

# Intercontinental Press

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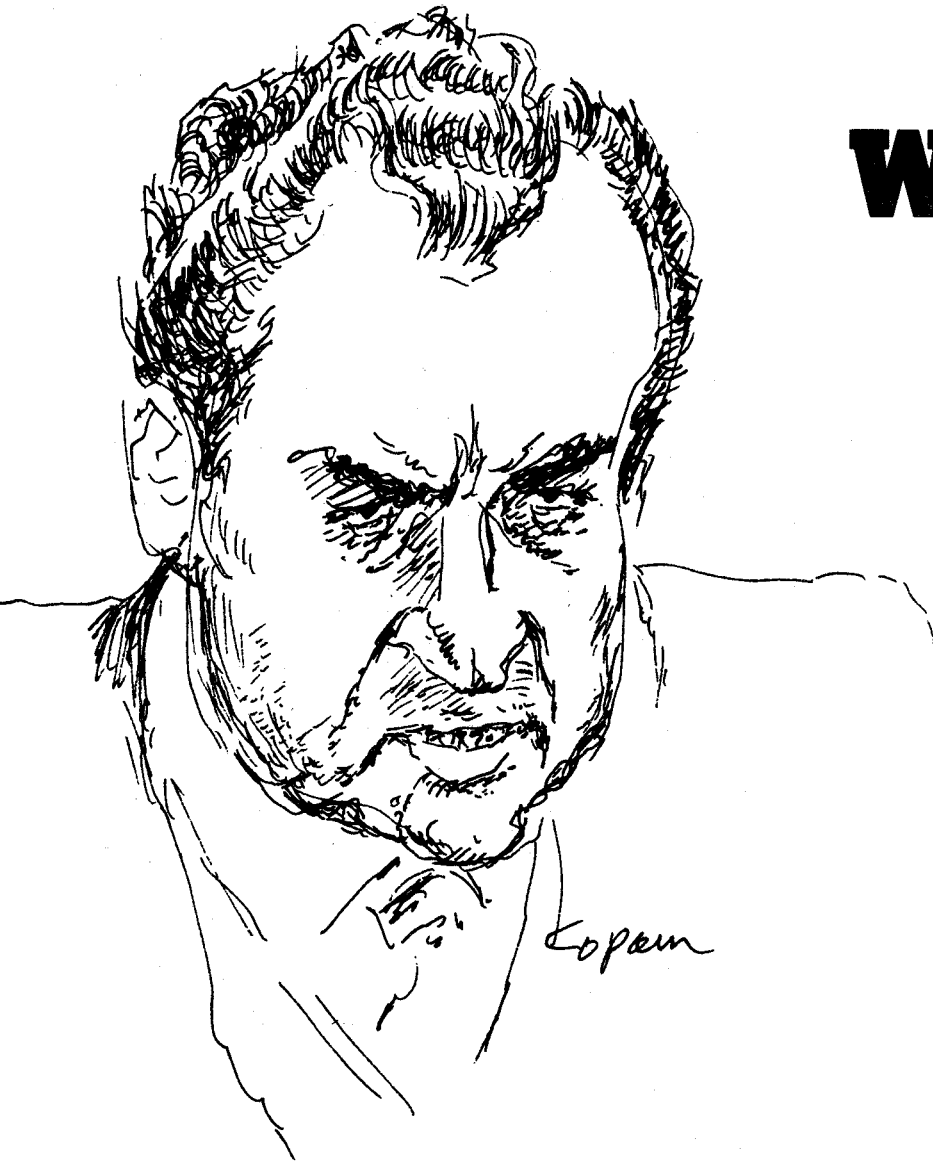
the Americas

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June 28, 1971

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## Why Nixon

## Tried

## to Gag

## the Press

Pentagon Study Details 'Scenario' of Aggression

# More on Death of Guerrillas in Iran

As reported in the June 14 issue of *Intercontinental Press*, six members of the group of nine alleged to have assassinated General Ziaddin Farsiou have been either killed or captured, according to communiques issued by the police in Teheran.

Eskandar Sadegi-Nejad, Rahmatollah Peyronaziri, and Ameer Parviz Pouyan were killed in two separate gun battles in Teheran on May 24. Javad Salahi was killed six weeks earlier.

In the gun battles, the police said they had wounded and captured two more members of the group, but did not reveal their names. Five policemen were wounded in the alleged shoot-outs.

The accounts, as we noted, contained discrepancies.

The Teheran daily *Keyhan* of June 1 contains further details. According to the latest police account, Pouyan and Peyronaziri were in hiding. The police surrounded the house and killed them, after the two "started shooting."

Later in the day (May 24), the police spotted Sadegi-Nejad and two of his comrades as they started to move furniture into an apartment, their new hiding place. They killed Sadegi-Nejad, again in a "shoot-out."

To believe the police, there were thus two separate gun battles.

The London *Times*, in a dispatch from Teheran dated May 25, nevertheless reported that the three were killed after a ten-hour gun battle. The *Times* also mentions another version, according to which two of the victims may have committed suicide.

The police claim to have captured a few more "outlaws," including two women whose names were not revealed. Of the five wounded policemen, one has reportedly died.

The nine, sought since March by the police, are charged with having assassinated General Farsiou, a notorious military prosecutor of political opponents of the shah; with having fatally wounded a policeman to get his weapon; and with having held up a bank and stolen \$80,000.

Meanwhile, the shah is busy with preparations for celebrating 2,500 years under the Persian monarchy.

The Iranian press reports that as a result of publicity abroad, a street in Rome will be named after Cyrus the Great. Giuseppe Saragat, the president of Italy, sent a message stating that the reign of Cyrus the Great was a turning point in the history of humanity.

Naturally. And so was the discovery of oil. □

## Heroism Goes Up in Smoke

A GI who won a Medal of Honor in Vietnam says he was stoned on marijuana when he performed his act of heroism.

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# Why Nixon Tried to Gag the Press

By Joseph Hansen

When the *New York Times* began publication of the Pentagon documents on how the U. S. came to engage in an undeclared war in Southeast Asia, top Republican circles at first viewed the exposure as a political windfall.

"Among Congressional Republicans," Washington correspondent John W. Finney reported in the June 16 *Times*, "a common opinion was that the material published by The Times was far more damaging to the Democrats and the Johnson Administration than to the Nixon Administration."

The Senate Republican leader, Hugh Scott, said flatly: "It is not harmful to this Administration."

According to Finney, "After a White House meeting with Republican legislative leaders, Senator Scott told reporters that there was a general feeling at the White House that the report was made public as a result of 'an intraparty dispute' within the Democratic party."

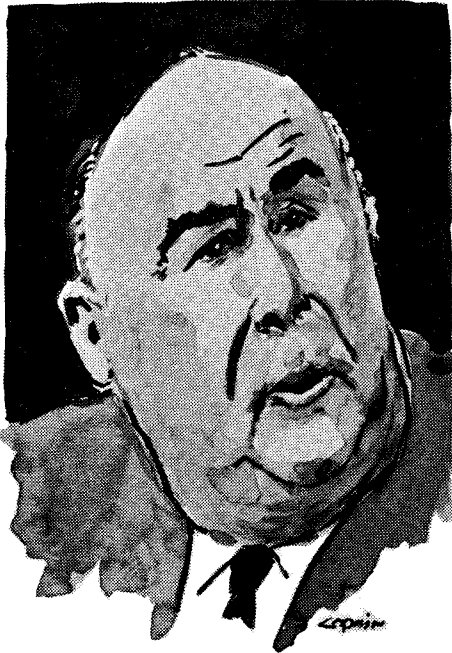
Then came the sudden decision to try to gag the *Times*. An expression of bipartisan solidarity with the Democrats? It was a gesture that came at heavy political cost to the Republicans and without much gratitude from the Democrats. What were the real reasons?

The first explanations were so tortured as to strain credibility. They were obviously dictated by the attempt to utilize the espionage laws, in the absence of any legislation sanctioning government censorship.

Thus in the complaint he filed against the *Times* June 15—the first installment in the series was on the streets the evening of June 12—Attorney General Mitchell argued that "immediate and irreparable harm" to the "nation's security" was involved.

This contention failed to convince Judge Gurfein, and Mitchell had to take his implausible argument to a higher court.

Administration spokesmen supplemented this with another argument—the need to "uphold the law" and recover the "stolen goods" utilized by the *Times*.



MITCHELL: "... and the nation's security will suffer immediate and irreparable harm, for which injury plaintiff has no adequate remedy at law."

This line was not pushed with much conviction, possibly because those who thought it up were not exactly without sin themselves. It is common practice to "leak" classified documents to the press as a way of gaining publicity, and correspondents in Washington were quick to hint at previous leaks involving figures going right up to the White House.

Secretary of State Rogers tried a different angle. In a press conference June 15, Rogers contended: "If governments can't deal with us in any degree of confidentiality it's going to be a very serious matter."

The obvious answer to this is to give up secret diplomacy, which has no other aim but to facilitate lying to the people. That answer, however, is hardly likely to be advanced by any capitalist spokesman today. This is not the time of Lenin and Trotsky, who published the secret agreements made by the Czarist government, thereby impelling Woodrow Wilson to

espouse open diplomacy—at least in words.

Rogers's defense of the try at muzzle the American press—out of concern for the feelings of foreign accomplices in the war crimes of the U. S. government—was followed up by Ronald L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary.

In a "briefing" June 19 in Key Biscayne, Florida, where Nixon was spending the weekend, Ziegler told reporters that the one compelling reason for the legal action against the *Times* and the *Washington Post* was the belief that the government "cannot operate its foreign policy in the best interests of the American people if it cannot deal with foreign powers in a confidential way."

Still another reason, however, had been advanced the previous day by another White House spokesman. The June 19 *Times* reported that Herbert G. Klein, Nixon's director of communications, told newsmen in Washington "that the President's principal concern in The Times case was to discourage officials opposed to the Vietnam war from giving other classified documents to the press." Nixon was "more concerned" over this than over whether national security had been "endangered."

Writing in the June 20 *Times*, Max Frankel observed: "As the White House acknowledged, the Government now saw the damage as already done. It wished to salvage only a precedent for future restraint and perhaps some evidence for later criminal prosecution of the sources, the newspapers, or both."

This clearly suggests the main political reason for Nixon's decision to disregard all precedents in the United States and undertake a court action that was in patent violation of the constitution he had sworn to uphold.

The Pentagon study goes only up to 1968. It includes no secret documents or assessments of what has occurred since Nixon relieved Johnson as commander in chief.

The revelations made by the *Times* naturally bring up the question: What has happened since 1968? Specifically—has Nixon been lying to the public about his policy of "Vietnamization" and "staged withdrawal of troops" the way Johnson lied about his course?

It seems clear that after first considering how the series in the *Times* could be used against the Democrats, the Republican strategists suddenly re-

alized that they, if anything, were even more vulnerable. Nixon campaigned for office on the pledge that he had a secret plan for peace. He has maintained a public stance of having opted for getting out of Vietnam . . . eventually if not now. What if someone were to "leak" documents to the press exposing the truth? This would mean the definitive end of any prospects for reelecting Nixon in 1972.

Thus we are entitled to conclude that Nixon's attack on the *Times* and the *Washington Post* was really aimed at blocking similar disclosures involving his own administration.

The publication of the Pentagon documents probably gave Nixon the feeling—after he had thought it over—that a pistol had been pointed at his head.

The owners of the *Times* had no doubt weighed this possibility. In fact this may have been paramount in their decision to print the material, rather than what they claim to have had in mind: the obligation to do their bit in maintaining a free press—an obligation they have failed to live up to on some notable occasions, such as the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

From this, we may judge how deep the differences have grown within the American capitalist class over the military adventure in Indochina and Nixon's course of keeping it going in hope of winning a Korea-like settlement.

The *Times*, from an initial position favoring U. S. military intervention in Vietnam, became increasingly reserved. What it found most disturbing was the growing tendency of the antiwar movement to engage in mass demonstrations. These pointed to mounting difficulties for the political demagogues in trying to co-opt the antiwar movement, to divert it into the safe channels of electoralism.

The reaction of the American people to war crimes like Mylai, and to the invasion of Cambodia and then of Laos did nothing to allay the fears of the *Times*. Its editorial columns have spoken more and more insistently of the need to find a way out of the morass.

Even though it was interrupted after the first three installments, the exposure printed by the *Times* has already had big impact.

Besides widespread indignation over Nixon's attempt to gag the press, and demands from all sides to know what the still unpublished documents con-

tain, congressmen are beginning to talk about launching an investigation of their own on how the U. S. got into an undeclared war on the mainland of Asia.

The public image of Congress was particularly damaged by publication of the documents, for the legislators were shown to have acted like sheep wearing the brand "LBJ."

Some effort will be made to repair the damage, but not a great deal; for actually they were only in sheep's clothing and knew exactly what it was all about. Most of them will count on the public soon forgetting, as in previous scandals.

At this point, the antiwar movement is still looking over the materials provided by the *Times* and the *Washington Post*. What the outcome will be is not difficult to forecast.

First, the revelations, serving as fresh fuel of unusual potency, will add considerably to the dynamic thrust of the antiwar movement.

Secondly, while the demand for a thorough investigation of the origins of U. S. involvement in Indochina can

be expected to rise, partly in an effort to cast doubt on the "objectivity" of the current revelations and to rehabilitate Congress, a vast section of the population will conclude that the case has now been proved to the hilt and that only one response is possible—*get out now!*

Thirdly, the antiwar movement is certain to mount heavy pressure to find out the truth about Nixon's course, whether by an investigation in which genuine confidence can be placed or by "leaks" like the present one.

Fourthly, it can be expected that Nixon will do his utmost to block any new "leak" or any investigation that is not a whitewash. The consequence of that will be an ever-widening credibility gap of the kind that finally compelled Johnson to retire.

The antiwar movement thus stands to make big gains in the immediate future if it proves capable of taking full advantage of the exposures, particularly in utilizing them to help bring further mass demonstrations to a new pitch in scope and organization. □

## Everyone Was Caught by Surprise

### How the 'Times' Did It

In an effort to track down the "leak," the FBI is investigating all persons who may have had access to the Pentagon's secret Vietnam study, utilized by the *Times* for its sensational disclosures.

Only fifteen "authorized" copies are reported to exist: six in the Pentagon, one in the White House, two in the State Department, one in former President Johnson's library in Austin, Texas, two in the National Archives, two with the Rand Corporation, and one with former Defense Secretary Clark Clifford.

The *Times* stated in court that it had a Xerox copy, but refused to divulge how it had been obtained. Since the report contains 7,000 pages, the FBI is confident that its investigation will reveal who had sufficient time and resources to do such a mammoth job on a Xerox machine.

An unnamed official of the CIA was quoted in the June 16 *Washington Post* as saying, "only half in jest," that "Whoever did it ought to be shot at

dawn at the Washington Monument." He added, after a brief pause, "High noon will do; more people will see it."

The press is now openly speculating that Daniel Ellsberg, a former State and Defense Department employee, is the *Times* source.

Ellsberg was described in the *New York Post* of June 17 as a former "hawk" who became convinced that U. S. policy was wrong. This spring Ellsberg participated in the Washington antiwar demonstrations.

The *New York Times* reported June 19 that Ellsberg had disappeared from his Cambridge, Massachusetts, home. *Newsweek* (June 28) nevertheless succeeded in interviewing him. "He flatly refused to comment on whether he had, in fact, turned the classified papers" over to reporters, the magazine said.

But Ellsberg did say, "I'm glad it's out. I'm flattered to be suspected of having leaked it."

He also said that he was "happy" that the documents had been made

public. "We have a good starting point for a real understanding of the war."

In his view, the papers constitute the U. S. equivalent of the Nuremberg war-crimes documents."

The *Times* took three months to work up its presentation of the documents, doing the job in a way hardly suggestive of much confidence in the "open society" it is fond of picturing in its editorial columns.

Neil Sheehan, Hedrick Smith, and E. W. Kenworthy secretly moved into the New York Hilton Hotel, along with the Xerox copies of the forty-seven-volume Pentagon study and a library on the history of the Indochina war.

Shortly before the series began, three editors from the *Times* foreign news desk left their offices and also moved into the hotel.

During the last week before publication, temporary walls were built in the *Times* composing room, and a select team of completely trusted typesetters began setting the articles. They were ordered to tell no one what they were working on.

Late Saturday afternoon, June 12, the workers preparing the Sunday edition were told to hold the top of the first page and six full pages inside for a special item that was on its way down. Less than one hour before the press run started, the first installment, already set and laid out, was delivered.

The issue was on the streets before anybody besides the editors, writers, and typesetters knew what it contained.

The *Times* security paid off in at least one respect. Two installments of the series appeared before the Nixon team could settle on what line to take. On the night of June 14, the *Times* received a telegram from Attorney General John Mitchell, asking that publication of the series be voluntarily halted. The *Times* refused and printed the third installment of the series on June 15. The government then went to court, citing the Espionage Law.

On June 15 U. S. District Judge Murray Gurfein issued a temporary order stopping the series while he considered the government's request for a permanent order. On June 19 Gurfein rejected the government's request, stating that the government could prosecute the *Times* after the articles appeared, but could not prevent publication.

But Judge Irving R. Kaufman of the

U. S. Court of Appeals again blocked continuation of the Vietnam documents until the three-judge appeals court could consider the government's case.

No matter which way the Court of Appeals rules, it is certain that the loser will institute further appeals. The U. S. Supreme Court is reported to

## U.S. Allies in Supporting Role

# Pentagon Study Details 'Scenario' of Aggression

By Allen Myers

In a memorandum prepared for U. S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara on March 24, 1965, John T. McNaughton, the assistant secretary of defense for internal security affairs, spelled out what he and his employers hoped to accomplish in the Vietnam war.

