

March against the War

NOV. 6

End the war! End inflation!

Bring all the GIs home NOW!

ASSEMBLE—10:00a.m.—Sixth Avenue
between 36th and 42nd Streets.

MARCH—uptown to Central Park.

RALLY—1:00p.m.—Sheep Meadow, Cen-
tral Park.

labor donated

Return to:
National Peace Action Coalition
150 Fifth Avenue, Room 911, NYC 10011 Telephone 741-2018

- I support (my organization supports) the November 6 march.
- Enclosed is \$ donation. FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED!
- I want to volunteer. I will be a marshall. Contact me.

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ORGANIZATION/SCHOOL

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED! Come to 150 5th Ave., Rm. 911 741-2018

All Out Nov. 6!

Scientists Protest NATO Research

Copenhagen

A number of mathematicians from several countries joined recently in a protest action against NATO-sponsored research.

Timing their action to coincide with a so-called summer school at Cambridge financed by a NATO grant of 200,000 kroner [1 krone equals US\$.133], protesters organized a meeting of scientists in the Uldum Højskole in Jutland. While seventy leading mathematical logicians took NATO money in Cambridge, an equally representative group of sixty scientists came to the meeting in Uldum, which was dedicated to the memory of the British philosopher Bertrand Russell. The participants paid their own expenses.

Among the leaders of the protest, which threatens to split the scientific world into a right and left wing, are Doctors Maximo Dickman and Yoshinda Suzuki of the Matematisk Institut [Institute of Mathematics] at Arhus. They feel that NATO has an ulterior motive in spending 30,000,000 kroner a year on civilian research. In their opinion, the military organization, to which Denmark also belongs, is out to make a reputation for itself as a patron of the sciences and to direct researchers into projects furthering its political and military interests.

The protesters say that many scientists share their views, including their estimate of the advanced summer schools NATO finances every year in a wide range of research fields.

It is not by chance that the mathematicians have begun to organize rival conferences just now. A NATO-supported summer school in mathematical logic has been held every year since 1963. At the last one in Manchester, thirty-six participants, or 20 percent of the total, signed a statement in opposition to letting organizations like NATO sponsor their conferences. Since a summer school was to be held this year in Cambridge, the Danish and British protesters demanded that the conference be dissociated from the political aims of NATO. The organizers were willing, but not the British Professor R. Gandy. The result was the nine-day Russell Memorial Conference in Uldum, which included such outstanding people as Alexander Grothendieck.

"We wanted to show that summer schools can be held without NATO money," Dr. Brian Mayoh of the Arhus University's computer center said. "We showed that, and we will probably repeat the demonstration next year."

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In This Issue

		DENMARK	874	Scientists Protest NATO Research
		ANTIWAR		
Allen Myers	875	Support Mounts for Nov. 6 Antiwar Demonstrations		
		SOUTH VIETNAM		
	876	Thieu Beats Trash Can by Nine to One		
		U. S. A.		
	877	Nixon's "Phase II" Economic Plan: Attack on Wages		
	878	Victims Indicted in Jackson Case		
Jon Rothschild	879	The Continuing Inhumanity of Attica Prison		
		JAPAN		
	880	Sato Pledges More Arms for Cops		
		IRAN		
	880	Report Try to Kidnap Shah's Nephew		
	881	Students Ask Boycott of Shah's Celebration		
		NEW ZEALAND		
	881	"Socialist Forum" Disbands		
		ISRAEL		
	881	Revolt in Prison		
		MEXICO		
Ricardo Ochoa	882	The Left Searches for the Answers		
		POLAND		
	885	Kuron, Modzelewski Reported Freed		
		ARGENTINA		
	885	Lanusse Quashes Attempted Coup		
		PAKISTAN		
	886	U. S. Military Aid Continues Despite "Ban"		
		BANGLA DESH		
	886	Role of the East Bengal Communist Party		
		CANADA		
John Riddell	887	Victory for Press Freedom in Quebec		
		FRANCE		
	887	Pompidou Extends Campaign Against Press		
		PERU		
	888	Hugo Blanco Interviewed by Inter-Press		
		SOVIET UNION		
George Saunders	889	The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky		
		GREAT BRITAIN		
	890	Report Heath Asks for Canadian Troops		
		REVIEWS		
Gerry Foley	891	Two Contributions by Leon O Brain to Irish History		
		DOCUMENTS		
	894	The Lambertist View of the Bolivian Events		
	896	High Casualties Among Bolivian Trotskyists		
		[Statement of the Fourth International]		
		DRAWINGS		
	Luis 875	Henry A. Kissinger		
	Copain 881	Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlevi		

