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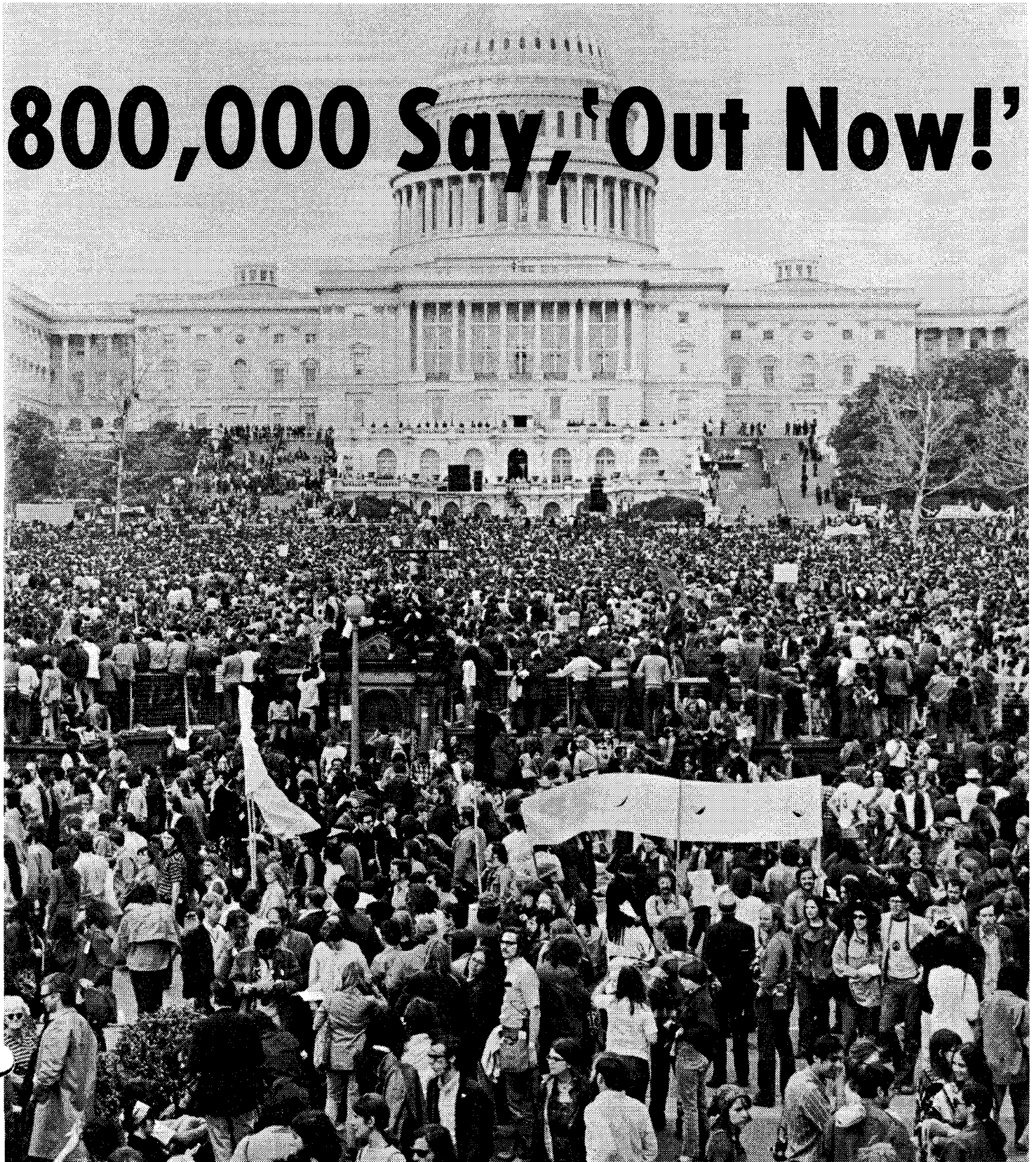
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800,000 Say, 'Out Now!'



Marriage-for-Hire

Leonid Kazakevich is in a Moscow jail because his matrimonial agency was too successful. During a period of eight years, Kazakevich earned the equivalent of \$8,000 by finding a husband for women willing and able to pay the price. In every case, the husband was Kazakevich.

His attraction had nothing to do with personal glamour, according to an article by Harry Trimborn in the February 25 *International Herald Tribune*. What he did have was registration permitting him to live in Moscow.

Soviet citizens who wish to move from the provinces to Moscow normally can do so only by marrying a Moscow resident. Kazakevich provided this service for a fee. A few months later, there would be a quiet divorce and he was free to repeat the process.

Trimborn reported that there are many Moscow men and women engaged in the marriage-for-residence business. An additional reason for the success of such enterprises is the housing shortage. Married couples have priority over single persons in receiving apartments.

Outside observers might consider it more rational to do away with the registration system and to build more apartments. But the Soviet bureaucrats find it less trouble to put persons like Leonid Kazakevich in jail. □

Culebra Victory

The people of Culebra have won a long fight to stop the U.S. Navy from using their island—located off the coast of Puerto Rico—as a site for target practice.

On April 1, U.S. Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird announced that naval bombardment of the northwestern peninsula of Culebra will stop by the end of the year.

In addition, the navy will remove a fence restricting use of one of the island's main beaches, cease removing sand from other beaches, and take steps to prevent ecological destruction of resources.

The victory came after thirteen years of struggle, including a clash between islanders and U.S. Marines on February 7 of this year. The navy is now seeking an uninhabited area for the construction of a new target range.

Pope in Danger?

The conservative Roman newspaper *Il Tempo* expressed indignation April 17 that Pope Paul VI had granted an audience to a musical group that included women wearing the fashionable shorts known as "hot pants."

L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican newspaper, explained, however, that in the fulfillment of the Pope's apostolic duties "there may be risks."

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April 24 Shows Growing Power of Antiwar Forces

By Allen Myers

In the most massive outpouring of antiwar sentiment since the May 1970 demonstrations that followed the invasion of Cambodia, hundreds of thousands of protesters marched through the streets of Washington and San Francisco April 24 to demand immediate U. S. withdrawal from Indochina.

In Washington, more than five hours after the first contingents had started down Pennsylvania Avenue, the broad street was still filled with protesters. Thousands of additional demonstrators did not march, but were delivered directly to the rally on the grounds of the Capitol building by their buses.

Banners and posters identified marchers who had traveled hundreds of miles to participate. They came from large cities like Chicago and from small towns all over the eastern United States: Parma, Ohio; Hampton, New Hampshire; East Bloomington, Indiana; Lakeland, New Jersey; and hundreds more.

Washington police, who normally belittle antiwar demonstrations and who predicted that fewer than 100,000 would participate, estimated the crowd at 200,000—a figure given to the press at noon, when tens of thousands of persons were still en route. The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), which organized the demonstrations, estimated that more than 500,000 participated in Washington.

NPAC organizers in San Francisco put the demonstration there at 300,000. That was the capacity of the field where the rally was held, as stated by the police in advance, and the entire area was packed solid, with more contingents trying to enter after marching seven miles across the city.

The day had been officially designated "a day of public determination to end the war in Vietnam" by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, and the breadth of participation showed that broader layers of the American public than ever before were determined to force Nixon to withdraw from Indochina.

Besides the students, ranging from

the university level right down to the grade schools, huge contingents of adults participated. Most significantly, some 10,000 Vietnam veterans marched and behind them came tens of thousands of union members. A big delegation of construction workers carried banners, and the appearance of these "hard hats" was not lost on the spectators. They drew cheers and applause as they marched along.

Longshoremen, who once actively opposed the students in their efforts against the war, were out in force, and some even acted as monitors.

The same sort of breadth was evident in Washington. In a brief section of the march, one could see banners identifying such varied groups as: Madison, Wisconsin, Hospital Workers Local 150; National Welfare Rights Organization; Third World Task Force; Federal Employees for Peace; Gay Feminists; Indiana University Student Mobilization Committee; Cleaners and Dyers Joint Board, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations; Western Massachusetts Women Against the War; Farm Workers for Peace and Justice; District of Columbia Statehood party; Northwestern University Gay Liberation; Engineers for Peace; Cleveland State University Women's Contingent; and locals of the United Electrical Workers, United Automobile Workers, and Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

The massive crowds clearly proved the correctness of NPAC's belief that Nixon's "Vietnamization" fraud has not succeeded in derailing antiwar sentiment and that larger and larger numbers of Americans can be organized against the war on the basis of its effects on their lives.

The amount of support for April 24 from other movements—feminist, labor, gay liberation, GIs and veterans, etc.—was unprecedented. It was living proof of the growing realization that Johnson's war—now converted by Nixon into his own war—stands in the way of achieving a whole range of goals vital to the people of the United States.

The success of NPAC's strategy of mobilizing hundreds of thousands in the streets behind the demand for immediate withdrawal contrasted in the most dramatic way with the pathetic efforts of ultraleftists to organize a separate demonstration in Washington around a hodgepodge of demands proclaimed to be more "revolutionary" than opposition to American imperialism's aggression in Indochina.

The formerly Maoist Progressive Labor party (PL) distributed thousands of leaflets calling for a separate rally near the march route "to break away from liberal politicians." The result proved only that PL had broken with the masses of workers, students, women, and oppressed nationalities who are ready and willing to fight against "their" government's imperialist war.

The PL rally, if it occurred at all, was so tiny as to be unnoticeable among the groups of late arrivals hurrying toward the Capitol grounds.

The enormous mass of demonstrators marched in full awareness that they were acting as representatives of the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the American people. This was expressed in hand-lettered posters carrying variations on the theme, "The majority is not silent—Nixon is deaf," and in a giant banner that read, "On April 6, 1971, two out of three voters in Madison, Wisconsin, demanded immediate and total withdrawal."

In a more emotional way, it was expressed by five days of demonstrations in Washington April 19-23 carried out by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW). In testimony before congressional committees, in street demonstrations, and in a ceremony at the Capitol in which they discarded their medals, the veterans dramatized the message that GIs, like other sectors of the population, want the war ended *now*.

The protests of the veterans, some of whom had lost limbs in the war, were an obvious embarrassment to the Nixon administration. The government went all the way to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court to ob-

tain an injunction prohibiting the veterans from camping out on the mall between the White House and the Capitol, and then, in the face of the public sympathy for the veterans, decided not to enforce the injunction.

John Kerry, chairman of VVAW, was loudly applauded at the April 24 rally when he denounced a "government more worried by the legality of where we sleep than the legality of where we drop bombs."

Nixon and his defenders had a similar lack of success in attempts to limit the size of the demonstrations by red-baiting the march organizers and issuing cries of alarm about possible "violence." One day before the protests, for example, Attorney General John Mitchell was widely quoted in the press as predicting a "physical confrontation" during the Washington march.

Despite Mitchell's hopeful forecast, both marches were so well organized that there was no pretext for police to intervene. Demonstrators followed the instructions of NPAC monitors and the actions proceeded peacefully, as planned.

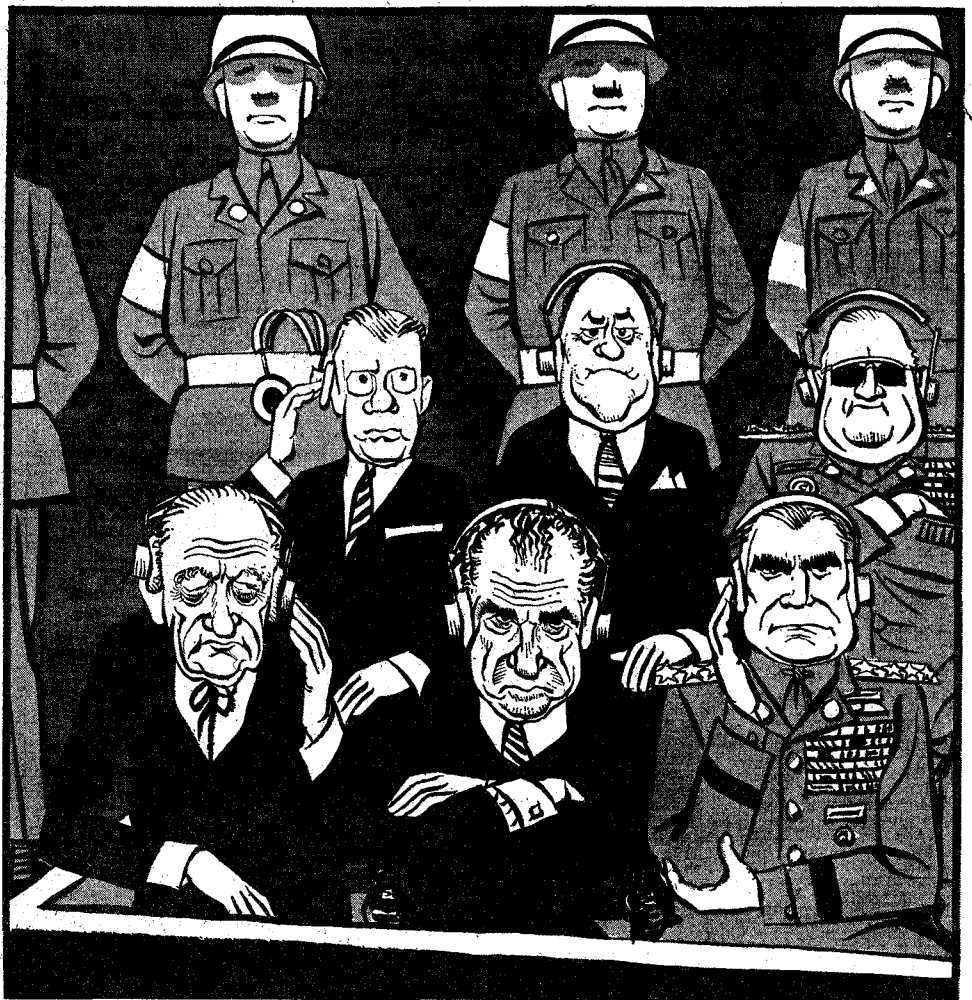
Earlier, on April 6, Representative Richard Ichord of Missouri proclaimed to the House of Representatives that NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ), a cosponsor of the demonstration, were "dominated mainly by two Communist factions, the Communist Party and the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party."