"US aims," McNaughton said, could be apportioned as follows:

"70% — To avoid a humiliating US defeat (to our reputation as a guarantor).

"20% — To keep SVN [South Vietnam] (and the adjacent) territory from Chinese hands.

"10% — To permit the people of SVN to enjoy a better, freer way of life."

Even the 10% is a generous description of the motives of the U. S. government. In publishing its summary — plus selected documents — of a secret Pentagon study on American involvement in Vietnam, the *New York Times* has provided incontestable proof of the aims of U. S. imperialism. Even if the Nixon administration succeeds in preventing the continuation of the series, sufficient material has already been published to discredit completely twenty years of government propaganda about the Indochina war.

The "government" of South Vietnam, for example, is treated to the sort of lecture usually reserved for erring schoolchildren. Following a mini-coup in December 1964, the U. S. "ambassador," Maxwell Taylor, addressed the rebel officers, including Nguyen Van Thieu and Nguyen Cao Ky:

"Do all of you understand English?

be preparing to make an immediate decision.

In the meantime, the *Washington Post* obtained copies of parts of the Pentagon report, and began publishing a series of its own, which was syndicated to more than 300 newspapers. The government thereupon restrained the *Post* from publishing its articles until the courts have ruled. □

I told you all clearly at General Westmoreland's dinner we Americans were tired of coups. Apparently I wasted my words. Maybe this is because something is wrong with my French because you evidently didn't understand. I made it clear that all the military plans which I know you would like to carry out are dependent on governmental stability. Now you have made a real mess. We cannot carry you forever if you do things like this. . . ."

The Pentagon study admits that over the years the aims of U. S. Indochina policy have remained constant with both "liberal" and conservative presidents. Among the study's conclusions, *Times* reporter Neil Sheehan wrote, was the following:

"That . . . four succeeding administrations built up the American political, military and psychological stakes in Indochina, often more deeply than they realized at the time, with large-scale military equipment to the French in 1950; with acts of sabotage and terror warfare against North Vietnam beginning in 1954; with moves that encouraged and abetted the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam in 1963; with plans, pledges and threats of further action that sprang to life in the Tonkin Gulf clashes in August, 1964; with the careful preparation of public opinion for the years of open warfare that were to follow; and with the calculation in 1965, as the planes and troops were openly committed to sustained combat, that neither accommodation

inside South Vietnam nor early negotiations with North Vietnam would achieve the desired result."

The material published by the *Times* before the series was interrupted dealt primarily with the years 1964 and 1965.

On February 1, 1964, Lyndon Johnson ordered the escalation of U. S. aggression against North Vietnam in what the Pentagon study calls "an elaborate program of covert military operations." The offensive was given the title Operation Plan 34A.

In a December 21, 1963, memorandum to Johnson, McNamara described 34A, which was then under discussion, as "an excellent job." The memorandum, entitled "Vietnam Situation," made it clear that the plan was intended to brighten what McNamara considered a very gloomy situation in South Vietnam:

"The situation is very disturbing. Current trends, unless reversed in the next 2-3 months, will lead to neutralization at best and more likely to a Communist-controlled state. . . .

"Viet Cong progress has been great during the period since the coup [that overthrew Diem in November 1963], with my best guess being that the situation has in fact been deteriorating in the countryside since July to a far greater extent than we realized because of our undue dependence on distorted Vietnamese reporting. The Viet Cong now control very high proportions of the people in certain key provinces, particularly those directly south and west of Saigon. The Strategic Hamlet Program was seriously over-extended in those provinces, and the Viet Cong has been able to destroy many hamlets, while others have been abandoned or in some cases betrayed or pillaged by the government's own Self Defense Corps. In these key provinces, the Viet Cong have destroyed almost all major roads, and are collecting taxes at will."

Of the proposals included in Operation Plan 34A, McNamara added, "They present a wide variety of sabotage and psychological operations against North Vietnam from which I believe we should aim to select those that provide maximum pressure with minimum risk."

Actions carried out under 34A included U-2 spy plane flights, kidnapping of North Vietnamese civilians, parachuting of sabotage teams into North Vietnam, commando raids to

blow up bridges, and shelling of coastal installations.

At the same time that Johnson was escalating the war against North Vietnam, the U. S. government was already deeply involved in an air war in Laos. An August 17, 1964, cablegram from Admiral Grant Sharp, commander of U. S. forces in the Pacific, gave the following information about this war, which was under the direction of the Central Intelligence Agency:

"There are now 27 T-28 (including three RT-28) aircraft in Laos, of which 22 are in operation. CINCPAC [Commander in Chief, Pacific] has taken action, in response to Ambassador Unger's request to build this inventory back up to 40 aircraft for which a pilot capability, including Thai, is present in Laos."

Sharp described these planes as carrying out "general harassing activities against Pathet Lao military installations," "tactical support missions for government troops," "strikes on targets of opportunity," "corridor interdiction," and "reconnaissance."

Long before the Gulf of Tonkin incident in August 1964, the U. S. government was already waging war against North Vietnam. The "attacks" on U. S. ships in the gulf were directly related to raids against North Vietnam.

"At midnight on July 30," Sheehan wrote, "South Vietnamese naval commandos under General Westmoreland's command staged an amphibious raid on the North Vietnamese islands of Hon Me and Hon Nieu in the Gulf of Tonkin.

"While the assault was occurring, the United States destroyer Maddox was 120 to 130 miles away, heading north into the gulf on the year's second . . . intelligence-gathering patrol."

On August 2, the first clash occurred between U. S. and North Vietnamese ships. The next night, further sneak attacks were directed against North Vietnam:

"PT boats manned by South Vietnamese crews bombarded the Rhon River estuary and a radar installation at Vinhson."

The next day, the second fight between North Vietnamese and U. S. ships occurred. This provided Johnson with a pretext for air raids against coastal installations, the first such raids publicly acknowledged by the U. S. government.

In fact, however, American planes

had attacked North Vietnamese civilians immediately prior to Tonkin. In a paper prepared by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green on November 7, 1964, it is admitted:

"The DRV [Democratic Republic of Vietnam] claims T-28's have violated North Vietnamese airspace and bombed/strafed NVN villages on August 1 and 2, and on October 16 and 17 and again on October 28. The charges are probably accurate with respect to the first two dates . . . and the last one. . . ."

At a news conference following the Tonkin Gulf events, McNamara was asked, "Have there been any incidents that you know involving South Vietnamese vessels and the North Vietnamese?"

He replied, "No, none that I know of. . . ."

Following the Tonkin Gulf incidents, a "strategy meeting" at the White House was scheduled for September 7. John McNaughton, assistant secretary of defense, prepared a memorandum for consideration at this meeting. It offers a revealing insight into the complete cynicism of the imperialist general staff.

After describing the "deteriorating" situation in South Vietnam and the consequent need for "actions outside the borders of South Vietnam," McNaughton listed five desirable characteristics of such actions:

". . . (1) from the US, GVN [Government of (South) Vietnam] and hopefully allied points of view, they should be legitimate things to do under the circumstances, (2) they should cause apprehension, ideally increasing apprehension, in the DRV, (3) they should be likely at some point to provoke a military DRV response, (4) the provoked response should be likely to provide good grounds for us to escalate if we wished, and (5) the timing and crescendo should be under our control, with the scenario capable of being turned off at any time. . . ."

Following the meeting, William P. Bundy recorded the "consensus" reached, which apparently approved in principle the "scenario" advocated by McNaughton. The courses of action recommended included resumption of naval patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin and of 34A operations, "limited GVN air and ground operations into the corridor areas of Laos," and preparation to "respond" to attacks on U. S. units. Bundy's memorandum continued:



## Light on the Beginning of the Tunnel



Herblock in the Washington Post

"The main further question is the extent to which we should add elements to the above actions that would tend *deliberately to provoke a DRV reaction, and consequent retaliation by us.* Examples of actions to be considered would be running US naval patrols increasingly close to the North Vietnamese coast and/or associating them with 34A operations. We believe such deliberately provocative elements should not be added in the immediate future while the GVN is still struggling to its feet. By early October, however, we may recommend such actions depending on GVN progress and Communist reaction in the meantime, especially to US naval patrols." (Emphasis added.)

June 28, 1971

Throughout the period leading up to the invasion of South Vietnam by large numbers of U. S. ground troops in the summer of 1965, the warmakers were busy working out a variety of "scenarios" for escalation. Most seemed to be based on the strategic principle spelled out by McNaughton in a paper dated November 6, 1964:

"Action against North Vietnam is to some extent a substitute for strengthening the government in South Vietnam."

From these various plans eventually emerged the decision to launch the continuous bombing of North Vietnam. Presidential assistant McGeorge Bundy described this as "A Policy of Sustained Reprisal" in a February 7,

1965, memorandum. This read in part:

"1. In partnership with the Government of Vietnam, we should develop and exercise the option to retaliate against *any* VC act of violence to persons or property. [Emphasis in original.]

"2. In practice, we may wish at the outset to relate our reprisals to those acts of relatively high visibility. . . .

"3. Once a program of reprisals is clearly underway, it should not be necessary to connect each specific act against North Vietnam to a particular outrage in the South. It should be possible, for example, to publish weekly lists of outrages in the South and to have it clearly understood that these outrages are the cause of such action against the North as may be occurring in the current period. . . ."

Bundy went on to admit that the devastating air war against North Vietnam was intended primarily to terrorize the population of the South:

"We emphasize that our primary target in advocating a reprisal is the improvement of the situation in *South* Vietnam. Action against the North is usually urged as a means of affecting the will of Hanoi to direct and support the VC. We consider this an important but longer-range purpose. The immediate and critical targets are in the South—in the minds of the South Vietnamese and in the minds of the Viet Cong cadres."

The same day that Bundy prepared this memorandum, the White House issued a statement claiming that recent attacks on North Vietnam were an "appropriate and fitting" response to a National Liberation Front attack on the U. S. base at Pleiku. The statement added the assertion that ". . . we seek no wider war."

The same pattern of lies was repeated again and again, the Pentagon study reveals. In every escalation, the decision adopted was always denied publicly until it was no longer possible to do so.

In these attempts to deceive American and world opinion, the warmakers were careful to enlist the aid of their allies, particularly those that could conceivably be presented as "democratic."

In a November 5, 1964, paper, for example, William Bundy described the procedure to be followed before the launching of new "reprisals":

"a. We should probably consult with the U. K., Australia, New Zealand,

and possibly Thailand before we reach a decision. We would hope for firm moral support from the U. K. and for participation in at least token form from the others. . . .

"f. World-wide, we should select reasonably friendly chiefs of state for special treatment seeking their sympathy and support, and should arm all our representatives with the rationale and defense of our action whether individual reprisal or broader."

In connection with more specific escalation of the air war in North Vietnam and Laos, a November 29, 1964, paper stated:

"E. *Key Allies*

"We will consult immediately with the UK, Australia, New Zealand, and the Philippines.

"1. UK. The President will explain the concept and proposed actions fully to Prime Minister Wilson, seeking full British support, but without asking for any additional British contribution in view of the British role in Malaysia.

"2. Australia and New Zealand will be pressed through their Ambassadors, not only for support but for additional contributions.

"3. The Philippines will be particularly pressed for contributions along the lines of the program for approximately 1800 men already submitted to President Macapagal."

The documents printed by the *Times* contain little concerning the response of U. S. imperialism's allies to the calls for aid, but the history of the war

leaves no room to conclude that Johnson had any cause for complaint. "Key ally" Harold Wilson, for example, when he dared to raise some questions about a proposed air strike, did so in such a helpful—not to say subservient—tone that there could be no doubt where his sympathies lay. The following excerpts are from a June 3, 1965, cablegram to Johnson:

"I was most grateful to you for asking Bob McNamara to arrange the very full briefing about the two oil targets near Hanoi and Haiphong. . . .

"I know you will not feel that I am either unsympathetic or uncomprehending of the dilemma that this problem presents for you. In particular, I wholly understand the deep concern you must feel at the need to do anything possible to reduce the losses of young Americans in and over Vietnam; and Col. Rogers made it clear to us what care has been taken to plan this operation so as to keep civilian casualties to the minimum.

"However . . . I am bound to say that, as seen from here, the possible military benefits that may result from this bombing do not appear to outweigh the political disadvantages that would seem the inevitable consequence. . . .

"Nevertheless I want to repeat . . . that our reservations about this operation will not affect our continuing support for your policy over Vietnam. . . ."

Not the least of the assistance pro-

vided to the U. S. government came from the Canadian government through the instrument of J. Blair Seaborn, that country's representative of the International Control Commission.

Sheehan noted that when Maxwell Taylor wanted to argue in March 1965 that the air raids needed to be increased in size and tempo, he was able to make use of some privileged information:

"He cited as evidence a report from J. Blair Seaborn . . . who, in Hanoi earlier that month, had performed one of a series of secret diplomatic missions for the United States."

From the documents, Seaborn appears to have performed his duties with about as much independence as a telegraph operator, as indicated by the following passage from William Bundy's November 5, 1964, paper:

"For more direct communication Seaborn can be revved up to go up [to Hanoi] the 15th if we think it wise. He is not going anyway, and we could probably hold him back so that the absence of any message was not itself a signal."

The portrayal of Seaborn is no more derogatory, however, than that of any other character who has played a role in one of the warmakers' "scenarios." The continuation of the *Times* series on Vietnam, if it is permitted, promises to present an entire performance without a hero. □

## Accusing Fingers Point in All Directions

# Political Storm Over Baring of Pentagon 'Secrets'

By Jon Rothschild

The *New York Times'* publication of secret Pentagon documents on the Indochina war and the U. S. government's effort to place the *Times*, and later the *Washington Post*, under censorship have touched off a nationwide and international political storm.

Sixty-two members of the House of Representatives signed a letter to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird, asking him to make the documents available to Congress and protesting Attorney General John N. Mitchell's "harassment" of the *Times*.

William S. Moorhead, head of the information subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee, which is planning to hold hearings on the government's classification procedures, charged that the Pentagon study was made secret "not so much to save the security of the United States, but to save some red faces."

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, brother of the late president, called for full disclosure of the documents.

Senator Mike Mansfield, the majority leader, said that "one high official"

mentioned in the Pentagon documents had volunteered to testify if there is a Senate hearing on the study.

Paul M. McCloskey, a liberal Republican Congressman, made a motion June 17 to adjourn the session of the House of Representatives in protest over the Nixon regime's attempt to stop publication of further documents. (The motion was rejected by a 368-to-30 vote.)

Secretary of Housing and Urban Development George Romney said that the Pentagon report had substan-



tiated his claim, made six years ago, that the public was being "brain-washed" by the Johnson administration.

One of the more shamefaced responses came from Senator William Fulbright, the man who personally guided the Gulf of Tonkin resolution through the Senate in August 1964 and who later became a leading Congressional critic of the tactics being used in the prosecution of the war.

"I feel strongly because I played a part personally," Fulbright, speaking in England, said. "It all seems terribly naive now, that we would believe it [Johnson's claim that the Tonkin resolution would shorten the war]. But the President, you know, had us down to the White House, and there was this fever of excitement."

Other major participants in the escalation of the war, those who have still not recanted, were somewhat more upset by the disclosures.

General Maxwell D. Taylor, who was U. S. ambassador to South Vietnam from the middle of 1964 to the middle of 1965, said on a Columbia Broadcasting System news report that the *Times* had engaged in a "practice of betrayal of Government secrets."

Taylor disputed the concept that the citizen has a right to full information about the administration's activities: "A citizen should know those things he needs to know to be a good citizen and discharge his functions, but not to get into secrets that damage his Government and indirectly damage the citizen himself."

Dean Rusk, who was secretary of state for six years under two administrations, insisted that he had "never heard" of the Pentagon study. He refused to answer reporters' questions, saying, "The matter is now before the courts."

Hubert Humphrey, vice president in the Johnson administration and Democratic party candidate for the presidency in 1968, likewise pleaded ignorance. However, Humphrey did say that it is not true that the escalation of the war was planned as early as 1964.

The *Washington Post* of June 17 quoted his explanation as follows: "These papers portray Johnson as wanting to wage an all-out military offensive, and that's just not true. I am a sensitive observer of the man, I saw him anguish over the war. I saw him try to limit the bombing, turn down the Joint Chiefs' manpower

requests and turn down bombing Haiphong harbor . . . He wanted to end the war and get a negotiated peace."

Humphrey thought that publication of the study would "only aid and abet the doubt and cynicism and suspicion about government."

He said that he did not think the people had been lied to. But were they told enough of the truth? "How do I know?" he answered. "I'm not Jesus. I'm not Solomon. I'm just Humphrey."

Henry Kissinger, the presidential adviser who is widely reputed to be the most influential foreign-policy figure in the Nixon administration, also claimed that he has never seen the Pentagon report.

The most candid comment from a prowar spokesman came from Barry Goldwater, the 1964 Republican presidential candidate: "See, I was being called trigger-happy, warmonger, bomb-happy, and all the time Johnson was saying he'd never send American boys. I knew damn well he would."

The U. S. press has overwhelmingly supported the *Times'* publication of the secret study and has opposed government attempts to prevent further installments from appearing.

The June 17 and 18 issues of the *New York Times* published excerpts of editorial comments from thirty-one U. S. newspapers. Only four of them attacked the *Times*. Even the *Wall Street Journal*, the voice of the American financial elite, felt that the attempt of the Nixon administration to censor the news was damaging to the democratic image of U. S. imperialism: "After reading what The Times has published so far, we find scant merit in the Attorney General's complaint . . . the very attitude that the retaliative reaction of the Attorney General and the Pentagon reflect—the idea that the truths involved in momentous Government decisions should be 'stage managed' for the benefit of public opinion—has done a great deal of harm to our national interests."

