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Nixon's Bid to Mao

**Struggle for Freedom
Continues in Bangla Desh**

ALLENDE: Chile's popular front faces uncertain future as reactionaries bide their time. See page 432.

U.S.A.:

Thousands Arrested in Antiwar Protests

The President Goes to Church

In his first speech to the National Assembly April 29, Haiti's new President for Life, Jean-Claude Duvalier, promised that he would "protect Haitian youth against atheistic Communism."

The president, it must be admitted, at the age of nineteen is in a better situation than many to understand the temptations facing youth. Earlier the same day, Duvalier set a pious example for his compatriots by attending a memorial mass for his late father, who was noted for his ecumenical attitude toward Catholicism, Voodoo, and police terror.

Suitable precautions were taken to ensure that the church would not be desecrated by any lurking atheists with thoughts of shortening the term of the President for Life. The roofs of slums surrounding the cathedral were covered with soldiers. The church itself was even more carefully guarded, Homer Bigart reported in the April 30 *New York Times*:

"Probably no cathedral had ever held a mass under such intensive security precautions. There were soldiers in the choir loft, soldiers and militia volunteers crowding the aisles. There was even a rifleman in the pulpit."

Additional deterrents to atheism were available in the cathedral square in the form of two artillery pieces and an anti-aircraft gun.

News reports unfortunately failed to record the theme of the priest's sermon — or even whether he was armed — but it must have concerned the subject of Christian brotherhood, for in his address to the assembly, Duvalier was moved to offer his hand to another statesman who is fond of stressing his religious beliefs while arming to the teeth.

Between his government and Nixon's, Duvalier said, "there is an aura of mutual respect," based, of course, on opposition to atheistic subversion:

"The United States will always find Haiti on its side against Communism." □

In This Issue

		HAITI
	418	The President Goes to Church
		ANTIWAR
Allen Myers	419	Thousands Arrested as Protests Continue
	419	International Antiwar Actions
	420	20,000 in Copenhagen Call for End to War
		INDOCHINA WAR
	420	Vietnamese Start Fraternizing With GIs
		GREECE
	421	Nixon Gives His Blessing to the Colonels
		PAKISTAN
	422	The Struggle for Freedom Continues
		in Bangla Desh
	423	Naxalites Turn Against Bangla Desh
	424	Eyewitnesses Describe Slaughter in East Bengal
		CEYLON
	425	Bandaranaike Escalates the Counterrevolution
	426	Australian CP Paper Interviews Bala Tampoe
		MEXICO
	427	In Mexico City's Women's Jail
		CHINA
	428	Mao Says He Would Be "Happy" to Talk
		With Nixon
Gerry Foley	429	What Nixon Is Angling for From Chairman Mao
	430	Royal Welcome for Shah's Sister in China
		LATIN AMERICA
	431	Student Protests in Colombia, Peru,
		and Venezuela
		CHILE
Jean Pierre Beauvais	432	After the April Municipal Elections
		INDIA
	434	"Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee" Formed
		TURKEY
	435	Premier Declares State of Siege
		NEW ZEALAND
Keith Locke	436	Fifty Years of the New Zealand CP
		JAPAN
	438	Sato Plans to Double Spending on Arms
		REVIEWS
	439	Preparing to Starve in a Cornfield
		DOCUMENTS
	439	Right-Wing Attack on Mandel Case Victory
	440	Indian Trotskyists Solidarize With Bangla Desh
		DRAWINGS
Copain	417	Salvador Allende Gossens;
		421, George Papadopoulos and Thomas Pappas;
		429, William Rogers; 430, Chou En-lai

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Thousands Arrested as Protests Continue

By Allen Myers

MAY 3—The police estimated they had arrested 7,000 persons today alone in Washington as antiwar protests continued in the aftermath of the massive turnouts of April 24.

At a news conference, representatives of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ) and the Mayday Tribe, cosponsors of the civil-disobedience actions that were met by police violence, said that 8,000 to 10,000 persons were still in the streets in the first day of a scheduled three days of demonstrations intended to "stop the government" by blocking traffic to federal buildings such as the Pentagon.

Speakers at the conference charged that despite their peaceful tactics, demonstrators had been attacked by police with clubs, mace, and tear gas. The area around George Washington University, six blocks west of the White House, was described as a "no-man's-land" where anyone on the streets, including professors, was liable to arrest.

Rennie Davis, one of the "Chicago Seven" convicted on frame-up conspiracy charges in connection with demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic party convention and a leader of the Mayday Tribe, was arrested during the day by FBI agents. The charges placed against him were reported to be "conspiracy to violate the civil rights of others" and "interference with federal employees."

Even before large-scale protests began, the Nixon administration moved on May 2 to head them off by dispersing demonstrators camped in a public park along the Potomac River. The crowd there, estimated at 30,000 by Richard Halloran in the May 3 *New York Times*, had gathered during the previous week to await today's demonstration.

"The decision to disperse the Mayday Tribe, most of whose members were sleeping or still listening to an all-night rock concert, was made by the Nixon administration, according to city officials here [Washington]."

The move appeared to have been taken because of the unexpectedly

large crowd that had gathered:

"The Government reportedly was surprised by the 50,000 people who showed up yesterday afternoon [May 1] for a rally and rock concert. Police sources had said earlier that fewer than 20,000 had been expected."

The demonstrators, driven from their campsite, scattered to various locations throughout the city. Halloran estimated that about 10,000 slept on floors at university campuses and another 10,000 in private homes.

In addition to police, Nixon had National Guard troops patrolling the city, and army and marine units on the alert. Antony Prisenorf and Ron Hollander reported from Washington in the May 3 *New York Post* that 6,000 paratroopers and marines were standing by in North Carolina and another 10,000 troops were available at bases closer to Washington. Halloran wrote that fifty trucks carrying men of the Sixth Armored Cavalry had arrived in the city on the night of May 1.

Nixon's massive military response to the threat of nonviolent protests was in keeping with his declared intention of ignoring the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the American people for an immediate end to the Indochina war.

At his April 29 press conference, Nixon brushed aside the giant April 24 demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco, and all other signs of the popular opposition to his policy. Let the public be damned, said Nixon in his own oily way.

"I think they [antiwar demonstrators] will judge me very harshly for the position that I take now, but I think what is important is how they judge the consequences of the decisions that I make now which I think are in their best interests and in the best interests of our children."

In response to other questions, Nixon promised what amounts to an indefinite continuation of the U.S. occupation of South Vietnam. American troops will remain, he said, until the Saigon regime has "the ability . . .

to defend themselves," and until the North Vietnamese agree to release American prisoners of war—"no matter how long it takes."

The American people have a different idea, however, and the fact that so many persons would participate in civil-disobedience demonstrations is a measure of the depth of the antiwar sentiment in the country. The attacks on the demonstrators are an attempt to create the impression that antiwar protest is the equivalent of "violence" and riot. The same goal is aimed at by the charges leveled against Rennie Davis.

Unfortunately, the ultraleft rhetoric about "stopping the government" used by the organizers of the current demonstrations only makes it easier for Nixon to picture the victims as the criminals instead of himself and the imperialist interests he represents.

It is important for the entire antiwar movement to respond to Nixon's attacks by defending the victims and preventing the government from creating a false idea of what is happening in Washington.

It is equally important that the movement continue to carry out massive united actions against the war wherever agreement on tactics makes this possible.

May 5 will see a nationwide student strike called by the Student Mobilization Committee, the National Student Association, and the Association of Student Governments. This action has been endorsed by the PCPJ and the Mayday Tribe. Nixon's assault on antiwar demonstrators makes closer cooperation imperative. □

International Antiwar Actions

Demonstrations against the war in Southeast Asia took place in countries around the world during the last week in April, in conjunction with the massive April 24 actions in New York and San Francisco. The Paris daily *Le Monde* of April 25 reported that about 2,000 young people in Paris marched on April 23 under a banner reading "Indochina will win."

Other antiwar actions described in the April 27 *Le Monde* included demonstrations of more than 1,000 persons in Toronto on April 25; 500 in Montreal on April 24; 1,500 in London on April 24; and nearly 1,500 in Rome.

Vietnamese Start Fraternizing With GIs

The National Liberation Front of South Vietnam has begun a policy of fraternization with the American troops in Vietnam.

The change in policy is ascribable to overwhelming evidence that the GIs are not mercenaries—or sadistic butchers of the Lt. Calley type—but conscripts, most of whom are deeply opposed to the war in Vietnam.

Revolutionary socialists in the U. S. sensed the antiwar sentiments of the GIs from the beginning of what was at first "Johnson's" war. Others, including the Vietnamese leaders, had to be shown.

The evidence grew weightier with each mass demonstration in the U. S., reaching spectacular heights in the huge April 24 antiwar demonstrations in Washington and San Francisco.

Thousands of Vietnam veterans participated. In a ceremony before television cameras, a big contingent in Washington threw onto the Capitol steps the decorations the U. S. government had given them, "returning" the medals and ribbons with bitter comments such as "merit badges for murder."

These protesters were backed by GIs still in Vietnam, who defied their superiors by publicly demanding that the war be ended *NOW*.

The NLF turn in policy is a welcome response. It was announced in Paris April 26 by Duong Dinh Thao, a spokesman of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam.

"We would like to give those U. S. troops in Vietnam who are opposed to the war a way out," he said in explaining new instructions issued by the high command of the People's Liberation Armed Forces. This was possible because "a new situation had arisen within the U. S. Army in which soldiers, and even officers, were opposing the war in ever greater numbers."

As reported by Wilfred Burchett, the Paris correspondent of the weekly *Guardian* published in New York, the instructions were as follows:

"In conformity with the long humane traditions of the Vietnamese

people, the NLF and PRG of South Vietnam have repeatedly reaffirmed the following policy: to support warmly those troops who oppose the war and to treat humanely U. S. soldiers captured and wounded on the battlefield. Faced with the present situation and applying this policy the high command of the PLAF of South Vietnam has given the following order:

"1. Not to attack U. S. soldiers who individually or in groups oppose the war, demand their repatriation, who oppose orders of their officers, who abstain from hostile actions against the PLAF or who refuse to go to the rescue of Saigon troops; who refuse to infringe on the liberties, the property or life of the South Vietnamese people; who refuse to interfere in the internal affairs of South Vietnam or who refuse to oppose the struggle waged by the South Vietnamese people against the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique.

"2. To adopt an appropriate attitude toward those U. S. troops who refuse individually or in groups to oppose the PLAF and those who carry with them antiwar literature.

"3. To be ready to aid and protect U. S. military personnel forced to go into hiding because of their opposition to combat orders, their opposition to over-harsh discipline within the

U. S. Army or because of discriminatory measures practiced within the U. S. Army.

"4. To welcome warmly and to treat correctly U. S. troops who cross over to the people and the liberation forces of South Vietnam; to be ready to help them if they ask to return to their own country or seek refuge in some other country.

"5. To welcome warmly and to reward U. S. military personnel who individually or in groups support the PRG of South Vietnam.

"The high command of the PLAF appeals to all officers and men of all branches of the U. S. Army in South Vietnam to fight with all their might to demand their repatriation; to refuse to go to a useless death in an unjust war in Vietnam and Indochina and to try by all means to contact the people and PLAF and inform them of their activities.

"The PLAF must strictly obey these above orders at the same time as redoubling their efforts to inflict deserved punishment on those who stubbornly insist on obeying the imperialists in their activities against the Vietnamese people."

Thao said, "There are a number of American soldiers fighting in the ranks of the liberation army." Under questioning by press correspondents, he said that "their number is limited, as yet."

He added that a greater number of deserters are hiding in Saigon and other parts of South Vietnam "protected and supported by the South Vietnamese people." □

20,000 in Copenhagen Call for End to War

Copenhagen

Some 20,000 persons took part April 24 in a demonstration, held in front of the American Embassy here, against the war in Indochina. About 700 cops were ordered out, but the confrontation feared between the police and demonstrators did not occur, and at no time was there any sign of trouble.

Among the speakers at the embassy, along with a representative of "the other America," was the director of the information bureau of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam in Denmark, Ho Than Van.

He ended his speech by saying: "If the Nixon administration continues to refuse to draw the lessons of the grave defeats it has suffered in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in its attempt to keep up its war of aggression, which has no chance of victory, then the South Vietnamese people, together with their countrymen through the entire nation and united with their brother peoples in Cambodia and Laos, will intensify their resistance until they win total victory. U. S. imperialists out of Vietnam! U. S. imperialists out of Indochina! The Indochinese people will win!" □

Nixon Gives His Blessing to the Colonels



PAPADOPOULOS AND PAPPAS: "Warm love! What a partner to go into the used car business with."

U. S. Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans arrived in Athens April 22, bearing Richard Nixon's warm wishes for the military dictatorship.

Compared with the hypocritical pronouncements on Greece periodically issued by other figures in the Nixon administration, Stans's frank admiration of the junta's methods was almost refreshing. Stans was, he said, "particularly complimented" that nine ministers and deputy ministers of the dictatorship showed up April 23 to hear him address a meeting of the Hellenic-American Chamber of Commerce.

"It is a compliment to me," he continued, "and it is a compliment to the Government of the United States and to the wonderfully close relations that exist today

between our two countries."