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Support Mounts for Nov. 6 Antiwar Demonstrations

By Allen Myers

On October 1, National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) co-coordinator Jerry Gordon announced that the antiwar organization had designated Minneapolis, Minnesota, as "Peace Action City."

Minneapolis, one of seventeen cities in which massive protests are planned for November 6, has been a leader in obtaining wide endorsement for the demonstration. The City Council and the Ramsey County [St. Paul] Board of Commissioners have designated November 6 as "Peace Action Day," despite red-baiting attacks by Minneapolis Mayor Charles Stenvig, who charged that NPAC is "dominated" by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. The city's school board has announced its support for the demonstration, as have locals of typographical and teachers' unions. Prominent individuals endorsing the November 6 protests include labor leaders, the state's governor and lieutenant governor, one of two senators, and two members of the House of Representatives.

The November 6 demonstrations were launched at an NPAC conference in New York City in July. (See *Intercontinental Press*, July 12, p. 643.) The fall offensive against the war, which includes a national moratorium on October 13 and a student strike called by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC) on November 3, is being built jointly by the two major antiwar coalitions, NPAC and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ).

The unity in action of the antiwar movement has helped make it possible to draw important new sectors into the fight against the war. In New York City, for example, an October 13 labor rally was called under the slogan "End the War—End the Wage Freeze" by officers of the following unions:

District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); District 65, Distributive Workers; Local 1199, Drug and Hospital Workers; Joint



KISSINGER: Off to Peking to help everyone forget the war in Indochina.

Board, Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Union; Local 169, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Local 259, United Auto Workers; Local 140, United Furniture Workers; Furriers Joint Council; United Electrical Workers (UE); Local 306, Motion Picture Operators; and Local 431, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (IUE).

Labor support for the fall offensive is greater than ever before. NPAC is circulating a statement against the war and the wage freeze signed by more than 170 union officials and a number of union locals. Addressed to other unionists, the statement reads, in part:

"The labor movement faces a grave challenge. Nixon's wage freeze is an attempt to shift the burden of the Vietnam war more directly onto the backs of working people. . . .

"Nixon describes the wage freeze as an adjustment to a 'peacetime economy.' Nothing could be further from the truth. We have not a 'peacetime economy'—only unending war. Nix-

on is forcing the American people to pay for an eighty-billion-dollar military budget in order to continue a war that has been rejected by the overwhelming majority. . . .

"The tremendous social and political weight of the labor movement can be the crucial factor in forcing the administration to bring the troops home now.

"We urge you to endorse and participate in the November 6 antiwar demonstrations as well as the build-up Moratorium Day demonstrations of October 13. Help mobilize labor for the greatest possible outpouring against the war. Tens of thousands of trade unionists demonstrated on April 24. Millions should be in the streets on November 6."

In some cases, the response of union organizations has been literally unanimous. More than 300 delegates at the September 16-19 convention of the Colorado Labor Council, American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), unanimously passed a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal from Indochina and "massive labor participation in the National Peace Action Coalition fall calendar of antiwar actions." The District of Columbia Central Labor Council on September 20 unanimously called for immediate withdrawal, and the Minneapolis Typographers Union Local 42 on September 26 unanimously endorsed the October 13 and November 6 demonstrations.

Support from other sectors of the population is likewise generally greater than ever before.

In addition to the backing of the SMC, which has traditionally played the major role in mobilizing students for mass antiwar actions, the fall demonstrations have been endorsed by the National Student Association (NSA).