There were, however, some dissenting voices. Among these were the syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, who had played a significant role in red-baiting the April 24 antiwar demonstrations. Their June 17 column warned that the results of the disclosures could be "devastating." The "damage," they wrote, "lies in a further breakdown

of confidence in the U. S. government, particularly among the youth.

"As such, in the words of one key official of the Johnson administration, who long since has entered the antiwar ranks, the published documents are 'a stunning blow to moderate liberalism in the United States and a tremendous gain for the Far Left.'"

Evans and Novak reminded the *Times* that its voice was among those raised in 1963 and 1964 in favor of strong U. S. military action against the Vietnamese revolution.

The exposure of the government's duplicity had immediate repercussions abroad. The fact that Walter W. Rostow, chairman of the State Department's Policy Planning Council, for example, wrote to Defense Secretary McNamara that the U. S. should "help pin our allies to the wall" made a juicy item for the press in Australia and New Zealand. In fact, the Australian press, as well as the opposition Labor party, has charged the government with blindly following the Johnson administration.

The *Washington Post* of June 17 quoted the Sydney *Daily Mirror* as saying that the Pentagon report "makes sickening nonsense" of the government's claim that Australian troops were sent to Vietnam solely because the South Vietnamese government had requested aid. The Australian people had been "fooled," said the *Mirror*, at the cost of "470 dead and more than 3,000 Australian soldiers . . . maimed in Vietnam."

Bowing to the pressure from Australian public and press opinion, Prime Minister William McMahon called for an inquiry into the circumstances under which Australian troops were committed to Indochina.

Even in Vietnam itself, the tightly censored press called attention to Johnson's lies, and the possible effects of disclosure of the truth. The June 17 *New York Times* quoted the English-language Saigon *Vietnam Daily Mirror*: "The U. S. citizenry is raised in school on the textbook phrase, 'The Congress shall declare war.' National support was vital to the war. Hence, a Congressional O. K. was vital to the war. Instead, Johnson lied hugely, constantly, at every turn in the entry into the war. The results were predictable in public reaction."

The London *Times* defended the government's right to lie to its people, but suggested that, this time, the

U. S. had gone too far: "All governments find that they have to be less than frank and all governments are divided by their own hopes, but to go to war on a lie is a different matter." The London *Guardian* said that if governments are caught misleading the public, "they ought not to be able to shelter behind a law, especially a law which was passed for another purpose—maintenance of military security."

*Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo) wrote that the Pentagon report "has proved that it [Vietnam] was not a correct war. We want the Nixon Administration rather to make this the starting point for a decision to end the war."

Even the *Rand Daily Mail* of South Africa found Nixon's censorship attempt mildly objectionable: "We know that civilized governments subscribe to the idea of a press publishing without favor. What is abundantly clear is that some subscribe rather less than others."

The Paris daily *Le Monde* wrote

that Europeans, especially the French, who have had considerable experience with government censorship, were surprised that Nixon didn't simply seize the issues of the *Times* that had met with his disapproval. A front-page editorial in the June 17 issue declared:

"What is surprising in the affair is the surprise of so many Americans, and in particular of their elected officials. They are discovering that even in testimony taken behind closed doors, the leaders did not tell the truth. The politicians feel that they were deceived. However, many of the facts reported by the *New York Times* were known. The Indochinese Communists, along with independent observers, had exposed a great number of them. But Americans, like many other people, hardly like to look disagreeable truths in the face."

*Le Monde* attributed the problem of government dishonesty to the extension of the power of the executive and the existence of a "timid" Congress.

The domestic political reaction to the Pentagon report resembles the famous old cartoon of the "Tweed ring." Each politician is disclaiming responsibility for the deceit revealed by the documents and pointing an accusing figure at someone else.

The Nixon administration has claimed that it is not interested in defending previous administrations, whose inner workings are exposed by the report, but only in safeguarding the right of the government to conduct policy away from the prying eyes of the population. The "dove" politicians are seeking to explain their past uncritical support to the war on the grounds that they had no way of knowing what was really happening. Officials of the Johnson regime claim that the report is not accurate.

But the antiwar movement, which has continually exposed the lies of the U. S. government, is not likely to let the U. S. ruling class off the hook. □

## Echeverria Faces Governmental Crisis

# The Meaning of the June 10 Battles in Mexico

By Ricardo Ochoa

MEXICO CITY, JUNE 13—In the wake of the murderous attack by official and unofficial government armed forces on the mass student demonstration here three days ago, the new Echeverria administration has been precipitated into its first major crisis. Once again, by standing up to defend democratic and constitutional rights, the students of Mexico City have exacerbated the political contradictions of bourgeois rule in this country to the point of explosion, completely unmasking the so-called reformist policy of Luis Echeverria.

The new president was minister of the interior under Díaz Ordaz when the police and the army staged their premeditated assault on the peaceful rally in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlatelolco, systematically slaughtering hundreds of young people, including small children. Now his own administration has gotten its baptism of blood in a deliberate massacre that can only be compared to that

night of October 2, 1968, in the Plaza delas Tres Culturas.

For the second time in three years, the streets of the capital have been littered with the bodies of Mexican youth; piles of bodies were seen at the Rubén Leñero hospital in the area where the massacre took place and in trucks heading toward the military bases outside the city. As in 1968, an unknown number of young Mexicans will disappear into secret graves or army-run crematoriums.

The slaughter of students Thursday June 10 shocked the entire city. The citizens of the capital remembered those still recent days when they saw the streets of the city filled with military vehicles, riot troops, and demonstrating students—and heard the scream of police sirens, the crack of rifle shots, and the rattling of machine guns. June 10 seemed to be a repeat of the tragic days of 1968, which began with the clashes of July

26 and ended with the massacre of October 2.

There was a new element, however, in the repression of the June 10 demonstration that represented a sharp change from 1968. The use of fascist-like commando groups against the students revealed the depth of decay reached by the Mexican government, horrifying public opinion.

The demonstration three days ago was called by the Comité Coordinador de Comités de Lucha de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, del Instituto Politécnico, de la Universidad Iberoamericana y de Chapingo [the Coordinating Committee of the Struggle Committees of the Autonomous National University of Mexico, the Polytechnic Institute, the Ibero-American University, and the Chapingo Agricultural School], known as the COCO. The purpose of the march was to show the solidarity of the students in the Federal District with their comrades in Monterrey.

After a long struggle between the students at the Universidad de Nuevo León in Monterrey and the state authorities, Echeverría intervened, removing state governor Eduardo Elizondo and offering to mediate the dispute. For the first time in years, the government had yielded to the demands of students.

The student movement realized that the struggle in Monterrey had coincided with stepped-up infighting between the industrial interests in this city and the federal government. However, the students in Monterrey were able to take advantage of the conflict to win some objectives in their fight to defend university autonomy and democratic self-management.

Prior to the June 10 march, a polemic occurred in the student vanguard over whether or not a demonstration was still indicated. The recently released leaders of the 1968 movement, who had just returned from Chile after a brief exile, argued that the fall of Elizondo had made the action untimely. The majority of the revolutionary groups thought, on the other hand, that the time was ideal precisely because of Elizondo's ouster.

The leaders of the old CNH [Consejo Nacional de Huelga—National Strike Council, the leading body of the 1968 movement] centered their objections on the hastiness and lack of organization of the planned demonstration. However, after an intense four-day campaign, 30,000 students gathered June 10 in the Casco de Santo Tomás. (The number of demonstrators was greatly discounted by the notoriously corrupt and intimidated Mexican press, which published estimates ranging from 3,000 in the rightist daily *Novedades* to 15,000 in some other papers.)

At about 4:00 in the afternoon, students began streaming into the Casco de Santo Tomás from all parts of the city. At about 5:00 the first contingent of the march began to move out, headed by a group of COCO leaders, a delegation of workers from the Ayotla textile factory, and the students from the University of Mexico school of economics. At this time the area was entirely surrounded by riot troops equipped with six French armored "crowd control" cars, and by hundreds of cops.

About fifteen minutes after the march had started, the first nonviolent confrontation occurred with the police. The lead contingent was just leaving the Casco on the Escuela Normal de

Maestros side. Riot troops blocked the streets, claiming that no "permission" had been given for the demonstration. The COCO leaders, along with Marcué Pardiñas, went to the police officers to protest this violation of the constitutional right of assembly and the right to demonstrate. The front ranks began to sing the national anthem. A few minutes later the march resumed.

Ten minutes passed. When the head of the march moved onto the Calzada México-Tacuba, now outside the university area and in the center of the western part of the city, the cordon of riot troops and armored cars gave way. The ranks of troops moved aside to open the path for a horde of youths with clubs, iron bars, pistols, and all sorts of weapons.

To the shout of "Perseo-Halcones" [Perseus-Hawks], they charged the demonstration. Simultaneously another group attacked the rear of the march a kilometer further back. A few minutes later, another shock group issued from the police lines and split the demonstration at its center, attacking a contingent trapped between the police cordon and one side of the Escuela Normal de Maestros. It was obvious that it was a well-planned, professional military operation.

Nonetheless, the first clashes ended in complete defeat for the shock groups. At the head and in the center of the line of march, where the fighting was the bloodiest, the goons were driven back into the unmoving police cordon. Inside police lines, the goons were provided with pistols, M-1 rifles, and all sorts of firearms. Then they launched their second assault, under cover of a barrage of gunfire that lasted several hours.

Snipers stationed in the neighboring buildings, including the Escuela Normal, began firing on the crowd. In the midst of the throng, students saw their comrades struck down by bullets. The police and the "crowd control" tanks remained at the ready, watching the fight, moving only to open their ranks for goons seeking refuge or ammunition—or other types of weapons. More than a thousand armed thugs took control of a wide area, shooting at everything that moved.

Throughout the area of the Casco and the Escuela Normal, the streets were littered with the bodies of the dead and wounded. The riot troopers and police did not make a move to

disarm the shock group goons.

Our *muchachos* [young people] defended themselves as best they could. They threw the sticks of their signs, stones, bricks, everything they could lay their hands on, at the goons. The attackers suffered casualties but obviously it was a very one-sided battle. Young high-school and university students had to fight with their bare hands against militarily armed and trained professionals. The goons used electric prods and bamboo poles like experts. If there were no more deaths it was because the attackers were under the influence of drugs, and their marksmanship was poor.

The battle lasted about three hours, spreading to the numerous hospitals in the area. The Rubén Leñero city hospital in particular, where students and journalists took refuge, was like a scene out of Dante's *Inferno*. The goons invaded the hospital to take away the dead and wounded piled up there. They were trying to remove the evidence of their operation. Their eyes reddened by narcotics, they paraded through the corridors, exhibiting their M-1 rifles, laughing wildly, and mowing down anyone in their way.

In the gardens of the Casco, they searched for students unable to get away, casually killing all that they found and raping women. For hours, this terror reigned throughout a large area of the city under the benevolent eye of the "forces of order."

The goons did as they pleased, snatching wounded and dead students from the hands of their comrades or from doctors and taking them away in their vehicles (they came with gray and black hearses and city garbage trucks) to military crematoriums like those used in 1968.

But, unlike 1968, it was not the military or the police that carried out the repression. It was fascistlike bands fostered by the government. This was something quite new, a change that indicated a fascist evolution of a decaying regime. The student movement already has a long experience in confronting repression, but it was not prepared to face paramilitary shock groups.

Immediately after the attack began, the center of the city was occupied by police. At 7:00 in the evening, thousands of soldiers marched down the main streets leading into the Zócalo, where the government buildings are located. They surrounded the area to

defend it from a "student assault."

The specter of 1968 loomed when 500,000 persons filled this huge square, demanding that the government respect the constitution. Mexico City found itself besieged by the repressive forces. A profound crisis had been touched off. Cracks started to show up in the government. Confusion and apprehension settled over the population. Once again the tenseness of 1968 appeared in the faces of Mexicans.

## The Crisis of the Regime

From the time he was nominated by the official party<sup>1</sup> in 1969, Luis Echeverría took an ideological and political tack trying to show that he offered a real change from Díaz Ordaz's policy of open repression. In this way he de-escalated the crisis into which the 1968 student and popular movement had thrown the regime. Echeverría also echoed the "reformist" notes coming from the south (e.g., Peruvian military reformism; the perspectives of an Allende victory, later realized in fact), arguing that there were reform currents in Mexico that should be given a chance to express themselves.

The confrontations of 1968 caused a crisis of the system of bourgeois rule in Mexico by stripping away the reformist veneer that has characterized it for its whole history. The regime desperately needed to recover its "democratic" facade. But what happened in 1968, as the best Mexican political analysts as well as revolutionary Marxists have realized, was not just a crisis of Mexican reformism. For the first time in three decades, a broad popular mobilization developed independent of the government and confronted it outside of the traditional channels. In 1968 a challenge was posed to the system that could be halted only by a brutal repression of a type unheard of for long years.

In 1968, events showed what an acute stage the crisis of official reformism had reached, the crisis which had been spectacularly revealed ten years earlier by the 1958-59 railroad workers' movement. In reality this decline had begun at the end of the 1940s with the election of Miguel Alemán as president. He opened the doors wide to a new policy of subordination

to imperialism, which although it followed a pattern different from the type of colonialism known earlier, profoundly distorted the economic development of the country.

The results of this policy can be seen in the growing deficit in the balance of trade, the mammoth growth of the external debt, a very uneven distribution of income, and a tax structure tailored to suit the big capitalists, mostly foreigners, who have gained control of the country's manufacturing industry. Finally this new dependency is shown by the rigging of the state sector, including Pemex [the state-owned petroleum industry], the country's largest corporation, to subsidize the private capitalist economy.

Echeverría promised to break from this pattern. During his campaign and his first six months in office, he traveled up and down the country rousing false hopes in a new crusade for reform which he apparently was to lead.

Little by little the contradictions of the Echeverría regime have come out into the open. He has no more margin for maneuver than Díaz Ordaz; in fact he has even less. The first sign of this was the anti-Communist campaign of his "first 100 days." Later his policy ran into serious trouble over the student movement in Monterrey, a crisis that culminated in the bloody afternoon of June 10 in Mexico City.

At each of the three key dates in the history of the present government—the start of the anti-Communist campaign in mid-March, the ouster of Governor Elizondo June 3, and now the June 10 massacre—the lines of cleavage appeared that are beginning to split the regime. In every case, the cracks gaped wider, and they were widest of all after June 10.

The Mexico City papers did an energetic job of reporting the crisis in Monterrey. Most of them were invigorated by the relaxation of the unofficial but no less real censorship exercised by the Department of the Interior. By and large they welcomed Elizondo's ouster wholeheartedly, as a token of Echeverría's "reform" policy. Two days after the new governor of Nuevo León—a creature of Echeverría—took office, the president told the press about his government's profound respect for the "achievements of the people, and the fundamental gains of the Mexican political system"—i.e., university autonomy and freedom of the press.

Exactly one week later, on Thursday June 10, the student movement and the press (in the person of reporters and cameramen—not the magnates) got a demonstration of the contradiction between the words and deeds of the Echeverría government.

As a result, a scandal of impressive proportions developed, opening a vast credibility gap. The government is trying to close this gap now by a series of maneuvers whose only effect has been to make things worse.

It first became evident that the regime had been thrown into a crisis immediately after the attack, when the mayor of Mexico City, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, former chairman of the official party and one of the three or four most important figures in the government, told the press that the whole affair was "the outgrowth of a feud among the students themselves." Echoing the claims made in 1968, he blamed the "disturbances" on "Communists and Trotskyists" as well as other "extremist" groups.

The mayor pledged that law and order would be maintained in Mexico City and denied the existence of terrorist commandos. But the journalists, many with fresh mementos from beatings and attacks, pressed their questions insistently, demanding an explanation for the passivity of the police and for their tacit complicity with the goon squads that came from behind the lines of the riot troops. In the hearing of millions of Mexicans following the press conference over radio and television, the mayor replied: "There is no such thing as the Hawks."

## The Goon Squads

For the first time since the fascist-like shock groups appeared, the top authorities indirectly recognized their existence—by denying it.

As I said, the student movement was only partly prepared for the kind of attack it experienced June 10. As early as June 26, 1969, the Hawks had made their appearance, firing machine guns at students who had gathered to celebrate the anniversary of the start of the movement in the same Casco de Santo Tomás where the recent massacre took place. But at that time only a few dozen persons were involved, and they seemed to be plainclothes policemen, although they were younger, stronger, more agile, and better trained than the typical cop.

Later, at the time of the hunger strike staged by the political prisoners

1. Mexico is a one-party state in fact, ruled by the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party].—IP

at the end of 1969 and the beginning of 1970, the relatives of these prisoners, as well as various progressive figures, received threats from a group that called itself the Boinas Rojas de Netzahualcoyotl [Red Berets of Netzahualcoyotl].<sup>2</sup> The fact that these threatening notes arrived in the mail proved that this group had access to the records of the courts, since only they had the addresses of the prisoners' families.

Finally, the appearance on the university campuses themselves this year of gangs armed with M-1 rifles—the standard weapon of the police and army—indicated the existence of a well-oiled rightist organization with official connections. Unlike the left groups, none of these rightist commando teams was ever captured by the police.

But for the first time on June 10 the student movement met the combined forces of these bands, which are given the generic name of Hawks. This is apparently how they refer to themselves, as was shown by the tape the COCO played at its June 11 press conference on the University of Mexico campus. You could hear a riot policeman tell his superior: "They got a Hawk."

According to a police report the next day, the massacre claimed sixteen lives, a figure that would have to be doubled to give any idea of the extent of the killing. Hundreds of wounded students, many of them in serious condition, disappeared after being snatched away by the Hawks. Trucks full of bodies were seen driving to the military reservations. Moreover, the scope of the Hawks' operations indicates that the number of dead could have easily reached fifty.