Nixon's commerce secretary was quick to point out just exactly why Nixon is so pleased with the junta:

"We in the United States Government, particularly in American business, greatly appreciate Greece's attitude toward American investment, and we appreciate the welcome that is given here to American companies and the sense of security that the Government of Greece is imparting to them."

Stans omitted any direct mention of the hundreds of political prisoners securely locked in the colonels' dungeons, but he did make it clear that their release would only disturb what he considered to be a desirable status quo:

"It is my own feeling that given the

continued economic stability and given the continued political stability, there is no limit to the growth that can take place in Greece."

Stans added Nixon's personal compliments to the dictatorship:

"... he has warm regard for the people of Greece, for the wonderful way in which Greece has kept its commitments to NATO and for the way in which the two countries are working together."

While Stans spent the next day yachting with the junta's trade minister, the U. S. ambassador, and Greek-American financier Thomas A. Pappas, who owns a \$200,000,000 industrial complex in Greece, the colonels gave wide publicity to the secretary's remarks and to a personal message he had carried from Nixon to Premier George Papadopoulos.

"The pro-Government press," reported the April 25 *New York Times*, apparently under the illusion that some other kind of press is permitted by the colonels, "put strong emphasis on remarks attributed to Mr. Stans during a visit yesterday [April 23] to the Ministry of Economic Coordination, where he spoke of Greece's 'industrial miracle' and said that he had been asked by the President to 'convey to the Government of Greece and the Greek people his warm love.'"

This enthusiasm was apparently too much even for some American diplomats. The *New York Times* went on to note:

"The United States Embassy later denied that the words 'warm love' had been used. They suggested that Mr. Stans had spoken of Mr. Nixon's 'warmth and confidence' for the Government of Greece."

Whatever the precise words, the message was clear. The colonels are secure just as long as U. S. profits are too. □

Friends of Apartheid

Despite numerous United Nations resolutions calling for an end to trade with the apartheid regime in South Africa, that country's trade with the capitalist world increased significantly between 1960 and 1969. According to figures released by the General Assembly Apartheid Committee and reported in the April 15 *Washington Post*, during the decade Japan's trade with South Africa increased 379 percent. Other countries leading the list were: West Germany, 171%; Australia, 141%; Italy, 122%; Britain, 88%; and the U. S., 79%.

With Napalm Seasoning?

If columnist Jack Anderson is correct, Pat Nixon, the wife of the president, is a shrewd political commentator. In his March 18 column, Anderson reported an occasion during which Nixon "was expounding mightily on world problems" to visitors. Anderson wrote:

"Pat passed quietly among the guests with a tray of hors d'oeuvres. 'Why don't you have some of these?' she asked sweetly. 'They're much better than the baloney he's handing out.'"

The Struggle for Freedom Continues in Bangla Desh

Calcutta

F-104 Starfighters, B-57 bombers, Patton tanks, and automatic infantry weapons from the U. S.; tanks, MIG-19 fighter-bombers, and light arms from China—this is the main equipment of the Pakistani army.

The liberation army (Mukti Fouj), in contrast, is armed with but little more than faith and resolution to free Bangla Desh (East Pakistan) from the oppression of the Yahya Khan regime in West Pakistan.

The military dictator launched a three-pronged surprise attack during the night of March 25. By land, air, and sea, the troops turned their weapons on their fellow citizens—an unarmed civilian population. The most murderous instruments were used, including napalm.

The heaviest casualties were suffered in the urban areas. Villagers were killed, too, but they had better opportunities to flee. Bangla Desh is a country of rivers, shifting channels, and ponds. Hiding places are at hand in the dense rice paddies, jute fields, swampy jungle growths.

The main causes of the revolt of the 75,000,000 persons in Bangla Desh are to be found in the economic situation.

Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947, under the sponsorship of British imperialism. The Muslim League, the party of the Muslim landlords and capitalists, persuaded the illiterate layers adhering to the Islamic faith to fight for a separate region for Muslims—Pakistan. This motherland, they were told, would be a "paradise" for the Muslims.

In East Bengal at the time, the landlords and other rich people were mostly Hindus. Thus the poor were easily taken in by the demagogy of the Muslim League. They insisted that British imperialism give way on the demand to set up Pakistan. Under the instigation of the Muslim League, they even became involved in serious religious riots.

After the establishment of Pakistan, the people of the eastern wing discovered that they had a new set of rulers—the Punjabi propertied classes. Their

only common tie with this ruling clique was religion.

Muslims constitute 81% of the population of Bangla Desh. About 18% are Hindus, and the rest are Buddhists and Christians.

Located on one of the biggest deltas in the world, an area of 55,126 square miles, Bangla Desh is largely agricultural. Around 82% of the population depend on the land for their living. The main crop is jute, 80% of the world's supply being produced here.

Bangla Desh has little industry—40 cloth mills, 7 sugar factories, 18 match-box factories, 7 glass and ceramic factories, 29 jute mills, 1 newsprint mill, and a few other plants. All the owners are West Pakistanis.

With an average per capita income of \$30 a year, Bangla Desh is one of the most poverty-stricken areas in the world. (The average per capita income for Pakistan as a whole in 1965 was \$89.) Yet it is the chief source of Pakistan's surplus products for exchange on the world market.

Some of the disparities between the two wings of Pakistan are like open sores. For instance, 85% of the government jobs are held by West Pakistanis, only 15% by East Pakistanis. In the armed forces, 90% are from West Pakistan, only 10% from East Pakistan. One maund (36 kilograms) of rice costs 50 rupees in East Pakistan, 25 rupees in West Pakistan. (4.76 rupees equal US\$1.) Similarly with flour—one maund costs 30 rupees in East Pakistan, 15 rupees in West Pakistan.

The attitude of the West Pakistani ruling class toward the people of Bangla Desh was revealed from the beginning in such a telling issue as the difference in languages. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, sought to compel the people of Bangla Desh to give up their native tongue of Bengali and adopt Urdu, the main language of West Pakistan. Only after a militant struggle was Bengali given official recognition and the country placed on a bilingual basis.

The long-rankling injustice of rule by West Pakistan finally came to a

head in 1970. In the parliamentary elections, held last December 7, the Awami League, headed by Sheik Mujibur Rahman, won a solid majority. Out of 313 seats in the National Assembly, the Awami League captured 167. (East Pakistan was assigned a limit of 169 seats for all parties campaigning there.) In the Provincial Assembly, the Awami League won 288 seats out of 300.

The National Assembly was scheduled to meet March 3. On March 1 Yahya Khan postponed the National Assembly indefinitely.

The reaction in Bangla Desh was explosive. Sheik Mujibur Rahman called a five-day general strike in Bangla Desh to begin March 2. Everything in the whole country closed down, including all government offices. The clamor for a declaration of independence was virtually universal. Demonstrators took over the streets everywhere.

On March 6, Yahya Khan reversed himself and set a new date for the National Assembly to meet—March 25.

On March 15, the dictator came to Dacca to talk with the leaders of the Awami League and other figures, including Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the head of the Pakistan People's party which had won 83 seats (in West Pakistan only) in the National Assembly. Yahya used the talks, in collusion with Bhutto, to stall for time as he continued to bring in troops from West Pakistan and place them in position in the key towns and cities.

On March 23-24, Yahya carried out several test actions. His troops opened fire in various places, killing 50 persons in Rangpur, 40 in Syedpur, and 20 in Chittagong.

In the evening of March 25, Yahya flew back to Karachi. Shortly after his plane was airborne, his troops went into action.

On the following day, in a radio address, Yahya denounced Sheik Mujibur as a "traitor." He banned the Awami League and other parties, including pro-Peking groupings. Declaring martial law, he said he had ordered the armed forces to restore "law

and order." The civil war that had already begun was thus officially acknowledged. In actuality it is a colonial war launched by an exploiting foreign power.

The Awami League is the largest political organization in Bangla Desh. Despite its talk about socialism, its objectives were far from revolutionary. What the Awami League leaders, above all Sheik Mujibur Rahman, wanted was a degree of autonomy along the lines of the coalition government in West Bengal or possibly the one in Ceylon.

The Awami League called only for provincial autonomy, leaving foreign policy, the military forces, and the currency in the hands of the West Pakistan regime.

Sheik Mujibur discussed these demands with Yahya Khan for ten days as if he failed completely to grasp the real situation, which was clear enough as the troops from West Pakistan were deployed in strategic positions.

The leaders of the Awami League did nothing in the way of building up a people's militia composed of workers and peasants.

At Dacca University and in a few colleges, students and other middle-class youths formed "brigades." They lacked proper training and had few arms.

Maulana Bhashani of the National Awami League rejected talking with Yahya Khan and was also opposed to the talks between Yahya and Sheik Mujibur. Although he organized big meetings and rallies, he, too, failed to meet the requirements of the situation.

As for the Maoists, whatever their revolutionary intentions, their forces were meager. Still worse, they appear to have been regarded by Peking as "expendable."

Internationally, the world powers have either maintained silence in face of the slaughter of unarmed civilians, have made a few pious declarations for the record, or have aided and abetted Yahya Khan.

U Thant, secretary general of the United Nations, has lost his tongue. He does not want to embarrass Washington by speaking out. This is the same man who is quite capable of mobilizing the International Committee of the Red Cross to help U.S. troops on their bloody missions abroad.

The Nixon administration, of

course, is backing Yahya Khan with arms and dollars. The British and French governments consider this perfectly normal, since they look at the world from a similar imperialist viewpoint.

The Kremlin has expressed public concern about the slaughter. This is intended mainly to appease members of the Communist parties in India and Pakistan.

The capitalist government of India has indicated verbal sympathy with the victims of Yahya's troops. Indira Gandhi is not averse to seeing Pakistan weakened, but she stands in deadly fear that a successful independence movement in Bangla Desh could set off a chain reaction in India, beginning in West Bengal.

The vanguard in India and Pakistan looked hopefully toward Peking. After an initial silence, the Maoist regime spoke out—completely on the side of the butcher Yahya Khan.

The liberation struggle is neverthe-

less continuing. On April 13 a Provisional Government was set up in Chuadanga. Yahya's forces bombed the town and captured it.

This was not a decisive victory, however. On April 17 Bangla Desh was declared to be a Democratic Republic in ceremonies at Mujibnagar, the new name given to the village of Bhaberpara. The village is just a mile from the Indian border. (The Indian checkpoint is Hridaypur.)

In the absence of Sheik Mujibur, who was named president although he is held prisoner in West Pakistan by Yahya Khan, the ceremonies were chaired by Nazrul Islam, the vice president of Bangla Desh. Tajuddin Ahmed and other ministers were present.

In Calcutta, the Pakistan High Commissioner's Office declared allegiance to the newly formed government of Bangla Desh on April 18 and put up a signboard reading, "Bangla Desh Diplomatic Mission." □

Naxalites Turn Against Bangla Desh

The Naxalites in West Bengal have shown that the rigidity ordinarily demanded of protagonists of Mao Tse-tung Thought must on occasion be complemented by the most extraordinary suppleness, particularly of the spine.

Peking's decision to support Yahya Khan in his effort to drown the independence movement of Bangla Desh in blood, brought an instant reversal in the position of the Naxalites. According to an April 23 dispatch from Calcutta printed in the April 24 London *Times*, Naxalite posters were appearing in the city "denouncing the 'so-called upheaval'" in Bangla Desh as an "imperialist conspiracy against China."

According to the same source, a similar shift is occurring among the Maoists in Bangla Desh itself.

"It is reliably learnt," said the *Times* dispatch, "that Maoist extremists in East Bengal led by Mr. Mohammed Toha have broken away from the united resistance movement against the military administration of West Pakistan."

The argument used by the local Maoists in Bangla Desh is that the

main contradiction "is not between East Bengal and West Pakistan but between feudalism and the oppressed classes in East Bengal itself."

The Toha grouping, which broke from the National Awami party about two years ago, had been weighing the advisability of joining a common front of all forces in Bangla Desh seeking freedom from West Pakistan and willing to struggle against the military repression.

"Some of its young cadres were active in the early days of the resistance," the *Times* reported. "But evidently the group has changed its mind after China's renewed support for the regime of President Yahya Khan."

The National Awami party, on the other hand, has decided to back the liberation movement even though it has little confidence in the current leadership provided by the Awami League.

Maulana Bhashani, the head of the National Awami party, has sent telegrams to President Nixon and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, urging them to recognize Bangla Desh and force the West Pakistan regime to stop the massacre. □

Eyewitnesses Describe Slaughter in East Bengal

New facts about the extent of the massacre being carried out by West Pakistani troops in East Bengal have been made available by Friends of Bangla Desh, an organization with offices in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The group obtained its information from Americans who were eyewitnesses to the army's attack.

To the extent that the killing was not totally indiscriminate, these sources reported, it was directed primarily at Hindus, intellectuals, and anyone considered a potential political leader.

A fact sheet prepared by the Friends of Bangla Desh gives the following account of the destruction of Shandari Bazaar, a Hindu artisan center in Dacca:

"According to an American missionary who lives near the area, machine guns were placed at the ends of the street and soldiers attacked the entire bazaar area without warning on the morning of March 28th. On March 29th and 30th, not a sign of life remained in a once busy bazaar area. Corpses remained unburied on the street and inside gutted homes. Parts of three-story buildings had completely collapsed from the ferocity of the attack and shell holes marked heavy armament attacks."