"These militants," Ichord asserted, "have absolutely nothing genuinely in common with the vast majority of those Americans who are interested in securing peace on an honorable basis."

Scarcely less crude was the April 19 attack of syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. NPAC, they charged, was "dominated" by the Socialist Workers party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA). They went on to lament that "liberals such as [Senator Edmund] Muskie feel compelled to cooperate" in the April 24 demonstrations. [The complete text of Evans and Novak's article is printed elsewhere in this issue.]

Such attacks were answered by NPAC coordinator Jerry Gordon at an April 14 press conference. He reaffirmed the antiwar movement's long-standing principle of nonexclusion:

"NPAC welcomes into its ranks everyone who opposes the war regardless of their politics and regardless of



—Macpherson in the Toronto Star

NUREMBERG, U. S. A.

their point of view on other issues. The desire for peace cuts across political lines, as it does across racial, religious and nationality lines. The peace movement excludes no one from its ranks. . . .

"NPAC's breadth and representative character is demonstrated by the list of its steering committee. Many trade unionists, religious leaders, women's liberation groups, student organizations, Young Republicans, etc. are on the committee. Does Rep. Ichord really believe the committee and its members are docile pawns of any political formation?"

"It is true that NPAC is 'dominated.' It is 'dominated' by the majority of people who attend the periodic conventions called by NPAC."

Evans and Novak were right in one respect, however. Faced by the growth of a massive, independent antiwar movement, many congressional liberals do feel compelled to dissociate themselves from the war and the atroc-

ities it entails. Eight senators and twenty-three members of the House of Representatives endorsed the April 24 protest, despite the fact that the demonstrations were organized around the demand for complete and immediate U. S. withdrawal, a position with which all but one of these congressional endorsers expressly disagrees.

The lone exception, Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, who spoke at the rally in support of immediate withdrawal, is likely to be the forerunner of other congressional liberals as it becomes increasingly plain that promises to end the war by 1972 or 1973 are not enough to defuse the antiwar movement.

The contradictory position of calling the entire war a "war crime" and then saying it should be ended by 1972—as did Congresswoman Bella Abzug of New York—cannot satisfy the huge crowd that heard her remarks.

Andrew Pulley, who spoke to the

Intercontinental Press

rally on behalf of the Socialist Workers party, pointed out that members of Congress, unlike most Americans, have known all along of the atrocities being committed in Indochina. Their belated willingness to speak against the war, he said, cannot deflect the movement into supporting the liberals' call for Nixon to "set a date" for withdrawal:

"Our date for withdrawal is *now!*"

Another guarantee for the continued independence of the antiwar movement was the large student contingents

in the demonstrations. Debbie Bustin, national coordinator of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), pointed out the error of those who had proclaimed the death of the student movement, which has traditionally been the militant left wing of the antiwar forces.

She went on to emphasize that the April 24 demonstrations were not an end but only a part of a continuing spring offensive against the war. On May 5, the SMC, the Association of Student Governments, and the National Student Association are sponsoring

an antiwar moratorium on the anniversary of the Cambodia invasion and the murder of protesting students at Kent State University and Jackson State College.

This will be followed on May 16 (Armed Forces Day) by solidarity actions with antiwar GIs.

The 800,000 persons who marched in Washington and San Francisco to indict Nixon and his accomplices as war criminals went home after the demonstration—but they are not going away. □

Kremlin Arms the Counterrevolution in Ceylon

Bandaranaike Using Terror as Crisis Deepens

By Les Evans

The Bandaranaike regime has turned to the wholesale use of terror—including the torture and execution of youthful rebel prisoners—after weeks of fighting have failed to restore the government's authority over large areas of Ceylon.

The capitalist government continues to impose the strictest press censorship to hide its brutal repression from its own people and from the world, but the scope of the rebellion is too great to keep all information from getting out.

On April 18 the Associated Press reported that army officers were executing captured prisoners without trial if they were believed to belong to the outlawed Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—the People's Liberation Front, called the "Che Guevarists" by the press).

The government's special committee to "re-establish civil authority" issued a hasty denial on April 19. This seven-member body is heavily weighted with representatives of Bandaranaike's "left-wing" coalition partners—including housing minister Pieter Keuneman, the head of the pro-Moscow Communist party; and two leaders of the renegade ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party, Colvin R. de Silva and Bernard Soysa. A government official assured reporters April 19 that this group was working to "ensure the rehabilitation of the captives and detainees." This cover-up was



COLVIN R. DE SILVA: Hands reddened with blood of revolutionary youth.

revealed as a lie by *New York Times* correspondent James P. Sterba in an April 24 dispatch relayed from Singapore to bypass the Ceylon government's censorship.

"Ceylon's outnumbered and unprepared police force and army have resorted to mass arrests, torture, executions and other terror tactics in attempting to put down young, well-organized armed insurgents who attacked more than 100 police posts three weeks ago and continue to hold

dozens of villages and sizable portions of the countryside."

Sterba's account was reminiscent of the reports from Indonesia during the anti-Communist bloodbath there in 1965.

"Bodies of young men presumably killed by policemen and soldiers have been seen floating down rivers in groups of twos and threes toward the sea near Colombo for the last week," Sterba wrote. "Some of them were decapitated and others were riddled with bullets, their wrists bound behind their backs.

"This reporter saw bodies floating down the Kalamy River on two successive days as villagers gathered on the automobile bridge across the river to watch them float by.

"At two crossroads between villages about 50 miles south of Colombo, the bodies of two young men wearing blue trousers, whom the police have linked to the insurgents, were nailed through the wrists to the road signs. Villagers nearby said the police had brought them in trucks to serve as a warning against cooperation with the rebels.

"Thousands of young men and women have been rounded up and jailed. The daughter of a Colombo businessman was held for questioning for six hours in a detention center. She said she shared a room with four other girls, one of whom had a heavily bruised and swollen arm and an-

other who had lost two fingernails on her right hand. They told her the police had tortured them."

Sterba challenged the government's repeated assertion that the youthful insurgents have been reduced to scattered "pockets" of resistance:

"In at least nine areas of the country, covering hundreds of square miles, the rebels maintain control uncontested by Government forces. In some of these areas, they have taken over Government and village offices, trucks and other equipment, and the population has not fled."

In fact, Bandaranaike's officials are much less optimistic in private about their chances of crushing the revolt than they are in their public pronouncements. "These officials and diplomats in Colombo believe Ceylon is faced with a drawn-out guerrilla war that the Government will have a difficult time winning despite arms aid rushed to Ceylon by seven countries," Sterba continued.

The *New York Times* correspondent suggested that the main reason for the capitalist government's uneasiness was the fact that large numbers of people were going over to the beleaguered revolutionary youth:

"Villagers who talked reluctantly to this reporter on trips into the countryside appeared far more afraid of the police than of the insurgents.

"An island-wide curfew from 6:30 P. M. until 5:30 A. M. remains in effect, and nervous policemen give no warning before opening fire on violators.

"Neither policemen nor soldiers venture out of their compounds at night, and they do not move far off main roads in the daytime. Some of them frankly say they think they are outnumbered and are afraid to move into guerrilla areas."

The government has adopted dictatorial methods in all areas of public life in its efforts to smash the growing opposition. In addition to the military operations, press censorship, and curfew, there is a ban on public meetings, and travel abroad is prohibited without specific government approval and a mandatory two-week delay in departure (to prevent reporters from filing dispatches from India). Unconfirmed reports say that twenty-eight members of parliament have been jailed for expressing sympathy with the rebels and that Bandaranaike is openly discussing expanding her "leftist" coalition to include the far right United National party. In its turn, UNP leader Junius Jayewardene is advocating a capitalist dictatorship as the solution to radical unrest. He was quoted by the April 25 *New York Times* as saying: "Democracy is finished in this country. You have to have peace and stability to have democracy, and Ceylon has neither."

As the ruling coalition abandons its socialist election propaganda in favor of open military protection of capitalist property and privilege, it becomes more dependent on arms and cash from the imperialist West. The main suppliers thus far have been

Britain and the United States. In its pursuit of "influence" in the region, however, the Kremlin has also decided to aid the Pentagon in crushing the Ceylonese revolution.

The commander of Ceylon's army, Major General Sepala Attygalle, confirmed on April 21 that the Soviet government was providing six MIG-17 jet fighters, with complete flight and ground crews, to help liquidate the threat to capitalist rule in Ceylon. This is the first time that the Kremlin has intervened in such a brazenly cynical way in an effort to crush a revolution in Asia.

Other countries that have shipped arms or aircraft to Colombo include India, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia.

The Kremlin's action is of special importance, since its aid may be decisive in turning the tide and preserving the proimperialist regime in Colombo.

Bourgeois commentators speculate that the Kremlin is seeking an air base in Ceylon by way of compensation.

This may be true, but the action is a convenient way of matching Peking's spectacular assistance to the dictatorial Yahya regime in putting down the freedom movement of Bangladesh.

Brezhnev can point to what he has done in Ceylon to show that he is just as reliable as Mao Tsetung, if not more so, in maintaining the status quo. □

'Playboy Son Succeeds Duvalier

'Power Vacuum' in Haiti Disturbs U.S. Imperialists

"Our Doc, who art in the National Palace for life, Hallowed be Thy name by present and future generations. Thy will be done at Port-au-Prince and in the provinces. Give us this day our new Haiti and never forgive the trespasses of the anti-patriots who spit every day on our country; let them succumb to temptation, and under the weight of their venom, deliver them not from any evil. . ."

* * *

The term of Dr. François Duvalier,

"president for life" of the Haitian republic, expired April 12, when the ex-country doctor, who had a long history of coronary trouble, died of a heart attack.

Already in 1959, Duvalier, a promoter of the voodoo cult in his own country, was barely saved from death by heart failure with the best treatment modern science could offer. "The United States, which counted on him strongly as an anti-Communist ally, flew in teams of specialists from Guantánamo Bay, Cuba, and from Wash-

ington to treat him," Albin Krebs wrote in the April 23 *New York Times* in his obituary of the dead dictator.

The combined use of science and superstition that marked Duvalier's rule was symbolized by the bible and pistol which he kept side by side near his desk when he received visitors.

The mixture of Catholicism and West African polytheism in the Haitian voodoo tradition may have helped inspire Duvalier to build up the religious-political cult around his personality, which was expressed in his

own version of "The Lord's Prayer" quoted above.

Such use of modern techniques to buttress and exploit superstition for political purposes is by no means limited to Haiti, as the highly colored accounts of Duvalier's reign in the capitalist press suggest. To one degree or another, such methods are used in all states that defend minority rule. The relatively simple technology of the Haitian ruling class only makes the grotesqueness of this procedure more obvious.

Lacking a modern public-relations apparatus to build his "image," Duvalier simply had his parliament declare him Incorruptible Leader of the Great Majority of the Haitian People, Renovator of the Republic, Chief of the Revolution, and Spiritual Father of the Nation. The image the Haitian dictator tried to project, however, had certain similarities with the propaganda line followed by "The Voice of the Silent Majority" in a technologically much more advanced country from which the Port-au-Prince regime drew its inspiration and support.

The voodoo-like cult of Duvalier's personality was supported not only by back-country witch doctors but by the representatives of a powerful material reality. "He [Duvalier] nurtured the image of 'Papa Doc,' the kindly patriarch administering to the needs of his 'children,'" an editorial in the April 23 issue of the *New York Times* noted, "an image fostered by the unfortunate photograph of a smiling Governor Rockefeller and a delighted Duvalier waving to the crowd from a balcony of the presidential palace during the Governor's visit to Haiti in 1969."

The same guardians seem to be keeping watch over the late dictator's son and successor as "president for life," nineteen-year-old Jean-Claude Duvalier, who according to all accounts is a nonentity and, like many heirs to absolute power before him, known primarily as a playboy.

"The United States increased its military surveillance of Haiti today following the death of President François Duvalier," *New York Times* correspondent Benjamin Welles reported April 22 from Washington.

In fact, the most astute organ of the American ruling class, the *New York Times*, in an editorial April 23 indicated its concern that Washington



DUVALIER: Created own packaging.

might overdo its protective role:

"In the power vacuum now opened it would be a miracle if his [Duvalier's] inexperienced 19-year-old son, who has assumed his father's title, 'President for Life,' could for long hold things together.

"That vacuum, in a country only 46 miles from Cuba at the nearest point, naturally concerns Haiti's Caribbean neighbors including the United States, which has increased its military surveillance of the area. But Washington must proceed with great caution. This country is still trying to repair the damage to the inter-American system inflicted by the unilateral intervention in the Dominican Republic in 1965. In addition, the meager residue of the effort in Haiti during nineteen years (1915-34) of occupation by United States marines puts the dimensions and complexities of the problem in perspective."

Washington's fears seemed to be increased by the difficulty of predicting the political reactions of the Haitian people. Duvalier's despotism eliminated all visible political life in the country, as well as hopelessly undermining all institutions of constitutional rule. Even the repressive forces were demoralized by terror, as well as by their traditional gangsterism.

"Papa Doc Duvalier had his own macabre way of cutting the Haitian army down to size," the London daily

Guardian noted April 20. "Just before midnight on June 8, 1967, the President summoned 19 senior officers, including the Chief of Staff, to the National Palace. They were loaded into a truck and driven to the notorious Fort Dimanche." When they arrived, they found nineteen of their fellow officers bound to stakes on the rifle range. Each was given a rifle with one bullet and ordered to shoot the chosen victims. The order was carried out in the presence of Duvalier, and not a single bullet was wasted.

"The executions were designed to undermine the confidence of younger officers in their leaders," the *Guardian* continued.

Moreover, like similar despotic regimes, the Duvalier government fell prey to the superstitions on which it based its rule. A good example was the feud between Duvalier and his former chief aide Clément Barbot, known as the "muffler" for his role in suppressing political opposition to the regime. When Barbot made an abortive attempt to carry out a palace revolution, Duvalier responded with frenzied measures.