In the "mopping up" phase of their operation, the Hawks stormed hospitals, movie houses, stores, homes, and schools—every place the students took refuge. As the testimony at the assemblies on the University of Mexico campus and in the Casco de Santo Tomás confirmed, the goons killed anyone unlucky enough to get in their way, whether or not they had anything to do with the demonstration—children, women, and old people.

Although the police mentioned only

2. Netzahualcoyotl was a Texcocan chief famous for his learning, military exploits, and civic virtues. Texcoco was a city-state neighboring Tenochtitlan and allied with it. It will be seen later on that the Hawks' base is near Ciudad Netzahualcoyotl, a suburb of Mexico City.—IP

deaths of students, it is clear that there were also casualties among the Hawks. But given the inequality in weaponry, we can probably say that three or four students were killed for every Hawk. (It should be noted, moreover, that the press itself reported cross fire occurring between drug-crazed gangs of terrorists.)

The body of a student recovered by his comrades and taken to the Liberal Arts School auditorium was eloquent testimony to the savagery of the attack. He had three bullet holes in his head, one through his eye.

The reporters who witnessed the attacks (except the ones working for *El Sol* and *Novedades* and two less important dailies) managed to get in the truth about the events. So, on Friday June 11 the public could see the official version given by Martínez Domínguez contradicted point by point in the same pages by journalists who had been at the demonstration and had gotten the same treatment as the students from the supposedly non-existent Hawks.

On June 12, the Asociación de los Reporteros Gráficos de los Diarios de México [Mexican Association of Newspaper Photographers] and the Sindicato Nacional de Redactores de Prensa [National Union of Newspaper Editors] turned over precise information to the state prosecutor's office detailing who the Hawks are, who controls them, how much they are paid, and how they operate. Long excerpts from this dossier were reprinted by *Excelsior*, the most prestigious of the bourgeois dailies.

The following were the main points: The Hawks are made up of more than a thousand youths between the ages of eighteen and twenty-two. Their commander is Colonel Díaz Escobar. They are headquartered near Mexico City's International Airport (not far also from Netzahualcoyotl City).

The group was organized in 1968 to repress some student activities, and since then it has been used as a terrorist commando unit. The Hawks have also served as police auxiliaries in certain minor repressive jobs, such as clearing the streets of peddlers. Their daily pay was set at 60 pesos [12.49 pesos equal US\$1], which has now been increased to 65. However, Hawks "on assignment" often make as much as 125 pesos a day.

The Hawks are trained in self-defense techniques such as karate, judo, etc., and in marksmanship and the use of all types of weapons. They

have been inculcated with a gang spirit and spend most of their time together, always ready to take on police assignments, especially those involving the student movement. The report noted, finally, that the Hawks are often taken on excursions in order to keep them in top physical condition.

## The Present Impasse

Since the official version given by the mayor of Mexico City has been completely discredited, the regime has had to move more cautiously. Echeverría has the lessons of Díaz Ordaz's experience to guide him, as well as a better public relations staff. So, the new president has been trying to save his good name by creating the *impression* that he was not informed of what happened. Replying to a committee of foreign newsmen who came to him June 11 to ask for job protection (among other things, an NBC photographer was savagely beaten and had his camera smashed by the Hawks), Echeverría said: "I am more outraged than you by what has occurred."

Martínez Domínguez's story was so embarrassingly crude that the government has been inhibited so far from following its standard operating procedure for the last five years—launching a big anti-Communist witch-hunt and jailing all the leftists it can get its hands on. It has, however, issued a warrant for the arrest of Marcué Pardiñas for leading the demonstration, threatening to send him back to Lecumberri, from which he was released only a few weeks ago.

In lieu of starting up an anti-Communist campaign, Echeverría has appointed a commission of "inquiry" headed by state prosecutor Sánchez Vargas and other high functionaries. This body has the job of "finding out the truth regarding the incidents" and has already gone to work. Its first move was to visit the scene of the events, where it found itself confronted with giant banners, placed there by the students, protesting the repression.

High government circles have been thrown into virtual chaos by a bewildering combination of elements. The passivity of the police and the attitude of the army in the June 10 clashes are important factors. But there is also the fact that most of those arrested have been released, while a prominent leader of the fascist organization MURO [Movimiento Universitario de Renovadora Orientación—

Student Movement for Renewal] was indicted, along with several students and a Communist party leader arrested in the crowd.

Other major factors are the reaction of the press and the clear fascistlike, provocateur role played by the shock groups. Finally, there is a good deal of speculation over the resignation of Under-Secretary for Radio Broadcasting Enrique Herrera, a prominent member of Echeverría's circle of intimates who was implicated in the case of Carrillo Colón, the CIA spy uncovered in the Mexican embassy in Havana in 1969.

(I should add, moreover, that the Martínez Domínguez brothers, both high functionaries in the regime, are professional politicians from the city of Monterrey, the center of the industrial group Echeverría had to come to grips with in order to bring down Elizondo.)

All these elements, and similar less important ones, indicate that a complicated struggle of different bourgeois interests is being fought out in the top echelons of the regime.

The uncertainty created by the surfacing of a clearly fascist-minded faction in the government has been reflected in the confusion of the press. The papers have given conflicting versions, claiming that the culprits are to be found both on the extreme right and the extreme left. In classical liberal style, the papers that most consistently follow the line of the regime have expressed these oscillations.

In this context, the influential *Excelsior* has distinguished itself by its insistent exposure of the shock groups. Even this paper, however, has not clearly pointed out exactly what group or section of the government has been financing the commandos. But, although it has not been explicitly stated, it is obvious from information that has filtered out in the past few days that the Hawks are a subsidiary of the Federal District government and have strong ties with the army.

Given the governmental structure in Mexico, President Echeverría cannot have been unaware of the existence of these fascistlike gangs. However, the government's main effort at this time is, insofar as possible, to keep the president from being linked to this scandal. So, the regime itself has tolerated the public refutation of Martínez Domínguez's version. But this tactic cannot be maintained for long.

The alternative facing the president

is very clear. He has either to sacrifice some high government official (for instance, Martínez Domínguez) as a scapegoat, or give the go-ahead to his commission of "inquiry" to start a witch-hunt against the left. Both "solutions" would be extremely damaging to the government.

It is evident from his first reactions that Echeverría wants to reflect before making his decision. It is also evident that he has drawn back from resorting to the classical Díaz Ordaz-type solution, namely a witch-hunt. But forcing the resignation of a top official will cause a split in the government. This is all the more certain, since it is obvious that the president knew of the existence of these fascistlike bands—they were formed in fact with his knowledge while he served in the Ministry of the Interior.

The regime faces a dilemma, and the confusion so perceptible today is an indication that it is in grave difficulties. The increasingly hard attitude of the government seen under the Díaz Ordaz regime pointed toward an open military dictatorship or a veiled one presided over by a puppet civilian president. But a military dictatorship would change all the premises the regime has based itself on since 1940—i.e., the conditions in which it has served as a "mediator" between the fundamental forces in society represented on the one hand by the mass organizations and on the other by the institutions of the insatiable capitalist class, which has known only good times since 1940 and is incapable of making any deepgoing reforms in its system of class rule. The mass organizations are, of course, tightly controlled by the government, but they have some leeway for applying pressure that enables them to extract concessions.

An open military dictatorship would lead to the dissolution of the mass organizations. It would impose naked military control on them, and the result would be a regime with tensions of the severity we see today in Brazil and Argentina.

Moreover, this development would occur in a political context where the reaction of the masses might be more unpredictable and explosive than suggested by the experience of the other two countries mentioned. The history of the Mexican people shows that they have an extraordinary capacity for rebellion once the ties binding them to a government have been broken. Further, the historical weakness of the

Mexican bourgeoisie (in the sense that its basic nucleus was formed only in the period since 1940) makes a naked class dictatorship very risky for it. The Mexican capitalists have always relied on the "reformist state" as a shock absorber.

Echeverría's desire to reverse the trend in progress under Díaz Ordaz was the response of the ruling class to the urgent need for restoring at least some of these fundamental premises for safeguarding the existence and functioning of the system. The fact that these intentions have gone up in smoke because of the lack of leeway for a reformist policy indicates that the ruling class is in an advanced stage of decay.

A fascistic evolution of the regime could lead only to a still more intolerable exacerbation of social tensions. The classical defenders of the system, as it has functioned till now, see this. *El Día*, a semi-official spokesman for the official party, has distinguished itself by expressing "moderate" views consistent with "the Mexican revolution," and agreeing with those of "informed" political circles.

So, *El Día* has discounted the story blaming the June 10 events on "just a certain type of political thinking—ultraleftism." The most realistic version, it says, the one "most commonly believed," is the following: "A shock group of a purely fascistic type was involved, the Hawks, which are organized on a paramilitary model. Anyone who remembers his history will see the parallel between Thursday's events and what happened in Germany and Italy before the fascist takeover. There also, as if by magic, ferocious shock groups appeared to repress public protests, made furious attacks, and then vanished into the great urban concentrations. Later they dropped the mask, identified themselves, and boasted of their brutality. They were the Hitler Youth and Mussolini's Black Shirts."

The parallel is, in fact, obvious. But *El Día's* learned editorial writer forgot another and more menacing parallel. The Nazi Storm Troopers and the Black Shirts (like the Hawks) had powerful patrons and allies inside the government which used them (as the Hawks are being used) to further a counterrevolutionary and anti-popular line within the regime itself.

The student movement has been on the rise for four weeks, creating a crisis in the realm of national politics.



Since goon squads armed with police machine guns and working in open coordination with the police forces became active on the campuses, it has been obvious that the student movement stands at a crossroads. Today, in view of the course adopted by the government, the student movement bears an enormous responsibility to the Mexican people.

On Friday, June 11, the students held gigantic meetings at the University of Mexico; assemblies in the schools and departments were filled to overflowing. A wave of indignation welled up. But it is clear that the road ahead for the struggle is not a simple one, and the leadership of the COCO is seriously divided over what course to follow. Everyone knows that the repressive policy revealed in the premeditated massacre of June 10 is

backed up by the resources of the imperialist powers, especially the United States.

The Mexican students find themselves effectively isolated. They have the general support of the population. But the masses are controlled and shackled by the bureaucratic organizations. The labor fakers of the Congreso del Trabajo [Congress of Labor] are preparing to hold a giant demonstration of support for Echeverría on June 15. This development is likely to precipitate new conflicts between the various groups in the government, in which the masses may become involved.

The coming days will be of decisive importance for the Mexican people. It is urgent to prepare for a campaign of international solidarity with their struggle. □

with the revolutionary masses.

5. Mass work and the party's military activity must proceed in a balanced way under one centralized leadership, the leadership of the party.

The plenum drew a balance sheet of the organization of the POR and resolved:

1. To reinforce the Central Committee and co-opt student and peasant comrades to it, while maintaining a working-class majority. The Central Committee will be kept at its traditional size, twenty-one members. The executive committee will be composed of seven comrades.

2. To keep a politico-military cadre school functioning continuously.

3. To issue an appeal to all comrades dispersed by the repression to reintegrate themselves into the party's work wherever they find themselves.

4. To recommend especially strongly that party-publications work be regularized at the national and regional levels.

The expanded Central Committee will meet again in May to prepare for the next party conference. This meeting will discuss a political thesis on the situation and a document on the conception of revolutionary and guerrilla warfare in Bolivia.

In the course of the discussion on the Argentinian situation, the Central Committee of the Bolivian POR voted to send warm greetings to the Argentinian Trotskyist comrades who, arms in hand, have been shaking the supports of the "gorillas" and the Argentinian oligarchy and opening up the road for the socialist revolution. It was voted to support all the actions of the PRT and the ERP on the basis that we consider them part of the great struggle we are waging to liberate Latin America from imperialist and capitalist exploitation.

The plenum voted to send greetings to Comrade Ana María Villarreal, who was wounded in an action in Córdoba and later jailed, as well as to all the comrades in the prisons of the oligarchy.

The Central Committee of the POR also voted to send greetings to the Fourth International, hailing the extraordinary gains being achieved in Europe. Especially warm greetings were sent to the militant Ligue Communiste [Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International] which has just held a successful congress. □

## Bolivian Trotskyists Hold Plenum

[We have translated the following article from the May 1-15 issue of *Combate*, organ of the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International)].

\* \* \*

The plenum of the expanded Central Committee of the POR met during the Easter holidays in the mining district of Huanuni. The meeting was projected in conjunction with activities to reinforce the party organs at all levels, clearing up the difficulties and repairing the damage done by the ferocious repression the movement suffered in the period after January 1967, when it was outlawed.

The plenum, which was presided over by the general secretary of the POR, Comrade Hugo González Moscoso, adopted the following agenda:

1. The report on the work of the Fourth International. The present stage of the revolutionary process in Latin America and the role played by the sections of the Fourth International. The situation in Argentina and the struggle being waged by our comrades of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party] and the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—People's Revolutionary Army].

2. The national situation. The characterization of the Tórres government, the position of the army and its interlocking with the civilian legal structure. The mass movement and its limitations. The left and the deviations to be combated. The permanent danger of a coup d'état. Perspectives.

3. Guerrilla warfare. Balance sheet and experiences. The POR's conception of revolutionary war.

The discussion on these points upheld the line developed and the documents drawn up by the POR leadership, as well as clarifying and evaluating the experiences of the past four years and elaborating on them. At the conclusion of the political discussion, the following recommendations were made to the party leadership:

1. To intensify political work aimed at the masses in order to win them away from reformist influence and promote the emergence of truly revolutionary leaderships.

2. To intervene, following the above guideline, in all organizations arising out of the workers' movement, no matter what their limitations.

3. To stimulate the workers to arm by taking the initiative to form armed detachments at the trade-union level.

4. To intensify at the same time the party's military work and strengthen its military apparatus for the future actions that will be intimately linked

## My Seventeen Months in a Czechoslovak Prison

[Sibylle Plogstedt, a West German student at Charles University in Prague, was one of the nineteen persons arrested in January 1970 and charged with "Trotskyist" and "anti-socialist" activities by the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia. The nineteen were accused of being members of the Revolutionary Socialist party of Czechoslovakia, an organization of young anti-Stalinist activists. They were brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced in March of this year, despite defense efforts on their behalf in numerous countries.]

[Sibylle Plogstedt was given two and a half years in prison. Including the long pretrial detention, she served seventeen months before being released in the manner described in the following interview, which was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* at the beginning of June in Paris.]

\* \* \*

*Question: When were you released from prison?*

*Answer:* I was expelled from Czechoslovakia on May 13, 1971, on the basis of a law permitting early release of foreigners.

*Q. Were you deported at once?*

A. I was taken to the border by the political police detectives assigned to my case and handed over to the security organs of the German Democratic Republic. After the seventeen months I had spent in Czechoslovak prisons, the East Germans asked me to head up a big peace campaign in the Federal Republic. In exchange for this, they let me know that I would have a chance to publish in the Democratic Republic and get financial support for extensive "anticapitalist" sociological research in the Federal Republic. When I refused, they told me that the East German security organs would have to begin a new investigation of my activity in the Democratic Republic.

*Q. After that were you deported from East Germany?*

A. I was released at the West Berlin border. Contrary to the claims of *Rudé Právo*, I was not turned over to the West Berlin security organs. Unfortunately, you cannot conclude from the fact that these forces were absent on the border that the left has been strong enough already to abolish the state in Berlin and establish a classless society.

*Q. How many comrades are still in prison in Czechoslovakia and what are the prospects facing them?*

A. In the trial court we were sentenced to terms ranging from a year of probation to four years in prison. Immediately after the verdict was pronounced, the prosecutor asked for permission to appeal. But this was granted only in six cases. That is, the state prosecutor's office is preparing to appeal the sentences of Petr Uhl, Petra Sustrová, Egon Cierny, Ivan Dejmal, Vavrinec Korcis, and Pavel Sremer. In Petr Uhl's case, they are appealing the type of sentence, not its severity. In the other cases, the state is demanding harsher penalties.

I have no information at this time as to what comrades have entered an appeal. Altogether, ten comrades are still in prison, although some are due to complete their terms in the next few months, since the period of pretrial detention was included in their sentences.

*Q. What sort of prison conditions did you find in Czechoslovakia?*

A. I can only speak firsthand about my own experiences, but I assume those of my comrades were similar. In pretrial detention, prisoners do not work. If they are convicted, they have to pay their maintenance costs for this period after they have served their terms. These costs come to about 25 krona [7.2 krona equal US\$1] per day. Since the comrades were held a year and a half before being sentenced, they will owe the state 13,500 krona each when they are released.

In comparison with the high cost of board, the food is exceptionally bad and often uneatable. Thus, the

only ones who can bear up physically under a long imprisonment are those whose relatives can send them financial help and food packages. However, since the general turn for the worse in prison conditions in January 1971, prisoners have been allowed only three kilograms per month in packages.

Prisoners are kept in solitary confinement for long periods only in rare cases. That was true also for our group. Solitary confinement was threatened only as a disciplinary measure. During almost all the time I was in prison, I lived with people from the lowest strata of society—prostitutes, illiterate gypsies, etc. You can see a system in the way they choose your cellmates. It is used against political prisoners especially.

Anywhere from two to nine prisoners are kept in one cell, depending on its size. I was mostly in cells with two to four other prisoners. The selection of cellmates is designed first of all to make it impossible for a political prisoner to think or work. This favors an atmosphere where a cop can be slipped in as a person "you can talk to."