Feminist authors Myrna Lamb and Betty Friedan; economist John Kenneth Galbraith; Professor Noam Chomsky; the Vietnam Veterans Against the War; leaders of the North-

ern California Raza Unida party; actress Ruby Dee; folk singer Pete Seeger; and cartoonist Jules Feiffer are only a few of the prominent individuals and groups that have joined traditional peace groups in backing the fall offensive. NPAC also received the following letter, dated September 27, from Mary Cotter, writing for the National Committee of the Irish Republican Clubs of the U. S. A. and Canada:

"We support absolutely the peaceful and legal November 6 demonstrations and the local October 13 Moratorium activities against the war in Vietnam. Please be assured that our members will participate in these antiwar activities."

Another indication of the wide public support for the fall antiwar offensive is the pressure on capitalist politicians to give it at least verbal backing. So far seven senators and eighteen members of the House of Representatives have endorsed the demonstrations, as have Cleveland Mayor Carl Stokes and a host of local officials in various cities. Bronx (New York) Borough President Robert Abrams issued an official proclamation declaring October 13 "Take the Bronx out of the war day."

Mao Helps Nixon Create Diversion

When the White House announced October 5 that presidential adviser Henry Kissinger would make a second trip to Peking later in the month, even sources not noted for their friendliness to the antiwar movement saw the event as more than coincidental. The *New York Times* put it quite bluntly in an October 6 editorial:

"The importance Peking attaches to the Nixon visit is, if anything, underlined by the announcement's timing. Chinese agreement to accept a second Kissinger mission has been won at a time when the United States is fighting in the United Nations General Assembly to save Taiwan's seat, and just after the American-backed election of South Vietnam President Thieu whose lack of popularity in Peking is comparable only to that of Chiang Kai-shek.

"Moreover, it must be assumed that the Chinese knew that *the announcement would serve the Nixon Administration well as it seeks to defuse*

and to deflect public attention from the planned resumption this month of massive anti-Vietnam war demonstrations in Washington and elsewhere." (Emphasis added.)

The willingness of the Chinese government to help Nixon out in this fashion demonstrated that for all the speculation on power struggles in Peking, there had been no change in the political line of seeking an accom-

modation with American imperialism.

But whatever the effect of Kissinger's second trip on the "doves" in Congress may be, the antiwar movement has shown repeatedly that it is not to be taken in by Nixon's various propaganda ploys. November 6 remains likely to be among the most impressive demonstrations that have yet been mounted by the antiwar movement. □

Students Vow to Continue Struggle

Thieu Beats Trash Can by Nine to One

"I'm afraid to go vote because there are so many soldiers in the streets. But I'm more afraid that they will arrest me if I do not vote."

According to the October 4 *New York Times*, the above statement, by a Saigon cook, was not atypical of the electorate's attitude toward the October 3 "election" in South Vietnam.

Banners in Saigon proclaimed, "To undermine the voting is to undermine the Constitution."

"To the Vietnamese that reads 'If you don't vote, you're breaking the law,'" commented "an experienced American official."

As the *Times* pointed out in its headline, the balloting choice was Thieu or the trash can, which may seem to many to be an American-style twin-party election. But in some hamlets even this alternative to the great leader was missing.

An October 3 CBS-TV New York news broadcast described one case where there were no waste baskets for throwing away ballots and no pens or pencils for defacing them. These were the only means of registering opposition to Thieu's candidacy.

Official government reports claimed that 87.7 percent of eligible voters cast ballots and that 91.5 percent of those were for Thieu; 5.5 percent were invalidated to demonstrate opposition to the one-man race. According to the October 5 *New York Times*, officials were "looking into" the 3 percent that were unaccounted for.

In some areas Thieu ran considerably ahead of his average. In Bac Lieu province, for example, where Thieu's cousin Colonel Hoang Duc

Ninh is province chief, cousin Nguyen got 99.67 percent of the vote.

Skeptics may note that on the eve of the "election," Ninh was ordered removed from his post by the South Vietnam Supreme Court on charges of having rigged the voting in the lower house elections. The colonel couldn't understand the decision: "You know, the judge down here, he did not complain about anything," the insulted chief exclaimed.