"In the relentless search for Mr. Barbot in the weeks that followed, Tontons Macoutes [Duvalier's private army] surrounded the house that hid his [Barbot's] cache of arms and ammunition," Krebs wrote in the April 23 *New York Times*. "They sprayed it with machine-gun bullets. Finally, an old black dog came howling out. Reacting to the superstitious belief of many peasants that the shadowy Barbot could change himself into a black dog, Duvalier, it was said, ordered all black dogs shot."

Nor, apparently, was the Duvalier government the only one deceived by the illusions it fostered. "Diplomatic observers were surprised by the lack of emotion manifested by the people either at the death of the 64-year-old Duvalier, who had long been ill with diabetes and heart disease, or at the new regime," *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart reported April 22 from Port-au-Prince. □

Heath Forgives and Forgets

The British government has announced that it will restore a decoration, the Order of the Garter, to the Emperor of Japan. A previous award of the decoration was rescinded in 1941.

Stolen Files Expose FBI Spying, Provocation

The emperor in Hans Christian Andersen's fairy tale paraded through the streets only for an hour or so before a child spotted the fact that the monarch was naked.

In real life, however, small children are seldom listened to, and most adults — particularly the sort found in the U. S. Congress — if they notice anything amiss, often hesitate to say anything about it.

In the case of J. Edgar Hoover, who exercises an imperious rule over the Federal Bureau of Investigation, it has taken forty-seven years for a few members of Congress to point out that this monarch also parades in an exposed way.

On April 5, Hale Boggs of Louisiana, the Democratic party leader in the House of Representatives, demanded that Hoover resign as director of the FBI. The reason behind his demand, Boggs said, was that the FBI "taps the telephones of the members of this body [House of Representatives] and of members of the Senate."

Such a situation was unprecedented. In the past, it had been considered politically reckless to suggest that "the most sacred cow in the entire structure of the Federal Government" (in the words of the *New York Times*) be put out to pasture because of his age. (Hoover is seventy-six.)

To be sure, Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst immediately denied Boggs's charges and claimed that the latter was "either sick or not in possession of his faculties" when he made them. (Columnist Jack Anderson wrote a week later that Kleindienst's remark was based on an FBI report that said Boggs is a heavy drinker.)

Kleindienst was too late. The sacred cow was no longer quite so sacred. When he saw that Boggs had not been struck down for his impiety, Senator Edmund Muskie of Maine, considered the leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1972, ventured to complain April 14 that the FBI had carried out widespread spying on "Earth Day" anti-pollution rallies on April 22, 1970. Not the least of Muskie's objections



HOOVER: Some members of Congress are no longer overwhelmed by his "overwhelming personality."

was the fact that a speech he had made on that occasion had been the subject of an FBI report. The report, Muskie said, implied that he had a connection with the Maoist Progressive Labor party (PL) and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), an organization led by PL.

It is worth noting that neither Boggs nor Muskie objected to the FBI's activities until they discovered that members of Congress were objects of its scrutiny. The FBI's role in attempting to suppress virtually all forms of political dissent was hardly a secret previously. In fact, during the month preceding Boggs's charges, the FBI's activities had been the subject of a great deal of embarrassing publicity.

On March 8, a group of unknown persons calling themselves the "Citizens Commission to Investigate the FBI" broke into an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania, and made off with the files. Since that time, they have been feeding a steady stream of X-

eroxed copies of the files to newspapers and members of Congress.

The documents showed that the FBI is engaged in spying on just about everything and recruiting informers nearly everywhere. To take just one example, Bill Kovach reported in the April 8 *New York Times*:

"Memorandums circulated to all bureau headquarters agents in the country in February, 1968, paint a picture of efforts to develop a network of paid informers in black communities that would include operators of taverns, liquor stores and barber shops; janitors, taxi drivers and salesmen; newspaper, food and beverage distributors, and bill collectors."

Another memorandum, sent out by the supersnooper himself in November 1970, ordered that all "organizations organized to project the demands of black students" be investigated immediately.

Among the dangerous activities recorded by FBI agents was the fact that a Boy Scout leader in Idaho had inquired about the possibility of taking his troop on a tour of the Soviet Union.

The documents released by the Citizens Commission clearly proved that the FBI was engaged in more than gathering information. Other activities include provocation and intimidation. In some cases, FBI employees had apparently been too enthusiastic in their roles as agents provocateurs.

". . . there have been a few instances," one document stated, "where security informants in the New Left got carried away during a demonstration, assaulted police, etc.

". . . while our informants should be privy to everything going on and should rise to maximum level of their ability in the New Left Movement, they should not become the person who carries the gun, throws the bomb, does the robbery or by some specific violative, overt act becomes a deeply involved participant."

A newsletter from the FBI's Philadelphia office recommended frequent questioning of leftists, not to gain information, but because "it will enhance

the paranoia endemic in these circles and will further serve to get the point across there is an F. B. I. agent behind every mailbox."

The newsletter went on to suggest that Hoover considers his agents endowed with almost supernatural powers:

"In addition, some will be overcome with the overwhelming personalities of the contacting agents and volunteer to tell all—perhaps on a continuing basis."

So far, however, not even the overwhelming personality of the sacred cow himself has been able to uncover the identity of the persons who continue sending FBI documents to the news media. This sign of Hoover's unexpected fallibility has contributed to the fact that even the conservative *Christian Science Monitor* called for his resignation in an April 12 editorial.

A more important factor in the demands for Hoover's retirement was acknowledged by Max Frankel in the April 16 *New York Times*:

"For the politicians on all sides, the immediate danger is the obvious public revulsion against massive spying by unchecked Government agents."

Frankel went on to point out that Hoover's loss of immunity is related to the radicalization going on in the U. S.:

"Mr. Hoover has been enshrined as a cold-war sleuth in a society now tired of both the cold war and its sleuthing ways. When the director made his mark against top criminals, Nazis and Communists, he was battling for a united country. Now that he sees pre-eminent danger among blacks, students and other domestic dissidents, he is caught up in the politics of the country."

Even Nixon, Frankel added, "would welcome an opportunity to retire Mr. Hoover with honor." Although we are not in the habit of offering advice to Nixon, in this case we are willing to offer him a way out.

Nixon could announce that because Hoover has done such a fine job of snooping, the government now knows everything and the FBI can therefore be abolished. This would not be much of a loss to him—the way phones aren't working these days, there's not much that can be learned by a tap, even on the phone of a member of Congress. □

Iran

Police Report Fifty More Arrests

On April 4, the Iranian political police (SAVAK) revealed, somewhat tardily, that fifty new arrests had been made in a "subversive network" first reported last March 17, following the execution of thirteen persons after a secret military trial. (See *Intercontinental Press*, April 5, page 312.)

At the press conference in which the new arrests were announced, the unidentified SAVAK spokesman stated that the fifty new "plotters" had been arrested last December in the provinces of Gilan and Mazanderan, in northern Iran.

According to the same source, the prisoners were part of a guerrilla movement that was crushed by the army.

The April 17 London *Economist* estimated the number of guerrillas at 150 or 175. SAVAK claims that, of these, fifty were killed and sixty arrested. The thirteen executed in March were selected from among those captured by the police.

The SAVAK official accused all shades of opposition to the shah's dictatorship of being part of a "network" directed by foreign conspirators. "The members of this network came from different classes of society. Some were graduates of the Polytechnic Institute of Teheran who were employed in the government or private institutions. Some had lower education and some were university students."

The SAVAK agent singled out the students for special attack. The Teheran daily *Ettelaat* of April 4 reported him as saying: "As you remember, there was a strike at the University of Teheran in December. Members of this network, among whom were some students, decided to spread the strike and cause incidents and disorder."

According to *Le Monde* of April 7, the anonymous official of the political police "promised that from now on his ministry would give the public ample details on the 'subversive networks' that had been uncovered." In the past, *Le Monde* continued, "information relating to 'opponents of the regime' was made known only by brief references in the local press."

Even before the shah's political po-

lice made public the four-month-old "news" of the fifty arrests, the French Committee for the Defense of Iranian Political Prisoners issued the following statement, signed by a group of prominent intellectuals:

"Thirteen young Iranian patriots, accused of having attacked a police post in the province of Gilan, have been executed. This butchery is the prelude to ceremonial preparations the Iranian government is making to celebrate the twenty-fifth centennial of the Empire. . . .

"The Defense Committee indignantly denounces this situation. It calls on democratic organizations to demand application of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man and the immediate release of hundreds of political detainees, and to alert international public opinion in order to prevent the new crimes now being prepared in Iran." The signers included such well-known figures as Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, and Laurent Schwartz.

A March 19 statement of the International Confederation of Iranian Students, which has been instrumental in calling world attention to the secret arrests, trials and executions in Iran, declared:

"The experience of the Confederation in defense of the rights of the political prisoners has shown that we can force the regime to retreat and stop its murderous activities. According to recent news, at present twelve members of this group [the group to which the executed thirteen were said to belong] are being tried. Let us stand up with all our strength and use all possibilities at our command to apprise world public opinion of the murders committed by the bloodthirsty regime. Let us not allow it to spill the blood of the best sons and daughters of our people." □

Madison Avenue Escalation

During recent months, residents of southeastern Michigan who like an uninterrupted view of the landscape have cut down at least eighty-one billboards. One advertising firm announced that in the future it will put its billboards on steel poles.

Georg Moltved—Fighter to the End

Copenhagen

With the death of Georg Moltved March 7, the revolutionary movement in Denmark lost one of its great personalities. Born April 23, 1881, he died only a few weeks before his ninetyeth birthday, when his last and most extensive book, *Trotsskij Biografi*, the first life of Trotsky in Danish, was to be published by Rhodos Forlaget.

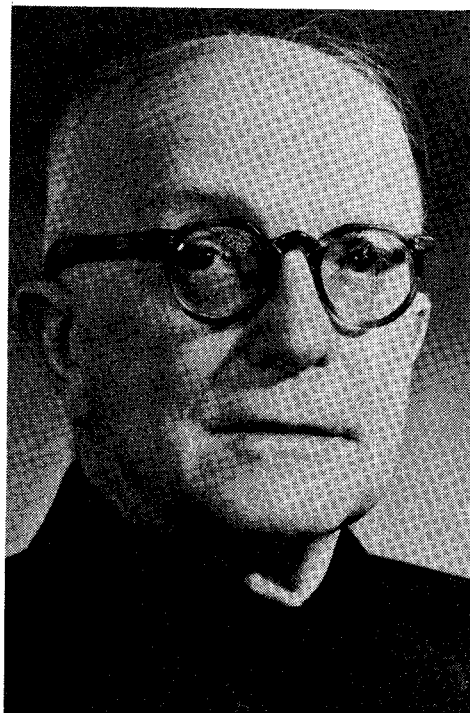
Moltved's study of the life of Lenin and the development of the Russian revolutionary movement, *Lenin: En Biografi*, was published by Borgens Forlag in its widely distributed paperback series.

Moltved was known as the foremost Marxist literary critic in Denmark, a figure of unique authority in this field. He appeared frequently on radio and television in discussion panels and as a lecturer on Trotsky, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, the Russian revolution, and women's rights, as well as cultural subjects. His reputation was that of an incisive commentator on social questions.

Moltved was the oldest member of the Danish Trotskyist organization and perhaps the oldest member of the Fourth International. He remained an active revolutionary Marxist up to his death, working with the SUF [Socialistisk Ungdomsforbund—Young Socialist League, the Danish Trotskyist organization]. Among other things, he took part in the SUF congress last January 16-17.

By profession, Moltved was a physician and practised for many years in Skaevinge, a rural area north of Copenhagen. He entered politics in 1925, winning a seat on the Skaevinge parish council, which he held for eighteen years. At that time he was a member of the Radical party, a petty-bourgeois democratic formation distinguished by a rather pacifist and anti-fascist orientation. For some years he held a post in its national leadership.

Even in the Radical party, however, Moltved's views were developing more and more in the direction of Marxism, and he supported the Communist movement in many useful ways, especially in relief work for German *émigrés* and other antifascist refugees



GEORG MOLTVED

in Denmark in the 1930s. He also contributed financially to various left-wing causes.

During this period, Moltved was one of the most active members of the group of left-wing intellectuals that published the paper *Cultural Struggle*.

In 1943, under the Nazi occupation, he joined the then illegal Communist party. In the last years of the war, he was one of the central figures in the party's activities in north Sjaelland, the rural area north of Copenhagen. He gave up his medical practice to take an active part in the resistance, managing to elude the Nazi repression throughout the war years.

In spite of the important role it played in the resistance, the CP followed a reformist and narrowly nationalist policy, as was clearly shown by the participation of Aksel Larsen, the party chairman, and other leaders in the first postwar government headed by the Social Democratic opportunist Wilhelm Buhl. Moltved opposed this line and in so doing came

into strong collision with the party leadership.

In the first postwar years, Moltved strove consistently to turn the leaders and ranks of the party toward revolutionary Marxism. In 1950, he was expelled for "antiparty activities." He was accused of systematically undermining the party and carrying on "Trotskyist" and other pernicious activities.

A cogent little pamphlet he had written on the attitude of the party and the resistance movement after the liberation, a document of historical significance, also helped to make him a dangerous man in the eyes of the CP.

Moltved's expulsion shocked the ranks of the CP. Some were expelled because they criticized this action; others left in protest against the suppression of opposition views. These revolutionary Communists continued their political activity, organized rather informally in what was known as the "Moltved Group."

In the first years of its existence, this grouping established close relations with the Danish section of the Fourth International, which Moltved joined in 1955. As the best-educated Marxist in the organization, he played a very important role. For the next decade or more Moltved represented Danish Trotskyism in the eyes of public opinion, and he remained the best-known Trotskyist in the country until his death.

In 1960, with a clear understanding of the book's relevance to today's problems, he translated Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed*. In his view, the book had gained in timeliness and importance with the years. It was the first book by Trotsky to be published in Denmark in about thirty years.

With Isaac Deutscher's encouragement, he wrote a life of Trotsky, although he had now reached the age of eighty-six. It was a last salute from a man of rare honesty and courage, who never gave up or lost his energy.

In the years from 1963 until shortly before his death, Moltved worked outside the Danish section of the Fourth International, owing to some disagreements, mostly of a tactical na-

ture. On the basis of an understanding with the section, however, he remained individually a member of the Fourth International and continued to support it in every way he could.