*Q. What sort of case did they have against you when you were arrested?*

A. Immediately after my arrest—even before Petr and the others were arrested—they asked me to testify about the part Petr took in mimeographing leaflets. They promised to release me in return for this. After I refused, I was charged with antistate activity against the government of Czechoslovakia. I assume, therefore, that they had no concrete evidence against me at the time of my arrest.

Unfortunately, the promise of release for those who turned state's evidence had more effect on some other members of the group. Thus, in two weeks' time I received a copy of my indictment from the prosecutor. The situation was similar in the cases of the other comrades.

Originally there were eight of us. In the three months that followed, as the result of statements from some of

our codefendants, the number of persons arrested rose to nineteen.

*Q. How long did the interrogations last?*

A. Individual interrogations lasted from one to twelve hours. We underwent questioning up to mid-June [1970]. Then, over a period of about six weeks, we were confronted with the existing evidence and testimony. The prosecutor took five and a half months (from August 21, 1970, to January 8, 1971) to get the indictment in "legal" form. They were finally able to set the opening of the trial for March 1, after the court had taken cognizance of about 2,000 pages of statements from the defendants and witnesses, as well as 10,000 pages of evidence (leaflets, stencils, pictures, and publications of the international revolutionary left, put out after our arrest, which, according to the prosecutor, proved that there was a "Trotskyist plot").

*Q. What kind of defense did you put up against these charges?*

A. On the witness stand most of the defendants withdrew statements extorted from them by blackmail during the questioning. This enabled some comrades to take back confessions of things they had not done but had taken responsibility for in order to protect others.

Despite all our attempts, it was impossible for us to defend ourselves politically, that is, to explain the political basis of our activity. The judges cut off all such attempts and threatened to impose penalties. In the same way, they threw out an important part of our case, which consisted of showing the provocation staged by the political police. All of this enabled them to maintain the appearance of formal legality at the trial.

The sentences were determined not by how large a role defendants were shown to have played in the activities of the group, but by the attitude they took toward these activities in testifying before the court. This applied also to the cases the prosecutor decided to appeal.

In all the time he spent in detention, Dejmál never incriminated anyone, neither himself nor the others. Korcís made no deposition until after they learned the results of the investigation of his activity. Cierný admitted his

activity in the group, but since this activity ended in May 1969, the prosecutor did not trust his statements. Sustrová\* took back all the statements she had made previously and thus ceased to be a prosecution witness.

*Q. What did you learn about the demonstrations on your behalf while you were in jail?*

A. The Czech publications we were able to subscribe to in prison reported that the Czechoslovak embassy in Paris had been occupied by hooligans. During the trial, the judges and the prosecutor made a point of attacking the coverage in the bourgeois press. If the prosecutor had not carefully included materials on our arrest published in *Rouge* [weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International] and the *Cahiers Rouges*, we might have easily thought that our trial had only been used by the bourgeoisie for anti-Communist propaganda.

*Q. You were accused of antisocialist propaganda. What did you say in your defense and what is your position now?*

A. Since we were denied any opportunity to make a political defense, all we could do was say that none of us ever had antisocialist conceptions and therefore there was no basis for invoking Paragraph 98 of the penal code, which prohibits activity hostile to socialism.

All you have to do is look at our leaflets and programmatic statements. Our objectives have been the objectives of the revolutionary workers' movement for more than 100 years. If we were tried in this day and age for proposing the abolition of the repressive bodies of the state—the police, prisons, the army—the end of the state and its replacement by workers' councils (we proposed a revolutionary people's militia as a protection against imperialist aggression), this only proves that the Communist parties have gotten off the road leading to socialism and communism and that the ruling bureaucracy has only one aim, that of maintaining its position.

As bad as the position of the Com-

\* As the mother of an infant child, she was especially vulnerable to police blackmail. — IP

munist party was under Dubček, it offered a real opportunity for breaking out of the straitjacket restraining the class consciousness of the workers and for laying the foundations of a revolutionary opposition outside the frozen bureaucratic structures of the party and the state.

*Q. What should be done to support the comrades who are still in prison?*

A. Even though the campaigns of the left organizations have achieved nothing so far but my expulsion, I think that an extension of these campaigns—which should be supported by all the anti-Stalinist and antirevisionist groups—can bring sufficient pressure to bear on the Czechoslovak government to win the quickest possible release of the other comrades. The law formally provides for the chance of parole once half the sentence has been served and the objective of these campaigns would be to get this right extended to the political prisoners. □

## Danish Rally Protests Repression in Mexico

Copenhagen

On June 12, Mexican students and the *Danske Studerendes Faellesrad* [Danish Student Council] held a street demonstration here to protest the repression—by rightist gangs, on the police payroll and under police command—of the June 10 mass student demonstration in Mexico City.

On June 14 a group of Latin Americans, resident in Denmark, along with Danish supporters, occupied the Mexican embassy in Copenhagen. The occupation was peaceful until the police, called in by an embassy functionary, attacked a demonstrator. The protesters asked the Mexican ambassador to call off the police. When he refused, they left peacefully.

During the sit-in, demonstrators distributed leaflets explaining the purpose of the action and demanding "that the Danish government . . . express its disapproval of the part the Mexican government played in the June 10 massacre." □

### U. S. Prices Climb Higher

U.S. prices rose twice as fast in May as in the January through April period.

## Bengalis Forming United Liberation Front

By S. B. Kolpe

[The following article originally appeared in the May 29 issue of the Bombay daily newspaper *Blitz*. S. B. Kolpe is president of the Indian Federation of Working Journalists.]

\* \* \*

CALCUTTA: A great deal of bloodshed would, perhaps, have been avoided, and the lives of several thousand innocent people, massacred by the marauding West Pakistani troops in Bangla Desh, saved, had Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, the unquestioned leader of the Awami League, acted according to a plan chalked out by his military experts to forestall the treachery of Yahya Khan.

Mujib, who is committed to peaceful, constitutional politics, cherished the hope that a political settlement would ultimately be reached with the West Pakistani leaders, on the basis of autonomy for Bangla Desh. His hopes were, however, totally belied.

According to information available from freedom fighters along the Bangla Desh border, some top officers of the East Pakistan Rifles, East Bengal Police and the Chhatra League, the student wing of the Awami League, had worked out a plan to hold Yahya Khan and [Zulfikar Ali] Bhutto as hostages while they were in Dacca and negotiate from a position of strength with the Pakistani army.

The plan was discussed at the highest level in the Awami League, but it was vetoed by Mujib who still believed that the negotiations would come off peacefully.

Although the leadership would not have anything to do with such a "conspiracy", top officers of the EPR [East Pakistan Rifles] and the Bangla Police were not taken in easily by the fake negotiations that went on. They were prepared, at least partially, to meet the onslaught that was let loose on March 25. It proved, however, to be an unequal battle for them.

Even today, units of the former EPR, East Bengal Regiment and the Bengal Police form the backbone of the Mukti Foj [Liberation Army], or-

ganised for commando action against the West Pakistani troops, whose estimated strength is about five divisions.

It is also confirmed that when the People's Party leader Bhutto came to the Intercontinental Hotel, in Dacca, the entire hotel staff, including the lift boys and cooks, went on strike. Bhutto was so scared of his life that he had to employ food tasters, because of the fear that he might be poisoned by the Bengali cooks.

West Pakistani Army commanders did not trust Bengali Police and the Police Headquarters was among the first targets to be destroyed by them.

Top Awami League leaders now organising commando action along the border to whom I talked were reluctant to comment on the mini-coup planned by the EPR but they all admitted that they were taken completely by surprise when the negotiations broke down and the military operations began.

The Awami League as a party of Parliamentary politics, found itself unequal to the tasks of revolutionary warfare imposed on it.

Typical were the remarks of a prominent Awami League leader and member of the still-born Pakistan National Assembly whom I met at Bangaon. He had come there to meet Union Defence Minister Jagjivan Ram and Rehabilitation Minister R. K. Khadilkar, during their official visit.

He said the League leadership, which had received the support of 80 per cent of the voters, never expected that Yahya Khan would play such a treacherous game. He and his colleagues, including another member of the National Assembly and three members of the Provincial Assembly from Jessore District are active organisers of commando units operating across the border.

He had lost two of his sons in the liberation war, and yet he breathed confidence in their final victory. He said: "We shall free our nation as sure as the sun will rise tomorrow."

He said that compared to what happened in Bangla Desh, My Lai in

Vietnam, perpetrated by American imperialism, paled into insignificance. According to him, at least 30,000 villages in Bangla Desh had been fully or partially destroyed by Pakistani troops and more than ten lakh [one lakh is 100,000] people, mostly civilians, had been massacred.

With a deep sense of sorrow, he admitted that the "worst we expected in the event of negotiations failing, was that the Awami League would be banned and our leadership imprisoned by Martial Law authorities. Instead, the military rulers of West Pakistan have acted as if they are out to destroy the Bengalis as a nation."

He described the present struggle in his country as "a real people's war."

How did the Awami League leadership expect the war to be brought to a successful conclusion in face of the superior firepower of the enemy, coupled with international apathy?

He said that the liberation forces were regrouping themselves under a unified command. Earlier, the strategy of direct confrontation with the enemy troops had been given up, and a guerrilla type of war is being resorted to.

He admitted that the Mukti Foj lacked experience and, what was worse, it did not possess an adequate quantity of heavy arms. He added: "We are learning new methods of war while in action."

What the liberation forces wanted was an increased supply of heavy weapons, recognition of Bangla Desh as a nation and succour to refugees who have temporarily sought shelter in India.

He said, "We do not want refugees to be a burden on India. We want them, at least the able-bodied among them, to play their rightful role in the liberation war."

Most of the young people in the refugee camps are already volunteering to join the Mukti Foj. Despite the hardships suffered by them, there was no sense of frustration among the refugees. All of those whom I met in the various camps said they would

like to return home as early as possible.

From my talks with all leaders at Bangaon, it appeared that they are making a realistic assessment of their fighting capacity inside Bangla Desh without indulging in wishful thinking.

Being close to the battle-front, they think there is need to forge a common national liberation front, comprising all sections of freedom fighters.

Among the known enemies in the liberation war are the Muslim League and the Jamaat-e-Islam, said to be acting as agents of the Pakistan troops. Allies include the National Awami Party, led by Maulana Bhashani, the pro-Moscow wing of the NAP, known as the East Pakistan Communist Party, led by Musafar Ahmed, and another independent grouping called Purba Bangla Communist Party, led by Allauddin and Tippu Biswas, in addition to the Awami League and its various mass organisations.

The Awami League leaders also referred to the existence of a pro-Peking group known as the East Pakistan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), led by Mohamed Toha. This group is supposed to be "silent though not indifferent to the butchery of their own brothers and sisters taking place around them, despite the fact that the Chinese are openly fraternising with the Yahya regime."

According to these Awami League leaders, the Pakistani Army still is being assisted by Chinese instructors in Bangla Desh. Some of them were seen moving with the troops in Jessore and other places.

They were also convinced that Yahya Khan would never dare to resort to military action against the Bengali people but for the moral support he received from the Chinese.

Awami League spokesmen told me that definite steps had now been initiated to create, under the leadership of their party, a new national liberation front known as "Sangram Parishad" comprising all allies, to provide a unified leadership of the "people's war."

They also disclosed that the people's councils were being organised in villages and at different levels, and the various sections of the population, including workers, peasants and traders were being given separate programmes of action.

They said that Yahya Khan's attempt to divide the people on a communal basis had failed. They also de-

nied the propaganda that the Bengalis had attacked non-Bengali Muslims in Bangla Desh.

In their estimate, the non-Bengali population in Bangla Desh was only five per cent, and those supporting the West Pakistani regime, largely under coercion, would not exceed ten

per cent of the total population.

They cautioned us, however, that having failed in their nefarious game of stirring up communal trouble in Bangla Desh, the military rulers of West Pakistan are now out to foment communal riots in India to mislead world opinion. □

## After GIs Marched in London

### Captain Culver Insists on Right of Petition

The U. S. air force is apparently planning to court-martial an officer who helped to organize an armed-forces protest against the Vietnam war.

On May 31, 300 U. S. servicemen presented an antiwar petition to the U. S. embassy in London. (See *Intercontinental Press*, June 14, p. 549.) Three days later, Captain Thomas S. Culver, a member of the Judge Advocate General's staff at Lakenheath Air Force Base, England, was ordered confined to base, "pending an investigation" of his role in the action.

On June 11 the air force opened a hearing to decide whether to bring charges against Captain Culver.

The air force has said that Captain Culver is suspected of conduct unbecoming an officer in that he "solicited other military personnel" to take part in the antiwar action. He is also suspected of violating the regulations that forbid U. S. servicemen overseas from participating in demonstrations. If tried and convicted under those charges, Captain Culver could face dishonorable discharge and four years' imprisonment.

According to the *New York Times* of June 8, Captain Culver anticipates being court-martialed. "I was the senior man there, probably the only officer, and that's why they're doing this," he said. "I expect them to start a court-martial on this."

The participants in the May 31 action have insisted that they were merely handing in petitions, not demonstrating. Petitions are legal under an air force regulation that states: "Military personnel may petition or present a grievance to any member of Congress without fear of reprisal."

Captain Culver has served six years in the air force, including one year in

Vietnam. He had been scheduled to return to the United States for immediate discharge on June 4, one day before he was placed under restriction.

His experiences in the air force have convinced him that he should not become a career officer: "I don't like the Air Force any more. I found I wasn't especially happy in the military community. I wanted to stay in England as a civilian lawyer. . . . If I am court-martialed, this will be an important test case. A verdict of not guilty would mean that American servicemen all over the world—Vietnam, Thailand, Germany—will be joining in antiwar marches."

The *Times* article indicated that the GI antiwar movement in Britain is already planning activities in Captain Culver's defense: "The antiwar movement among Air Force enlisted men in Britain, spurred by American students at Oxford, Cambridge and the London School of Economics, includes an underground newspaper called Peace—People Emerging Against Corrupt Establishment. Several civilian members of its staff were scheduled to distribute leaflets tomorrow [June 8] outside bases protesting Captain Culver's confinement."

Captain Culver was represented at the June 11 hearing by Paul O'Dwyer, a New York-based lawyer and political figure who had been vacationing in Ireland. According to the *New York Times* of June 12, O'Dwyer characterized the hearing, as well as Captain Culver's restriction, as "a flagrant attempt by the military to violate rights guaranteed by law."

The attorney also said that he would meet with the American Civil Liberties Union and other lawyers' groups in the U. S. to seek support for Captain Culver. □

# The Heberto Padilla I Knew

By Eva Chertov

Look at life-wide open spaces.  
People walk  
The recovered roads.  
Those who bled  
Now sing.

You stony-eyed dreamer,  
Destroy that lair  
Of cunning and terror.  
For the love of your people  
Wake up!  
The just time of humaneness  
Is about to born.<sup>1</sup>

I first came across Heberto Padilla's name in *El Caiman Barbudo*.<sup>2</sup> At that time there was a debate raging in its pages between Padilla and Lisandro Otero<sup>3</sup> over the topic of the relationship between literature and revolution.

Padilla took a very straightforward and unswerving stance: he fought all tendencies that would try to limit, mold, or control the free development of Cuban art. He condemned as opportunists those who would give the Cuban people inferior art, using its revolutionary content as a justification for its poor quality.

In the course of the debate, Padilla took up the concept of socialist realism and exposed it for what it is — a reflection of degeneration in a revolution.

The reaction of the majority of students in my school<sup>4</sup> was that Padilla spoke for them. The few old members of the Communist party whom I knew hated Padilla. Aside from the very clear and correct way in which Padilla put forward his arguments, I was also

1. "The Just Time of Humaneness." In Padilla's 1962 collection of poems of the same title, *El Justo Tiempo Humano*. Translation: Dolores Prida.

2. *The Bearded Crocodile*, literary supplement published by the Cuban Young Communists.

3. Head of the National Council of Culture in Cuba.

4. The School of Letters at the University of Havana.

impressed by his impeccable honesty and I wanted to find out more about him.

I bought Padilla's book of poetry *El Justo Tiempo Humano*. According to the account on the jacket, Heberto Padilla had been writing poetry since he was quite young. He went to the United States in 1949 where he worked at odd jobs until he was employed as a teacher in a Berlitz school of languages. He was also a newspaper reporter. Upon returning to Cuba, after the triumph of the revolution, he immediately went to work with his old friend Pablo Armando Fernández,<sup>5</sup> Comandante Carlos Franqui,<sup>6</sup> and many other young Cuban artists on what came to be recognized internationally as well as nationally as a top-quality literary supplement, *Lunes de Revolucion*.<sup>7</sup> This weekly supplement became so popular that it reached a circulation of 250,000.

By the time I began my studies at the university (1964), *Lunes* was nowhere to be seen. I found out from some of the older students that it had been one of the first victims of the attempts by the old CPers to take things over, and it had been done away with at the end of 1959.<sup>8</sup>

5. Well-known Cuban writer. Won the Casa de las Americas award for the best novel in 1968. One of those named by Padilla in his "confession."

6. Organized the clandestine newspaper of the July 26 Movement during the anti-Batista struggle. Went up to the Sierra Maestra mountains to join the guerrillas around 1957. Organized the whole propaganda apparatus in the mountains. After the victory of the revolution, became editor of the literary supplement of the newspaper *Revolucion*. Has been assigned mainly to the field of culture since. He was on an official government assignment in Europe when Padilla was arrested. One of the signers of the letter of protest sent by the intellectuals from Paris.

7. *Monday of Revolution*.

8. The exact details on what happened are well documented in K. S. Karol's book *Guerrillas in Power*.

From the stories that I heard on all sides, one thing became very clear: Heberto Padilla has always been an outspoken defender of the concept "within the revolution — everything against the revolution — nothing."<sup>9</sup>

After the *Lunes* incident, Padilla was named chief Prensa Latina correspondent in London (1960-61). Later (1962), he was a correspondent in the Soviet Union. At the time his book *El Justo Tiempo Humano* was published, he was the director of the Cuban enterprise for the import and export of articles of art and culture (CUBARTIMPEX).