The preposterous returns apparently were too much for even some of Thieu's U. S. sponsors to believe. The October 5 *New York Times* quoted one "diplomat" as saying, "The high turnout and confidence votes in some rural areas may have been close to accurate, but those for such anti-Thieu places as Saigon, Hue, and Danang are fantastic." In Danang, a "ranking American official" was slightly more blunt: "I don't believe those figures."

Four days before the voting, Thieu announced a new policy on street demonstrations. He had become concerned about anti-U. S. student activists who had been protesting the "election" and the presence of U. S. troops in their country. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, p. 828.)

On September 29 Thieu recommended a means of dealing with them. He told a convention of the National Police: "I would suggest that you pick up some tough and strong people among you and let them drive Government vehicles into the demonstrations as a provocation for the demonstrators to stop and burn the car. Then get out and arrest them. There are always only one or two leaders

in these things and you should pick up only the real troublemakers, and punish them severely."

Later, he explained what constituted severe punishment: ". . . shoot down anyone who attempts to burn vehicles in the streets."

Vu Khanh, a government spokesman, told foreign reporters that it was the cops' choice whether to arrest or shoot the students.

Despite these tactics, not all opposition was cowed. The Buddhist An Quang Pagoda proclaimed the election as "a day of shame." Thich Lieu Minh told a crowd inside the pagoda,

"With this election the Vietnamese, and people all over the world, see more clearly how dishonest is the face of the Americans."

One young soldier from the hamlet of Hanoi (a village about twenty miles northeast of Saigon inhabited mostly by Catholic refugees from the North) explained, "I fought in Cambodia and I fought in Laos so I could never vote for Mr. Thieu. My parents say the Communists are very bad and so they voted for Thieu. But they do not have to fight in the war like I do."

The October 6 *New York Times* re-

ported that student militants intend to continue their struggle against the government. Nguyen Xuan Lap, twenty-eight-year-old officer of the Student Affairs Committee of the An Quang Pagoda, told reporter Gloria Emerson that "The students' role is to be the detonator for an angry army and an angry people who will be the real explosive."

Lap's father spent nine years with the Vietminh during the war for independence against France. Lap recalled the visit of some Vietminh troops to his area as "the most cherished image of my childhood." □

Asks Cooperation of Union Chiefs

Nixon's 'Phase II' Economic Plan: Attack on Wages

When Richard Nixon went before the television cameras October 7 to announce "Phase Two" of his economic policy, he provided no surprises. When the first phase expires on November 13, it will be continued with only slight modifications for the indefinite future. As in the present period, Nixon plans a real freeze on wages and a nominal restraint on prices and rents.

Nixon announced the creation of a fifteen-member Pay Board to oversee wage contracts and a seven-member Price Commission to supervise prices and rents. A Government Committee on Interest and Dividends would "apply a yardstick to both of those areas" and seek "voluntary" compliance with its standards.

Nixon pretended that he would need legislation from Congress in order to force acceptance of whatever standards on interest and dividends his committee set up. He was contradicted the next day by Representative Wright Patman, chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee, who pointed out that Nixon already had that authority under legislation passed in 1969.

When it came to the area of profits, Nixon did not even make a pretense of enforcing the "equality of sacrifice" asked for by top union bureaucrats.

"Many of my good friends in the field of politics," Nixon intoned, as though the field of politics were something totally foreign to him, "have

advised me that the only politically popular position to take is to be against profits.

"But let us recognize an unassailable fact of economic life. All Americans will benefit from more profits. More profits fuel the expansion that generates more jobs.

"More profits means more investment, which will make our goods more competitive in America and in the world.

"And more profits means there will be more tax revenue to pay for the programs that help people in need. That's why higher profits in the American economy would be good for every person in America."

Nixon's paeon to profits did not mention that one of his administration's programs "that help people in need" involves cutting back the funds available to provide lunches for schoolchildren—an economy measure presumably intended to help finance planned tax benefits for businesses estimated at \$6,000,000,000 to \$11,200,000,000 annually.

Nixon's goal, although he did not state it himself, was said by administration officials to be a reduction in the rate of inflation to 2 or 3 percent a year. Neither Nixon nor Treasury Secretary John Connally, who held a news conference the day after Nixon's speech, gave any precise figures on what rate of wage increases they considered consistent with this aim. But anonymous "government

economists" who made themselves freely available to reporters indicated that an average of 5 to 6 percent a year "might" be acceptable, provided productivity increases continue at their present average of 3 percent annually.