Ramna Kalibari, a Hindu community of about 200 in Dacca, was reported completely wiped out on the night of March 28. After the inhabitants were slaughtered, the village was burned to the ground.

The massacre of Hindus did not mean that the army intended to spare non-Hindus.

"Sadarghat is the dock area of old Dacca," the fact sheet reports. "On the morning of March 26th army troops attacked the terminal. No civilians were armed in that area. A machine gun was installed on the terminal roof and all men, women and children were fired upon. Inspection of the terminal on March 29th revealed pools of dried blood on the terminal floor. The washrooms were completely soiled and soaked with blood. According to an eyewitness, a Bengali student, all civilians who were waiting for boats in the terminal were killed. After the massacre, bodies were dragged into buses and burned. Corpses were still floating in the Buriganga River adjacent to the terminal on March 29th."

Numerous slum areas of Dacca were destroyed with machine guns, grenades, and fire. In at least some instances, Yahya's forces used fire to drive residents from their homes so that they could then be shot down.

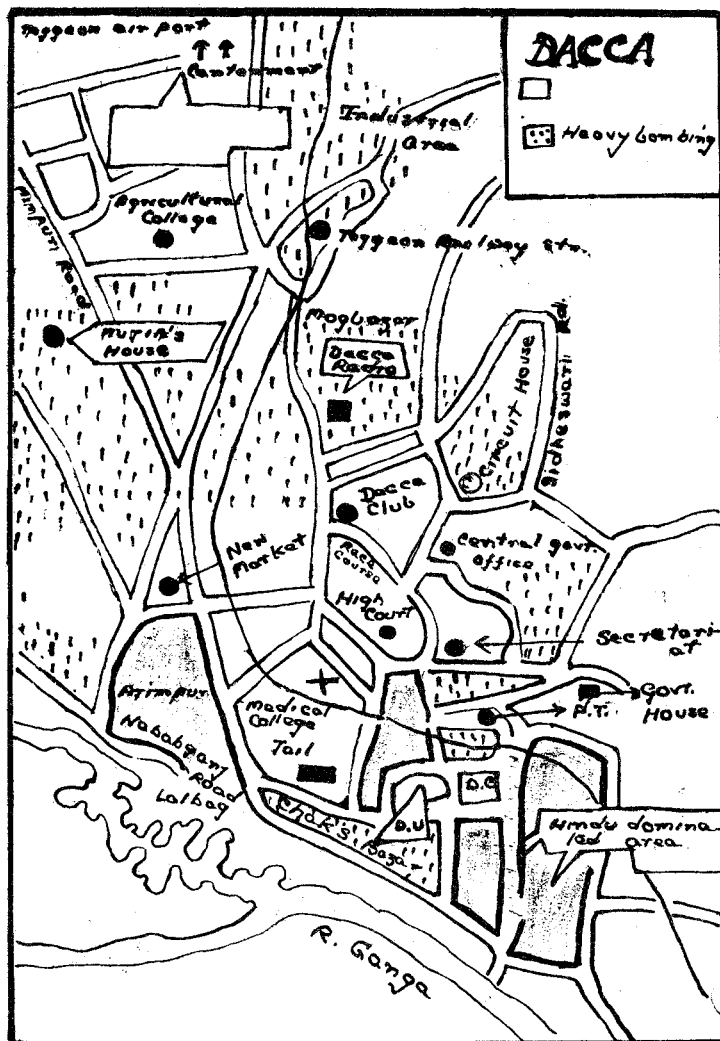
Dacca University appears to have been almost completely destroyed:

"Iqbal Hall, student dormitory center of the Student Council, was attacked on the morning of March 26th by tanks and soldiers with submachine guns and grenades. Although the exact number of students killed is uncertain, not one survivor was found. Inspection of the Hall two days later revealed a building demolished by tank blasts and gutted by fire. Bodies were still visible — many of them having been taken to the roof to prevent body count. . . .

"Jagannath Hall is the dormitory of the Hindu students at Dacca University. According to one student survivor who was treated at Dacca Medical College, all 103 students were killed. Soldiers attacked the dormitory on the morning of March 26th without warning. Approximately six students were spared and forced at gunpoint to dig a mass grave (in a field adjacent to the dormitory). They were then shot. This student was left for dead and was able to crawl away to the hospital under the cover of darkness."

Witnesses reported that the execution of professors appeared to have been planned in advance. Soldiers went through faculty housing areas systematically, took the professors outside, and shot them. It was thought that a majority of the university's faculty had been killed.

The terrorizing of the civilian population continued after the initial assaults, even in areas supposedly under army control. The fact sheet describes the experience of the village of Barda, near Dacca:



—By a Calcutta correspondent of IP

"On April 2nd it was raided early in the morning by 40 soldiers. All 600 men in the village were rounded up and marched at gunpoint to Gulshan Park where they were interrogated. Students, politicians, faculty members and those who were leaving their jobs in Dacca were particular people in whom the army had an interest. After one full day of terror under the sun with constant threats of a mass slaughter, ten selected men were trucked away."

Barda is located next to a residential area for foreigners, which meant that the army knew it was being observed. Its actions in this instance must be only a shadow of its behavior when there are no foreign witnesses.

The Americans from whom the Friends of Bangla Desh received these accounts were evacuated on April 6, so

that further information on the continuing slaughter is no longer so readily available.

But according to one American who was in Dacca, Jon Rohde, the U. S. government has received reliable reports and has suppressed the facts. In a letter written to U. S. members of Congress shortly after he was evacuated to Teheran, Rohde charged:

"From the outset of the army action, the American Consul General, Mr. Archer Blood, and his staff in Dacca have continued to send detailed factual accounts enumerating firsthand reports of the situation. These reports have been carefully collected and verified before transmission to the State Department. Publicly the State Department claims they do not have enough facts; but I have seen the facts sent at length daily from Dacca." □

With Soviet Planes, Yugoslav Artillery

Bandaranaike Escalates the Counterrevolution

As the Ceylonese coalition government led by Sirimavo Bandaranaike continues its military offensive against the youthful rebels of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP—People's Liberation Front), it has likewise escalated its counterrevolutionary political measures.

On April 25, under the cover of the state of emergency regulations, the government banned nine leftist newspapers. Only one of the papers was alleged to have any connection with the JVP.

The "United Front" government, composed of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party, the pro-Moscow Communist party, and the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party, was removing its "socialist" mask in other respects as well. The Hong Kong weekly *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted in its April 24 issue:

"The word 'socialism' was noticeably absent from the lips of government spokesmen and officials last week, and replacing it was officialdom's vow to 'protect democracy and the democratic way of life which the people of Ceylon have cherished and preserved through the years.'"

The "democratic way of life" in Ceylon looks increasingly similar to the "democracy" that Nixon is attempting to impose on Indochina. Government forces, already armed with MIG jet fighters supplied by the Soviet Union, are now using artillery against the JVP, according to the London daily *Guardian* of April 23. The artillery consists of 76mm guns supplied by

the government of Yugoslavia.

Bandaranaike's use of such weapons indicates that large sections of the population are considered to be allies of the JVP—an estimate confirmed by other sources.

In a dispatch from Colombo that appeared in the April 26 *Guardian*, Martin Adeney, after reciting a list of atrocities allegedly committed by the JVP, acknowledged:

"But in the first days at least many [JVP members] went around courteously asking gun owners of whom they had lists meticulously prepared for their weapons and often cars which have been stopped have been left to continue their journeys. That they are also native boys of the area in most cases also encourages local sympathies. By contrast the peremptory and sometimes worse behaviour of the army and police, the large number of arrests on suspicion, and so on, has made the security forces more feared in some areas than the terrorists."

When the army moved into the town of Elpitiya, sixty miles southeast of Colombo, on April 23, it found the community abandoned not only by the JVP, but also by the local population.

Adeney reported other details reminiscent of the early days of the Vietnam war. The army, he said, ". . . is unable to police satisfactorily some of the former terrorist areas it now holds. By day, they are formally pacified; by night the young insurgents can return. . . .

"When troops do move by road, their opponents simply melt away into what is a classic guerrilla countryside with paddy-fields surrounded by coconut or rubber plantations or fringed by scrubby jungle. While the immediate threat of victory to the young and well organised terrorists has passed . . . there is little sign that army or navy personnel can root them out."

The Bandaranaike regime even launched its own "pacification" program. The four days beginning May 1 were declared an amnesty period during which the young rebels would be permitted to surrender. If they did not, the prime minister threatened full-scale war against the rural areas:

"If there is no other way I shall have to give the order for a military offensive by the armed services. A concerted offensive by the armed services would mean that many young people on the threshold of their lives will be killed or maimed fighting for a cause that is already lost."

The government claimed that 250 members of the JVP surrendered on the first day of the amnesty, but with press censorship still in force, such claims were certainly open to question. News dispatches from Ceylon printed in the April 26 and 27 *Washington Post*, for example, variously reported JVP casualties in one battle as 120 and three.

It remains possible, of course, that military aid from the Soviet bureaucrats and from Washington will enable the counterrevolutionary Banda-

ranaike regime to crush the young revolutionists.

That would be a far simpler task than overcoming the public disillusionment caused by the inability of the capitalist government to fulfill its promises of "socialism."

Even the regime itself appears to be abandoning the fiction that the JVP insurgency is the result of a foreign conspiracy. Eric Pace reported from Colombo in the May 2 *New York Times*:

"An official said that investigations

so far had not turned up evidence of major foreign involvement in the insurgency. One official said, 'It's a home-grown affair.'"

The government's counterrevolution can only intensify the conditions that produced the rebels of the JVP. □

Australian CP Paper Interviews Bala Tampoe

Ceylon's Rebel Youth and the Coalition Government

[The following interview with Bala Tampoe is reprinted from the March 17 *Tribune*, the weekly newspaper of the Australian Communist party.

[Tampoe, who is general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union (CMU) and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International, was in Australia as an invited speaker at a national antiwar conference held in Sydney February 17-21.

[In the April 19 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, we reprinted another interview Tampoe gave at that time to *Direct Action*, the monthly journal of the Socialist Youth Alliance. That interview contains additional background information about the Ceylonese youth group Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP).]

* * *

Question. How do you see the situation in Indochina at the present time?

Answer. Vietnam is the central question in the world revolutionary struggle today. All the forces of reaction are united to crush Vietnam.

I am in full agreement with the decisions of the National Anti-War Conference, which has advanced to a struggle around the most concrete demands, for the immediate and total withdrawal of all Australian forces from Vietnam and withdrawal of any aid to the regimes supported by the Americans in Indo-China.

I am impressed by the non-sectarian attitude in the Australian workers' movement and by the fact that I, a Trotskyist, have been invited to speak at workers' meetings organised by communists and others.

Q. What is the situation in Ceylon regarding the Vietnam War?

A. Our people have a tradition of fighting against Imperialism. So anti-imperialist consciousness is already deeply embedded among the masses. Ceylonese workers understand the nature of the Vietnam War because we are Asians, we have also had white imperialists ruling us, and we have fought against them.

You must understand what the war

[World War II] meant for Asians. For the first time Asians saw white British, American, French and Dutch Imperialism defeated by an Asian Imperialist Power.

The myth of white racial superiority was forever smashed. That helped lay the basis for the Asian Revolution that has swept the world since the defeat of Japanese Imperialism.

In our country now, the masses are unanimous in their opposition to the Vietnam war. No American ship carrying supplies to Vietnam can come into a Ceylonese port. No government can afford to give support to American imperialism in Vietnam.

Q. What is the situation in Ceylon today, following the election last year of the United Left Front coalition government led by Mrs. S. Bandaranaike?

A. The United Left Front government was elected with a huge parliamentary majority and with considerable hopes among the masses of workers and students as to what the government would do.

The masses are now becoming disillusioned because the coalition government is not implementing its own program.

Even the coalition electoral program clearly points out the continued existence of capitalism in Ceylon with, for instance, "Ceylonisation of trade", which means in fact the development of local capitalism. The State is also acquiring shares in major industrial enterprises and in fact protecting and bolstering local capitalism. The State remains a capitalist State.

Even on the foreign policy level, despite recognition of the PRG [Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam] and DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam], etc., the coalition still refuses to leave the Commonwealth despite the South African arms deal.

Britain has also gone along with the U.S. in supplying Diego Garcia Island for a military base. That island is close to Ceylon and India.

And, then of course, two other white members of the Commonwealth, Australia and New Zealand, have troops in Vietnam.

Unemployment is very high—700,000 out of a population the size of Australia's.

The recently announced budget plans to absorb 200,000, which means that there will still be half a million unemployed.

Most of these unemployed are youth and are educated. In Ceylon, we have free, universal and compulsory education, high for an Asian country. But there is little or no industry to provide work after school.

That provides an explosive situation, particularly among youth.

The election results showed that there was little swing to the coalition parties, but there was a massive swing among the 18-21 bracket. (Eighteen-year-olds have had the vote since 1965 in Ceylon.) Out of 700,000 youth voters some 600,000 voted for the Coalition. In other words, the massive radicalism of youth was responsible for the sweeping electoral victory. Now these youth are becoming impatient and so we see the upsurge of the JVP.