Heberto Padilla is an excellent translator of poetry from French, Russian, and English, and he placed his talents in this field at the service of the revolution.

I finally met Heberto Padilla at the house of our mutual friend, Pablo Armando Fernández, early in 1967. Until I left Cuba, in 1969, I would run into him every now and then at Pablo's or the home of some other mutual friend.

Conversations with Padilla were never dull. He had the whole world in his head. He was also a natural nonconformist. He dressed the same as the majority of Cuban men of his age (around thirty). He was smooth-shaven, had short hair, liked to wear either a suit or a guayabera,<sup>10</sup> and smoke big cigars.

The love which he felt for his country and revolution was also not put on. I've heard him give excellent analyses of a writer's work, pointing to its importance, and then tear the individual apart for having betrayed the revolution. (On this point, it is important to underline that Padilla did not just do this in private but also in writing whenever he got the chance.)

Was Padilla disillusioned with the revolution? Had he become an embittered foe whose main objective in life was to hurt the revolution and gain personal fame?

First of all, it should be recalled that up to this moment the Cuban government has produced no evidence that would show this. We are not even sure that we have been provided with

9. From June 30, 1961, speech by Fidel Castro to the intellectuals.

10. A special type of shirt commonly worn in Cuba.



the final and official text of Padilla's written and oral confessions. There is absolutely no proof that Padilla did anything different in 1971 from what he has done in the past eleven years, since his return to Cuba.

The Cuban government can hardly expect any self-respecting revolutionist to take as proof a "confession" written during imprisonment. Nor should it be expected that sincere defenders of the Cuban revolution will forget that the signers of the intellectuals' protest are precisely those intellectuals who most firmly stood by Cuba all these years, whose integrity has never been questioned, and who cannot be simply written off with words like "bourgeois gentlemen."<sup>11</sup>

I never found Heberto Padilla's attitude any different from that of the majority of Cuban revolutionists. In 1967 when I first met him, the scarcity of goods in Cuba had gotten much worse. The average Cuban revolutionist was concerned about that, as well as angry at the waste caused by stupid bureaucratic mistakes, and they were above all very angry at those who, while claiming to be in the vanguard of the revolution, lived noticeably better than others.

This information could have been obtained by any writer who understood Spanish well, by standing on any ration line anywhere in Cuba for just half an hour.

In addition to sharing this general concern, Padilla could not help but feel very disturbed when young revolutionary writers such as Norberto Fuentes<sup>12</sup> were indefinitely suspended from their jobs without any public explanation, trial by a jury of peers, etc.

The reason for Padilla's attitude of constant criticism and his attempt to make his criticisms as public as pos-

11. From Fidel's April 30, 1971, speech to the First National Congress on Education and Culture.

12. Well-known young writer. When the CIA attempted to set up a counterrevolutionary stronghold in the Escambray Mountains (more or less in the middle of Cuba), Fuentes participated in what was called "the cleanup of the Escambray," as a soldier and also a reporter for one of the Cuban publications. He later published a book of short stories about his experiences, and because there was objection as to how he portrayed the revolutionists, he was suspended from his job.

sible was his deep concern over seeing this problem solved within the revolution.

In that sense he is no different from any of his revolutionary countrymen and countrywomen, except that he brought worldwide attention to these concerns.

If all Padilla wanted to achieve was fame through slandering the revolution, he could have accomplished this at much less sacrifice to his personal comfort. He could have kept his mouth shut, waited until he got another European assignment, and then declared himself an exile. Given his many talents and his already established fame, he could have lived quite well.

I saw Heberto Padilla shortly after the publication of *Fuera del Juego* (Out of Bounds).<sup>13</sup> He had just been suspended from his job. What I recall most vividly was his saying that he had done what he felt he had to do—write poetry the best he could, poems that would reflect what he really felt about life.

There are those who admit that Padilla did not say anything that you wouldn't hear in the streets of Cuba, but that he shouldn't have hung the dirty wash out for the imperialists to see. One of my friends said that Padilla was such a good poet that he could have written about anything and won the award.

Aside from the fact that the greatest works of art are those that are the most deeply felt by the artist, what would those people have Padilla write about? Moonlight?

As to hanging out the dirty wash . . . that justification for not allowing free discussion of problems was first put forward in a revolutionary country by Stalin. And there is a whole history to show what the application of Stalinist ideas led to, which every revolutionist who is serious about making a revolution would do well to study.

What honest and open discussion does is allow not only the revolutionists in the country where the discussion is going on to fully consider a problem and collectively decide what to do about it; it also allows revolutionists throughout the world to learn

13. Book of poetry for which Padilla won the best poetry award of the *Casa de Las Americas* in 1968.

along with, in this case, the Cubans. It also permits them to learn the truth, the better to explain what is happening to millions of radicalizing youth throughout the world.

The Cubans have hung their dirty wash out many times in the past and the result has been a very positive one.

The millions of radicalized youth, sickened by the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, have felt each time that the honesty of the Cuban revolution was proof that a society aiming at the construction of socialism offered more individual freedom than capitalism.

Padilla's case cannot be considered as an isolated incident. It occurs at a time when the economic situation in Cuba places her in a position of greater economic dependency on the Soviet Union. Also the case must be considered in the context of the attacks made at the Congress on Education and Culture on the right of sexual preference, the right to dress as one pleases, and the right of freedom of thought.

The purpose of this article is not to provide an in-depth analysis of where the Cuban revolution stands today. However, I should like to emphasize that the best weapon in the arsenal of the revolution—both to defend what has been gained and to clear away the path we must travel—is the truth. □

## Non-Sinister Imperialism?

The government-owned Tanzanian newspaper *Standard* on June 3 reported that United States army reserve units had been trained to run Tanzania. The paper listed as its source of information the Africa Research Group (ARG), which is made up primarily of students from Harvard University.

The ARG was quoted as saying, "At least one army reserve unit has spent three years in a special study designed to prepare American military men to administer every important sector of Tanzanian society."

The *Standard* also reported the explanation of a U. S. colonel:

"There was nothing sinister about it. If we ever get called into a country, we have to know something about it.

"We postulated a native uprising starting in Mozambique and spreading into Tanzania. We then planned what we would do if we were called in, say by [President Julius] Nyerere, to help."

The colonel added that the training was intended "to avoid the mistakes we've made in Vietnam of not really working with the people." □

## Thousands Demonstrate for Socialist World

By Ross Dowson

[The following account of the May 16 Paris demonstration commemorating the centenary of the Commune is reprinted from the June-July issue of the Canadian paper *Young Socialist*.

[Ross Dowson is executive secretary of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the Canadian Trotskyist organization.]

\* \* \*

Under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky! Under the banner of the Fourth International!

On May 16, in Paris, in the demonstration in commemoration of the Commune of 1871, these words took on a mighty, material form.

How many times have they been invoked at small meetings and in modest celebrations of revolutionists across the world? How often have they climaxed declarations and manifestos appearing in small-circulation papers, expressing through the images they conjure the purity of our aim, the continuity of our ideology, the heroism of our struggle—and our confidence that once again they will rally to their side new forces that will forge the vanguard party, which, at the head of the class, alone assures victory in the epic struggle launched by the Communards one hundred years ago?

As the crimson flags that bore forward the giant banners inscribed with the images of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky flooded out of the main gate of the Père Lachaise cemetery into the Boulevard de Ménilmontant, word that the state radio said we are 35,000 ricocheted amongst us. Thirty-five thousand! The police were later to estimate 3,500, and then 10,000. *Le Monde* and *France-Soir* reported 30,000.

But there was no mistaking—20?—30?—40,000?—the vast throng of revolutionaries who filled the area in front of the main gate of Père Lachaise had rallied under the banner of Lenin and Trotsky and the Fourth International—in answer to the call of the Ligue Communiste and Lutte

Ouvrière, now in the process of unifying their forces.

It was miserable weather as the first contingents were gathering, four hours earlier, in the square in front of the Church of St-Jean-Baptiste.

The rain lifted, and then came again. But these young men and women, the overwhelming majority in their early twenties, wide-eyed, confident, even joyous, their numbers growing and pushing back up the streets and lanes that feed into the square, remained fast in the areas designated by the marshalls.

The light breeze lifted the flags and billowed out the banners that declared their solidarity with the Polish struggle for socialist democracy, victory for the Vietnamese, and those that designated the various contingents in the leading sector—the German section of the Fourth International, the Swiss, Austrian, Danish, Italian, Swedish, British, the Belgian, and a makeshift one raised by a handful of Canadians which also rallied some passing-through U.S. revolutionists beneath it.

A mood of impatience to declare ourselves to Paris—and to the peoples of the entire world—begins to develop. We express it through scorn at the police helicopter that inspects us in continuous sweeps from high above. The marshalls who line the square, wearing crash helmets and armbands emblazoned with the hammer, sickle and figure four, shout out slogans, snatches of verse and songs. They are picked up from one squad to the other—and then the growing crowd responds. One that ends with outstretched arm, four fingers extended and shouts of 4th International, 4th International—strikes a wide response.

At last! We move off! The rain has lifted. As we surge down into the winding streets and through the squares, we catch a glimpse of our comrades who are coming up behind us.

Red banners shimmering against the spring green of the trees and the blue of the sky—blood of our martyrs and blood of life. The cries of another

May echo once again up the faces of the buildings—the slogans and chants of 1968.

What do the women, men, children who stand at the windows and on the balconies think? Some on the streets smile approval. "Gauchistes?" Ultra-leftists? Not at all what the Socialist and Communist party spokesmen denounce. These are sons and daughters of Paris, orderly, disciplined, serious and determined.

We have hardly reached our stride—when we face the north gate of the cemetery. Suddenly a hush descends on us. We move down the lane and pass by le Mur des Fédérés. Flowers have been placed there in remembrance of our fallen.

Have the Communards ever before had such homage? The speakers addressed us in the square. The rain sifts down on us and we are not really listening. Our eyes take in the whole vast assembly and then look from one person to the other.

Que faire? Was tun? Where do we go from here? On Friday over 50,000 Parisian metalworkers demonstrated in solidarity with the Renault strikers. This morning 10,000 youth gathered in Montreuil at a festival in support of the CP youth journal. Over 1,000 women are at Versailles at the convention of the Union des Femmes Françaises. How to reach them?

"With this lever"—Trotsky's words on the significance of the Fourth International, addressed to his U.S. co-thinkers, well up—"with this lever in hand, we are all, all!"

That's it! It's like a pyramid! But a completely inverted one. From this point—here—through a whole series of united front actions, around immediate issues of the day involving masses in struggle—upwards—to the Commune!

"New thousands who will enter its ranks tomorrow will probably be deprived of necessary education. By common effort we will elevate their revolutionary level . . . the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven."

Who can doubt it, standing here this May 16. □

### My Serve

Carl McIntire, right-wing fundamentalist preacher, has invited a Taiwan ping-pong team to tour the U.S.



Photo by Elie Kagan

PART OF CROWD of more than 30,000 that marched in Paris May 16 to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the

Commune. The demonstration, organized by Ligue Communiste and Lutte Ouvriere, had contingents from most European countries.

## Speech by Ernest Mandel

# The Paris Commune Lives in the Fourth International

[Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian revolutionary-socialist weekly *La Gauche*, gave the following speech May 16 to the more than 30,000 demonstrators assembled at the Mur des Fédérés in Paris for the Fourth International's commemoration of the Commune. It was against this wall that the counterrevolutionary forces, who invaded the city from Versailles, carried out their mass executions of Communards after the Paris Commune fell in May 1871. Mandel's speech was published in the May 28 issue of *La Gauche*, from which we have translated it.

\* \* \*

The Paris Commune opened the historical era of proletarian and socialist

revolutions. It offers us history's first example of a real dictatorship of the proletariat. It enabled Marx and Lenin to round out the Marxist theory of the state. Those who aborted two socialist revolutions in France, in June 1936 and May 1968, cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Fédérés. Only the revolutionists who work untiringly for the victory of new socialist revolutions, in France and throughout the world, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying on its work.

The Paris Commune gave a brilliant demonstration that proletarian dictatorship can be combined with the broadest workers' democracy involving freedom of action for all currents in the workers' movement. Those who

have just stamped out all vestiges of workers' democracy in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic; those who deny the East European working masses any freedom of action in the trade-union or political fields; those who continue to hold our comrades Kuron and Modzelewski in prison, despite the fact that the magnificent mass uprising of the Baltic port workers confirmed these comrades' diagnosis of Polish society and largely adopted their program of action; those who justify a privileged bureaucracy holding a monopoly of power—these people cannot hold their heads up in front of the Mur des Fédérés.

Only the revolutionists who fight for a state run by democratically elected workers' councils, like the Commune,

who fight for a low-cost state administration where no functionary will be paid more than a skilled worker, can celebrate the centenary of the Commune by carrying on its work.

Despite the little time at its disposal and the timidity its Proudhonian leaders exhibited toward the Bank of France, the Paris Commune inaugurated the era of expropriating the expropriators by decreeing socialization of factories abandoned by their owners, and by establishing a system of workers' self-management in them. This system was anticipated, moreover, in a prophetic article by Eugène Varlin, leader of the First International in France. In 1870 he wrote of the revolution whose outbreak he foresaw: "In order to be definitive, the coming revolution must not stop with simply changing the label of the government and passing a few minor reforms. . . . Society can no longer let control of the public wealth, the product of collective labor, be decided by the whim of birth or success. This wealth can only be put to use for the benefit of the collectivity." ("Les Sociétés ouvrières," *La Marseillaise*, March 11, 1870.)

Despite its Jacobin-nationalist character, the Paris Commune opened a new chapter in the tradition of proletarian internationalism. It thus provided an initial example of the process of permanent revolution. It is well known that it chose for its banner the red flag of the worldwide republic of labor. It is also well known what a prestigious role was played by foreign revolutionists like Fraenkel and Dombrowski. Less well known is the fact that sixty-five years before the Spanish revolution of 1936, the Commune inaugurated the tradition of workers' brigades, creating a Belgian brigade and a French-American brigade. Several thousand foreign revolutionists and workers fought in the ranks of the Commune forces; the Versailles arrested more than 1,700 so-called foreigners in the course of the battles.

The remarkable thing about the audacity of the Paris workers is that the fundamental problems they took up in March 1871 have not yet been solved to this day. We know the main reason for this. It does not lie in the immaturity of the objective conditions nor in any lack of vigor in the mass struggles. It lies in the absence of an adequate revolutionary organization.

Such an organization is indispensable to concentrate the enormous spontaneous energies of the working masses, with all their inevitable and healthy diversity, on one central goal—overthrowing the bourgeois state, eliminating private ownership of the means of production, creating a democratic government of the workers running their own economy and their own state.

In the wake of the Communards, the great socialist revolution of October 1917 in Russia, the Communist International in Lenin and Trotsky's time, endeavored to accomplish these tasks. The Fourth International has taken up the same task, embodies and carries on the same tradition. Of course, it is still weak, it is still only the initial nucleus of the future mass revolutionary international, of the future general staff of the world revolution. But it exists, it lives, it is struggling on five continents and in more than forty countries.

After today's demonstration, no one can doubt any longer that the Fourth International has thousands and thousands of well-organized and battle-tested cadres. It is important above all to realize that over the last several years, the Fourth International has undergone a real metamorphosis. From a small nucleus whose numerical weakness restricted it essentially to propaganda activity—to transmitting the program to the new generations—it has been transformed into a revolutionary vanguard already capable of taking the initiative, of drawing masses of people behind it, of influencing the course of events.

In the strike wave sweeping Europe since May 1968, the sections and activists of the Fourth International have pursued basically a threefold objective:

1. To popularize the experiences of the most advanced workers' struggles—both in the kinds of demands put forward and the forms of organization and struggle adopted—and to spread these regionally, nationally, and internationally.

2. To propagate the idea of challenging the authority of the bosses, the struggle for workers' control, and get it rooted in the working masses. It is through challenges like this that the workers will acquire the consciousness and practice necessary for them to take control of the factories and socialize production when future general

strikes and revolutionary explosions develop.

3. To encourage setting up organs to lead strikes that are controlled by the mass of the workers, that is, democratically elected strike committees reporting regularly to general assemblies of the strikers. If the workers learn how to run their own strikes, they will learn all the more quickly tomorrow to run their own state and their own economy.

All this activity of the Fourth International has ceased to be limited to publishing periodicals and tracts. I recognize here in the crowd our comrades who gave the impetus for electing strike committees at Paillard in French-speaking Switzerland, in the first major strike in that country for thirty years. I recognize the Belgian comrades who gave the stimulus for electing the strike committee at the Vieille-Montagne factory in Balen Wezel in the Antwerp Campine. I recognize the French comrades who provided the thrust for similar experiments in workers' struggles. I recognize the comrades who were among those who initiated the election of shop delegates at the FIAT plant in Turin, the starting point of the movement for workers' councils, so important in Italian big industry.

I recognize in the crowd the German comrades who were the driving force in organizing a vast movement of apprentices that enabled the working youth in their country to determine its own demands and become a force in its own right in the unions. I recognize the comrades of Luxembourg who were a driving force in the recent mobilization of high-school students in their country against repression. I recognize the British comrades who are playing an exemplary role in organizing solidarity with the victims of their own imperialist bourgeoisie—the Irish, Ceylonese, Pakistanis, and Arabs. I recognize the French comrades who, along with all their other activities, have revived the real communist tradition by their campaign against repression in the armed forces and by their bold actions against tendencies to reconstitute a fascist movement.