The reluctance of Nixon and Connally to spell out any more precise details has a quite simple explanation.

Although the initial public reaction following Nixon's August 15 speech was reported to be generally favorable to the president's economic program, it quickly became apparent to many workers that while the freeze on their wages was quite real, the "freeze" on prices existed only in theory, if at all. (Unprocessed foods, for example, were not even nominally included in the freeze.)

In the October 1 *New York Times*, Grace Lichtenstein quoted some pertinent statistics provided by Arnold R. Weber, executive director of the Cost of Living Council:

". . . Mr. Weber noted that an analysis of 2,608 complaints [of violations] on the freeze, recorded for the week that ended Sept. 21, showed 73 per cent on price increases, 22 per cent on rent increases and only 5 per cent on wage increases."

Facts like these have already had an effect on American workers, including a greater willingness to participate in actions against the war—the major source of the inflation they are

being asked to pay for. (See article on page 875 of this issue.)

Nixon has avoided specifying the details on the Phase Two freeze for the simple reason that he wants public anger to be directed against the Pay Board and Price Commission, bodies that are designed to appear largely independent of his administration.

The fifteen members of the Pay Board are supposed to include five business representatives, five representatives of organized labor, and five "public" members. The confidence that can be placed in the alleged impartiality of this last classification is indicated by the only announced nomination so far: that of William G. Caples, a former vice president of the Inland Steel Company.

The members of the Price Commission will be, in Nixon's words, "all public members, not beholden to any special interest group," by which he apparently means that the commission will not discriminate between competing corporations, but will provide them equal opportunity to fleece consumers.

In order to gain the acquiescence of American workers in this scheme, Nixon adopted the tried-and-true method of offering positions to selected union bureaucrats. The five labor members intended for the Pay Board, Philip Shabecoff reported in the October 10 *New York Times*, are George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO); Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers (UAW); Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America; and Floyd Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists.

Unfortunately for Nixon's plans, these union chiefs showed a certain reluctance to be such obvious scapegoats for the administration. Their objections did not center on the weighted composition of the board, which would make it impossible for them to defend the wage gains of workers even if they were inclined to do so.

Instead, they took exception to the Pay Board's subordination to the Cost of Living Council. Meany complained that he had been promised that the board would be completely autonomous, while Nixon and Connally have specified that the council will

have final authority over the standards the board sets up.

In terms of what wage standards will be adopted, the difference is meaningless, but the union bureaucrats apparently feel that they need the illusion of "independence" to put the whole operation over on their memberships. In the days following Nixon's speech, they consequently refused either to accept or decline positions on the Pay Board, postponing the decision until after an October 12 conference.

Whatever its eventual composition, the Pay Board is certain to meet some difficulties in imposing the wage restraints Nixon desires without touching off massive resistance. One of the most ticklish problems for the administration is that of how to roll back wage gains that have already been won in two- or three-year contracts

signed before the wage freeze was imposed. A. H. Raskin explained the dilemma in the October 10 *New York Times*:

"The first big test for the new Pay Board will be to decide whether to exempt all existing contracts from review. Organized labor has warned that it will consider contracts abrogated and workers free to strike if increases due under present pacts are scaled down on anti-inflationary grounds. But many Government officials acknowledge that the task of turning off the inflationary spigot in new contracts will be made much harder if workers who got 10 and 15 per cent increases in agreements signed earlier this year are assured of another jump of 8 to 10 per cent next year, with still another boost to come in 1973." □

Victims Indicted in Jackson Case

On October 1, without bothering to take testimony from a single prisoner, a nineteen-member Marin County, California, grand jury returned a twelve-count conspiracy and murder indictment against six San Quentin inmates and one attorney.

The accused — Hugo Pinell, 27; John Larry Spain, 22; Luis Talamantez, 28; David Johnson, 24; Willie Tate, 27; Soledad Brother Fleeta Drumgo, 26; and lawyer Stephen Bingham, 29 — were charged with planning and executing the events that led to the deaths of six men on August 21, the day that George Jackson was murdered by prison guards.