Q. What is the JVP?

A. JVP are the Sinhalese initials for the "People's Liberation Front". The press and police have dubbed them the "Guevarists". The best-known leader of the JVP is Rohan Wijeweera. His father was a founder of the Communist Party. Rohan was a student at the Lumumba University in Moscow where he followed the Chinese line with a number of other students. He was Sinhala-speaking and learnt English only via Russian.

After being refused permission to return to Moscow, Rohan joined the pro-Peking party in Ceylon, but soon split with them. He said that Ceylon state was a capitalist not a feudal regime, and that the revolution must be a socialist revolution.

He broke in 1966 with the pro-Peking party. The following years, without a paper or public meetings, he and his supporters worked in the rural areas among Sinhalese youth in groups in villages and towns. They made very rapid progress, so much so that the police took an interest in them last year. The leadership of the JVP think in terms of eventual armed revolutionary struggle on Castris' lines, but are not preparing for it now. The newspapers took up the issue of the "Guevarists" during the elections last year. Wijeweera was arrested during the cam-

paign. Immediately, in all the Sinhalese rural areas thousands of posters appeared calling for his release. It is clear that the JVP had a mass support among the rural youth.

The JVP has been recruiting from the youth movements of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party] and pro-Moscow CP. The big majority of CP youth membership in one of the main Buddhist universities went over to the JVP. LSSP Youth League members are also joining.

After the elections, the JVP held its first public meeting, in Colombo, which is not its stronghold. 10,000 attended it.

They were all youth. In Kandy, 25,000 youth attended. Hundreds of girls came along, the first time in Ceylon large numbers of young girls have been active politically.

Q. Besides the discontent and radicalisation among the youth, what other signs are there that there is discontent with the government?

A. There have been a large number of strikes. My union has been leading a strike of women textile workers since 1969, but the government has not intervened to help the workers win their rights. Meanwhile, the pressure from overseas monopolies is increasing all the time. The

overseas shipping combines have increased once more the already high freight rates. Overseas banks have imposed credit restrictions inside Ceylon. There is a general campaign among local businesses of slowing down, lockouts and other pressures.

They have so far managed to frighten the government out of implementing its promised Workers' Rights Charter which would give some minimal protection for union organisation.

As a result, the Right is regaining confidence. It is well organised and increasingly united. It is very active, and has important imperialist backing, both inside and outside the country. The Right and imperialism want to force the government to choose to capitulate completely to imperialism, or to take action which would precipitate a crisis. Unfortunately I fear it will capitulate.

To resist the pressure of imperialism on the economy and to once more rally the masses and gain revolutionary enthusiasm, the government would have to break with imperialism economically, challenge local reaction and come to some arrangement with the Soviet Union, for economic aid to help overcome difficulties resulting from a break with imperialism. □

reforms achieved by the Mexican revolution. As the gains of the people were eaten away by capitalist corruption, the sexual needs of inmates were incorporated into the market economy, privacy being permitted only on payment of bribes. For women prisoners the right to conjugal visits does not exist even formally, and sexual traffic takes its most degrading forms.

"Officially there are no conjugal visits in the Cárcel de Mujeres. Unofficially, however, they do take place. The husbands of many prisoners pay for the privilege of being allowed to stay with their wives. The one who was able to pay the biggest bribe was the husband of La Viuda Negra [The Black Widow]. He went in and out of the prison at any hour, most frequently in the mornings, and stayed with his wife in one of the nurseries that the warden had fixed up specially."

"It costs 300 pesos [US\$24] for husbands, or those who are just looking for female flesh, to get in."

Pérez's account of conditions in the Cárcel de Mujeres resembled his earlier description of the situation inside Lecumberri. Every aspect of prison life from "rehabilitative work" to vice has been turned into a profit-making business for the administration, the guards, and their stooges among the prisoners.

"There are many workshops and jobs for 'commissioned' prisoners. The right to work in a shop or get a commission costs money. But the exploitation does not end there. The prisoners don't get the tiniest part of what they earn. The warden gets the lion's share. She takes it under pretext of putting it in trust for the inmates until they leave. . . . And when they have been released and return for their money, they are cheated out of it. The guards hint to them about incriminating affairs that could cost them their freedom, and they don't try to claim their money."

"More drugs, marijuana, and pills are consumed in the Cárcel de Mujeres than at any other prison," Pérez wrote, "and whisky flows like water."

"Since no system is perfect, a few months ago it occurred to several guards to make a thorough search of the prison to find out where the alcohol was coming from. To tell the truth, they did not do this out of hu-

At the Mercy of 'Tia Lulu'

In Mexico City's Women's Jail

In a follow-up to its January 22 exposé of exploitation and brutality in Lecumberri preventive prison for male common-law and political prisoners, on March 6 the Mexico City weekly *Sucesos Para Todos* presented the results of its investigation into conditions at Lecumberri's counterpart for females, the Cárcel de Mujeres (Women's Jail). Confined here are women arrested in the successive political repressions of the government, along with prisoners convicted of criminal charges. The same reporter, Eucario Pérez, wrote both stories.

Inasmuch as *Sucesos* had carried an earlier story critical of the prison, its warden, known as Tía Lulú (Aunt Lulu) to the inmates, "asked us to send a reporter to the prison so that she could defend her institution," Pérez wrote. "I decided to take on this job. Accompanied by the warden, as my account written at the time indicates, I looked around most of the prison. Several prisoners took it on themselves to approach me and tell me that Tía Lulú was like a 'second

mother' to them. And no one expressed a single complaint. Despite this, and in spite of the warden's extreme caution, I was left alone a few minutes as I was walking through the nursery. Some prisoners seized this opportunity and slipped me notes which put me on the track of abuses."

Tía Lulú's tenderest affections, it turned out, were not reserved for the prisoners in her care. "Food costs its weight in gold. Poor prisoners are given soup and crackers to eat. Only those who pay bribes get their full ration.

"There is a great abundance of food in good condition. On the order of the warden, it is given to the pigs she raises inside the prison compound. . . . The warden's crime of starving the prisoners to fatten her pigs is no secret. She herself shouts it out, telling the inmates that she is not giving them more food because her pigs need it. Moreover, there are thousands of witnesses."

The right of conjugal visits for prisoners was one of the most humane

manitarian motives but with the aim of getting in on the business.

"The search was exhaustive, cell by cell, department by department, workshop by workshop. They found nothing. They kept on looking until they came to the warden's house next to the prison, where they found a stock of whisky in the kitchen drying room.

"This supply was taken by the guards and handed over to the head guard, Angelina Zapata, in the pres-

ence of Gloria Zermeño, the warden's assistant. The fate of these bottles is not known, but it seems that the two guards who found them . . . were immediately fired."

The Cárcel de Mujeres is a major market outlet for mind-deadening drugs of all types: "How does such a quantity of drugs reach the women's jail? In the simplest way imaginable. Right from factory to consumer. A truck from the Autry laborato-

ries drives up periodically and leaves its cargo of dexedrine, amphetamines, and other chemical products used as drugs."

Besides being a rich source of income for prison officials, the drug traffic makes it easier for them to intimidate the desperate inmates: "In the solitary confinement cell, prisoners become frantic and suffer unspeakable torments, especially if they are drug addicts or alcoholics." □

Admits China Was in 'Great Chaos'

Mao Says He Would Be 'Happy' to Talk With Nixon

"Of course the personality cult had been overdone. Today, things were different. It was hard, the chairman said, for people to overcome the habits of 3,000 years of emperor-worshipping tradition. The so-called 'Four Greats'—those epithets applied to Mao himself: 'Great Teacher, Great Leader, Great Supreme Commander, Great Helmsman'—what a nuisance. They would all be eliminated sooner or later."

In a five-hour discussion in Peking December 18, Mao Tsetung made this confession to Edgar Snow, one of his oldest Western admirers. Snow's résumé of this conversation in the April 20 issue of the American weekly magazine *Life* showed the "Great Supreme Commander" in a new, mellow mood, as the chummy confidence quoted above indicates, among other things.

In this exclusive, copyrighted interview, Mao was as quick to minimize the propaganda of the "great cultural revolution" as he was to indicate his readiness to reach an understanding with the Nixon administration.

Snow noted that he had been criticized by some for reporting an admission by Mao, back in 1965, that a personality cult was being deliberately fostered. The chairman replied, according to this Western friend of China: "So, he [Mao] said, what if I had written about a 'cult of the personality' in China? There was such a thing. Why not write about it? It was a fact. . . ."

Snow's critics, Mao explained, were an "ultraleftist group which had seized the foreign ministry for a time, but

they were all cleared out long ago. At the time of our 1965 colloquy, Mao continued, a great deal of power—over propaganda work within the provincial and local party committees, and especially within the Peking Municipal Party Committee—had been out of his control."

This was the reason, Mao admitted, for building up the incredible cult of his personality, "in order to stimulate the masses to dismantle the anti-Mao party bureaucracy."

The Chinese Stalinist leader thought, perhaps with the Nixon administration in mind, that American politicians would be certain to understand the need for such a cult:

"But after all, he [Mao] went on, did not the Americans have their own personality cult? How could the governor of each state, how could each President and each Cabinet member, get along without some people to worship them? There was always the desire to be worshiped and the desire to worship. Could you, he asked me, be happy if no one read your books and articles?"

Snow commented: "Chairman Mao has obviously pondered very much over this phenomenon—the human need for and to worship, about gods and God."

It required considerable material force, however, to establish this cult, Mao admitted. "When foreigners reported that China was in great chaos, they were not telling lies. It had been true. Fighting was going on. (I [Snow] was told by Premier Chou on another occasion that the army suffered thou-

sands of casualties before it took up arms to suppress factional struggles.)"

Now that this difficult phase in China's internal politics had been completed and there was apparently no longer any need for the superrevolutionary rhetoric of the "cultural revolution," Mao seemed to consider good relations with the U. S. both possible and desirable:

"If the Soviet Union wouldn't do [point the way—*Life*]," Snow wrote, "then he [Mao] would place his hopes on the American people. The United States alone had a population of more than 200 million. Industrial production was already higher than in any other country and education was universal. He would be happy to see a party emerge there to lead a revolution, although he was not expecting that in the near future."

By this vague wish that some party some time in the future would fight for socialism in the U. S., Mao underlined the fact that his government is following a "peaceful coexistence" policy toward the U. S.

"Should rightists like Nixon, who represented the monopoly capitalists, be permitted to come [to China]? He should be welcomed because, Mao explained, at present the problems between China and the U. S. A. would have to be solved with Nixon. Mao would be happy to talk with him, either as a tourist or as President."

There is no reason, of course, why China should not use the weapons of diplomacy to extract all the concessions possible from imperialism. Substituting ultrarevolutionary rodomon-

tade for foreign policy is obviously not a serious alternative, as Mao was apparently admitting. The chairman, however, seemed to hint at an extensive and lasting accommodation between China and U.S. imperialism. "I [Snow], unfortunately, could not represent the United States, he said; I was not a monopoly capitalist. Could I settle the Taiwan question? Why continue such a stalemate?

Chiang Kai-shek had not died yet. But what had Taiwan to do with Nixon? That question was created by Truman and Acheson."

The impression that Mao would appreciate an understanding with Nixon was strengthened by Snow's remark: "About the same time, I was enigmatically told by a senior Chinese diplomat who had formerly maintained quite the opposite, 'Nixon is getting

out of Vietnam.'"

The unnamed Chinese diplomat made this forecast about a month before Nixon ordered the invasion of Laos, when U.S. armed forces made a series of threatening moves toward Chinese territory. Thus, while Peking seems to aspire to a general détente and accommodation with U.S. imperialism, the realistic basis for such hopes may be doubted. □

In Return for Various Plums

What Nixon Is Angling for From Chairman Mao

By Gerry Foley

In late April, the American capitalist press was startled by a number of notable about-faces on the question of U.S. relations with Peking. First a special presidential commission advised April 26 that the United States itself recommend membership in the United Nations for the government of China—despite the fact that Washington has fought admission of the Peking government to the UN for more than two decades and appropriated the UN name in the early 1950s for its war in Korea, a war that eventually ended in a military clash with the People's Republic of China.

The commission was presided over by Henry Cabot Lodge, Nixon's 1960 running mate, formerly "ambassador" to South Vietnam, U.S. representative to the UN, and U.S. representative to Vietnam peace talks in Paris. In the May 2 issue of the *New York Times*, Francis T.P. Plimpton, deputy U.S. representative to the UN, 1961-65, commented:

"Henry Cabot Lodge, with an uncompromising vigor reminiscent of his grandfather [who led the campaign to keep the U.S. out of the League of Nations—*IP.*], spent eight years at the United Nations resolutely resisting the seating of Communist China. Indeed, as chief United States representative, he prevented the problem from even being considered, through keeping it off the General Assembly agenda.

"Now, 11 years later, Henry Cabot Lodge, as chairman of President Nixon's 50-member Commission for the



ROGERS: Suggests that Mao try virtues of smoking peace pipe with Nixon.

Observance of the United Nations' 25th Anniversary, has presented a report recommending in effect that the United Nations, without expelling the 'Republic of China on Taiwan,' admit to membership the 'People's Republic of China,' i.e. Communist China."