Moltved devoted his life to propagating the ideas of Trotsky and Trotskyism. Over the years he worked with many young Trotskyists, influencing them in a personal way. In his final years, he had the satisfaction of seeing Trotskyism in Denmark gaining in influence and organizational strength.

Shortly before his death, he wrote an enthusiastic letter to a friend about the progress made by Trotskyism in Denmark since the May 1968 revolt in France, and about the new Trotskyist organization, the SUF, which he joined in the last months of his life. It can be truly said that Georg Moltved died on his feet and fighting.

With the death of Comrade Moltved, not only Trotskyism in Denmark but the world Trotskyist movement has lost one of its most learned and faithful members. □

ened relations with the Soviet CP. Soviet embassy officials in Tokyo attended the April 1970 conference of the *Nihon-no-Koe* faction, while issue number 13 (1970) of *Party Life*, published by the Soviet CP Central Committee, contained a bitter attack on the draft resolution for the Eleventh National Congress of the JCP. As recently as February of this year, the Soviet Academy of Sciences provided an article by one of its members for the monthly *Shinsekai Noto* (New World Notebook), which is edited by Koichiro Nagata, another former member of the JCP.

A number of factors have contributed to the attempted reconciliation.

One is the growing influence of the Chinese CP. Premier Chou En-lai's visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last spring appears to have drawn the Korean Workers party away from its previous position as the JCP's closest ally.

The JCP has also been forced to give up its hopes for the restoration of those Chinese bureaucrats with whom it had been on good terms and who were purged during the "cultural revolution"—Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, Peng-chen, etc.

Even the Japan Socialist party, which signed a joint communiqué with the Soviet CP on July 19, 1970, has been drifting toward increasing friendship with the Chinese CP.

Meanwhile, the Soviet-backed *Nihon-no-Koe* faction has continued to lose influence. Its membership is thought to have declined from a peak of 1,000 to about 300, and its leader, Yoshio Shiga, lost his seat in parliament. The Soviet bureaucrats thus hope that an alliance with the reformist JCP, which has been growing, will strengthen their influence in opposition to Peking.

The turn toward Moscow on the part of the JCP is more an attempt to avoid international isolation than a significant change in its line. This reformist party continues to seek sufficient strength to gain inclusion in a center-left government, perhaps in alliance with elements of the JSP. □

Big Spenders

A twenty-one-month study of water pollution released by Ralph Nader April 12 found that U. S. industries spend an average of 0.2 percent of their revenue on pollution control.

Fear of Peking's Influence

Behind Japan CP's Turn Toward Moscow

By Wataru Yakushiji

Osaka

Tomio Nishizawa, chief of the Japan Communist party (JCP) delegation to the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Soviet CP, announced upon his return April 15 that his delegation had discussed "concrete measures" for normalizing the badly strained relations between the two parties. The discussions, he said, involved Mikhail A. Suslov and other Soviet party officials.

According to Nishizawa, the Soviet CP promised not to maintain relations with the "antiparty" elements in the Japanese Association for Friendship with the USSR or with Gensuikin [Japan National Congress for the Prohibition of Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs], which is under the leadership of the Japan Socialist party (JSP) and Sohyo [General Council of Japanese Trade Unions]. Nishizawa claimed the agreement would "not leave any room for the elements maneuvering to break up the party."

Before deciding whether to accept the invitation to the Twenty-fourth Congress, the JCP sent a delegation to Moscow to talk over "pending problems." The joint communiqué released after these talks, which took place March 15-19, said that "the conference was held in a comradely and frank atmosphere," and that both parties had "reconfirmed that the joint communiqué signed by both at Tokyo and Moscow in 1968 is a good basis for normalization of the relations be-

tween the Japan and Soviet Communist parties," according to the March 21 issue of *Akahata* (Red Flag), the JCP paper.

The present communiqué is virtually identical with the one signed in February 1968 in preparation for the February 28-March 5, 1968, Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Despite the fact that at the time it insisted on its desire to normalize relations, the JCP did not attend that meeting.

Although the two communiqués are similar even in language, JCP chairman Kenji Miyamoto declared in a March 25 interview that the present agreement "is clearly different." The difference lies, he said, "in the fact that concrete measures are to be taken to normalize the relations between the two parties. It means the Soviet CP will not engage in any relations with Yoshio Shiga and the other antiparty elements expelled from the JCP, even in their capacity as officials of mass organizations." (*Akahata*, March 27.)

The Soviet bureaucrats had previously backed the *Nihon-no-Koe* (Voice of Japan) faction headed by Yoshio Shiga, who was expelled from the JCP in 1965. Soviet support for Shiga increased when the JCP broke its initial silence and condemned the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

While its disapproval of the invasion won the JCP a certain amount of domestic popularity, it of course wors-

Lanusse Indicates Generals Favor Return of Peron

By Gerry Foley

"Easter week has helped along the resurrection of the politicians," the Buenos Aires weekly magazine *Panorama* wrote in its April 13-19 issue. "Since April 5 familiar faces have begun to be seen at the Casa de Gobierno [government buildings]. That was the day Arturo Mor Roig [the minister of the interior] talked with Ricardo Balbin and five representatives of the Popular Radical party. . . .

"One important figure, however, was missing from the talks held by the minister of the interior, i.e., Jorge Daniel Paladino, who cited a previous engagement as an excuse for not attending. He was going to talk with 'the leader of the movement,' since 'Perón's words express the profound aspirations of millions of Argentines.'

"But Mor Roig didn't lose heart. Monday afternoon before last [April 5], when he had already received the formal negative response of the Justicialista [Peronist] spokesman, he ventured: 'Señor Paladino must consult. I understand that after these consultations there will be no difficulties in carrying on a dialogue. This has been a postponement of dialogue, not a rejection.'

On April 5 also, the new head of the military government, General Alejandro Lanusse, promised elections within three years. On April 1 he had issued a decree legalizing the old bourgeois parties and restoring their property, confiscated when the military seized power in June 1966.

In a front-page editorial April 3, the authoritative Paris daily *Le Monde* commented: "The military men are drawing the conclusions from their failure, which has been marked by a succession of generals in the presidential office and frequent strikes and revolts in the big working-class cities of the country. Not only have they not assured the perfect political stability that might be expected from a 'strong government,' but they have proved incapable of halting the de-

terioration in the economic situation, which a former finance minister, Alsogaray, has just described as 'disastrous.' And the Argentinian CGT [Confederación General del Trabajo — General Confederation of Labor] declared Thursday [April 1] that the situation was threatening to lead to a 'natural and inevitable revolt of a people struggling for their legitimate rights.'

"So, the 'old parties' are going to resume their activities officially."

The latest explosive workers' protests, which occurred in early March in the industrial city of Córdoba, apparently convinced the Argentinian bourgeoisie that it was unprofitable to continue the rigid course favored by ex-President Roberto M. Levingston.

The military regime evidently hopes, through more flexible means of political control, to win popular support for the government and to inspire hopes in the masses for peaceful reform. In view of the deepening gap between the government and the people after four and a half years of military rule, and of the ruling class's limited ability to grant economic concessions to the workers, such a maneuver may be difficult to carry out.

In order to make a turn of this type, the regime needs opportunist allies within the working class who can win the support of the workers for a limited reformist solution. Above all, it needs to integrate the Peronist bloc into the regime.

First as labor minister and then as president in the period 1944-55, Perón relied largely on working-class support to counterbalance imperialist pressure, making important concessions to the poor strata and promoting the development of a strong union movement, whose apparatus still pledges loyalty to him.

Perón's ouster by a conservative military coup, and the steady decline of the workers' standard of living since then have made the former

strong man a symbol of popular hatred of the regime. Previous attempts by the bourgeoisie to rule by constitutional methods have foundered because of its unwillingness, or inability, to come to an understanding with the Peronist movement, which continues to enjoy the firm support of about a third of the electorate, as well as of the trade unions.

As part of his ploy to gain popularity, Lanusse is dropping hints about a reconciliation with Perón, despite the fact that he himself was imprisoned under the strong man.

"After an interview with General Lanusse, the president of the republic, the [Peronist] general secretary of the CGT, José Rucci, said April 13 that the chief of state was agreeable to letting ex-President Perón, now in exile in Madrid, return to his country," the April 15 issue of *Le Monde* reported. "Moreover, according to Sajon, the secretary of information and tourism, General Lanusse has confirmed that 'no Argentinian who sincerely wants to contribute in a positive way to solving the great problems of Argentina will be snubbed by the government.'"

Perón—who has been accused by the military chiefs of, among other things, plundering the national treasury and imposing police-state rule, as well as committing statutory rape and corrupting the morals of female minors—could not help but be gratified by these friendly gestures, *Panorama* noted. "Until Monday, April 12, The Leader remained silent but almost cheerful. And not for nothing. His most inveterate enemies, the 'gorillas' of former times, admitted that they were ready to receive him here, forget about the jailings under his government and the Court of Honor [which placed officers on trial for political opposition to the regime], agree to have the military government put his bust in the Casa Rosada [the presidential mansion], and grant him an Argentine passport.

"But that was not all that pleased Perón. After five years of disagreements with the recalcitrant constitutionalist free-enterprisers and authoritarian rightists, the holders of power were offering him a decent agreement in order to achieve 'national unity,' a barrier against Marxism."

However pleased he may have been by the military's overtures, Perón seemed wary of making any commitments that might compromise him in

the eyes of his supporters.

"It is clear that Perón, the virtuoso of grand compromises, is not letting down his guard. He is well aware that the trade-union apparatus is proving reluctant to subordinate itself to the strategy of the leaders of La Hora del Pueblo [Time for the People—an alliance between the Radicals and the Peronistas], that the military is determined to continue the revolutionary process [i.e., military rule] until economic conditions assure a long period of institutional stability, and above all that the youth are contemptuous of political deals."

A powerful political matchmaker

seems to have intervened to hurry up the marriage between the Peronistas and the military, *Panorama* indicated.

"But if it is difficult to forecast the political future of Perón, the most astute of the many caudillos that have emerged in Latin America, C. L. Sulzberger—the *New York Times*' peripatetic commentator—has provided some clues."

A member of the influential capitalist family that owns the *New York Times*, Sulzberger has an influence that does not depend solely on his journalistic qualities. In 1967 his attacks on the Papandreou government in Greece coincided with a conserva-

tive offensive that brought this government down and led eventually to the colonels' coup, which was designed to prevent the reformist regime from returning to power. "The fact is," *Panorama* continued, "that Sulzberger, something more than a veteran journalist, has a habit of taking a close look at situations where his compatriots have interests to defend."

Therefore, when Sulzberger cabled his paper April 3 that Lanusse was ready to "make peace with Juan Perón, forget the past, and concentrate only on the future," the report aroused some attention in Buenos Aires.

"He surely noticed that the American diplomats in Argentina strongly support an interparty agreement [with the Peronistas] and that the business community, afraid of any disturbance in social peace, seems determined to maintain a two-tiered defense—a union of the moderate Justicialistas with the middle-of-the-road free-enterprisers on the one hand, and the authoritarian conservative forces represented by, among others, Julio Cueto Rua, José Luis Cantilo, and Emilio Hardoy. . . .

"Some investigations indicate that before leaving for South America, the American journalist met in Paris with a representative of Perón, who asked him to undertake 'a patriotic task' in Buenos Aires. The affair smacks of legerdemain, but Sulzberger—a magician—is always immersed in fantastic jobs. The question cannot be eluded. Did Perón approve of Sulzberger's mission? Different answers are given, but what is certain is that Perón is living in Spain, the realm of Francisco Franco, although he wants his remains buried in Cuba, if death should come upon him far from his homeland."

As of mid-April, the dictatorship seemed to be offering the kind of concessions that could make it politically possible for Perón to move toward some type of reconciliation with the regime.

"In contradiction to the view of Alcides López Aufranc [the military commander of the region], who thinks that the FIAT workers are under Communist domination," the April 13-19 *Panorama* reported, "Rubens San Sebastián [the secretary of labor] flew to Córdoba in the presidential airplane to announce that SITRAC [Sindicato de Trabajadores del Concord—Concord Plant Workers Union] and SITRAM [Sindicato de Trabajadores de



—Quino in *Panorama*

Materfer—Materfer Plant Workers Union] would be released from military trusteeship. San Sebastián's argu-

ment was: 'We have to start from scratch with the people in Córdoba.' If the secretary of labor removes the

grievances taken up by the leftist leaders, José Rucci will have fewer problems." □

Leaves Much to Be Desired

The Position of Soviet Women

By Jon Rothschild

Changes in the abortion law have been a barometer of the relative position of women in Soviet society. Abortion was first legalized in Russia soon after the October Revolution of 1917. In 1936 Stalin outlawed abortions, and it was not until 1955, on the eve of the Khrushchev era, that they were again made legal.

Today, because of concern over the falling birthrate, the Soviet regime is again considering declaring abortion illegal. The debate going on in the Soviet press on both the abortion issue and the question of child care reflects the contradictory situation in which Soviet women find themselves.

On the one hand, the gains made by women through the Bolshevik Revolution have not been totally wiped out. Soviet women are equal to men according to law, and in such fields as natural science, medicine, engineering, and mathematics, the percentage of women employed far exceeds the proportion employed in the most advanced of the capitalist countries.

On the other hand, the bureaucracy's deliberate perpetuation of the family structure, its equivocation on the right of women to control their own bodies, its refusal to socialize housework and child-rearing, and its restriction of the right of women to organize in pressing for their demands, have placed a double burden on the average Soviet woman.

The latest statistics available (1959) show that between 75 and 88 percent of the women in the Soviet Union are employed. But the lack of child-care facilities, the lack of domestic appliances, and the perpetuation of the concept that housework is women's work have meant that women, in addition to working outside the home, continue to be responsible for the household activities that are considered to be their sole domain in the West. Thus the average workday for Soviet wom-

en is approximately fourteen to sixteen hours.