And finally there are all those who, because of material difficulties or repression, cannot be among us today but who testify no less to the international rise of the Trotskyist movement. There are our comrades in the United

States who gave impetus to the impressive antiwar mobilization of April 24, which assembled 800,000 demonstrators in the streets shouting: "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of U. S. Troops from Indochina!"

There are our Ceylonese comrades who are trying to fuse the revolutionary forces scattered throughout the island—the insurgent rural youth, the city proletariat, and the plantation workers—into a single bloc. There are our Indian comrades who have begun mobilizing the most exploited of all the exploited sectors on the land to win their liberation—the poor peasant untouchables in Bengal who are now beginning to occupy the lands of the rich and organize themselves.

There are our Bolivian comrades, already influential in the unions, who are beginning to win broad influence within the new peasant movement and the student movement, with the aim of preparing the masses of their country for the armed struggle to seize power. There are our Argentinian comrades who have written a magnificent page of revolutionary audacity by their role in the insurgent working masses of Córdoba. There are our Greek comrades, the "hard core" in the prisons and concentration camps. The military dictatorship will not release them, and at the same time they have to defend themselves against supplementary terror by Stalinist goons. There are our Spanish comrades of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria [Revolutionary Communist League], who are giving impetus to the struggle for boycotting the fascist union elections, in a united front, I believe, with other far-left groups.

This is the real picture of the Fourth International today. It is still a modest organization by comparison with the audacious goal it has set itself—achieving the victory of the world socialist revolution. But it is already a combat organization capable of incisive actions coordinated nationally and internationally.

Comrades, the overall crisis of capitalism is continuing and deepening. This system which refuses to die is incapable of solving any of its fundamental contradictions. The critical decline of the dollar is the latest glaring demonstration of the economic contradictions rending the capitalist system. The heroic Vietnamese masses, who, aided by the antiwar move-

ment in the U. S., are driving American imperialism inexorably to defeat in Indochina, have given a brilliant demonstration of the social and military crisis of capitalism. This defeat is the harbinger of new revolutionary tempests throughout Southeast Asia.

Listen, listen to the bell that is tolling in Indochina, you Versailles in Djakarta, your hands red with the blood of 500,000 Communists and revolutionists! It is sounding the death knell of your abject dictatorship; it heralds new and victorious Communes in Indonesia!

Listen to the bell that is tolling in Indochina, you hangmen in Karachi, who massacred the dock workers in Chittagong, who murdered the workers, women, and children of Dacca. The Bengali Commune will punish all your crimes mercilessly!

## West Germany

### Growing Campaign for Right to Abortion

The cover of the June 2 issue of the West German weekly *Stern* carried photographs of twenty-four well-known German women and their acknowledgment: "We have had an abortion."

Under West German law, having an abortion is punishable by up to five years in prison.

The twenty-four women featured on *Stern's* cover are among 374 who have so far signed the declaration. The oldest of these women, according to a June 2 Reuters dispatch, is 77, the youngest 14.

This method of attack against the abortion law was inspired by a similar campaign initiated in April by French women.

The movement for repeal of Paragraph 218 of the criminal code, which outlaws abortion, involves individual women and feminist groups such as Frauen-Aktion 70 [Women's Action '70] in Frankfurt, Weiberrat [Women's Council] in Munich, and Sozialistische Frauenbund [Federation of Socialist Women] in West Berlin. According to a feature story in the May 31 issue of the weekly *Der Spiegel*, "Younger women members of the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany]

In Europe the young revolutionary vanguard has also heard the message of the Vietnamese revolution. It has steeled itself for combat. It is forging the instrument of victory—the revolutionary party and the revolutionary International. It is preparing to avenge the victims of the Mur des Fédérés and Le Châtelet, and with them Karl Liebknecht, Rosa, and all the victims of the counterrevolution, those killed by Hitler and Franco, and the Bolsheviks shot by Stalin. With the help of our old friend the mole, this vanguard will dig the furrow tomorrow in the soil of our planet, the furrow that will lead from the Paris Commune, triumphant at last, to the French Socialist Republic, to the Socialist United States of Europe, to the Worldwide Republic of Workers' Councils. □

and FDP [Freie Demokratische Partei—Free Democratic party] have also united to struggle against Paragraph 218."

*Der Spiegel* estimated that as many as 400,000 illegal abortions are performed annually in West Germany—often by quacks. Every year fifty women die because of the conditions under which their abortions are performed.

Much of the opposition to repeal of Paragraph 218 comes from doctors. A woman psychotherapist explained this phenomenon at a conference in the city of Bad Boll:

"I know many doctors who are publicly opposed to legalized abortion, but who in the privacy of their offices get sums in four figures for performing the operation." □

#### Used Car for Sale

Classic Cars Ltd. in St. Louis, Missouri, is taking bids on a used car. Formerly owned by a Saudi Arabian ruler, the eight-passenger Rolls-Royce Phantom V has two air conditioners, armor-plating, and a mohair-upholstered trunk. The company reports that it has received nine "serious inquiries" on the \$125,000 automobile.



## Trotskyists Hold Conference

Mexico City

At a conference held in a suburb of Mexico City May 29-30, the GCI [Grupo Comunista Internacionalista — Internationalist Communist Group, the Mexican Trotskyists] chose a new national leadership. The main task of the newly elected fifteen-member leading body will be to reorganize the GCI to meet the enormous demands posed by its role in the Mexican revolutionary movement and especially in student struggles.

Because of its position in the eyes of the new vanguard, it was felt that the GCI had to step up the level of its activity. To accomplish this, the plenum approved the move by the outgoing leadership to create an organized tendency in the student movement which can begin to crystallize the GCI's political and ideological influence.

Three draft resolutions were discussed by the forty participants in the plenum. These documents dealt respectively with the GCI's analysis of the general political situation, the student movement, and organizational questions.

The draft political resolution was presented first by the outgoing political commission. There was a prolonged and lively discussion. One participant, Alfonso Ríos, made some criticisms. He argued that the resolution needed to be more precise on the present situation of the workers' movement and on the GCI's attitude toward the new government of President Luis Echeverría.

In the course of his remarks, Ríos held that the organizational resolution should contain a fuller explanation of the reasons for the GCI's fraternal

relationship with the Fourth International.

The report on the draft resolution on the student movement, given by Alejandro Marín, also provoked extensive discussion. Marín concentrated on the problems of the present difficult but promising situation in the student movement. Most of the participants in the plenum, who have been deeply involved in the student movement, took part in the discussion, supplementing the points expressed in the report and giving them greater concreteness.

The report on the organizational resolution defined the GCI's Leninist conception of democratic centralism and outlined a plan for reorganizing the group to play its role more effectively.

The reporters accepted most of the suggestions for additions to the draft documents. Two resolutions were approved unanimously. In the poll on the organizational resolution, there was one negative vote and three abstentions. □

## Ligue Communiste Convention

## French Trotskyists Chart Strategy

By Mary-Alice Waters

ROUEN, France—The Second National Convention of the Communist League, French Section of the Fourth International, took place here the weekend of May 29-31. Unlike the April 1969 founding convention of the League, which was held secretly in Germany in order to sidestep possible attempts by the French government to ban the organization, the convention took place openly and without legal complications.

Coming only two weeks after the highly successful, 30,000-strong international demonstration hosted by the League in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Paris Commune, the public spotlight was on the convention. The opening session was open to the press and was widely reported. The June 1 issue of the influential Paris daily *Le Monde*, for example, carried a half-page article

summarizing the opening reports of Alain Krivine and Henri Weber. Krivine's report assessed the current political situation in France and drew a balance sheet of the organization's activities over the last two years. Weber outlined the political perspectives for the coming period, stressing the importance of the League's activities in both the factories and the schools.

The convention was attended by close to 500 delegates and observers, including 45 foreign observers from 27 different countries. Given the impossibility of finding a hall big enough to accommodate all the members of the League who would have liked to attend, the convention was open only to elected delegates, members of the various leadership bodies established by the last convention, and observers from the immediate vicinity of Rouen.

According to the credentials report given to the convention, 65 percent of those present were under 25. By occupation, they were 25 percent wage and salary workers, 24 percent teachers, and 43 percent students. Ten percent were female.

The opening reports by Krivine and Weber were followed by a full day's discussion focused on the League's trade-union work, to which top priority has been given since the founding convention, and on the problems and perspectives for the student movement. Of major concern was the question of the relationship between the political activities of the League in the universities and high schools, and the trade union and political activities in the factories.

There was extensive discussion around the question of whether or not a revolutionary youth organization



could or should be established, and what the character of such an organization would be. Several different positions were expressed in the course of the debate, and it was finally decided to continue the discussion on the question of a youth organization during the coming months.

The evening of the second day of the convention was devoted to meetings of the working commissions that direct the various activities of the League: workers, students (divided into university, high school, technical high school), teachers, anti-imperialist, women, press, and a commission on organizational problems.

Resolutions drawn up by the commissions outlining the major perspectives for work in the coming period were presented to the final session of the convention for brief discussion and vote. A new enlarged Central Committee was elected by the convention, and the Central Committee in turn elected a new Political Bureau to direct the day-to-day work of the League between now and the next convention.

Housing, food and transportation for the participants in the convention were very efficiently organized on short notice by the Communist League members in Rouen. (Last-minute difficulties in finding a meeting place in Paris forced the shift to Rouen, a major industrial and commercial city about 100 miles west of Paris.) Everyone was housed with members and sympathizers of the League, food was provided by the cafeteria at the University of Rouen, and cars were mobilized to get everyone where they were supposed to be, and on time.

More than anything else, the convention reflected the swift growth of the Communist League since its founding two years ago and its expanding influence on the left in France. (The League was created by former members of two organizations—the Internationalist Communist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Youth—both of which were banned by the deGaulle government for their role in the May-June 1968 revolutionary upsurge in France.)

The youthfulness of the convention reflected the significant new forces which are coming to the Trotskyist movement around the world in this period of deepening radicalization. And the internationalist spirit of the convention was one of its most striking aspects. Greetings from more than

two dozen sections of the Fourth International and sympathizing organizations around the world—from India to Canada, from Japan to Argentina—drew long and enthusiastic

applause from the assembled delegates. The spirit of international solidarity and optimism over the perspective of the world revolution marked the entire convention. □

## Belgium

# Revolutionary Workers League Holds Founding Congress

[The following article on the founding congress of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs—Revolutionaire Arbeiders Liga (Revolutionary Workers League, in Belgium's two languages), Belgian section of the Fourth International, appeared in the June 4 issue of that country's weekly *La Gauche*. Translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

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The founding congress of the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Travailleurs (LRT) was held in Liège's Palais des Congrès on May 30-31. The Charles Rogier Hall of the Palais was rebaptized "Abraham Léon Hall" for the occasion—in honor of the eminent Belgian Trotskyist, author of *The Jewish Question: A Marxist Interpretation*, who was assassinated by the Nazis in a German concentration camp during the last war.

Various reports were presented, various resolutions were voted on, and a Central Committee was elected.

Under the heading "general orientation," a projected program was adopted, the principal points of which are to be discussed and made definitive by the League itself, whose leadership will have the task of organizing the discussion.

The congress consisted of various age levels, the majority of whom, it must be admitted, were students and youth, but there was also a good representation of workers. It was a congress of activists (sympathizers were invited only for the first day), a well-organized, smooth-running congress. The reason for this can readily be understood: the congress was the outcome of a long regroupment process; hence no surprises occurred in its sessions.

The LRT begins with a considerable fund of experience, an accumulation

all the more precious in that the LRT has assumed it with full awareness of the responsibilities it entails.

The three main reports discussed at the congress were:

1. The proposed by-laws of the LRT, and a resolution on affiliating to the Fourth International.

2. The proposed program, containing the following headings:

I. Capitalism and the class struggle.

II. The international character of the socialist revolution.

III. The principal characteristics of Belgian capitalism.

IV. The labor movement in Belgium.

V. What kind of socialism do we want?

VI. A strategy for taking power.

3. A report on the working class, the unions, and workers' councils.

On Monday afternoon, a central committee was elected, to serve as the highest political body until the next congress.

The establishment of the LRT and its affiliation to the Fourth International mark the conclusion of the first stage in the process of organizing a revolutionary party in Belgium with the aim of leading the working class in its struggle against capitalism, carrying out the socialist revolution, and building a democratic, socialist society.

In May of 1970, the Jeune Garde Socialiste (JGS) [Socialist Young Guard] issued a call to the Parti Wallon des Travailleurs (PWT) [Walloon Workers Party], the Union de la Gauche Socialiste (UGS) [Union of the Socialist Left], and certain parties organized in committees united around the factory papers, "Unity in the Struggle," to fuse their forces in a single party.

Following its December 1969 congress, the JGS had changed into a

structured national organization, and had become part of the international Trotskyist movement. Beginning in January 1970, the JGS, which until then had been a force mainly in the student movement, actively participated in the Limburg miners' strike. In the upsurge of the class struggle, the JGS became involved in all the big strike actions, and it has begun to develop roots in the working class.

The PWT and the UGS are parties that in 1965 came out of the left wing of the PSB [Parti Socialiste Belge—Belgian Socialist Party], some of whose activists have played a leading role in the trade-union sections since the great strike of 1960-61. Several workers' committees, which were established a year and a half ago, are functioning around these organizations.

The fusing of revolutionary activists into one organization introduces a new political formation into Belgian life. Active in the struggle of industrial workers, government employees, university and high-school students, this new political formation's aim is to construct a mass party capable of organizing the socialist revolution.

The LRT has set out to struggle consistently in defense of the *interests of the entire working class*.

Present society is based on the law of profit for a tiny minority, the bourgeoisie. To liberate the working class from its oppression, a social revolution has to be effected—a revolution that will expropriate the means of production, taking them out of the hands of the bosses and placing them under collective and democratic management; a revolution that will dismantle the state apparatus (with its repressive agencies, the army and police force) in order to build a society based on workers' councils, democratically installed in the factories and neighborhoods. To do that, the power of the big trusts, holding companies, and banks must be smashed. Only these measures will lay the foundation for the evolution of a classless society, a society in which every human being will be able fully to develop.

The PSB, still the largest working-class party in this country, has today, in practice, abandoned these aims for a few ministerial seats and a few big government jobs. It seeks only some minor reforms (which we do not reject) that do not advance us one step toward socialism. In addition, the PSB is entirely integrated into the capitalist

system, and its leaders subordinate the interests of the workers to the interests of the state and the bourgeoisie.

Nor does the Communist party any longer offer any revolutionary perspective, since all it ever does is rally to the support of Soviet diplomatic interests, which, in turn, are a function of the interests of the bureaucracy that came to power with Stalin and which has destroyed democratic socialism.

The LRT maintains that in order for the class struggle to lead to a socialist revolution, a conscious, revolutionary leadership has to be organized. The LRT's objective will be the construction of such a leadership, by means of work in the factories, unions, schools and universities. It will do propaganda work on a regular basis and will circulate its weeklies, *La Gauche* and *Rood*. It will actively intervene in Belgian political life. In our opinion the parliamentary road offers no possibility for achieving socialism; nevertheless, the LRT does not reject the electoral arena, but intends to use it to disseminate its revolutionary propaganda.

Several delegates from revolutionary sister organizations, affiliated with the Fourth International, were present at this congress. They came from France (Ligue Communiste), Canada, Great Britain (International Marxist Group and Spartacus League), Germany, Italy, Switzerland (Ligue Marxiste Révolutionnaire) and Luxembourg. Telegrams of solidarity came from the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in the United States (organizers of huge antiwar demonstrations), from Ceylonese comrades, from comrades of Argentina's Revolutionary Workers Party, and from Swedish comrades of the Revolutionary Marxist League.

The congress was addressed by Livio Maitan, in the name of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The LRT remains faithful to real proletarian internationalism. It believes that the workers' struggle is an international struggle and that the Fourth International is the only organization that effectively supports this struggle in various parts of the world.

With affiliation to the Fourth International, the LRT assumes its responsibilities in the work of constructing a mass revolutionary International that practices internationalism, not only at its congresses but in the day-to-day struggle as well. It was the

Fourth International that last November organized the Brussels Congress for a Red Europe, at which more than 3,000 revolutionists from all over Europe exchanged experiences. And it was also the Fourth International that, last May 15-16, organized the international demonstration to commemorate the centennial of the Paris Commune, in which more than 30,000 people participated.

The founding of the LRT creates a pole of attraction around which the workers and their struggles can regroup. The JGS will become its youth organization.

Whatever the future of this political formation may be, its historical role is already distinguished by its desire to involve itself, more deeply than has ever been the case before, in the revolutionary Marxist tradition of this country and of the entire world.

The LRT is bringing together young activists and militants with long years of experience, workers and students, activists organized on the basis of democratic centralism—not sympathizers, as was still the case when the PWT and the CST [Confédération Socialiste des Travailleurs—Socialist Workers Confederation] were created in 1964.

The LRT, composed of militants working in various sectors in the principal regions of the country, has eliminated any possible misunderstanding as to its position on the national question. Thanks to the accumulated knowledge and experience of the Fourth International, the LRT is today in a position to make revolutionary use of the resurgence of struggles in Belgium and throughout the world. □

## Soviet Cupid

*Pravda*, the official paper of the Soviet Communist party, has decreed that there will be no matchmaking by computers in the Soviet Union. A June 15 commentary criticized the weekly *Literaturnaya Gazeta* for conducting a discussion of the subject in its columns.