The day after the commission announced its recommendation, speak-

ing at a SEATO meeting in London April 27, Secretary of State William P. Rogers appealed to Peking to cooperate in maintaining the "peace" in Southeast Asia, and begin to play a "constructive rather than a disruptive role."

In a dispatch from London April 27, *New York Times* correspondent Terence Smith commented: "Since Mr. Rogers's remarks came in the context of a review of American efforts to end the fighting in Indochina, diplomatic observers here interpreted them as an invitation to the Chinese to use their influence with Hanoi to bring about a negotiated solution to the war."

The following day, April 28, Rogers said that Washington would "very much favor" cultural, scientific, and journalistic exchanges with China.

Rogers hinted, however, that Washington hoped for other benefits from such a détente than an improved flow of information: "Asked whether an improvement in relations between Washington and Peking might not worsen relations with the Soviet Union, Mr. Rogers replied with a question of his own," Smith reported.

"Why shouldn't we try to get along better with both the Soviet Union and Communist China? Now if, incidentally, that irritates one or the other, that just happens to be a dividend, but it's not our policy."

In an editorial April 29, the *Washington Post* summed up the moves toward a rapprochement between Washington and Peking: ". . . it turns

out that in addition to the 'signals' Mr. Nixon began sending to Peking in mid-1969—he started by removing some travel restrictions—he also undertook to open lines of diplomatic communication. . . .

"How did Chairman Mao respond? His friendly comments on the United States to Snow [in a conversation summarized in the April 20 issue of *Life-IP*], plus the ping pong visit, suggest one answer."

The question arises of why Nixon, a representative of the anti-Peking "China lobby," decided to change Washington's historic policy of anathematizing the Mao regime. An editorial in the April 24 issue of the conservative Boston daily, the *Christian Science Monitor*—a paper which has an especially chummy relationship with the State Department and whose editor was included on the commission recommending UN membership for China—suggested an answer:

"If Peking really wanted to get closer to Washington and do something very nice for President Nixon (of course expecting a suitable quid pro quo) it would have only to whisper a few words of wisdom into the collective ear of Hanoi, and the war, by one means or another, would quickly end."

Hanoi could be expected to follow Peking's "comradely" advice, the *Monitor* indicated, because "Hanoi depends on China for most of its arms and ammunition."

If Mao could convince Hanoi to settle for some kind of deal preserving the main American positions in South Vietnam, this would also solve the Nixon administration's main political problems:

"Nothing we can think of could so completely overturn the present political pattern in Washington. Overnight, youth protests against Nixon war policies would evaporate. Democratic hopefuls who have built their political platforms on opposition to the war would be dangling in mid air with embarrassing emptiness under them. . . .

"So Mr. Nixon has a huge political stake in the new chumminess with China. He has everything to gain from it, nothing to lose. If it goes sour, so what? It's much too late for Democrats to try to cash in on China policy, from any angle. And if it succeeds, even in a small way, Mr. Nixon gains." □

Chou Toasts Health of Iranian Butcher

Royal Welcome for Shah's Sister in China

The leaders of the Chinese government obviously felt that they had scored another brilliant diplomatic coup. In addition to being the first and most enthusiastic at applauding Pakistani dictator Yahya Khan's massacre of unarmed Bengalis, during April the Maoist regime took a big step toward a diplomatic alliance with the shah of Iran.

Ashraf Pahlavi, sister of the feudal monarch, visited four Chinese cities April 14-19, and was wined and dined as a representative of the Iranian people.

Hsinhua, the Chinese government news agency, described the arrival of the "distinguished guest":

"Her Royal Highness Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, sister of His Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shahanshah of Iran, arrived here [Peking] by special plane today [April 14] for a friendly visit, at the invitation of the Chinese government. . . .

"The distinguished Iranian guests were given a warm welcome at the airport by Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee Shih Liang, Lo Shu-chang and Lin Chiao-chih; and responsible members of the government departments concerned, the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries. . . . Children presented bouquets to the princess."

"Her Royal Highness" was received by Premier Chou En-lai on the afternoon of her arrival.

"During the meeting," Hsinhua reported, "Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and N.P.C. Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo warmly shook hands with the Princess and the members of her entourage. . . . Guests and hosts were photographed together and had a cordial and friendly conversation."

Although the royal guest was treated to banquets and bouquets everywhere she went, the high point of her trip must have been the banquet Chou



CHOU: Charms Iranian clotheshorse by raising glass to her royal brother.

gave in her honor the night of April 14. The speech-making, to judge from Hsinhua's report, was conducted on a *quid pro quo* basis:

"Premier Chou En-lai and Princess Ashraf Pahlavi proposed toasts at the banquet. Premier Chou En-lai toasted the health of His Majesty Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, the Shahanshah of Iran, and the Princess toasted the health of the leader of China Chairman Mao Tsetung, the founder and leader of the Chinese People's Republic."

As Mao's top diplomat, Chou is an old hand at discovering "progressive" features in bourgeois dictators like the Pakistani butcher Yahya Khan. Chou undoubtedly made use of this experience in pursuing an alliance with the "progressive" feudalist.

If there had been "fewer contacts" between China and Iran recently, Chou said, this was "a result of imperialist obstructions and sabotage." The Maoist government recognized that the shah was in the vanguard of

struggle against imperialism:

"... the Chinese people have always followed with interest and attention the Iranian people's efforts in their struggle against foreign aggression and for national construction. In order to safeguard state sovereignty and protect their national resources, Iran, together with other members of the organization of petroleum exporting countries, have [sic] recently waged effective struggles against the Western imperialist oil monopoly consortiums and won victory. We express support to your just struggle and sincere congratulations on your victory."

Chou went on to assure his royal guest that Mao Tsetung Thought provides for peaceful coexistence with feudalism as well as capitalism:

"The ten principles formulated at the [1955] Bandung Conference have pro-

vided a good basis for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems. We are deeply convinced that guided by the Bandung principles, there are prospects for the development of the relations between China and Iran. The present visit of Her Royal Highness the Princess and the other distinguished Iranian guests to our country is a gesture of friendship to our people. . . . We hope that your visit will contribute to the enhancement of the understanding and friendship between our two peoples and to the gradual development of the friendly relations between our two countries."

Chou tactfully refrained from mentioning such features of Iran's different social system as the execution of political prisoners after secret trials. Presumably it would not have contributed

to the enhancement of understanding and friendship to allude to the thirteen pro-Chinese Communists shot by a firing squad in Teheran on March 17. Nor did the Chinese premier suggest that the gradual development of friendly relations would be hastened by an end to the executions.

For her part, Ashraf Pahlavi was sure that her brother would be able to coexist peacefully with a government willing to overlook the reactionary and brutal character of his rule:

"Personal contact such as ours here today, inevitably lead [sic] to dialogue. Dialogue may in turn lead to understanding, and understanding can subsequently find a path to friendship."

"I know that, through this unpretentious visit, we already have taken the first step in that direction." □

High-School Students Killed by Police

Student Protests in Colombia, Peru, and Venezuela

A sudden powerful wave of student protests welled up in three separate Latin American countries in the last week of April, reaching its high-water mark in Venezuela where it confronted the Caracas regime with one of its most serious crises since the early 1960s.

In each case, the students were defending the principle of university autonomy won by hard struggles early in this century. Ever since the beginning of the youth radicalization inspired by the Cuban revolution, the right of student self-government has been under concerted attack from imperialist and native bourgeois forces. In order to suppress active political life on Latin American campuses, these interests have tried to impose the model of the American "business-run university."

In Peru, according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch in the April 23 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*, police arrested 100 persons in clashes with student demonstrators who were demanding reinstatement of several of their comrades expelled by the administration, as well as more university autonomy. After the protests broke out, the University of San Marcos

in Lima was closed indefinitely.

In the wake of student demonstrations in Colombia, the army occupied three universities in Medellín and Bucaramanga in the department of Santander. In the former city, fifty persons were wounded in clashes between the protesters and the repressive forces, including twenty-three cops. Some 400 persons were arrested.

In Venezuela, where the protests were most extensive, the police fired at high-school students. One was killed and others were wounded on the first day of demonstrations. These violent clashes developed April 21 when the national federation of secondary-school students called its members out on a general strike to protest the government's failure to reopen the University of Caracas (closed since October 1970), as well as the rise in the cost of living.

In renewed clashes April 22, police killed two more high-school students, wounding others. In response to continuing unrest, President Rafael Caldera threatened to call out the army to "restore order."

On Friday, April 23, fighting resumed for the third straight day. Another student was shot to death by

police in Maracay, a town about 200 kilometers to the west of Caracas, while three others were wounded.

"The sudden flare-up of student violence, which has spread through the entire country, is probably the gravest crisis of this type since 1960," correspondent Norman Gall wrote in a dispatch from Caracas published in the April 28 issue of *Le Monde*.

"In only a few days there have been at least ninety riots involving every city in Venezuela. About 800 persons have been arrested and ten have suffered bullet wounds. . . ."

"Official circles express the greatest concern over these clashes. The continuing violence is in fact doing damage to Rafael Caldera's pacification policy and hurting his chances in the 1973 presidential elections. Up till now the ruling Social Christian party had succeeded in reducing political tension by granting amnesty to guerrillas who wanted to return to legality."

Gall placed the April outbreaks in the context of a rapidly widening youth revolt, which has become so broad, he wrote, that "even the Boy Scouts organized a sit-in in their national headquarters, accusing the Scout leaders of 'conservatism' and a 'lack of nationalist feeling.'" □

After the April Municipal Elections

By Jean Pierre Beauvais

[We have translated the following article from the April 19 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International). The footnotes and emphasis appear in the original.]

* * *

The recent Chilean municipal elections represented an unquestionable victory for the Unidad Popular [People's Unity] government. Receiving 49.75 percent of the votes cast, the coalition headed by Salvador Allende won almost an absolute majority, while in the last presidential election it garnered no more than 36 percent of the vote.

Within the Unidad Popular, these elections marked an important gain in influence for the Socialist party¹ and a small but real gain for the Communist party, while the Radical party, the third influential component of the coalition, representing the liberal sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie that support the Allende experiment, saw its vote cut in half.

The victory did not surprise anyone in Chile, least of all the Christian Democratic and Nationalist opposition. In the space of six months, the Nationalist party has lost more than one-fourth of its vote to the Christian Democracy. The Christian Democrats have become the main opposition party and the principal political instrument of the Chilean bourgeoisie, although they in turn have lost a large part of their popular electoral base to the Unidad Popular.

The increased popularity of the Allende government is the direct result of a series of measures benefiting the

most disadvantaged sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and the working class. In January, for example, while the prices of consumer goods were frozen, the lowest category of wages was raised by 50%, and the rest by 25% to 30%. At the same time, family allowances were increased 100%, while school supplies were provided free at the end of the vacation period.

These measures came at a time when alarmist rumors about plots and a military coup, circulating more or less everywhere in the country, impelled the broad layers of the population benefiting from the reforms to rally behind the government.

The fact remains, nevertheless, that this victory, however important, in no way changes the basic factors of the Chilean situation.

"Going beyond bourgeois reformism" is a phrase often encountered in the Chilean press and frequently uttered by the main protagonists of the Unidad Popular. It reveals a fact often forgotten, especially in Chile. The reformist measures approved by Allende were already included in the Christian Democratic program in the main, when Frei won the 1964 presidential elections. In this sense the Unidad Popular's slogan, "We Have Done in Four Months What the Christian Democrats Couldn't Do in Six Years," is literally true.

Thus, the agrarian reform projected by the Christian Democrats, which limits landholdings to eighty hectares [one hectare equals 2.47 acres], has begun to be applied "in reality."² In the same way, the main copper mines are in process of being nationalized,

2. While the landowners in the barren or uncultivated regions are giving up their land without any difficulty, in exchange for an attractive compensation, in the richer areas, where industrial crops are grown, this is not the case. Here, most often, "they carry out the agrarian reform themselves," dividing their land into eighty-hectare plots and distributing them among the members of their families. This permits them to keep their estates intact!

and several banks have been nationalized, as well as a number of other enterprises serving the public.

However spectacular some of these measures may be, the fact remains that they were advocated long ago—if not put into practice—by a bourgeois party. In no case do they represent a change, not even an incipient one, in the class nature of the Chilean state. In no case do they strike at the essential economic base of the Chilean bourgeoisie. As for the imperialist interests in Chile, they have so far been affected only in a marginal way. While the nationalization of the copper mines has a symbolic value in the eyes of the Chilean people, it must not give rise to any illusions. It has involved the payment of large compensation. Furthermore, *the mining sector accounts for only a small part of the imperialist investments in the Chilean economy.* The essential part of foreign capital is found in the light-industry sector and in the service sectors, which are relatively important in the economy of Chile in comparison with other Latin American countries. And in these sectors, for the moment at least, there is no question of nationalization.

In this framework, the current *wait-and-see attitude* of the Chilean bourgeoisie and the imperialists—after the initial panic over the outcome of the elections—can be easily understood.

As long as their fundamental interests, their economic base, and their main instruments of action—the Christian Democratic party in the framework of formal bourgeois democracy, and large sections of the army and police—are not touched, why should they take the risk of a confrontation whose dynamic and consequences are unpredictable?