The higher the profession the fewer the women in it. In an article published in the July 1970 issue of *Swiss Review of World Affairs*, a monthly publication of the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Roger Bernheim gives the following figures for 1959: ". . . in the fields of industry, construction, agriculture and transport women made up 89% of the draftsmen, 32% of the engineers and only 12% of plant directors; 73% of all primary and secondary school teachers were women, but only 23% of school directors; 79% of Soviet doctors were women, but only 52% of the head doctors or heads of health agencies; 67,200 feminine scientists constituted 43% of the national total, yet of the 204 members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences only two were women; 37% of the nation's attorneys were women, but only 23% of the judges and state prosecutors."

This situation basically stems from the fact that women are assigned the tasks of housework and child care in addition to their jobs. This has two effects: It feeds prejudice and discrimination against women; and it makes it difficult if not impossible for a woman to devote full attention to her occupation.

An article published in the *New York Times* of March 22 reports that in Archangel alone there is a waiting list of 10,000 children to get into the few preschool child-care centers available in the city. "At present, Soviet statistics contend that there are nine million children, out of 30 million of pre-school age, enrolled either in nurseries, which take children from 2 months to 3 years, or in kindergartens, which take them from 3 to 7 years. The original five-year plan for 1966-71 had promised that there would be places for 12 million by last year, but somehow the money

never got to the assigned places."

The regime shows little sign of moving to correct these inadequacies. The same article quotes a plan suggested by the Soviet economist Stanislav G. Strumlin eleven years ago: "Every Soviet citizen, upon leaving the maternity hospital, will be assigned to a nursery, and from there will go to a kindergarten, and then to a boarding school. From there, he will receive a ticket to the independent life—either in work or to further education in his chosen specialty."

In the middle of March of this year a Soviet writer, commenting on Strumlin's plan, said: "What a dismal picture. It would have meant, as soon as you gave birth, you'd have lost your child. That would have pushed the birth rate down even lower."

Aside from the questionable logic of the above comment (many sociologists have suggested that the reason the Soviet birthrate is so low is precisely because of the burden child-rearing places on women), the remark itself reveals the attitude of the Soviet regime toward women; namely, that the right of women to be free of the responsibilities of household drudgery is subordinate to the need for labor power.

The same attitude is evident in the discussion of the abortion law. The March 23 *New York Times* reports an article by Dmitri Valentei, a Soviet demographic researcher, which was published in the weekly literary newspaper *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. Valentei opposes the illegalization of abortion, but not because he considers abortion a woman's right. Statistics on the relation between the legal status of abortion and the birthrate indicate, he says, that outlawing abortion does not result in an increased birthrate.

This line of argument is apparently typical of the discussion in the Soviet press. In addition, the *Times* reports,

although abortion is now legal, there is a social stigma attached to it that is in many ways similar to the attitude prevailing in ruling circles in the West.

A recently published short story by Vladimir Soloukhin, a well-known Russian writer, rivals the most insipid, reactionary, even religious drivel produced in the United States on the question of abortion.

The story involves a middle-aged woman who has two grown children and has become pregnant again. She tells the narrator that she plans to have an abortion. The narrator asks her (it is not her first abortion) whether she has ever given any thought to the unborn children that she has "poisoned."

He tells her about a woman who

had had seven abortions. The night her only daughter dies, the daughter tells her mother about a dream she has had, in which her mother was standing in a field surrounded by seven deformed children. The mother "almost went crazy and had to get special treatment." When the middle-aged woman hears this, she decides to have the baby after all.

The lack of child-care facilities, the reactionary attitude toward abortion, and the regime's fostering of the idea that women are responsible for homemaking, all of which flow from the maintenance of the bourgeois family structure, combine to make it impossible for Soviet women to fully pursue their occupations outside the home. As a result, women, despite the ab-

sence of legal barriers, are not permitted to rise to the same levels as men within Soviet society.

The experience of the Soviet Union demonstrates that a planned economy is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for the liberation of women. If socialized property relations are not combined with the right of women to control their own bodies (free abortion on demand), the socialization of housework and child-rearing (twenty-four-hour child-care centers), the freedom for women to organize politically to defend their rights, and democratic control by the masses of both the means of production and the political system, then the gains made by women under the planned economy may largely evaporate. □

'Nixon . . . May Well Be Guilty of War Crimes'

'N.Y. Times' Takes a Look at U.S. Atrocities

"I remember," Neil Sheehan wrote in the March 28 *New York Times Book Review*, "asking one of the most senior American generals in the late summer of 1966 if he was not worried by all the civilian casualties that the bombing and shelling were causing. 'Yes, it is a problem,' he said, 'but it does deprive the enemy of the population, doesn't it?'"

Sheehan's article, a lengthy review of the literature on American war crimes in Indochina, is itself an interesting political document, one that reflects the ruling-class disputes over how to handle the war.

Sheehan's conclusions go a good deal farther than the *New York Times* has done before:

"If you credit as factual only a fraction of the information assembled here [in thirty-three different books about the war] about what happened in Vietnam, and if you apply the laws of war to American conduct there, then the leaders of the United States for the past six years at least, including the incumbent President, Richard Milhous Nixon, may well be guilty of war crimes."

In regard to the casualties caused by bombing raids, he adds:

"The United States Government tried and hanged in 1946 a Japan-

ese general, Tomoyuki Yamashita, because he was held responsible for the deaths of more than 25,000 noncombatants killed by his troops in the Philippines.

"Can a moral and legal distinction be drawn between those killings in World War II, for which General Yamashita paid with his life, and the civilian deaths ordered or condoned by American leaders during the Vietnam war? Again, if you accept only a portion of the evidence presented in this bibliography, and compare that evidence to the laws of war, the probable answer is, No. And President Nixon has spread this unrestricted bombing through Laos and Cambodia, killing and wounding unknown tens of thousands of civilians in those countries."

In acknowledging the widespread war crimes committed by the U.S. in Indochina, Sheehan is forced to tip his hat to the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by the late Bertrand Russell:

"Looking back, one realizes that the war-crimes issue was always present. Our vision was so narrowly focused on the unfolding details of the war that we lacked the perspective to see it, or when the problem was held up

to us, we paid no heed. This lesson becomes clear in reading the proceedings of the Russell Tribunal now [sic] published in 'Against the Crime of Silence.' The proceedings were widely dismissed in 1967 as a combination of kookery and leftist propaganda. They should not have been. Although the proceedings were one-sided, the perspective was there."

The proceedings of the tribunal were originally published in 1968, not yesterday as Sheehan implies. The fact that the *New York Times* now sees fit to review them indicates the profound effect the tribunal had, despite the attempts of the capitalist press to belittle its work.

There is more than a little irony in Sheehan's confession about "our" myopia concerning the Russell Tribunal. The participation in the tribunal's hearings of such well-known figures as philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre and historian Isaac Deutscher, and the extent of the testimony taken from both American and Vietnamese eyewitnesses, helped to convict the American government of genocidal war crimes in the eyes of the whole world. In our issue of May 19, 1967 (we were then published under the name *World Outlook*), we gave the following assessment of the tribunal's findings:

"The verdict of the tribunal and the volumes of testimony presented at its sessions represent a big blow to American prestige. While the U. S. press has mounted a campaign of silence or slander against the Stockholm hearings, the evidence presented by the tribunal is having a significant impact in Europe."

A prime example of the slander campaign was provided by the *New York Times*, whose foreign affairs specialist, C. L. Sulzberger, attempted to discredit the tribunal by means of a vicious personal attack on Russell, in which the eminent philosopher was denounced as a "relic," "totem," "zombie," "unthinking transmission belt for the most transparent Communist lies," "human echo chamber," and "wasted peer whose bodily endurance outpaced his brain."

The change in the *Times'* attitude reflects both the fears aroused in sections of the ruling class by the Laos invasion and the growth of antiwar sentiment in the country, spurred by

the Mylai massacre and the Calley trial.

Sheehan points out that the bombing raids, "free-fire zones," and similar criminal practices also contribute to an attitude on the part of low-ranking GIs that makes "individual" atrocities possible. And he gives no credence to the official proclamations on treatment of civilians and prisoners:

"All of those directives issued by the American military headquarters in Saigon about taking care to avoid civilian casualties, about protecting the livestock and the homes of the peasantry, were the sort of pharisaic prattle you hear from many American institutions. Whenever you say the institution is not behaving as it says it should, the institution can always point to a directive and say you must be mistaken."

The army, which "considers Lieutenant Calley and Captain Medina to be its only real war criminals," cannot be relied upon to prosecute or prevent war crimes, Sheehan writes,

nor can the Nixon administration, engaged as it is in unrestrained bombing of civilian populations.

Sheehan's suggestion of a "national inquiry" by a "commission of responsible men" is hardly an acceptable alternative. The war crimes will end when the U. S. gets out of Indochina.

Such a solution goes a bit too far for Sheehan and the *Times*, however. But in applying pressure on Nixon to keep the war—and public opposition to it—within manageable bounds, Sheehan suggests some interesting possibilities:

"We ought to remember that at the Tokyo Tribunal, the United States went so far as to establish the legal precedent that any member of a Cabinet who learns of war crimes, and subsequently remains in that Government, acquires responsibility for those crimes. Under our own criteria, therefore, Orville Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture under President Johnson, could acquire responsibility for war crimes in Vietnam." □

Great Britain

The Need for Action Committees in the Plants

By M. C. Singh

[The following is an advance copy of an article scheduled to be published in *The Red Mole*.]

* * *

For Marxists, the comfortable conventional division between political power and "industrial relations" is a meaningless one, since the key to political power lies in the control of the creation of the wealth of a society. Indeed, the creation of the illusion of such a division is one of the main ideological props of capitalism. It is reproduced by the hack worthies of the trade-union bureaucracy, such as Victor Feather, and among many workers who try to make a distinction between economic and political action. To break down this division is one of the main tasks of Marxists.

In Britain, this division was fostered by actual conditions in a historical period now rapidly drawing to its end. Through the late fifties and early sixties the most significant gains could be made, not by nationwide union-employer negotiation nor by political action, even in conventional democratic terms, but, it seemed,

by shop-floor negotiations with a local management. The main development of workers' power was in shop-steward's committees, negotiating in local plants for better local wages and local conditions. The piece-rate payment system fostered this localism. It cannot be said that it has been very successful in comparative terms. The overwhelming emphasis was on wage increases, and even in this respect continental workers were catching up on their British brothers during this whole period, and have now overtaken them. But wage increases are quickly eliminated by inflation. The European emphasis on shorter hours, longer holidays, earlier retirement and better pensions and security benefits involves gains worth a very large sum in cash terms, and in living quality.

Nevertheless, a shop-steward's movement has grown, patchy in its distribution, but with a considerable power and confidence. The correct approach of Marxists to this movement at the time was clearly the development of a workers' control movement, which offered the hope of developing and generalizing the control which militants were fighting for in the local workplaces. Such a movement

was developing around the workers' control conferences, but political differences emerged between those who wanted to develop a movement at the base and those who hoped to orient it in a direction tinged with academism and linked to the more radical union *leaderships*. The latter won a considerable part of the resources becoming available and split off into the Institute of Workers' Control, becoming increasingly irrelevant.

But the very conditions which fostered the growth of the shop-steward's movement have been changing. The monumental incompetence of British capitalists and managers, imprisoned in the professional amateurism and caricature class arrogance of the public school system, ensured that British economic growth did not match that of its European rivals, even during the expansion period. Britain thus felt the present worldwide crisis earlier and more sharply than the others, and the result has been a threefold attack on the workers, to stabilize labour costs and make them more predictable to assist investment planning, and to try to retain profit margins at the expense of the share of wages in the national economy. The

three aspects of this attack are productivity deals, incomes policies, and anti-union legislation. Both Tory and Labour governments have encouraged the first aspect, against a mounting resistance; the Labour government emphasized incomes policy; and the Tories, in the most determined onslaught of all, are intent on literally destroying the trade-union movement as we know it, by legislation.

It is in this context that the *committees of action* become relevant. For localism, parochialism, and the divorce of economics from politics are quite meaningless in this period. A desperate rallying of the militant sectors of the working class against the whirlwind has to take place. But the institutional framework of the labour movement is largely ossified. Union branches are poorly attended; most are stultified with bureaucratic procedures and petty office seekers, related to layers of time-serving and unimaginative district officials for whom anything more than run-of-the-mill is the greatest and central enemy. Most of all a union branch is limited to its members; it *divides* the working class among its unions.

Trades councils frequently suffer from similar bureaucratization. While some are militant, most are not. The chief concern of the officials of many of them appears to be to avoid entering into communication with any organization not affiliated to the TUC [Trade Union Congress]. Above all, they are delegate bodies and are thus very mixed in their representation, reflecting the weaknesses of the local union branches. As for the political wing of the movement, the Labour party has no significant attraction for the militants, in whom the strength of the movement lies; and while they, and the rest of us, will no doubt vote for it if the opportunity arises, it is without any illusions that a significant change can be effected, although such illusions do persist to some extent among broader masses of workers. This is why it is a political mistake for tiny left groupings with no mass following to concentrate their efforts on calling for a Labour government with socialist policies. The militants with whom they are in touch know that such a thing is an impossibility already, while these groupings have no influence over the others. Such a slogan might be meaningful in the *Daily Mirror*, but is positively harmful in the *Workers Press*. The actions of the Communist party which, apart from the Labour party, is the only political force of any significance in industry, reflect its political problems. In most areas it has been oriented overwhelmingly to electoralism, as per its programme, and its own industrial work reflects its own bureaucratization, being largely concerned with place-seeking in union machinery to the neglect of the development of a militant political base. So its response to the current situation has been very ambivalent. While there is a recognition of the extreme danger, and an essential political move to the development of the Liaison Committees for the Defence of Trade Unionism, which have so far been the most significant force in the campaign against the bill [Tory government's reactionary In-

dustrial Relations Bill], these bodies are themselves restrictive and bureaucratized, often composed almost exclusively of leading Communist party union bureaucrats and sympathetic bureaucrats, and as a result are inflexible and lack dynamism.