Computerized marriage bureaus, according to *Pravda*, would be "alien to Soviet morality." The paper's editors appeared to feel that computers would take the romance from their lives:

"Who does not know that only profound, inspiring and lofty feelings of mutual love, confidence and respect bring together and unite man and woman in the marriage knot and give real lasting happiness to a family?" □

## Yakhimovich and Sinyavsky Released

By George Saunders

Two recent developments involving prominent Soviet dissidents raise the question of whether the Brezhnev regime feels compelled to make some concessions in the direction of the opposition movement.

In one, Ivan Yakhimovich, the former collective farm chairman and leading dissident Communist, was reported freed on May 3 after more than two years imprisonment in a "special" psychiatric prison. Beyond the report that he was allowed to leave the institution in Riga, Latvia, and rejoin his wife and three daughters, there has been no information as to the reasons for his release or the conditions placed upon his freedom.

In the other development, on June 9 the writer Andrei Sinyavsky was reported released from a penal labor camp in Mordovia more than a year before completion of his seven-year sentence. Sinyavsky was tried in early 1966, along with Yuli Daniel—both had published anti-Stalinist satires abroad under pseudonyms and were therefore found guilty of "anti-Soviet propaganda."

The Sinyavsky-Daniel trial marked the opening of the current phase in Soviet political life, where political trials and intensified police persecution have gone side by side with intensified protests and struggles in behalf of democratic rights, civil liberties, and national dignity.

In Sinyavsky's case, there is somewhat more information about the circumstances he finds himself in, but no more than in Yakhimovich's about what prompted the authorities' "leniency." There were reports he was released early on account of "good behavior"; but the bureaucratic bosses have rarely let that kind of consideration alone influence them in regard to *political* offenders, especially with one like Sinyavsky who has never recanted his views or acknowledged the charge of "anti-Sovietism."

In effect, Sinyavsky is still serving time. He is barred from residing in Moscow or any other major city. According to a June 9 UPI dispatch, he

was permitted to stay in a Moscow suburb temporarily while arranging his personal affairs, but "will soon be required to move to another city."

His fellow defendant Daniel, released in September 1970 after completing five years imprisonment, is

## Oiling the Wheels of Diplomacy

### How the French Lost Vietnam — Again

Saigon's economic ministry announced June 10 that it would accept bids from foreign oil companies that wish to prospect for oil off the coast of South Vietnam. Contrary to original appearances, the evaluation of the bids will *not* be done by French advisers.

Writing from Saigon in the June 11 *New York Times*, Gloria Emerson reported why:

"In recent months there has been concern among the American oilmen that the French would manage to dominate the bidding. Overtures by French diplomats toward the Minister of Economy, Pham Kim Ngoc, who heads the petroleum board, seemed to be succeeding.

"Last March, the commercial attaché of the French Consulate, Jean Marie Mallet, proposed that a French committee screen all the bids, analyze them, advise the Vietnamese on which to accept, and, in effect, oversee the entire operation for the South Vietnamese, who are considered inexperienced."

Not surprisingly, the eighteen American companies involved objected to the proposed arrangements. In the frank discussions that followed, the U.S. monopolies turned out to have some very persuasive arguments:

"One American oilman, who was particularly incensed at the French plan, said he had told Mr. Ngoc that if the French achieved this control, his company, one of the world's most

likewise in enforced exile—living in Kaluga, some one hundred miles south of Moscow.

In attempting to assess the significance of the release of these two men, the extreme dearth of information on the circumstances surrounding these moves and the absence of any comment by themselves, by other dissidents, or even by the Stalinist authorities, dictate caution. Moreover, the recent pattern of the regime's policies toward dissidents has been contradictory, not showing a clear trend either toward relaxation or toward all-out suppression. □

powerful, would suggest to Congressmen that they reduce or block all economic aid to South Vietnam.

"I let him know if he let the French do this, then he could damn well ask the French for economic aid as well because the Americans wouldn't come through with it," the oil representative said."

The U.S. deputy ambassador, Samuel D. Berger, was also reported to have informed Saigon that Washington would look with displeasure on the French muscling in on what was considered American territory.

The French plan was discarded and Ngoc flew off to Washington to discuss the possibility of obtaining additional funds.

However, that triumph for the oil trust did not solve one minor domestic problem:

"There is the possibility that if American companies exploring [sic] for oil, critics of the Vietnam war at home will charge that American troops are being kept here to protect their commercial investment."

This, too, is not to be wondered at. As is well known, it's a rare ointment that doesn't have a fly in it. □

#### And With Good Reason

Twenty-nine army and air force officers who signed an antiwar advertisement in a North Carolina newspaper have been given the opportunity to resign. We presume the offer does not extend to enlisted men and women.

## The ERP States Its Views

[The kidnapping of Stanley M. F. Sylvester, the honorary British consul and manager of the Swift de la Plata meat-packing company in Rosario, Argentina—which we have reported in recent issues of *Intercontinental Press*—brought international attention to his abductors, the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (Revolutionary Army of the People). The political views and aims of the ERP have been reported by the bourgeois press in both Argentina and the United States; and in our previous reportage on the kidnapping, we have reproduced those accounts that came to our attention.

[The following declaration is an official one, issued by the ERP itself. It appeared in the January-February issue of *Cristianismo y Revolución* (Christianity and Revolution), a Buenos Aires magazine.

[The editors of *Cristianismo y Revolución* report that the statement—in the form of questions and answers—was sent to them, as well as to other journals, and that they decided to break the conspiracy of silence about the ERP in the bourgeois press and publish it.

[The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

*What is the ERP and when was it born?*

The ERP was born as a consequence of a political decision of the last congress of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores (PRT) [Revolutionary Workers party] held last July [1970]. The fourth congress of the party, in 1968, initiated the process that culminated in the creation of the ERP by expelling the rightist faction of Nahuel Moreno.<sup>1</sup> A stage of intense

1. Nahuel Moreno was one of the founders of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores, which published the weekly newspaper *La Verdad*. In 1968 a split occurred in the organization over issues that remained unclear to the Trotskyist movement in the rest of the world. The tendency in opposition to the group headed by Moreno launched a new publication, *El Combatiente*. At the last world

ideological struggle was then opened against the reformist and syndicalist tendencies in the party by those who sought to concretize the proposition of "organizing a combat party."

In an at times confused process, which we have defined as the "class struggle" within the party, a battle was waged against (a) a reformist current that still existed in certain sectors of the organization, and (b) against a tendency that hid its centrism behind defense of the classical concept of a "Bolshevik party." During these two years, the party advanced, confusedly but firmly—incorporating the experience of the continental revolution in the decade of the seventies, incorporating and discussing the principles of "Maoism," and the propositions of "Marighelism" and of the "Tupamaros," thereby indicating its permanent radicalization.

At the same time, on the terrain of practice and despite the internal difficulties, actions of all kinds were carried out without being signed<sup>2</sup> (expropriations, accumulation of arms, etc.), which sharpened the contradictions within the organization. Eighteen prisoners in Tucumán for supporting a general strike with violent actions

congress of the Fourth International, the delegates, faced with conflicting claims as to which group represented the majority of the PRT, passed the following motion:

"The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International, considering that at the moment of the split in the Argentine section the tendency *El Combatiente* represented the majority of the Central Committee, that according to the report of the representative of the United Secretariat and the information given by other comrades, it held the majority in the organization as a whole, and that the relationship of forces has not fundamentally changed since then, decides that the PRT-*El Combatiente* continues to be the section of the Fourth International and that the tendency *La Verdad* should be given the status of sympathizing organization.

"The Ninth World Congress of the Fourth International makes an appeal to the two organizations that they should refrain from public factional polemics and should establish a fraternal relationship."

2. That is, formally acknowledged in one way or another as having been carried out by the ERP.

and a similar number in Rosario for actions against police detachments demonstrated this will to struggle. Moreover, the party's intention of defending its militants who fell into the hands of the enemy was shown by actions designed to win the release of prisoners.

Thus at the Fifth Congress, in July 1970, the firm decision was reached to clear the internal contradictions out of the way in order to reach a new level of struggle. The Congress then reaffirmed this central thesis: "Consolidation of a revolutionary working-class party, socialist in ideology and participating actively in proletarian internationalism through the Fourth International led by Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Alain Krivine."<sup>3</sup>

At the same Congress it was decided to organize the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo, which is to be a proletarian army in its social composition, revolutionary in its practice, and which, because it must operate within the framework of a people's civil war, will assume the form of a mass organization.

*Does this mean then that the ERP is the armed wing of the Party?*

No. The ERP is not the armed wing of the PRT. It is a mass organization for the civil war. Its ranks are made up of all the militants of the Party plus those combatants of different social layers and dissimilar political backgrounds who agree to fight for the program of the ERP. This program is anti-imperialist, anticapitalist, and democratic, while the program of the PRT is clearly and definitively socialist. In short we can say that the ERP has a "minimum" program while the PRT proclaims a "maximum" program.

*Who guides the ERP politically?*

The PRT is the politico-military leadership of the ERP, but does not reduce its function to being an "elitist" general staff; instead it seeks to oper-

3. The leaders of the ERP evidently intend by this formula to distinguish their international affiliation from that of such figures as Juan Posadas (Uruguay-Argentina), who claims that he and his small group constitute the Fourth International, and Gerry Healy (Britain) and Pierre Lambert (France), who claim to be "reconstructing" the Fourth International.

ate and grow as a political instrument rooted in the masses.

The aim is to resolve some contradictions common to the Latin American revolutionary movement, among which is to be found the problem of the "armed wing and the political wing," the antagonism between political activity and military action, and the frequent divorce between both practices with respect to the political dynamics of the masses and the politico-military characteristics of the enemy.

*Does the PRT then renounce legal action and concentrate on military activity?*

The strategic principle guiding us is to extend the war, which in our opinion has already begun. We want to make completely clear that we are not trying to *win* this war at the moment but to extend it through our role of armed detachment of the vanguard (because we do not claim to *be* the vanguard, which in our country does not exist as a constituted organization). We carry forward this extension of the people's civil war through political action and military action. This explains many of our unspectacular and even "petty" actions. Obviously it is easy for a revolutionary commando group to take a truckload of bottled milk or meat and distribute it in a slum. However, we are not trying to solve the problem of hunger in this slum but to demonstrate to the masses that this action and many similar ones are feasible with few arms and few participants. When this idea catches on among the people, the war of the masses is invincible. Likewise, for similar reasons, we *sign* our undertakings, those that turn out well and those that turn out badly, because it is necessary to show that the armed struggle is not the task of a few, of an "elite" of the super-skilled, but that it is a task of the people and that defeats and errors occur in it.

*There is a common criticism of the armed organizations that are active in Argentina: military action, through its own dynamics, separates the revolutionists from the masses. How would you answer that?*

This is the criticism of the reformists on the left, which only repeats the old conceptions of the Latin Amer-

ican CPs, the outstanding expression of which was the polemic of the Venezuelan CP against Fidel Castro.

The operation carried out by our critics consists of transforming us into "guerrilleristas," a modernized version of "rural foquismo"; but the sophism of falsifying our strategic military conception is destroyed when the rank-and-file militants of the organizations that criticize us meet our comrades in the factories, shops, slums, and universities, struggling in defense of specific interests and advancing a political line that takes into account the level of consciousness of the masses and broadens it within the framework of a political and military strategy leading toward national and social liberation.

But this is occurring simply because to conceive the revolutionary war as a people's war, demands the construction of an army which, to bring in the people in arms, must be advanced as a mass organization. This impels the development of a revolutionary party equipped with the rudder of revolutionary war as an extension of a mass orientation [política de masas].

It is not, however, only a question of endowing the organization with an orientation toward the masses [política para las masas], but of insisting that the combatants and militants share their daily life with the masses, in their neighborhoods and slums. These links make it possible to root our clandestine activity in the masses, thus weakening the strategic role of the state apparatus. What is involved is activity that is both "open" and clandestine at the same time, an outgrowth of our political work.

*What programmatic and organizational differences are there between the PRT and the ERP?*

The ERP is struggling for a revolutionary people's government while the PRT is a Marxist-Leninist organization, linked to the Fourth International, which is struggling for a socialist government.

The only requirement to join the ERP is a will to fight and hatred of the dictatorship and of imperialism. In all of the armed groups of the ERP there are PRT "political commissars" who are the nucleus and political leadership, but who do not always hold the military leadership.

*What is the position of the ERP*

*with regard to the other armed organizations operating in the country?*

On the level of solidarity and sympathy, we take the best attitude toward them and have good relations with all of them.

Politically, we are struggling for a twofold objective:

1. The constitution of a Frente Unido Revolucionario [Revolutionary United Front] bringing together those armed organizations that have a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist, socialist perspective.

2. The organization of another, broader front, of an anti-imperialist, multiclass character in composition, united by its determination to combat the dictatorship and imperialism politically and militarily.

Within this fraternal framework, common actions are developing with fighting organizations, both Marxist and non-Marxist.

*At what stage of the struggle do we now stand, in the opinion of the PRT?*

We are at the beginning of a revolutionary civil war, at the stage of armed propaganda, of the accumulation of forces, and the wearing down of the enemy.

Naturally, we think that the war will be a long one, but we are also persuaded that it has already begun—even though for the moment it is up to the vanguard sectors to carry on the fight. We believe that we have broken the town-country contradiction; we believe that the battle will be mounted wherever the people and their enemy are to be found. What is important, what is decisive is man, not the terrain.

*What is the position of the ERP with regard to the armed struggle on a continental and world scale?*

Among us we have neither rankings nor insignia. Our only comandante is and will be Che Guevara, who resumed the emancipating tradition of San Martín and Bolívar. This alone defines our internationalist, revolutionary tradition—our complete solidarity with Cuba.

On the continental level we maintain fraternal relations with the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria] in Chile, with the Tupamaros, with the Partido Obrero Revolucionario led by Hugo González in Bolivia,

with the Frente Sandinista de Liberación in Nicaragua, with the Alianza de Liberación in Brazil, and with other armed organizations.

We think that the development of the struggle itself will create the conditions for rapprochements and plans for unity on a regional level, beginning with our closest zone, the Southern Cone.

For us the road to liberation in

Latin America passes historically through armed struggle.

On the world level we view with revolutionary sympathy Korea, Vietnam, and China, in addition to Cuba, with which we naturally feel the closest. Also we reject the Stalinist bureaucracies in Eastern Europe, and we are inspired by and feel solidarity with the left oppositions that are beginning to grow in these countries. □

## The Situation in Cyprus

[The following statement was issued May 10 by M. Galatis, general secretary of the Cyprus section of the Fourth International.]

\* \* \*

As we have explained repeatedly in the past, international imperialism needs Cyprus as a base to be used against the Arab peoples in the event they bring revolutionary regimes to power that would threaten its interests in the area by nationalizing the oil fields and other resources.

The imperialists know full well that if the Cyprus question is settled, then the people of Cyprus, both Greeks and Turks, would not only refuse to allow imperialism to use their territory for military operations, but would demand that the present British military bases be dismantled and all foreign troops be withdrawn. The troops now in Cyprus were stationed there in accordance with the London and Zu-

rich agreements, which were never recognized by the people of Cyprus.

This is why international imperialism opposes settling the Cyprus question, since a settlement would be against its interests. It wants Cyprus to continue to be torn by intercommunal and interparty conflicts that can be utilized at an opportune moment as a pretext for imposing "law and order" and stationing its troops there indefinitely for utilization in adventurous objectives.

To keep Cyprus in upheaval, international imperialism maneuvers and intrigues in various ways to stir up conflict between Greeks and Turks and between rightists and leftists. It sows distrust and dissension through its NATO agents so that the island will never achieve peace.

On the one hand, the Greek supporters of NATO urge "ENOSIS"—the union of Cyprus with Greece—an outcome strongly opposed by the Turks; and on the other hand the Turkish supporters of

NATO have declared that they will fight for an independent Turkish administration, an outcome unacceptable to the Greeks.

In view of this, a settlement seems excluded, and the Cyprus problem will continue to remain unsolved, like all the other problems purposely created by imperialism for its own ends.

Makarios and the Stalinists are of the opinion that the imperialists project a solution. This is a mistaken view. If Makarios declares that he is being pressed by foreign forces to accept a solution that is unacceptable to the people, he does this for propaganda purposes.

He intimates to the leftists that although he is under pressure from the imperialists, he is not yielding to them. Through such trickery he strives to create a "heroic" image of himself.

To the rightists, pressing him to adopt the ENOSIS policy, he counters by pointing to the imperialist pressure.

In this way Makarios manages to maintain his authority by balancing between the two political currents.

As for the Stalinists, who believe in the "heroism" of Makarios, they have abandoned all economic struggles. The Cyprus workers have not received any wage increases for some time, despite the fact that prices have soared so high that a Cyprus pound is worth about what a shilling used to be.

The Stalinist abandonment of economic struggles has enabled the capitalist class to increase its wealth to an enormous degree. Some Cypriots have become millionaires, thanks to the policy of class collaboration followed by the Stalinists.

Makarios goes along with the Stalinists in restraining the working masses from conducting any economic struggles for the sake of "national unity." His policy serves imperialism in two main objectives: (1) Paralyzing the working classes; (2) isolating the extreme rightists who insist on ENOSIS.

As we have explained before, we do not believe that he is being pressed from abroad to reach a solution. But if he is under pressure, we cannot understand why he does not expose the forces placing him under pressure. Why does he not denounce and condemn them before world public opinion and ask the workers states and nonaligned states to support him in his struggle? □

### Perils of Publicity

An FBI agent was recently censured by J. Edgar Hoover because the agent's sideburns were too long, according to a report in the June 12 *Washington Post*.

The sideburns in question, described as extending "almost to the bottom of his ear," apparently came to Hoover's attention in a newspaper photograph of the agent arresting an airplane hijacker.

The agent was also reportedly transferred from the Washington, D.C., area to Indianapolis, presumably to remove him from Hoover's sight.

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