Several factors are important in this connection, above all the immense popular support enjoyed by the Allende government. So far, this support has been expressed in the electoral arena and on rare occasions by limited mobilizations, as on the day Allende was inaugurated, when nearly a million persons came out into the streets of Santiago to celebrate "their" victory.

This support is Allende's only strong card against the maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Yet he refuses to organize this potential power because of his respect for bourgeois democratic traditions—

1. The gains of the SP must be qualified, however, by the fact that small formations like the MAPU [Movimiento de Accion Popular Unitaria—United Popular Action Movement], a grouping of dissident Christian Democrats led by J. Chonchol, the minister of agriculture, were unable to get on the ballot and that their supporters voted mainly for the SP.

"social forces must express themselves through elections and the parliament"—and because of his fear of a reaction by the bourgeoisie, which would then feel threatened.

This aspect of the Chilean situation today is both ironic and tragic. The ministers and leaders of the Unidad Popular, especially the Socialists, are expounding through all the communications media the idea that anything is possible in Chile, every hope is justified for "the people," since "the people" are in power. But *necessarily* and in the near future they must expect a reaction by the bourgeoisie and imperialism. Therefore, they must prepare themselves, these leaders repeat insistently, sometimes citing the examples of Spain, Brazil, or Indonesia, to back up their arguments. But prepare how?

For the Chilean Communist party, the answer is clear. They have already begun to put it into practice. Their solution is not to organize, not to develop a framework for leading the masses, still less arming them, since this would frighten the bourgeoisie and "open the door to adventures" (sic). To the contrary, in the framework of the present bourgeois democracy, their answer is to beef up their apparatus to the maximum (four months ago they had 2,500 paid functionaries; today they have 5,000—for 40,000 members!) and place as many men as possible in key positions in the bourgeois state, especially in the Ministry of the Interior. In a way, this is bringing an old tradition up to date.

For the Socialist party, the response is less clear. The Chilean SP today has no equivalent anywhere in the world. By its very loose structures and weak apparatus, it is related to classic Social Democratic parties, but the Social Democratic current in its ranks seems to be greatly outnumbered, even almost nonexistent.

For a long time the party was really dominated by a centrist-type tendency that held to a reformist perspective in Chilean domestic politics but was linked internationally to revolutionary currents in the rest of Latin America (it participated in the OLAS conference for example). Allende was one of the most typical representatives of this tendency, and it has furnished the bulk of the Socialist ministers in the present government.

Since the Unidad Popular came to

power, the situation inside the SP has changed to a large extent, reflecting the profound process of radicalization and politicalization of the Chilean masses now going on.

At the party's last congress in January 1971, the left wing, representing unquestionably revolutionary currents, increased its strength notably. Thus, the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army], a current of Castroist origin which today advocates arming the proletariat to struggle effectively against the threats of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, won sixteen seats out of forty-five on the Central Committee. The resolutions of the congress reflected this evolution rather faithfully as regards the general analysis of the situation and the measures to be taken. They posed the problem clearly of mobilizing and arming the Chilean workers in the framework of the Unidad Popular committees.

But the SP is also a "government party." That is why, at the request of Allende and his ministers, the passages dealing concretely with these problems were not made public in their entirety, in order not to provoke the bourgeoisie! This is a strange way of educating the Chilean masses politically in order to mobilize them.

In these conditions, the revolutionary tendencies, essentially the ELN, are working on their own behalf outside the party. But they are torn between maintaining minimum discipline toward the party and taking up the far-from-resolved problem of concretely arming the Chilean workers, as called for by their strategic analysis—and that's without mentioning the organizational weaknesses inherent in this kind of ambiguous situation. These difficulties narrow the actual practice of the ELN, and its political vision as well, to arming and training small networks of sympathizers, which, when the time comes, threaten to be only a drop of water in the ocean.

These tendencies have, nonetheless, to their credit the important accomplishment of opening up debate on these crucial questions in the SP, and thus in the Unidad Popular as a whole, with all the public discussion this involves. This achievement is far from negligible in the context of a situation where the mobilization and politicalization of the masses are growing.

Of course, the CP is playing a considerable braking role in the process and stands as the chief defender of the present order. It was this party, for example, that condemned the peasant land occupations in the most unrestrained language, while in many cases the Socialists and Minister of Agriculture Chonchol, a dissident Christian Democrat, saw them as a good way of prodding a reluctant bureaucracy committed to serving the most reactionary bourgeoisie. The fact remains that today, even though the masses are unorganized, their support of the Allende government is too great and the process of politicalization too rapid for the bourgeoisie and the imperialists to take the risk *at this time* of a confrontation, which, moreover, is not justified by the measures taken so far by the Unidad Popular.

The tactic of these reactionary forces is clearly more subtle and of longer range. The daily harassing maneuvers of the Christian Democrats in parliament and the provocations organized by extreme rightist elements must not be taken at face value. Their objective is much more that of creating a climate of permanent instability, plotting, and scandals, than of launching a real battle against Allende and the Unidad Popular.

The bourgeoisie and the imperialists are already waging a real fight on the economic level. Their method is not a ruthless blockade, as in Cuba, which would involve the risk of seeing the regime turn abruptly toward the USSR and the East European countries, with all the dynamic that implies. Moreover, a blockade would cut both ways. Chile is the world's main exporter of copper, which has become quite scarce on the international market because of the needs of the American army in Vietnam. Blockading Chile would bring on a considerable rise in the price of copper on the world market, from which the United States would be the primary loser.

On the other hand, measures severely restricting credit, banning loans, and limiting or halting investment are already in force. And they will quickly put the Chilean economy, which is very dependent on the world market, in a difficult position, forcing Allende to resort to austerity measures which will cut down the prestige and popular support he enjoys. Such a

perspective is all the more likely if the masses are not prepared politically and organizationally for this new situation. That is when the bourgeoisie and the imperialists will step in — when they have been able to show that the experiment was a failure. Whether this intervention is a hot one, in the framework of a military and police operation, or a cold one, through an electoral victory of the Christian Democrats, is not the essential thing today.

What is important is that, at any price, as its strategy proves, imperialism is trying to avoid creating the conditions for a confrontation, and thus, in the present context, an almost inevitable mobilization of the masses.³

This only highlights still more the suicidal side of the Unidad Popular's policy regarding mobilizing and arming the Chilean workers, and the criminal irresponsibility this represents in conjunction with the illusions it is cultivating in the Chilean masses.

In the present political context in Chile, if a revolutionary organization, standing in independence from the Unidad Popular, correctly posed the problem of mobilizing and arming the proletariat, and had the minimum base among the workers and peasants enabling it to lay the first foundations for carrying out such a policy on a mass scale, this would change the situation entirely. Unfortunately, this is not the case.

Many vanguard nuclei exist today in Chile. But their extreme organizational weakness and their almost total lack of a working-class base prevent them from influencing the development of the situation, even though some of them have a highly lucid and correct analysis of the problem.

With its organizational base, its influence in the shantytowns and poor neighborhoods of Santiago, Concepción, and other Chilean cities, its influence in some important sectors of the poor peasantry, and its prestige and real influence in the student milieu, the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario — Movement of the

3. This strategy does not, however, protect the Chilean regime from a coup d'etat carried out by some sector of the army, for example, with the encouragement of one or another service of U.S. imperialism. Such a development, of course, owing to the dynamics entailed, would greatly alter the situation.

Revolutionary Left] could have been a key element in forming this revolutionary rallying point, if not itself serving as the rallying point.

Unfortunately, this organization's great political weaknesses and its apparently divided leadership did not prepare it to play this role. A high degree of schematism in their analysis and thought led its leaders to believe that it was impossible for Unidad Popular to win in the elections. When Allende was elected, they didn't know what to say or do.

Some ambiguous statements suggest that the MIR leaders are giving critical support to the Unidad Popular, but on a basis that has not been clarified. They seem to have direct personal relations with Allende, to the point of assigning several MIR members to guard him. The organization has already vanished from the *poblaciones*⁴ around Santiago where it had mass influence. On the other

4. Shantytowns around Santiago and the main Chilean urban centers. In Santiago, between one-third and one-half of the population of 1,800,000 live in these *poblaciones*.

India

'Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee' Formed

Bombay

A "Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee" to organize active support for the liberation struggle in East Pakistan was set up here March 27 at a meeting of representatives of various left parties. These included the Communist party of India [CPI], Communist party of India (Marxist) [CPI(M)], Lal Nishan party [LNP], Socialist Workers party [SWP], and the Revolutionary Socialist party [RSP], plus some of the central trade-union organizations — the All India Trade Union Congress [AITUC], Centre of Indian Trade Unions, and the United Trade Union Congress.

On March 31 the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee sponsored a massive demonstration of workers, students, and intellectuals in front of the office of the Assistant High Commissioner for Pakistan.

Workers carrying red banners marched from different parts of the

hand, it is very active in the southern part of the country trying to organize the Mapuche Indians and politicalize them so as to make the agrarian reform a reality in this area and convert the region into a revolutionary "bastion." In the absence of other statements and analyses, these scattered items make it difficult to assess the role and perspectives of the MIR.

One thing is certain, however, so far it has failed in what should have been its role at this time: *to be a revolutionary mobilizing center to the left of the Unidad Popular.*

Atomized and scattered in the SP left wing and the MIR, for the most part, as well as in numerous groups, the Chilean revolutionists have an immense task to accomplish in an extremely short time. On their capacity to organize themselves, to sink roots even in a limited way into the decisive sectors of the workers and peasants, and to organize them, will depend essentially the capacity of the Chilean masses to counter the maneuvers of their own bourgeoisie and the imperialists and to achieve a real socialist revolution. □

city, shouting slogans such as "Recognize Bangla Desh," "For a socialist Bangla Desh," "Long live the unity of workers and peasants in India and Pakistan."

Speakers representing the different left parties condemned the genocide perpetrated in Bangla Desh by the Yahya Khan regime of West Pakistan. They also criticized the government of India for assuming the posture of a "neutral bystander" while the massacres continued in East Pakistan.

A series of mass rallies have been organized by the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee in different parts of Bombay, in collaboration with other mass organizations, to mobilize wider support for the revolutionary struggle in Bangla Desh.

The conveners of the Bangla Desh Solidarity Committee are B. A. Desai, Vithal Choudhury (CPI), Yeshwant Chavan (LNP), P. K. Kurne (CPI-M), and S. B. Kolpe (SWP). □

Turkish Premier Declares State of Siege

Imposed on the country March 25 by the threat of a military coup, the "strong government" of Premier Nihat Erim waited barely a month before it suspended the essential civil liberties of the Turkish people in eleven out of sixty-seven provinces.

A state of siege was declared in these areas April 26, only a few days before the visit of U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers and the convening of a CENTO [Central Treaty Organization] foreign ministers meeting in Ankara. A major American base in the Middle East and on the southern border of the Soviet Union, Turkey has been the scene in recent years of massive and violent demonstrations against the imperialist military establishment.

The *II*, or provinces, affected by the state-of-siege edict, however, include a number of regions where opposition to the government has been developing, not just areas that Rogers or the other CENTO foreign ministers might visit.

Besides the large cities of Ankara and Istanbul; Izmir, where the south-east headquarters of NATO is located; and Eskisehir, the site of the air command, the state of siege was extended to the industrial centers of Adana and Hatay near the Syrian border and to the Kurdish regions of Diyarbakir and Siirt.

In his statement to the press the day the emergency edict was announced, Justice Minister Ismail Arar denied that his government had resorted to martial law to prevent demonstrations against the Western foreign policy heads. The cabinet took this step, he said, after receiving "the views of the National Security Council and deciding that there is a strong, active uprising against the motherland and the republic."

Most commentators in the capitalist press assumed that Arar was referring to student opposition to the regime, which has been marked in recent months by some very violent clashes between groups of young rebels and the official and unofficial defenders of the existing order.

The well-informed Paris daily *Le Monde* noted in an editorial April 28 that since the installation of the Erim

regime "acts of terrorism have resumed in the country. Kidnappings, armed assaults on banks, bombings, and confrontations between extreme leftist and extreme rightist groups have continued in grand style and even increased in number and violence."

Such violence, *Le Monde* failed to point out, is by no means limited to Turkey, but can be seen in other NATO countries, such as Italy, where social contradictions have become exacerbated. As in Italy, moreover, the violence has come not only from the opponents of the system.

In its April 28 editorial, *Le Monde* acknowledged that the left has accused the government and its supporters of deliberately fomenting violence as a pretext for repression: "The left points out that the government has played up ultraleftist student agitation, while showing a tendency to keep silent about the much more extensive activities of extreme rightist religious groups and fascist-type commandos. It goes so far as to claim that many incidents have been provocations organized by the right, or by CIA agents with the aim of providing an excuse to impose a strong regime that could prevent Turkey from being the 'sick man of NATO.'"

In addition to the unrest on the country's campuses, the government has apparently been confronted with serious threats in other sectors. "The devaluation of the lira last August and some accompanying tax measures had the effect of increasing the cost of living for the workers and middle classes alike," the London daily *Guardian* noted in its March 13 issue, commenting on the military threat to oust the civilian regime. "The trade unions have been under pressure from the Left to put forward pay claims which threatened the gains the Government had hoped to achieve through devaluation. Some of these claims have been granted. The refusal of others has led to unrest in which workers and students have joined forces."

