabs of tract housing."

Whether it was "Manifest Destiny" or the "civilizing" mission of an allegedly superior culture, the whites never lacked a rationalization for their behavior. The Comanches, who had developed an agricultural economy in Texas, were driven north and became buffalo hunters. When the whites decided to seize the plains on which the Comanches hunted, they lectured them on the need to adopt the "white man's way" and grow crops.

Sometimes the resistance of the Native Americans met with temporary success—a result more of their desperation and determination than of a favorable relationship of forces. Red Cloud, chief of the Oglala Sioux, expressed this determination to a group of commissioners sent to talk him into surrender:

"The Great Father [president] sent his soldiers out here to spill blood. . . . If the Great Father kept white men out of my country, peace would last forever, but if they disturb me, there will be no peace. . . . The Great Spirit raised me in this land, and has raised you in another land. What I have said I mean. I mean to keep this land."

For two years, Red Cloud waged guerrilla warfare successfully along the Powder River in Wyoming and Montana. In 1868, General William T. Sherman, the civil war commander, was forced to sign a humiliating treaty granting the Sioux the lands north of the river.

But Red Cloud's victory was wiped

out in succeeding years as the whites violated the treaty, shot men, women, and children, and destroyed the Sioux food supplies—a frequent practice in the wars against Native Americans.

The U. S. often violated its treaties even before they had been ratified by Congress. Land assigned to Native Americans one year was demanded by whites the next. One Sioux chief, noting that his tribe had been forced to move five times since being promised it would never have to move, commented: "I think you had better put the Indians on wheels, and you can run them about whenever you wish."

The Native Americans were doomed to defeat by superior numbers, superior technology, and their inability to comprehend a social system that regarded natural resources as something to be monopolized, exploited, and destroyed rather than used for the common good. Tashunka Witko (Crazy Horse) remarked in amazement, "One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk."

This is an excellent book, although it is flawed by Brown's unfortunate attempt to convey the attitude of the Native Americans by adopting a sort of pidgin English. At its worst this often appears condescending:

"Truly, he thought, that nation of white men is like a spring freshet that overruns its banks and destroys all who are in its path. Soon they would take the buffalo country unless the hearts of the Indians were strong enough to hold it."

Fortunately, Brown more often relies on the recorded words of the Native Americans themselves. These were often extremely eloquent protests, as, for example, the speech of Parra-Wa-Samen of the Yamparika Comanches:

"I was born upon the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and where everything drew a free breath. . . . I lived like my fathers before me, and, like them, I lived happily. . . .

"If the Texans had kept out of my country, there might have been peace. But that which you now say we must live on is too small. The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber was the best. Had we kept that, we might have done the things you ask. But it

is too late. The white man has the country which we loved, and we only wish to wander on the prairie until we die."

American capitalism would not grant Parra-Wa-Samen even that request.

—David Burton

Documents

Mercantile Union Protests Repression in Ceylon

[The letter reprinted below was sent to Prime Minister Bandaranaike March 30 by the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU). It was signed by the CMU's general secretary, Bala Tampoe, who is also secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The State of Emergency and the Fundamental Freedoms and Democratic Rights of the People

The General Council of our Union met on 20th March 1971, with 362 members from 157 branches present, and discussed the reasons given by you, in your broadcast talk of 17th March 1971, for the declaration of a State of Emergency the previous evening. The statement reported in the Ceylon *Daily News* of 19th March, attributed to the Minister of Communications, Mr. Leslie Goonewardene, that the State of Emergency had been declared "with the whole-hearted support of the Cabinet", and that "necessary powers" had been given to the armed forces "to wipe out disruptive elements and to maintain law and order", was also discussed. Our General Council unanimously decided, thereafter, to call upon you to end the State of Emergency immediately, and to release all persons arrested by the police or the armed forces without any proper evidence being placed before the courts of law against them. Our General Council also resolved that our Union should make every effort to ensure that all fundamental freedoms and democratic rights of the people are exercised and defended wherever necessary. Pursuant to this decision, we have to submit as follows:—

In justification of the declaration of the State of Emergency you have alleged that "a small minority of our population have banded themselves together, in secret cells, and are making preparations to cause bloodshed and chaos in this country". In the context of this allegation you chose, in the course of your speech in the House of Representatives on 23rd March, to describe the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna as "a growing insurrectionary movement", which "aims at the overthrow of the constitutionally elected government by vio-

lence". In the same context, you also declared that inquiries have revealed "a widespread plan for a violent attack on public institutions".