Committees of action are thus becoming meaningful to more and more militants. If we had been able to develop the workers' control movement in a different direction, there might already have been a nucleus of organizations in existence which could have formed the basis of committees of action. As it is, they must be developed largely from scratch. They have many advantages. Firstly, they can unite militants from different unions and industries in a locality, without restriction. Secondly, they are not bureaucratized, and are not limited as to what may be discussed or how it can be discussed, what actions may be taken or how they may be taken. Thirdly, they are a location in which members of Marxist groupings and industrial militants can interact, and thus deepen and broaden the understanding of militants and help to develop the sensitivity of Marxists to the problems of relating analysis to meaningful action, without which analysis itself becomes sterile and distorted. Fourthly, the best sections of the student body can be involved in action for, and assistance to, a committee of action. Already at least one university student federation in Britain has overwhelmingly voted resources and assistance to a committee of action in its struggle against the bill. Fifthly, committees of action can revitalize some of the existing institutions of the labour movement by acting as pressure groups on trades councils, union branches, and bad officials. They are of course not alternatives to, or in opposition to, such bodies, but supplementary to them. Unfortunately, they are likely to be regarded with enmity by those in the trade-union movement who feel that their own petty privileges and modes of activity are sacrosanct—something which, they fail to realize, neither Tory nor Labour leaderships believe.

The development of action committees is the central political task of Marxists in this period. While local conditions vary, in order to establish itself an action committee seems likely to need to satisfy the following criteria. Firstly, it must have resources—access to a duplicator and someone with typing skills are essentials. Secondly, it must become known as the centre in its area for propaganda against the attacks on the working class and the reasons for them, organizing public meetings with local and national speakers, producing factory leaflets, etc.

Thirdly, it must be known as having an educational aspect: organizing schools on productivity deals, measured day work, etc.; producing regular factory bulletins for groups of militants, or union branches where there are militants, etc. Fourthly, it must be known as providing assistance to workers in dispute, whether in the form of producing leaflets to publicize or inform workers of the issue at stake, helping with picketing, organizing collections for strikers, attacking redun-

dancies and assisting the unemployed (as the bill is implemented, more and more militants themselves will be in this category, and the committees can become important in helping to prevent demoralization).

It seems most unlikely now, in view of the capitulation by the TUC with its leadership of crass mediocrities, that anything can be done to stop the bill becoming law. The scene shifts to the struggle against its implementation. The old localized tactics by which a factory committee was an island in itself, engaging in what were seen as purely economic struggles, are a recipe for certain defeat. The committees of action are essential in developing strategies for defence and for moving towards an offensive for socialism, if struggles are won. This is as true even if the attempt to implement the bill, together with all the other anti-working-class policies of the Tories, generates sufficient power to force an election and the return of a Labour government, for the same attack will only recur in different forms and clothed in a different rhetoric. Build committees of action. □

But the Trend Is Down

The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in its March report said that unemployment, which dropped slightly during January and February, had again risen to 6 percent.

Geoffrey H. Moore, the bureau's commissioner, held that it was "hard" to "attach any significance" to the figures, but Nixon's press secretary, Ronald Ziegler, said that the statistics "substantiate that unemployment is on a downward trend."

Regular press briefings on the state of U.S. unemployment have been discontinued. When asked to explain the reason for this, Moore said that statistical experts "are not quite as able to take a calm and objective view and present the facts and only the facts." When asked to cite an instance in which the experts had not been "calm and objective," Moore could not do so.

Winnie Mandela Jailed

Winnie Mandela, who was acquitted along with eighteen other defendants last September of charges under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act, has been sentenced to a one-year prison term, according to the March issue of *Anti-Apartheid News*, published in London.

Following the September trial, all nineteen of the defendants were banned—placed under arbitrary restrictions on their residence, movement, and associations. This action touched off protests by white students in Johannesburg and Cape Town.

The present charge against Mandela, whose husband, Nelson Mandela, is also imprisoned, was that she had violated the banning order by receiving a visitor.

The Perfidious Role of the British in Indochina

By Ross Dowson

The British in Vietnam—How the twenty-five-year war began by George Rosie. Panther Books Limited, London. 144 pp. £.40; Canada \$1.25. 1970. Includes photographs. Not indexed.

While it is now the rulers of the United States who are providing the military hardware and deploying the forces that are attempting to crush the fighters for Vietnamese independence and self-rule, they are only carrying on where the French, the Japanese, and the British before them were forced to leave off. The people of what we now know as Vietnam have been in one continual struggle against imperialist intervention for more than one hundred years. This small paperback sketches the British chapter in that horrifying tale of infamy.

Few are even aware that Britain has played any direct role in Vietnam at all; but, as Rosie shows, British forces played an absolutely crucial role. Had it not been for British intervention in the critical period between September 1945—when the French had been routed and the Japanese forces were preparing to withdraw, following the dropping of atomic bombs on Japan—and March 1946, when once again French rule was reinstated, the Vietnamese would have firmly established the power that was already in their hands.

Britain moved in when no other imperialist power was able to, smashed the Vietminh government in Saigon, released the pro-Vichy French murder squads from prison, and, instead of clearing out the "enemy" Japanese forces—ostensibly her reason for being there—enlisted them in a murderous assault on the Vietnamese people that reestablished the French in power.

The author can scarcely believe his own findings. In his concluding chapter, Rosie raises a whole series of questions, among them:

Why were Churchill and Eden so

anxious to restore Indochina to the French after the war? Was the decision taken by the Big Powers at Potsdam to incorporate half of Vietnam into a British command a purely military one or were the motives of the British Joint Chiefs of Staff covertly political? Why did Mountbatten, head of the South-East Asia Command, not have more influence over events in South Vietnam? Was he double-crossed by the French, and, by association, the British general in command of South Vietnam, Douglas D. Gracey? Did General Gracey exceed his orders when upon arrival he suppressed the Vietnamese press and declared martial law? Was the decision to carry out the coup that smashed the Vietminh government of Saigon his own or was he pressured into it by the French? Was his use of Japanese troops in subsequent fighting wise or ethical, etc., etc.?

But facts are stubborn things and Rosie has searched them out and authenticated them from the Ministry of Defence Library, the library of the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Institute of Strategic Studies, and from the journals and records of the regiments employed, largely Indian and Gurkha forces from the Burma campaign.

Among the photographs he culled from the Imperial War Museum is one showing a Japanese trooper, with whom Gracey's forces had just been locked in a life-and-death battle, actually posting the British declaration of martial law in the streets of Saigon on September 19, 1945.

In my opinion, the facts themselves as presented by Rosie answer his questions.

Rosie relates how, with the collapse of Japan, the Vietnamese nationalist forces moved out to establish their power in Saigon. The Vietminh, which had a heroic record of opposition to the Japanese, established its leadership with the agreement of other nationalist forces who feared that otherwise the British and French would dismiss the

movement out of hand as a creature of Japanese intrigue. The People's Committee for the South was established in Saigon Town Hall under the chairmanship of Tran Van Giau, leader of the Cochin Communist party. Ho Chi Minh was head of the CP of Tonkin, which with the northern part of Annam constitutes North Vietnam. The Saigon committee consisted of nine members—six of them members of the Communist party.

Rosie shows how the Vietminh bent over backwards to curry favor with the British and French military. The extremely conciliatory policy of the Vietminh toward Cédille, the French commissioner-designate for Cochin China who had been flown in August 22 by the Royal Air Force, caused all the other nationalist forces, including the Trotskyists, to express fears of a sellout to the French.

Following September 2, the day of the Declaration of Independence, during which there were some revolutionary outbursts, the Vietminh took a series of actions to assuage the fears of the British, who were on the point of arriving. Among the measures: Tran Van Giau himself stepped out of office; the committee was reconstituted, the size being increased from nine to thirteen, with only four being included from the Communist party; leaders of the Trotskyist movement were arrested, including the popular Ta Tu Thau.

The Vietminh welcomed the British with open arms. But, says Rosie, "the extremists among the nationalists had succeeded, to the dismay of the Vietminh, in stirring up some feelings against the British by spreading the rumour that General Gracey had come simply to reinstall the French."

Despite all their supplications, Gracey would have nothing to do with the Vietminh. On September 21 the British declared martial law, rearmed many of the Saigon *colons*, took over the jails, rearmed the French prisoners of war. Then on September 23, Cédille, with these forces and British per-

mission, seized the Vietminh headquarters in Town Hall and arrested all the committee members he could find.

Ho Chi Minh wired his protest from Hanoi: "The release of French prisoners of war . . . the arrests of members of the People's Committee . . . a non-fulfilment of the mission placed on the commander British forces in South Indo-China by the United Nations . . . and non-observation of neutrality by the British disarmament forces. . . ."

In vain. With the coup, which Rosie thinks was "a tragic blunder," the terror was on. ". . . the forebodings and warnings of the more extreme nationalists seemed to have been justified. As a consequence, the moderately inclined Vietminh were pushed into the same camp as such hard-liners as the Trotskyists. . . ."

The Vietminh, having disarmed the movement, was now, under much less favorable circumstances, compelled to fight. Rosie, apparently unable to credit the unfolding evidence, again remonstrates: "While the Vietminh probably did their best to ensure that it [the truce] was kept, their hold on the nationalist forces had loosened ever since the *coup* of 23 September. It was the extremists, not the Vietminh, who had been proved right about the intentions of the British, the Vietminh policy of moderation resulting only in the restoration of French rule in Saigon."

From then, mid-October 1945, until early 1946 when the British withdrew their forces, the bulk of them to Indonesia to do there for the Dutch what they had done for the French in Vietnam, Rosie notes, "the war became a smaller version of the kind that the United States is still fighting."

The British, with Japanese and French help, fought the same kind of war against the people of Vietnam in 1945-46 as the U.S. is waging in Vietnam in 1971. The British units were directed not to be "too scrupulous" in attempting to distinguish between harmless civilians and Vietnamese combatants, Rosie observes.

"It is therefore perfectly legitimate," a British commander directed, "to look upon *all* locals anywhere near where a shot has been fired as enemies, and treacherous ones at that, and treat them accordingly."

According to the official *History of the Indian Armed Forces*, "all the dirty work to fight and disarm the Annamites [Vietnamese] was assigned to Japanese troops." The historian of 4/10 Gurkhas noted "a satisfactory result of their use was greatly to reduce the casualties among our own troops." Japanese casualties were more than British, Indian, and French combined.

The British intervention in Vietnam took place at the end of the second world war and the beginning of a wave of struggles by the peoples of

the colonial world that has continued, despite periodic setbacks, to sweep forward. Besides opening up a little-known chapter in the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese people, this carefully documented paperback inadvertently throws some light on the nature of World War II.

It is apparent from the evidence presented by Rosie, although that is not his aim, that the prime object of the Allied capitalist powers was to preserve and, if possible, extend their imperialist holdings—in this they had the agreement of Stalin at the head of the Soviet bureaucracy.

It is also apparent that while the capitalist powers of both sides were prepared to thrust entire peoples against one another in horrendous combat and to devastate whole continents, when confronted by an uprising of a colonial people they were prepared to bury all differences in order to crush it.

Rosie's slim volume reveals that Churchill's primary consideration, for all his fine-spun verbiage, was the supremacy of British capital and the security of the Empire. Somewhat confused by Roosevelt's talk about a UN trusteeship system for the colonies, Rosie nonetheless brings our attention to a wry observation made by Anthony Eden: "Roosevelt's dislike of colonialism," while "it was a principle with him, was not the less cherished for its possible advantages." □

Documents

Victory to the Liberation Struggle in Bangla Desh!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International April 19.]

* * *

As the Pakistani armies continue their efforts to crush the independence movement of the people of East Bengal, it becomes clear that the Yahya military clique failed to secure the quick victory it sought. Despite the brutalities and mass killings, it has been unable to terrorize the Bengali people into submission.

Incensed by wholesale slaughter of unarmed people, the Bengali masses are certain to continue their resistance against the colonial regime ruling their country. But the whole question of revolutionary leadership and revolutionary strategy is

posed with the utmost sharpness. The Bengali people are united as never in the past. However, their current leadership is completely inadequate. Far from preparing the workers and peasants for a decisive, prolonged struggle for independence, Sheik Mujibur did all in his power to arrive at a compromise with Yahya Khan. The Awami League opposed independence and set its sights instead on autonomy. Mujibur engaged in discussions with Yahya Khan while the dictator placed his military forces in position. The Mujibur leadership now flounders and hopes for help from the United Nations and the international bourgeoisie, starting with the Indian capitalists. Its real line was clearly expressed by Sheik Mujibur's declaration to Agence France-Presse:

"Is the West Pakistan government not aware that I am the only one able to save East Pakistan from Communism? If they take the decision to fight, I shall be pushed out of power and the Naxalites will intervene in my name. If I make too many concessions, I shall lose my authority. I am in a very difficult situation." (*Le Monde*, March 31, 1971.)

The Fourth International, while declaring its complete solidarity with the struggle of the Bengali masses against national oppression, reaffirms its view that the development of a revolutionary leadership is essential to win the struggle. This victory will only be achieved by the Bengali workers, peasants, and students, organized and led by a revolutionary proletarian leadership.

The revolutionary party will have the

task of continuing the revolutionary struggle by all means necessary and thus begin the task of smashing the old structures of the Bengali countryside and cities and laying the basis to establish a workers' and peasants' government which will start building a socialist society. This task can only be impeded by any intervention of the Indian bourgeoisie, which is only interested in preserving the status quo and preventing the struggle in Bangla Desh from overflowing into West Bengal.

The Fourth International is opposed to intervention by the Indian bourgeoisie, which would be designed to hinder the development of the Bengali struggle rather than to help it. Once more the counter-revolutionary nature of Indira Gandhi's policies and of the bourgeois state of India has been confirmed by her government's aid, side by side with the Yahya Khan clique, to the Ceylon army's repression of the revolutionary forces in that country.

The Fourth International condemns the treachery of the Maoist government in publicly supporting the Yahya dictatorship, and thus helping it to maintain its ruthless exploitation and repression of the Bengali people. Under excuse of combating Indira Gandhi's interference, this Mao regime stands as a direct accomplice in the massacres.

Chou En-lai's message to Yahya Khan on April 12 is a brazen attempt to cover up Peking's approval of the massacre of the Bengalis: "We believe that through consultations and the efforts of your excellency and leaders of various quarters in Pakistan, Pakistan will certainly be restored to normal. In our opinion, unification of Pakistan and unity of the peoples of East and West Pakistan are basic guarantees for Pakistan to attain prosperity and strength." Mao's subsequent message to Khan repeats the same idea even in stronger words.