In the eastern part of the country, the regime seems worried about

a growing nationalist movement among the three-million-strong Kurdish minority, especially after the establishment of an autonomous Kurdish region in Iraq. "Diyarbakir and Siirt are known as centers of pro-Kurdish agitation and constitute relay points in the arms traffic between Turkey on the one hand and Syria and Iraq on the other," according to correspondent Ali Kazancigil, writing in the April 28 issue of *Le Monde*.

By the provisions of the state-of-siege edict, the general appointed to rule the eleven provinces involved is empowered "to order search without warrant, ban any meeting, suspend the activities of any organization, impose curfews, and set up military tribunals to try cases involving crimes against state security."

Perhaps more important, according to a proposed constitutional amendment presented to parliament the week before the state of siege was declared, the national government would be authorized to act through decree laws to build up its repressive arsenal. "The penal code is to be modified so as to stiffen its penalties and speed up the functioning of justice," *Le Monde* reported April 28. "Finally the laws governing the right of association, assembly and public demonstration will be reviewed, and the government looks forward to creating a State Security Court as in France to try crimes against the community."

Thus, in instituting martial law in these provinces, the Turkish government apparently had a number of long-range objectives. Moreover, a move of this type seems to have been in preparation for some time. Since its inception, the Erim government has been notable for its "nonpolitical" character, with only nine of its twenty-three members representing political parties. Two days before the state-of-siege edict, Erim announced that he had invited French jurists to advise Turkish officials on setting up legal machinery like that of the Gaullist "strong state."

The question remains, then, why Erim timed his repressive move to coincide with Rogers's visit and the CENTO meeting, thereby exposing his government as a vassal of the imperialist powers. The answer may be that, like the colonels in Athens, he hopes to intimidate the people of this strategic country by convincing them that the full power of U. S. imperialism stands behind the repression. □

From Stalin to Mao: A Bureaucratic Odyssey

By Keith Locke

[The following article is reprinted from the April 16 issue of *Socialist Action*, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly published at Wellington, New Zealand.]

* * *

The Communist Party of New Zealand (CPNZ) was founded in Easter, 1921, at a conference in Wellington. Today, fifty years later, the organisation which bears that name is small, sectarian, and ineffectual. The pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party (SUP), which split from it in 1966, is even weaker.

How did this happen? You will not find the answer by reading the publications of the CPNZ or the SUP. They are embarrassed about their history. The March 1971 issue of *New Zealand Communist Review* carried some reminiscences by Andy Barras, a founder of the party, but even these were doctored to hide the fact that they were originally written in the form of a letter to Sid Scott, who was for about twenty years a major leader of the party. But Sid Scott, you see, left the party in 1956 and is, in the best Stalinist tradition, considered a non-person.

The Communist Party was a product of the 1917 Russian revolution, which established the world's first workers' state.

The revolutionary example set by the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and Trotsky met with a tremendous response from workers throughout the world, including those in New Zealand. Socialist individuals and groups in New Zealand who realised that the reformist Labour Party was not sufficient to bring socialism to New Zealand quickly moved in the direction of Leninist ideas and organisation. Significant in this process was the formation in 1918 of the New Zealand Marxian Association.

In spite of considerable police harassment, communist literature began to circulate in New Zealand. Early works were John Reed's "Ten Days

That Shook the World", a blow-by-blow account of how Lenin and Trotsky organised the revolution, and Lenin's "The Soviets at Work". The first Leninist pamphlet actually printed in New Zealand, Albert Rhys Williams' "The Bolsheviks and the Soviets", explained in some detail how Soviet democracy worked and the role of the revolution's major leaders, particularly Lenin and Trotsky.

Then, in 1921, the CPNZ was founded and immediately declared its adherence to the Third Communist International which had been established two years earlier.

For some years the party was rather weak and disorganised, and the scene of much infighting. Not until 1924 was a paper, *The Communist*, finally produced. This paper came out despite severe police persecution. One of its editors, E.J. Thomas, was sentenced to four months in jail for possessing a copy of Trotsky's "In Defence of Terrorism", a biting polemic against the social democrats.

The Communists of the 1920s were extremely active in the labour movement. Their support for the Labour Party enabled them to reach the workers who backed it and to combat the hold of the reformist leadership. Within the Labour Party they fought for a socialist programme, and when the right wing tried to expel them, they counter-attacked vigorously, using the influence they had in a number of unions. Even when expelled they did not give up: instead they fought for the right of the CP to be affiliated to the Labour Party.

Many people, including FOL [Federation of Labour] leaders F. P. Walsh and K. McL. Baxter, the Labour minister McLagan, and the Auckland mayor D.M. Robinson, passed through the party during this period.

In Russia, however, an unhealthy development was taking place. The already relatively weak Russian working class had been decimated by the civil war which followed the 1917 revolution. Blockaded by the West, the

young Soviet workers' state was in severe difficulties. A bureaucratic caste, headed by Stalin, used this opportunity to consolidate its power by disemboweling the Soviets and crushing all political opposition, particularly the Left Opposition led by Trotsky. Because of the great prestige of the Soviet workers' state, this privileged layer was able to take control of the Communist International and use it to defend its own conservative interests.

It was not until about 1930, however, that the CPNZ became thoroughly Stalinised. Unlike CP papers overseas, the New Zealand paper, *Workers Vanguard*, did not feature denunciations of Trotsky.

In fact, during 1926, the *Workers Vanguard* carried articles favourable to Trotsky, who was looked on as the major revolutionary figure now that Lenin had died. For example, the paper carried a long article defending Trotsky's "Where Is Britain Going", which had been attacked by a local right-winger.

In the early thirties, Stalin imposed a sectarian and ultraleft policy on CPs throughout the world. The CPNZ, by now faithful to every word from Moscow, attacked the Labour Party, which they now considered the main enemy, as "social fascists".

But the CPNZ's attacks were too weak for Stalin. In a 1933 issue of *Communist International*, official organ of the Third International, the CPNZ was chastised for working with the Labour Party in the unemployed workers' movement, and told to expose the Labour Party's reform proposals, such as for state control of banks, as attempts "to distract the attention of the working masses from their own bourgeoisie". Heeding these orders from Moscow, the CPNZ opposed the Labour Party in the 1935 elections which swept it to power with mass working class support.

Although the CPNZ had played a leading role among unemployed workers in the 1930s, its sectarianism towards other working class forces

prevented it from making a political breakthrough.

Stalin's sectarian policy of the early 1930s proved most disastrous in Germany, where the CP refused to form a united front against Hitler with the Social Democrats, the largest working class party, and thus paved the way for the Nazi victory. Politically disoriented, the German CP was crushed by Hitler virtually without any resistance.

Stalin then swung to the right and instructed CPs to support the "anti-fascist" pro-capitalist forces in the West. In New Zealand this meant virtually uncritical support for the Labour government and its reformist policies. In 1938, George Jackson, today a leader of the pro-Moscow Socialist Unity Party, wrote in the CPNZ organ, then the *Workers Weekly*, that "Socialism is not the issue in this election." Freedom versus dictatorship is the issue, he said. By April 1939, the CPNZ had gone even further, proclaiming in an editorial that the party "has no desire to supplant the Labour Party as the mass party of the New Zealand working class." Not surprisingly, the CPNZ was little more than 300 strong at this stage.

At the very time when New Zealand workers were right behind Labour's important reform measures and were thinking in anticapitalist terms, the CPNZ refused to expose the fundamental limitations of the government's policy and counterpose the socialist solution.

Stalin had also told them to denounce Trotskyists. The only trouble was that there were no Trotskyists in New Zealand at that time. But did this stop them? No! They ranted and raved about Trotskyists in the highest circles of the Labour Party and the unions.

August 1939: Stalin signed a pact with Hitler. Confusion reigned in the CPNZ. Did the party's leaders, who had been subordinating everything to the "anti-fascist" struggle, criticise the Soviet leadership's move. Not at all. Gradually anti-Hitler cartoons and articles faded from the pages of their paper, by now called *People's Voice*, and the British imperialists and their allies were treated as the main enemy. The right-wing Labour party leaders, for whom they had had nothing but praise a few months earlier, banned their paper and drove them underground.

Then, in 1941, Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. This again was a complete surprise to the CPNZ, but seeing this as their big chance to become "respectable" again, they came out one hundred percent behind the New Zealand pro-capitalist government and the Western alliance. The CPNZ became unmatched super-patriots. Increased production was the key, they said, and all strikes must be opposed because they would weaken "national unity".

When the government imposed a wage freeze they applauded and said the measures should be strengthened. "In this hour of national peril there is no room for sectional interests, no time for delays and equivocation", ran one of their pamphlets. They were even against the holding of the 1943 national elections because they might raise "sectional interests" — that is, working class interests.

During the war the CPNZ reached its peak of 2,000 members, and sold 14,000 copies of its weekly newspaper. These new members had been recruited on the basis of general admiration for the Red Army which, despite Stalin's bungling, was dealing hammer blows to the Nazis and protecting the world's first workers' state. With the first salvos of the Cold War these people, who had known only the CPNZ's wartime reform capitalist programme, left the party in droves.

Under attack by the Labour government in the Cold War, the CPNZ reverted to an ultraleft position, opposing a Labour victory in the 1949 elections. They soon discovered, however, that the Holland government was even more reactionary, as evidenced by its crushing of the unions involved in the 1951 waterfront lock-out.

As the Cold War deepened, the international Stalinist policy swung to the right again. The CPNZ became involved in setting up multi-class coalitions for some vague "world peace". For the 1954 elections the party's slogan was "Holland Must Go" which, as its architect V. G. Wilcox, today's general secretary of the CPNZ, explained, had a broader appeal than a slogan like "Labour to Power". After all, even some capitalist forces might have wanted to get rid of Holland.

1956 was a bad year for the CPNZ. Party members received a tremendous shock when Khrushchev told the

Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) that Stalin, their infallible god, had murdered countless communists, and made all sorts of blunders. Encouraged by this seeming "thaw" in the international Stalinist movement, a new optimism developed in the ranks of the CPNZ. The critical elements within the party were given new scope.

Then, but a few months later, came Hungary. The Soviet tanks which crushed the revolt for workers' democracy also crushed the hopes of many members of the CPNZ. One hundred, including a number of leaders, left the party.

The late fifties saw the blossoming of Khrushchev's and Mao's "peaceful coexistence" policy. This was actually just a rehash of Stalin's "Socialism in one country" policy formulated thirty years earlier. Its essence said that revolutionary struggles were a threat to "world peace". (After all, the democratic thrust of such upsurges might persuade the Soviet or Chinese people to overthrow their own rulers.) Instead, the main dynamo of "social progress" on a world scale was the peaceful economic competition of the Soviet bloc with the West. Of course, the revolutionary struggles of the past decade, particularly that of the Indo-Chinese people, have exposed "peaceful coexistence" for the conservative rubbish that it is.

The sixties was the decade of the new radicalisation, both in New Zealand and internationally. What happened to the CPNZ? The Sino-Soviet dispute split it in two and it declined even further.

So what remains today? The small Socialist Unity Party continues to blindly follow Moscow, its support of the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia being one prominent example of this. A fundamentally reformist party, the SUP offers little criticism of the right-wing policies of the FOL and Labour Party leaderships.

The CPNZ, under the influence of Maoist super-revolutionary rhetoric, has evolved over the past five years to an incredibly sectarian and ultraleft position. They treat the Labour Party as simply another capitalist party, and when any big struggle comes up they attack the idea of united union actions on the grounds that most unions are led by right-wingers. They denounce the April 30 antiwar mobilisation as being led by "counter-

revolutionaries". They reduce the women's liberation movement to an equal pay movement, and they see the Maori movement as little more than an adjunct to the working class movement.

The Maoist brand of ultraleftism has a conservative core. Unable to lead the masses anywhere, the CPNZ stands to one side and yells "revolutionary" slogans. It remains tied to Mao's class collaborationist foreign policy which involves uncritical support to all sorts of "anti-imperialist" regimes, from Pakistan to Zambia. Even within New Zealand the CPNZ wants to unite with "anti-imperialist" bourgeois forces to carry out a bourgeois nationalist revolution "as a step on the road to socialism."

The reason for the zig-zags and errors in CPNZ policy over the years is clear. The very essence of CPNZ policy after it became Stalinised around 1930 has been to give unquestioning obedience to the right-wing Moscow (and later Peking) leaderships. Although many of the leaders

of the CPNZ were very capable people, they were not able to escape their Stalinist straightjacket. More tragic was the fate of thousands of working class militants who were attracted to the party thinking it was a revolutionary party, only to become disillusioned and drop out when they began to see its real character.

In most Western countries the Trotskyist forces of the Fourth International were able to expose the Stalinist misleaders and counterpose a revolutionary alternative to them. In New Zealand, however, it was not until the formation of the Socialist Action League in 1969 that such an alternative became available.

Fifty years after the founding of the Communist Party of New Zealand, the Socialist Action League is taking up the revolutionary socialist and internationalist banner which the CPNZ carried through the 1920s, until the Stalinist degeneration set in. The task remains the same as it was in 1921: to build a mass revolutionary working class party in New Zealand. □

The aim of his government, Nakasone said, was a level of military strength that would permit it to defeat "limited aggressions"—the term the U. S. government uses to describe revolution in the underdeveloped countries.