The only specific instance you have mentioned of any *action* by anyone, which could be construed as amounting to politically motivated violence, was the attack on the United States Embassy in Colombo, on 6th March. Several persons were arrested by the police and produced as suspects before a magistrate's court, in that connection; but none of them has even been identified in court, up to now, as an alleged participant in that attack. Nevertheless, while the matter is sub judice, you have used your parliamentary privilege to refer to that attack as being "the culmination of indications of an imminent attack on the Government in different parts of Ceylon".

Even if your various unsubstantiated allegations in regard to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna have some foundation in fact, we cannot agree that your government is justified, on that account, in subjecting the entire population to Emergency rule, under which civil liberties and all forms of democratic activity are now made subject to arbitrary suppression or restriction by you, or by government officials or officers of the police and the other armed forces of the state.

In view of your denunciation of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, in connection with the declaration of the State of Emergency, and the arrests and detention under the Emergency Regulations of scores of suspected adherents of that movement, including its most well-known leader, it is pertinent for us to point out that arrests of suspected adherents of that organization have been taking place for quite some time, without the declaration of a State of Emergency.

You are aware that in April and May 1970, when the United National Party Government was in office, the Lake House and other newspapers made a hue and cry about an alleged plot "to cause widespread public disturbances and disrupt the general elections" that were to be held on 27th May 1970. This plot was attributed to what the police were said to have described as an insurrectionary movement, which they labelled as "the Che Guevara movement". About 25 per-

sons were reported, in the Ceylon *Daily News* of 9th May 1970, to have been arrested in connection with police investigations into the activities of the alleged "subversive group", according to the Inspector-General of Police at the time. Subsequently, however, sufficient evidence to commit only one person for trial, for an offence against the state, was placed before a court of law. This trial has not yet taken place.

Just two months after your government took office, the SLFP/LSSP/CP (Moscow) United Front under your leadership, issued a statement published in all the daily newspapers of 9th August 1970. In that statement, the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, was said to have been "sometimes misnamed by sections of the press as 'Che Guevarists'", and it was denounced as being "an agency of reactionary forces". Following this denunciation, the police began arresting suspected adherents of the movement, even in scores, in various parts of the country. Nevertheless, none of the persons so arrested was actually charged by the police before any court of law, with having committed any offence against the state.

In September 1970, as you are aware, 63 young men were arrested by the police at Seeduwa and were reported by a Lake House newspaper to be "cell leaders" of "the insurgent movement", according to anonymous CID [police] sources. After being grilled for hours at the CID Headquarters, and being kept on remand for several weeks, pending further investigations, the suspects were enlarged on bail, without any one of them being charged, up to now, with having committed any offence.

You are also no doubt aware that shortly before the declaration of the State of Emergency, 41 young men were arrested by the police at Weliveriya, and remanded pending investigation of alleged subversive activities. On 21st February 1971, they were discharged in the Magistrate's Court at Gampaha, because the police could not frame any charge against any one of them.

Now, having denounced the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna specifically, as "a growing insurrectionary movement", your Government has given powers to the police and the armed services under colour

of which they can arrest, detain and search anybody they please, or disperse any assembly of persons, or prevent the distribution of any leaflets or handbills among the public, or prevent the affixing of posters in any place visible to the public. We would cite the following instances of how the police have acted since they were given these special powers under the Emergency Regulations:

1) Mr. N. Sanmugathan of the Ceylon Communist Party (Peking), who appears to be as politically hostile to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna as anybody in your Government, has informed you by letter, a copy of which was received by us, that 27 members and sympathizers of his party were arrested at the Matugama office of his party on 18th March 1971, while they were engaged in a political class. The Director of Information, Mr. Sarath Amunugama, was reported by a Lake House newspaper, the Ceylon *Daily News* of 20th March 1971, to have stated as follows, in the course of a "daily press briefing" on 19th March, obviously in the same connection: "At Matugama, police arrested 27 men while allegedly holding a meeting to incite people".

2) The police authorities in Colombo refused, without giving any reason, to permit a procession and the use of loud-speakers at a public meeting held on 27th March 1971. Our Union was directly associated with this meeting, which was held for the purpose of mobilizing public support for the struggle of hundreds of employees of the "Dawasa Group" of newspapers to regain their employment, from which they were thrown out in September 1970.