The "unity" of Pakistan is the "unity" of a monstrosity sponsored by British and world imperialism against the unity of the workers and peasants of the Indian subcontinent. It is a "unity" that enables

a tiny group of semifeudal landlords, compradore capitalists, and generals to rule over millions of superexploited and starving peasants, agricultural and industrial workers. It is a "unity" that showed callousness to the most elementary needs of the Bengali people by failing to take precautionary measures in advance of the last year's tornado and by doing nothing for the victims afterwards.

It is a fundamental revision of the elementary principles of Marxism-Leninism to speak about the Pakistan "state" and the Pakistan army without clearly specifying its class character: a state defending the interests of a coalition of semifeudal landlords, rapacious compradore and monopoly capitalists (twenty-two families of robber barons control two-thirds of the industrial assets of the country). The army is a reactionary bourgeois army, formed and trained by imperialism, and ready to join with similar armies in Iran and Afghanistan in forming an anticommunist *cordon sanitaire* in Central Asia, in the direct service of world imperialism. These are the forces approved by Mao to preserve "unity"!

The support given to Yahya by the Chinese bureaucracy represents an open betrayal of the class interests of the Bengali workers and poor peasants who have died in the struggle for national self-determination and those who are struggling today against the Pakistan army and who will continue the struggle for a socialist Bengal. It is obvious that the Maoist leaders, far from learning the lessons of the Indonesian defeat or the lessons of their unprincipled support for Yahya's predecessor Ayub Khan, continue on the same opportunist road. Their course weakens the socialist forces in Bangla Desh and strengthens right-wing forces that utilize Peking's support for Yahya to discredit "Communism." Mao's support of Yahya Khan harms and weakens the defense of the Chinese revolution. The only substantial bulwark against the threat of imperialist aggression from the Indian peninsula against the People's Republic of China is a strong and powerful revolu-

tionary mass movement in that peninsula, moving toward the overthrow of the reactionary states of India and Pakistan, towards a victorious workers' and peasants' revolution in the whole subcontinent. If the mass uprising in East Bengal is smashed, this will strengthen reaction in the whole peninsula. And the very same reactionary army that Chou and Mao flatter today would be ready tomorrow to support aggression against the Chinese revolution.

Those communists on a world scale who have chosen to support the Chinese leadership in the Sino-Soviet dispute on the grounds that it acts in a more revolutionary and militant way against imperialism must say today where they stand on this issue. Silence would amount to complicity.

The various Western imperialist powers have, while deploring the mass slaughter, supported, in various ways, the status quo. The United States, in particular, has manipulated the distribution of its stocks of food to favor Yahya, knowing full well that starvation is a key weapon in his armory. Moreover, most of the arms used by Yahya were supplied by the Pentagon and will be replaced from the same source as they are used up in putting down the population.

The Fourth International appeals to the international workers' movement to render all possible assistance to the freedom fighters of Bangla Desh, to carry out solidarity actions with the Bengali masses, and to demonstrate unconditional support to the Bengal struggle for national self-determination.

The Fourth International calls upon all socialists to oppose any interference by capitalist and imperialist forces, designed to maintain neocolonialism's grip on the whole Indian subcontinent. In particular, military aid, and especially assistance to Yahya Khan's forces in transit, must be opposed by all means necessary. Revolutionaries should put the maximum pressure on the Maoist leadership to end its shameful support to Yahya Khan's dictatorship. It is also a vital task to expose the Soviet military aid which helped build up the West Pakistani counterrevolutionary army. The left should be on its guard against the possibility of a massive intervention sponsored by U.S. imperialism to block any spread of the revolutionary struggle in Asia.

The Fourth International calls upon the workers, peasants, students, and revolutionary intellectuals of West Pakistan, to break with all chauvinistic anti-Bengali sentiments, to understand that the murderous generals, now trying to smother the uprising of the Bengali people in a bloodbath, are their own oppressors. To struggle against the colonial war unleashed by Yahya Khan in East Bengal is not only their internationalist duty, it is also in their own class interest. To defeat the West Pakistani army in Bengal will speed the liberation of the West Pakistani masses from the yoke of their exploiters.

The Fourth International is confident that, despite temporary setbacks, the Ben-

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gali masses will finally triumph over the armed might of West Pakistani capital and thus pave the way for a Socialist United Bengal, which in turn will give

powerful impetus to the liberation of the entire subcontinent from the yoke of the capitalists and landlords.
Victory to Bangla Desh!

For a socialist Bangla Desh!
For a United Socialist Bengal!
Forward, towards the socialist revolution in the whole Indian subcontinent!

Defend the Ceylon Revolutionists!

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International April 19.]

* * *

The government of Ceylon has declared a state of emergency and imposed a curfew throughout the island; they have suspended all democratic rights, imposed a strict press censorship, and arrested hundreds of militants of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (the People's Liberation Front—JVP). They have proscribed the JVP and have started shooting prisoners without trial.

The leaders of the coalition government have used their monopoly of the communication media to lie about the JVP, misrepresenting them as a "fascist" and right-wing organization. At the same time the government has not dared to inform the public that it has sought and received aid from the imperialist governments of the United States and Britain; that it is using Indian and Pakistani gunboats and helicopters; that it has expelled the North Korean diplomats from Ceylon.

The Bandaranaike popular front government came to power in May 1970 by promising the masses that it would usher in a "new era" and build a socialist Ceylon. One pro-Moscow Stalinist and three renegades of the reformist Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP) were included in the cabinet in order to bolster up the "socialist" image. However, despite all the rhetoric, the coalition government has demonstrated that its real role is to maintain capitalist property relations and preserve the imperialist stranglehold on the Ceylonese economy.

During its ten months in power, the coalition government increased the police force by 55 percent and set up an antirevolutionary committee in the army. "Socialism" of the Bandaranaike variety means the denial of such basic democratic rights as joining or forming a trade union, as shown in the cases of the Velona factory, Dawasa Publishing House, and the Norwood Tea Estate. Workers who resort to strike action in struggling for union rights face bullets from the "people's" police.

The first budget of the coalition government submitted by N. M. Perera offered precious little to the masses. The budget demonstrated to the local and foreign capitalists that they need not have any fears or anxieties about the Bandaranaike government or its "Marxist" ministers. Of course they explained that they had not forgotten about socialism, but right now it was not "practical" and socialism had to wait. Neither the "Save the country fund" nor the autumn budget could help

the government avert the deep financial crisis it faced. Ceylon already owed the World Bank more than \$50,000,000 and has been unable even to pay the interest on it. And yet it desperately needed more hard currency to pay for even the most essential imports. The World Bank would not grant any further loans until the government agreed to follow a course of "austerity." This meant the imposition of further burdens on the masses, such as withdrawal of the rice subsidy, pruning of social services, and the imposition of a wage freeze. The coalition government accepted the strictures. These developments have confirmed the position of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) [LSSP(R)] that the coalition led by the Sri Lanka Freedom party [SLFP] is a capitalist government dependent on imperialism for its survival.

Under these conditions the government had no alternative but to impose more and more burdens on the masses. The masses rapidly became disillusioned with the coalition government. The government had failed even to project any solutions to the problems of rising prices and constant erosion of the masses' living standards. Unfortunately for the coalition leaders, they now had to contend with another factor: the emergence of a revolutionary united front between the JVP and the LSSP(R), the Ceylon section of the Fourth International, and the newly formed revolutionary nucleus in the tea plantations, the Young Socialist Front. This united front rapidly gathered momentum, and the disillusioned masses were attracted to it. The Bandaranaike regime realized that the movement stood in the way of their "austerity" course.

On February 6, 10,000 people held a rally in Colombo sponsored by the JVP, the LSSP(R), and the Ceylon Mercantile Union [CMU], the most important trade union of the Ceylonese urban working class. The gathering condemned setting up a U.S. imperialist base in the Indian Ocean, called for Ceylon to immediately leave the British Commonwealth, demanded nationalization of the banks, plantations, and foreign trade, and appealed for defense of the masses' standard of living by an all-out war on unemployment and rising prices.

Faced with this situation, the government decided to try to isolate this political movement and to destroy it before the masses mobilized. The immediate aim was to destroy the JVP. After alerting the army and the police, the government staged a provocation on March 6. This provocation was a petrol bomb attack on the U.S. embassy by an unknown organization called the "Mao Youth

Front." The government attributed this action to the JVP despite its denial of responsibility, and invoked special powers under the Public Security Act. The government then imposed emergency regulations, and began to arrest all known militants and leaders of the JVP.

The JVP realized that they were faced with a critical situation. Rather than being decimated without a fight, they decided to resist the government repression. The clashes that followed between the JVP and the security forces were thus the direct consequence of the government action. The government miscalculated. They did not expect the JVP to resist. They did not realize that the JVP and its allies would have such solid mass support.

The Fourth International recognizes that the struggle broke out before all the sections of the oppressed masses, particularly the urban and plantation workers and the Tamil minority, had become politically united so that they were in a position to meet the bourgeois government's provocation adequately and settle accounts with the capitalist state and class. The Fourth International calls upon revolutionists everywhere to break the conspiracy of silence covering the repression in Ceylon. It declares its full support to the repressed and persecuted Ceylon revolutionary militants. It calls upon the international working class, all working-class and anti-imperialist organizations to do everything possible to block the shipment of military supplies, and all workers states to immediately stop sending military aid and equipment to the Ceylon government, which is used only to murder and terrorize its own people. It calls upon the international working class not to be taken in by the "left" pretenses of the Bandaranaike government, and to recognize the basic capitalist nature of the regime and proimperialist nature of its repression. The state of emergency proclamation was approved by all parties in parliament, including the reactionary United National party [UNP]. The Bandaranaike government opened Ceylon's airfields to the use of the Pakistani government in transporting troops and supplies to suppress the rising of the peoples of East Bengal. Lieutenant Colonel Ranatunga of the Ceylon army, in a press conference April 18, justified the execution of JVP prisoners without a trial by saying: "We have learnt too many lessons from Vietnam and Malaysia. We must destroy them completely." (The London Times, April 19, 1971.)

Indian workers and anti-imperialist militants: oppose Indira Gandhi's shameful pact with the butcher Yahya Khan and the British and U.S. imperialists in support of the Bandaranaike regime's civil

war against the Ceylon working class, peasant, and student youth!

Down with the traitorous Keunemans, N.M. Pereras, Colvin R. de Silvas, and Leslie Goonewardenes, who, like their forerunner Noske, now arm reaction, let

a bourgeois army murder revolutionists, support the murders or participate in the suppression of the masses of their country, and help suppress all democratic freedoms for the workers.

Freedom for Rohan Wijeweera and all

the other arrested JVP and revolutionary leaders!

Not one dollar, not one gun to the bourgeois army and state of Ceylon!

Long live the Ceylon socialist revolution!

The Way to Celebrate the Paris Commune

[The following declaration was issued April 19 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

One hundred years ago, from March 18 to May 30, 1871, the workers of Paris took power into their hands. In this period when the workers' movement was taking its first steps in Europe as a mass movement, the Paris Commune was the product primarily of a spontaneous uprising of the workers in Paris, not in any way foreseen or prepared for by the socialist tendencies of the time.

In the provinces, the workers in only a few cities showed solidarity. Throughout the world, the solidarity called for by the First International, at the urging of Karl Marx himself, was likewise limited. On the other hand, the French and German governments, which only a few weeks before had made a truce in the war they had been carrying on since the summer of 1870, immediately came to an understanding. And the Thiers government, which had retreated to Versailles, quickly rallied the repressive forces to crush the Paris Commune in a historically unprecedented carnage.

Thus, the bourgeois and landholding nobility of France and Germany, united, showed in their own way that they understood the profound significance of the Paris workers' uprising. They saw it correctly as the forewarning—the danger for them—of powerful workers' movements that would overthrow the capitalist system and create a worldwide socialist society.

The workers of Paris held power in their city for only seventy-one days. But this brief period was time enough for them to take a whole series of measures which, corresponding to their needs as an oppressed stratum and to their socialist aspirations, present an impressive picture, even a century later: abolition of the standing army and its replacement by the armed people; free education; separation of church and state; election, with the rights with French citizens for "foreigners"; lition of night work in the bakeries; equal rights with French citizens for "foreigners"; elimination of private employment agencies, etc.

How many of the Paris Commune's measures have not yet been instituted—despite the vast strides of technology—even in countries where bourgeois democracy is most developed! How many of these measures are threatened with abandonment in practice today, as soon as the bourgeoisie shifts its orientation in a re-

actionary direction!

As a sign of its internationalism, the Commune declared that its banner was "that of the universal republic."

The Paris Commune was not without its weaknesses. It took political power from the bourgeoisie. It took many measures limiting capitalist exploitation and increasing the workers' chances to emancipate themselves. But it did not strike any blow at the economic power of capital. The most indicative example was its respectful attitude toward the Banque de France, the financial heart of the country, the institution par excellence of capitalism.

But in view of the youth and inexperience of the working class in this period, these weaknesses, studied since then by Marx and his followers, are quite insignificant in comparison with all that the Paris Commune contributed to the international workers' movement. Thus, it is natural that over the past century, the workers have made a reality of what Marx wrote while the Versailles execution squads were relentlessly doing their work.

"Working men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them."

The aura of the Paris Commune is so great that everywhere the descendants of Pontius Pilate, and even the Versailles of our time, are trying in one way or another to take over the name of this first experiment in workers' power. Reformists of every stripe, Social Democrats as well as Stalinists, are stressing the Commune's past weaknesses in an attempt to justify their present betrayals and crimes against the workers' movement. The bourgeois whose teeth were set on edge in May 1968 try to pretend that they see nothing in the Commune but an immense "festival" for the people of Paris, ignoring the 40,000 workers killed in this class confrontation.