The Sato government's decision was welcomed in U. S. ruling circles. The *Christian Science Monitor* described the benefits to U. S. capitalism in an April 30 editorial:

"This growth is in line with the Nixon doctrine which preaches more self-help among America's Asian allies.

"It would also respond to the American complaint that Japanese exports enjoy an unfair competitive advantage because of not carrying the defense tax burden which raises American export costs."

Beyond the possibility of intervening against popular revolutions, the conservative Boston daily foresaw even more exciting opportunities:

"Russia and China are no longer allies, but rivals and even potential enemies.

"The military power which the two can bring to bear in the narrow Sea of Japan must be very nearly in balance. Relatively small Japanese military power bearing on this small area of the world could easily exert a balance of power between the two giants."

It is unlikely, however, that the enthusiasm of U. S. imperialism for power politics will find an echo among the Japanese people, who are expected to foot the bill and take the risks. □

'Nixon Doctrine' Proves Expensive

Sato Plans to Double Spending on Arms

The government of Eisaku Sato announced April 27 a proposed military budget that would more than double Japan's present armament spending.

Defense Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone described a five-year plan calling for an expenditure of \$14,400,000,000—an increase of 220 percent. This would make the country the seventh largest military spender in the world, after the United States, the Soviet Union, China, West Germany, France, and Britain.

The government's plan includes the construction of nineteen helicopter-equipped destroyers in the 8,000-ton class, fourteen high-speed missile carriers, and sixty-one other naval vessels. This would increase the tonnage of the Japanese navy from 144,000 to 247,000 tons.

The air force is to be expanded to a total of 1,740 planes by acquiring seventy-six F-4 Phantom jets, ninety supersonic jet trainers, and 830 other airplanes.

The army will have its total number of tanks increased to 990.

In personnel, the three armed services will be expanded from the present 180,000 to 271,000 men.

At the insistence of the American conquerors, who feared a revival of Japanese military competition, the Japanese constitution adopted after the second world war outlawed war and preparation for war. Since that time, the American imperialists and their junior partners in Japan have regretted the constitutional prohibition. It and public opposition to rearmament have forced the government to attempt to conceal its military power behind euphemisms like "national police force," "national safety force," and the current favorite, "Self-Defense Agency."

Nakasone put the increased Japanese military spending in the context of the "Nixon Doctrine"—which includes putting pressure on the Japanese capitalists to carry a greater share of the costs of policing Asia.

Correction

In our May 3 issue, an error crept into the Fourth International document, "The Way to Celebrate the Paris Commune." The fourth paragraph of the declaration should read:

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 right of recall, of all public officials; abolition of night work in the bakeries; equal rights with French citizens for "foreigners"; elimination of private employment agencies, etc.

Preparing to Starve in a Cornfield

America the Raped by Gene Marine.
Avon Books, New York, N. Y. 331
pp. \$1.25. 1970.

T. S. Eliot begins to look more and more like a prophet. When he wrote, "This is the way the world ends/Not with a bang but a whimper," he could hardly have known that by the 1970s our rulers would give every appearance of conducting a contest among themselves to see which method they would use.

The "bang" faction got off to a head start with the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the subsequent stockpiling of their multimegaton weapons. Since then, however, the "whimper" forces have gotten busy and, to judge from the facts related in Marine's book, they may well have pulled ahead.

Consider, for example, the oceans, which serve as such convenient cesspools for cost-conscious businessmen and governments. The United States Food and Drug Administration estimates that there are as many as *half a million* different pollutants being dumped into them.

This deluge of poisons could end the human race even before it exterminates the fish. Marine points out that 70 percent of the world's atmospheric oxygen is produced by tiny ocean plants called planktonic diatoms. If no one has *proved* that the diatoms might be killed by one of the 500,000 pollutants, it may be because no one has bothered to study the subject.

If we aren't killed by lack of oxygen, we may still starve because of the successes of capitalist agriculture. This is one of the dangers posed by the loss of genetic information contained in chromosome variations between different members of the same species.

These variations are more than a factor in evolution. They are a survival mechanism that allows part of a species to resist and overcome a sudden change in the environment or a new disease, etc. Once such genetic information is lost through the death of one variety of a given species, there is no way to reproduce it. A seemingly secure species could be wiped out

overnight if it consists of only one variety. To take just one of the examples Marine provides:

"The Department of Agriculture knows perfectly well, for instance, that we have been so successful in developing and growing hybrid corn that we have almost lost hundreds of corn varieties that can't compete economically and aren't grown by farmers any more—thereby making it impossible to experiment with new hybrids, discover possible new disease-resistant strains, or make any other use of the genetic information stored in those varieties."

Marine does an excellent job of exposing a whole series of ecological crimes and the individual corporate or governmental criminals who commit them. The defect of his book is that he is unable to classify the culprits or suggest a remedy.

A socialist would take the facts cited in this book, show that the common denominator of pollution is that it saves—or makes—money for individual capitalists or their government, and point out that only a socialist planned economy covering the whole world is capable of stopping it.

Marine looks at the same facts and decides that "Engineers" are the culprit, or, more precisely, the "engineer-

ing mentality," which he defines as follows:

"It is the simple, supposedly pragmatic approach of taking the problem as given, ignoring or ruthlessly excluding questions of side effects, working out 'solutions' that meet only the simplest definitions of the problem. It is an approach that never seeks out a larger context, that resents the raising of issues it regards as extraneous to the engineering problem involved."

This is not an analysis, but merely a restatement of the problem—and it carries the disadvantage that blaming "Engineers" can create the illusion of having found the real culprits.

Since Marine doesn't know whom or what to blame other than the "engineering mentality," the only solution he can offer is "simply to stop." That's all. Just stop.

It's an irrefutable position, just as it's irrefutable that the way to increase life expectancy is to stop people from dying, but it doesn't tell us very much. It is also a solution that, with the amending of one word, fits his own definition of the "engineering mentality":

"It is an approach that never seeks out a larger context, that resents the raising of issues it regards as extraneous to the *ecological* problem involved."

The larger context that Marine ignores is the system that produces the "engineering mentality," the system that encourages individuals to coin profits by poisoning the rest of us.

—David Burton

Documents

Right-Wing Attack on Mandel Case Victory

[Reactionary sectors of U. S. society are still trying to ban Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel from the United States, despite a March 11 federal court decision in his favor. (See *Intercontinental Press*, March 29, page 276; and April 12, page 340.)

[As the document reprinted below indicates, rightists hope that the Nixon administration will seek to have the March 11 ruling overturned by the Supreme Court. The article was written by syndicated columnist Alice Widener and appeared in the April 12 Columbus, Ohio, *Dispatch* under the headline "Public Pressure Is Solicited In Ernest Mandel Ban Case."

[Widener has long been involved in the efforts to prevent Americans from hearing Ernest Mandel. Her report on the September 1968 Socialist Scholars Conference, at which Mandel was a featured speaker, launched a witch-hunt campaign that resulted in the 1969 ban on Mandel. The continuation of this campaign shows that it will be necessary for supporters of civil liberties vigorously to defend the March 11 victory.]

* * *

Again and again, as loyal Americans witness the disintegration of law and order in our country, they cry out help-

lessly, "What can I do?" Today, you can take specific action in a specific case. I urge you to wire or write to U. S. Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold and ask him, "To protect our youth from violence and anarchy, please take the Ernest Mandel case to the Supreme Court."

Ernest Mandel is a Belgian Marxist barred from France because of his role in inciting students and workers to violence in the May-June 1968 rebellion that nearly wrecked the nation.

In September 1968 the radical Marxist Socialist Scholars in our country invited Mandel to be their guest of honor at a meeting at Rutgers University in New Jersey. There he was introduced to the audience by Paul Sweezy, editor of the Leftist radical magazine *Monthly Review*, who said, "Ernest Mandel is one of the most eminent and important Marxist theorists in Europe today. He spent considerable time last summer in Cuba. He was active in events which took place in France last spring and is banned by the French government for his part in those events."

At Rutgers, Sept. 6, 1968, Ernest Mandel told the audience of American adult radicals and busloads of radical youths transported to New Jersey from New York and other states, "Students are the

detonators in the formula for triggering off a social explosion creating a revolutionary situation."

That's what Mandel does. He goes around campuses and communities trying to induce students to become detonators triggering off social explosions. That's why the Socialist Scholars chose him as their guest of honor, and that's one of the reasons why U. S. Atty. Gen. John N. Mitchell barred Mandel from returning to our country in 1969.

Legally, in the Mandel case, our government relied on sections of the 1952 Nationality and Immigration Act (known as the McCarran Act). On March 17 [sic], 1971, in New York, a three-judge court in a 2-to-1 decision upset the federal ban on Mandel's entry into our country and declared the pertinent sections of the McCarran Act to be unconstitutional because they are alleged by two judges to be incompatible with our First Amendment.

This outrageous decision was reached by New York District Judge John F. Dooling Jr. and by Judge Wilfred Feinberg of the New York Second Circuit Court of Appeals. Their decision granted a preliminary injunction against Attorney General Mitchell and against U. S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers.

The 2-to-1 decision upheld the radical point of view presented by Leonard Boudin, attorney for the pro-Communist National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and by eight radical leftist professors:

David Marmelstein [Mermelstein] of Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute; Wasily Leontief of Harvard; Norman Birnbaum of Amherst; Robert L. Heilbroner of the New School for Social Research (N. Y.); Louis Menasche [Menashe] of Brooklyn Polytechnic; Richard A. Falk of Princeton; Noam Chomsky of M. I. T. [Massachusetts Institute of Technology], and Robert P. Wolff of Columbia.

In a strong and well-founded dissent from the Dooling-Feinberg decision, District Judge John R. Bartels of New York declared that the United States has "sovereign power" to exclude harmful aliens from our shores "in the interest of self preservation." Judge Bartels rightfully denies that our First Amendment may be used by aliens as a bludgeon against our national security.

To protect our country from abuse by human detonators of social explosions such as Ernest Mandel, it is imperative that the Mandel case be appealed to the Supreme Court. The decision as to whether to institute the appeal rests with U. S. Solicitor General Griswold. □

Documents

Indian Trotskyists Solidarize With Bangla Desh

[The following statement on the revolutionary struggle in Bangla Desh was issued April 4 by the Secretariat of the Socialist Workers party (Indian section of the Fourth International) on April 4.]

* * *

The massive assertion by the East Bengali people of their determination to end exploitation by the West Pakistani military regime headed by Yahya Khan has claimed the lives of lakhs [hundreds of thousands] of workers, peasants, and students, highlighting once again the brutal subjugation and economic exploitation that has been the lot of the people of East Pakistan, under the garb of an Islamic state, ever since the partition of the sub-continent in 1947. The large-scale and indiscriminate massacres, reckless bombings of towns and villages to crush the growing resistance of an entire nation fighting for national independence has no parallel in modern history. This has clearly demonstrated the total inability of the West Pakistani bourgeoisie to solve any of the basic problems of 75,000,000 people of East Pakistan, representing a majority of the total population of that country.

Unfortunately, the liberation forces led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman cannot as yet match their strength against the organized firepower of the Pakistan army, equipped with the most sophisticated

weapons. The criminal role of the Anglo-American bloc of imperialist powers, which has extended all possible military and financial aid to the militarists of Islamabad, must be condemned by all freedom-loving people. No less condemnable is the behaviour of the United Nations, the "thieves' kitchen" dominated by imperialists, in the context of the savage butchery perpetrated in Bangla Desh.

It is all the more deplorable that even the "socialist" countries like China and the USSR should have pursued an equivocal policy of directly or indirectly placating the Yahya Khan regime, having allowed the arms supplied to West Pakistan to be used against the national liberation movement in Bangla Desh. There are also reports that Chinese ships have been used to ship arms to Chittagong, ignoring popular protests. We demand that the governments of the USSR and China immediately stop supplying arms to the West Pakistan regime and rush every possible help to the freedom fighters of East Bengal.

The treacherous role of the government of Ceylon, led by so-called left and Marxist parties like the SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom party], LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja party], and CCP [Ceylon Communist party], in providing transit and refueling facilities to Pakistani planes, transporting soldiers as well as arms and ammunition from the western wing of Pakistan to the eastern wing, deserves universal condem-

nation. We demand that such facilities be stopped forthwith. We also deplore the ambivalent stand of sympathetic bystander taken by the Indira Gandhi government in New Delhi in relation to the developments in Bangla Desh, and demand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government of Bangla Desh be recognized forthwith.

It is obvious that Bangla Desh is in for a prolonged period of civil war in which the people can be victorious only if they prepare themselves for protracted guerrilla resistance. We are confident that the revolutionary leadership of workers and peasants in Bangla Desh will march forward to their goal of a socialist Bangla Desh, creating new conditions for a revolutionary overthrow of the present capitalist system. The step taken to arm the masses of people must be welcomed, and this must be followed by steps to create new organs of struggle in the form of elected councils of workers and peasants to coordinate their resistance on a national scale.

It is the sacred duty of the working class and the exploited masses not only of India but also of West Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and other neighbouring countries to frustrate the treacherous policies of their respective governments and rally behind the people of Bangla Desh and render them every possible assistance in their liberation war. □