3) Another glaring instance of police interference with the fundamental democratic rights of free speech and assembly, has been brought to our notice by the Joint Council of Trade Unions of the River Valleys Development Board. Following a decision of theirs, on 20th March, to end a strike of over ten thousand members of theirs that had commenced before the declaration of the State of Emergency, they were arbitrarily denied the right even to hold a meeting of the workers on strike, to take a democratic decision to end it. Even a circular which they wished to distribute amongst their members in that connection was censored by the authorities to whom they submitted it in the incorrect belief that it was necessary for them to do so under the Emergency Regulations.

The alarmist and unsubstantiated reports that have been published under the Emergency by the Lake House and other groups of newspapers, purporting to be on briefings given by the Director of Information, are obviously designed to create in the public mind the belief that your Government had good cause to subject the people to Emergency rule. They are doing no more now than what they did in April and May 1970, when the Government was headed by Mr. Dudley Senanayake of the United National Party.

For instance, a Lake House newspaper carried the following headline on 13th April 1970:

"SPECIAL POLICE VIGILANCE ON

APRIL 14TH AND 24TH".

Beneath this headline was the following statement:

"The authorities have reason to believe that these dates are figured in many of the clandestine briefing sessions conducted by the nucleus of a terrorist organization".

The same newspaper had reported as following the previous day, in connection with a police "Security alert":

"The Daily News reliably understands that this security alert was sounded because of substantial information that disruptive elements were planning to create public disturbances at some point during the current election campaign. These plans envisaged attacks on police stations and other government offices, causing a situation of widespread chaos in the country" (Ceylon *Daily News*, 12th April 1970).

It is passing strange that there was a similar police security alert the very day before the attack on the United States Embassy on 6th March, to which you have referred in connection with the current police hunt for "disruptive elements" under the State of Emergency.

You will recollect that on the night of 8th May 1970, you saw fit to lead a deputation to meet the Governor-General, in the belief that such newspaper reports concerning the activities of "so-called extremist elements" were designed "to create a plausible cover" for the armed forces or a section thereof "to take over the administration of the country".

We would invite you now to consider what you were reported to have stated to the Governor-General, together with your present ministerial colleagues, Mr. T. B. Ilangaratne (SLFP), Dr. N. M. Perera (LSSP), and Mr. Pieter Keuneman (CP-Moscow), on that occasion. We quote the following paragraphs published in a newspaper of the "Dawasa group", on 9th May 1970, as part of a summary of the representations made by your deputation to the Governor-General the previous night:—

"Certain information has reached us to the effect that there is a move afoot for the Armed Forces or a section thereof to take over the administration of the country, either just before the general election, if there are clear signs of an electoral defeat for the present Government, or immediately following the election, in the event of an actual defeat for this Government at the polls.

"The information also indicates that some sections of the police may be made use of on the night of the election to arrest candidates who will assemble for the count, that confusion will be created and that the results of the election will be nullified.

"It is also our information, that disturbances are likely to be created artificially in order to provide a plausible cover for the above actions. In this connection, one cannot help noticing how a section of the daily newspapers, especially those of the Lake House Group, and the Ceylon Broadcasting Corporation are attempting to create panic and paint a false picture that a situation of violence and virtual chaos are in the process of maturing. Such a picture which is based

on allegations of widespread and systematic attempts by so-called extremist elements to subvert the holding of the election and the deliberate invention or exaggerations of crimes and incidents which according to the police are absolutely unconnected with the election, we fear, may be made the justification for recourse to undemocratic and authoritarian measures".

The General Council of our Union took serious note of the representations your deputation had made to the Governor-General, and resolved as follows on 16th May 1970:

"This meeting of the General Council considers that if any move is made by any section of the armed forces and the police to take over the administration of the country in anticipation of or in consequence of a defeat of the present Government in the general election to be held on 27th May, or if a State of Emergency is declared, on any pretext, to prevent a change of government on the results of the election, the Union should resist any such move and should join forces with all other sections of the working-class that are prepared to do likewise, by a general strike and by all other means".

It is ironic indeed that your Government has now decided, presumably on the basis of reports from police sources, to declare a State of Emergency and to grant special powers to the selfsame armed forces of the state, regarding which your United Front delegation had such serious doubts, hardly a year ago.

We cannot lay too great emphasis on the fact that your Government made a categorical declaration in the Throne Speech of 14th June 1970, which was declared as "People's Victory Day", as follows:—

"ALL LAWS AND REGULATIONS THAT RESTRICT THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE WILL BE REPEALED OR AMENDED.

"FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ORGANIZATION, ASSEMBLY AND PUBLIC PROCESSION WILL BE GUARANTEED IN LAW AND IN PRACTICE.

"THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS WILL BE ENSURED".