According to Thiers, the unscrupulous careerist whom the French history books still refer to as the great man who "liberated" the national territory, the Versailles repression was supposed to lay the specter of socialism forever. But at the very time he was saying this, the socialist and workers' movement had begun its rise in most West European countries. In France itself, repression held it back only a few years. By the end of the nineteenth century the movement was stronger

than ever. And, despite the terrible defeat in August 1914 represented by the bankruptcy of the Second International, less than fifty years after the Paris Commune, the workers and peasants of the Czarist empire swept away an archaic regime, wrenched power away from capitalism, and set out on the road toward building a socialist society in one of the world's largest countries.

In the fifty years from the revolution of October 1917 to the one hundredth anniversary of the Paris Commune, the worldwide crisis has continued unabated. A third of the world and a third of humanity have been wrested from capitalist exploitation. In these years, of course, the working masses have also experienced grave defeats, such as the victory of Nazism in Germany, the expansion of fascism over a section of Europe, a second world war, and great bloodbaths far exceeding the Versailles repression in many countries (e.g. Indonesia, Brazil, and others).

Contrary to the old Social Democratic reformists and the Stalinist neoreformists, all the gains and advances achieved at the expense of capitalism have not made this period of transition—which will end in the victory of socialism throughout the world—into an epoch of peaceful evolution. The progress made does not mean that from now on power can be taken by peaceful or parliamentary means. Just the opposite; capitalism—and particularly Yankee imperialism, its most powerful component—is determined to preserve its domination by every means at its disposal, including, if need be, methods that could endanger the very survival of humanity. On every continent it stubbornly defends every inch of ground.

The battle that has been raging for a number of years between the Vietnamese revolution and the military forces Washington has assembled in support of capitalism is now spreading to the entire Indochinese peninsula. In several countries of Latin America, Asia, and Africa, armed struggles are continuing. The Allende regime in Chile must not be permitted to engender any illusions. It will not establish a socialist Chile. As in every case in which a coalition government of parties claiming to represent the working class and bourgeois parties has been set up, this regime is only a prelude to an armed confrontation between the forces of the bourgeoisie and the working masses. In countries with a colonial-type structure, winning political independence has proved, and will continue to prove, insufficient to break the imperialist grip and

enable these peoples to escape from their poverty. This can be achieved only where a revolutionary struggle is sustained not only against the foreign capitalists but also against their native counterparts. It can be accomplished only if the struggle is continued until these capitalists are overthrown and a government of the urban and rural working masses is installed, as well as collective and planned property relations.

For the first twenty years after the second world war, capitalism thought that it was rid of the specter of socialist revolution in the economically developed countries, above all in Europe, North America, and Japan. Hadn't "neocapitalism" and the few material improvements ascribable to a "consumer society" appeased broad strata of the working class? In practice, the unions and the old workers' parties (including the Communist parties) had become incorporated into the system. They demanded only limited improvements. They sought only more seats in parliament. From this situation, some "theoreticians" deduced that Marx was "outmoded," or, at most, that Marxism, which had been developed in the nineteenth century out of an analysis of the most modern capitalism of the time, might be applicable to the underdeveloped countries!

Suddenly, in the midst of this bourgeois euphoria—the great surprise of the capitalists as well as the Social Democrats and Stalinists—in Paris, the Paris of the Commune, barricades went up again in May 1968. They acted as a detonator. The workers of France, and along with them broad sectors of the new middle classes, paralyzed all economic activity for more than three weeks and, with a general strike the likes of which the world had never seen, put in jeopardy the political regime, the celebrated "strong state" of de Gaulle.

May 1968 was no "accident" of French history. Since that time, demonstrations, strikes, and street battles have broken out in all the capitalist states. This has not been a revolt of the marginal strata untouched by the "benefits" of "consumer society." To the contrary, the rebels have been primarily the youth—university and high-school students, as well as young workers—who have not experienced the poverty, unemployment, and fascism of the years between the two wars. And by their revolt they have starkly exposed the most profound evils of capitalism, its shameful exploitation of the majority of humanity, its subordination of all human activities to its law, its lack of moral and cultural values, its subjecting everything to its quest for profit.

It has been the youth above all, displaying intellectual precocity, political enthusiasm, and selflessness in struggle, who have frightened the bourgeois world, as well as the old degenerated leaderships of the workers' movement. Stimulated by this combativity, the older generations of workers are becoming reinvigorated and beginning to look toward more extensive and uncompromising struggles.

Since May 1968 there is no longer any capitalist country, developed or not, where

the class struggle is dormant. Broad strata (national minorities, women, and other groups) are challenging the most sacrosanct principles of the exploitation of man by man.

A century after the Paris Commune, the prospects for the triumph of socialism are more concrete than ever. But this victory will be achieved only through hard-fought struggles that will require not only great sacrifices but also very high-level training and organization of the international vanguard to lead these decisive struggles against capitalism.

In its spread over the planet in the past century, however, the socialist and workers' movement also learned that it had within itself forces with a much greater potential for holding it back and betraying it than could have been imagined by the first socialist thinkers. First it was the Social Democratic reformists and patriots who subordinated the workers' movement in each country to its respective bourgeoisie. Then the degeneration of the Russian Revolution showed above all what dangers could exist even after the seizure of power, and as a result of it.

From its inception, the workers' movement had a premonition of the dangers of bureaucratism. With the strong class instinct demonstrated by the workers of Paris, the Commune took measures that amounted in fact to putting an antibureaucratic program into practice. Elected representatives were made responsible to their constituencies and subject to recall at any time. Public officials were paid the same wage as workers.

Marx stressed this fact in his *Civil War in France*. On the eve of October 1917, Lenin, citing Marx's instructions on the state, repeated this program in *State and Revolution*. And in his *April Theses*, which contributed so much to rearming the Bolshevik party, we find:

"5) Not a parliamentary republic—to return to a parliamentary republic from the Soviets of Workers' Deputies would be a retrograde step—but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Labourers' and Peasants' Deputies throughout the country, from top to bottom.

"Abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy.*

"The salaries of all officials, all of whom are elective and displaceable at any time, not to exceed the average wage of a competent worker."

As the result of a combination of national and international factors, a few years after October 1917 a bureaucracy came to dominate the state in the Soviet Union. This bureaucracy, while maintaining itself on the basis of the new production relations, succeeded in stamping out all socialist and workers' democracy in this country. It reduced the Communist parties throughout the world to vassalage in order to convert them into instruments of its policy of "peaceful coexistence" with the capitalist states. Insofar as it can, it uses mass struggles as a *quid pro quo* in its relations with the capitalist world.

* "... i.e., the standing army to be replaced by the arming of the whole people."—Lenin.

In Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968, this bureaucracy resorted to force when the working masses in these countries, where capitalism had been abolished, began to struggle for a system of workers' democracy.

The old Bolshevik party was exterminated by Stalin. His successors repress all those who, like Grigorenko in the USSR, Modzelewski and Kuron in Poland, and Petr Uhl in Czechoslovakia, fight to restore to socialism the meaning that it had in the heroic days of the Russian Revolution, when it was led by Lenin and Trotsky.

The mobilizations that have developed in several workers states, and most recently in Poland, show unquestionably that the antibureaucratic measures adopted by the Paris Commune remain fully applicable to these states. The demand must be added, however, for the right to have more than one party that supports the new production relations. Neither Marx nor Lenin envisaged conditions like those of Stalinism, which make every election a farce and which, in a society claiming to be socialist, have pushed wage and salary inequalities to an extreme. These demands are the essential components of the program of the antibureaucratic political revolution impending in all these countries that alone can establish socialist democracy.

* * *

Proletarian revolution in the developed capitalist countries, a colonial revolution carrying forward its fight against imperialism until it becomes transformed into a struggle against the national bourgeoisie, an antibureaucratic political revolution in the workers states, all three interlinked and combined—all this represents the Commune which has never stopped battling away and moving forward, and never will until all exploitation and oppression have vanished from the earth.

The way to commemorate the Paris Commune on its one hundredth anniversary is not just to recall the seventy-one days during which the armed workers of this city held their fate in their own hands, but to participate in the struggles now being waged against the Versailles of today so as to bring the Commune to final victory throughout the world.

The way to celebrate the anniversary of the Commune is:

- Support the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples; fight for the withdrawal of all American troops and for the victory of the revolution in the Indochinese peninsula.

- Support the Palestinian fedayeen against the combined attacks of imperialism, the Zionist state, and the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois heads of the Arab states.

- Support the revolutionary struggles in Ceylon, East Pakistan, Colombia, Argentina, and elsewhere.

- Support the demands and the struggles of all national minorities and every oppressed stratum.

- Support the workers' struggles and

help to broaden them by means of a program of transitional demands that raises the question of power.

● Support the struggle for proletarian democracy in the workers states—for workers' councils to exercise the power of decision in the economy and the state. Demand the release of imprisoned militants.

● Compel the release of all those held in prison or in concentration camps for working to emancipate their people or their class.

As the struggles grow in intensity on a world scale, the more prominent becomes the role American imperialism plays in leading the counterrevolutionary forces, and the more palpable becomes the need for an international organization of the revolutionary Marxist vanguard. This

central task has been pursued indefatigably by the Fourth International ever since the Stalinist-dominated Communist International ceased to be the center of the world socialist revolution.

Members of the Fourth International have always participated in the struggles in their countries. Long a minority reduced only to propagating the ideas of revolutionary Marxism, for several years the Fourth International has been winning the support and adherence of thousands of young revolutionists on all continents. And in some sectors it is beginning to reach the point where it can lead struggles and thus demonstrate in action the superiority of revolutionary Marxism over all the ideologies teeming in the decay of Stalinism and Social Democracy.

This is only a beginning. But it is al-

ready enough so that Trotskyists are often blamed for the advance of revolutionary struggles in the world by all the supporters of capitalism and by the bankrupt and traitorous leaders of the Social Democratic and Stalinist parties. The Fourth International is being attacked, slandered, and persecuted today like the First International in the wake of the Paris Commune, and the Third International after October.

The way to celebrate the Paris Commune is also to strengthen the world vanguard, to join the Fourth International and its sections so as to assure tomorrow's victory.

Long live the Paris Commune!

Long live the international socialist revolution!

Long live the world commune!

'Muskie and the Trotskyites'

[During the last weeks before the April 24 mass actions against the war in Vietnam, sections of the U.S. capitalist press intensified their efforts to split the antiwar movement through red-baiting attacks on the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

[One of the main slants was that the American Trotskyist movement was masterminding NPAC and thereby masterminding the nationwide demonstrations for immediate withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

[The red-baiting by the press had a twofold purpose: to revive the discredited policy of excluding revolutionists from the antiwar movement, and to cut down the size of the April 24 action by raising the bugaboo of its being part of a "Communist plot."

[The red-baiting failed. That was demonstrated in the most irrefutable way by the size of the turnouts on April 24 in both Washington and San Francisco.

[For the record, we are reprinting below one example of this press campaign. It is the column entitled "Muskie and the Trotskyites" that appeared in newspapers throughout the country on April 19. The authors are the widely syndicated journalists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. We have taken the text from the *Washington Post*.]

* * *

The fact that Sen. Edmund S. Muskie of Maine endorsed Saturday's antiwar demonstration here without even considering its domination by Trotskyist Communists typifies the cloak of respectability inadvertently provided for the far left by the liberals.

In their rising antiwar sentiment, Muskie and other prominent Democrats are determined to back *any* non-violent peace demonstration. Furthermore, in the lingering reaction to the Joe McCarthy era, liberals are reluctant to probe anybody's ideological beliefs.

The result puts Muskie in some decidedly strange company. Scarcely a radical himself, Muskie as president would continue—for a time, at least—aiding the Saigon regime. Yet, he has aligned himself with left revolutionary forces who do not merely oppose the U.S. participation in the war but openly advocate a Communist victory.

The situation derives from the fact that Muskie determined his attitude toward the spring antiwar demonstrations on one criterion only: non-violence. Saturday's march on Washington is peaceful in purpose and not likely to turn violent. Therefore, Muskie endorsed it. The series of sit-ins and other confrontations planned between May 3 and May 7, though avowedly non-violent, are likely to become violent. Therefore, Muskie did not endorse them.

At no time did Muskie check the background of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), sponsors of the Saturday demonstration. "There is no way for us to inquire into the ideological beliefs of anybody in this organization," Muskie told us. Therefore, he had no idea whether Trotskyite Communists were or were not running NPAC nor did he show much interest in that question.

If he had, he would have found NPAC's staff dominated by the "Trots." An example: Don Gurewitz, a member of both the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and its youth arm, the Young Socialist Alliance. Another example: Jerry Gordon, a Cleveland Trotskyist leader.

Their presence in NPAC is no accident. NPAC was formed in June last year during a meeting in Cleveland held by the Trotskyist-dominated Student Mobilization Committee. At that meeting, leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance were in dominant positions.

What makes all this significant is that the Trotskyists are not the few bedraggled malcontents of a generation ago but the

most dynamic, most effective organization on the American far left. Ever since the Socialist Workers Party fully took over the Young Socialist Alliance (then three years old) in 1960, the Trots have undergone an amazing renaissance. The Young Socialist Alliance has replaced the faction-torn SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) as the most important radical organization on college campuses and is now a prime mover in national antiwar demonstrations.

Behind this success has been undeviating Trotskyist insistence on two positions: non-violence and sticking to the war. While other left groups (including the Moscow-oriented Communist Party) go off on tangents concerning race and class struggle and may flirt with violence, the Trots have amassed support by concentrating on non-violent opposition to Vietnam.

But adopting this tactic does not mean they have abandoned their dream of a revolutionary takeover. Rather, the war opens a magnificent new avenue to an old goal. "The antiwar movement... can, through militant mass antiwar actions, contribute immeasurably—as it already has—to educating people about the true role and nature of the capitalist parties and the capitalist system," writes Nelson Blackstock of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Furthermore, unlike Muskie and other well-meaning liberals, the Trotskyists running Saturday's demonstration want more than just peace in Vietnam. Their literature describes the Communist aggression in Vietnam as "The Vietnamese Revolution" and heaps praise on it.

Growing antiwar passion has shielded these realities from the liberals. Well-organized and purposeful, the Trotskyists take the trouble to plan nationwide demonstrations, and liberals such as Muskie feel compelled to cooperate. The result is what would have been unimaginable a few short years ago: Hundreds of thousands of Americans marching in their capital under Trotskyist command. □