Instead of repealing the completely undemocratic Public Security Ordinance, which has been denounced by every section of the Left movement, in the past, your Government has now chosen to invoke the most reactionary provisions of that Ordinance, to create the conditions of a virtual police state in Ceylon.

At the very end of your speech to the House of Representatives on 23rd March, you made incidental reference to "hoarders, traders, and people who are making things difficult for the people by creating shortages". You also stated, in your broadcast talk on 17th March, that "the sternest possible action" would be taken against "unscrupulous members of our society who attempt to exploit a difficult situation by creating artificial shortages and thereby harassing the people".

Nothing so far published, by or with the authority of the Ministry of Information, suggests that the police or the armed

forces have been using their special powers to arrest and detain traders or hoarders, or that they have been carrying out raids for the purpose of discovering hidden stocks of sugar or other essential consumer commodities. In the circumstances, the special powers given to the police and the armed services under the Emergency certainly do not appear to have been given to them for any purpose that might be of benefit to the people. On the contrary, such powers only enable the police to harass the people even more than at other times.

We would urge you, in conclusion, to end the State of Emergency forthwith, since the people cannot effectively give voice to their mounting grievances in regard to the cost of living, unemployment and other matters, or seek effective remedies for them through mass organiza-

tions like ours, under the conditions created by the Emergency.

We would also urge the immediate release of all persons who are being held in fiscal or police custody under the Emergency Regulations, because they are suspected of being engaged in "subversive activity", or of holding "anarchist" views, or because explosives are said to have been found by the police in various places, unless sufficient evidence can be placed before the courts of law to warrant any of them being tried for specific offences under the *normal* laws of this country.

To persist in the course of action that your Government has now embarked upon, will only contribute to further aggravation of the hardships of our people, which stem from the continuing deterioration of the capitalist system in Ceylon. □

essential clinical information it is very difficult to determine the mental condition of a person, and either to diagnose an illness or assert the absence of any illness.

Therefore I ask you to express your opinion on only this point: do the above-mentioned diagnoses contain enough scientifically-based evidence not only to indicate the mental illnesses described in the diagnoses but also to indicate the necessity of isolating these people completely from society?

I will be very happy if you can interest your colleagues in this matter and if you consider it possible to place it on the agenda for discussion by the next international congress of psychiatrists.

For a healthy person there is no fate more horrible than indefinite internment in a psychiatric hospital. I believe that you will not remain indifferent to this problem and will devote a portion of your time to it—just as physicists find time to combat the use of the achievements of their science in ways harmful to mankind.

Thanking you in advance,
V. Bukovsky

Golden Opportunity for Commuters

A Taiwan businessman sued the railway administration for the equivalent of two-and-a-half cents because a train was late. The railroad agreed to pay, although it claimed this was the first overdue train in ten years.

At the same rate of compensation, many New York commuters could become millionaires.

In Defense of Pyotr Grigorenko

Bukovsky Appeals to Western Psychiatrists

[The following letter, dated January 28, was sent by Soviet writer Vladimir Bukovsky to psychiatrists in the West. It was accompanied by 150 pages of documentation on the cases mentioned. We have taken the text of the letter from the March 12 London *Times*.]

* * *

In recent years in our country a number of court orders have been made involving the placing in psychiatric hospitals ("of special type" and otherwise) of people who in the opinion of their relatives and close friends are mentally healthy. These people are: Pyotr Grigorenko, Ilya Rips, Natalya Gorbanevskaya, Valeria Novodvorskaya, Ivan Yakhimovich, Vladimir Gershuni, Victor Fainberg, Victor Kuznetsov, Olga Iofe, Vladimir Borisov and others—people well known for their initiatives in defence of civil rights in the Soviet Union.

This phenomenon arouses justified anxiety, especially in view of the widely publicized placing of the biologist Jaurès Medvedev in a psychiatric hospital by extrajudicial means.

The diagnoses of the psychiatrists, who have served as expert witnesses in court, and on whose diagnoses the court orders are based, provoke many doubts as regards their content. However, only specialists in psychiatry can express authoritative opinions about

the degree of legitimacy of these diagnoses.

Taking advantage of the fact that I have managed to obtain exact copies of the diagnoses of the forensic-psychiatric teams which examined Grigorenko, Fainberg, Gorbanevskaya, Borisov and Yakhimovich, and extracts from the diagnosis on Kuznetsov, I am sending you these documents and also various letters and materials which reveal the characters of these people.

I will be very grateful to you if you can study this matter and express your opinion on it. I realize that at a distance and without the

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