The grand jury heard twenty hours of testimony from twenty-five witnesses, most of whom were either guards or investigators from the district attorney's office.

The indictment charges that Bingham smuggled a 9-mm. automatic pistol to Jackson, and that Jackson used the gun to kill a guard. It also charges that two other guards and two "honor inmates" were killed by the six prisoners. Nobody was indicted for killing Jackson.

The results of the grand jury's deliberations indicate that the government intends to prosecute on the basis of its fantastic story of the smuggled weapon, despite convincing evidence that security checks make it impos-

sible to get anything in or out of the prison undetected. (For descriptions of those procedures and testimony from prisoners about what really happened, see *Intercontinental Press* September 13, p. 765 and September 20, p. 786.)

Three members of the grand jury, Gerald Hawes, Rick Beban, and James Kilty, walked out of a jury meeting the evening before the indictment was handed down.

Hawes, a research analyst for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, resigned from the jury, stating that "the unwillingness of this jury to seek impartial legal advice during the indictment makes impossible a fair and just procedure which can mete out genuine justice."

Beban, at 23 the youngest person ever to sit on a grand jury in Marin County, summed up the character of the body: "What this grand jury does is not justice but vengeance. This grand jury reflects society, which it represents, which is suffering from racism, paranoia and economic bias."

On October 5 the San Quentin prisoners were brought manacled into court for a hearing on their case. Judge E. Warren McGuire refused to allow recesses so that the defendant could confer as a group. The hearing was postponed until October 15. □

The Continuing Inhumanity of Attica Prison

By Jon Rothschild

On October 6 Federal Judge John T. Curtin, while admitting that prisoners had been beaten, threatened, and abused in various ways after the police assault on Attica prison September 13, denied a series of requests to protect the constitutional rights of the inmates.

A team of lawyers for the prisoners, headed by Herman Schwartz, had urged Curtin to issue orders covering five points. According to the October 7 *New York Times*, they were:

"1. That the prison be ordered to stop physical abuse of the inmates.

"2. That the prison be ordered to stop destroying inmates' legal materials.

"3. That Federal monitors be installed at the prison.

"4. That Mr. Fischer [New York deputy attorney general] be ordered to stop acting simultaneously as investigator and potential prosecutor of both prisoners and of state troopers against whom prisoners may have complaints.

"5. That the prisoners be considered as a group, and represented in court as such by Mr. Schwartz and other lawyers."

During hearings on the requests, prisoners testified that they had been beaten, their lives had been threatened at gunpoint, and their personal property confiscated. Curtin acknowledged these to be "serious matters" that should be corrected, but said there was "no reason to believe that these steps cannot be taken by state authorities, and the plaintiffs have failed to persuade the court that there is any need for Federal injunctive relief in this regard."

Curtin had already denied a request by inmates that investigative procedures by the state be halted until each inmate is allowed counsel during interrogation. Prisoners' lawyers have appealed that decision to the Supreme Court.

Curtin's rulings, if they are not reversed on appeal, give state officials free reign in interrogations of prisoners, which could result in criminal

charges being brought against inmates who have not been accorded the right to speak to an attorney.

During the hearings, Charles Colvin, a twenty-four-year-old Attica prisoner, testified that he had been questioned by men who, he later discovered, were state investigators. They told him to sign ten or twelve papers, "or I would be killed." He said that he signed the papers without reading them.

As court battles over the state's "investigation" of its own murderous assault on Attica continue, prisoners across the U.S. have engaged in work stoppages and rebellions in protest against the conditions under which they are held.

All 993 inmates of the Pontiac branch of the Illinois State Penitentiary were locked in their cells October 3, after two prisoners were shot by guards during a revolt. Three-quarters of the prisoners are Black, and their average age is nineteen.

State prison inmates in Windsor, Vermont, won some concessions October 3 from authorities after a five-day work stoppage.

In New Bedford, Massachusetts, 100 of the 111 inmates of the Bristol County House of Correction demonstrated for improved living conditions October 3.

In Dallas, Texas, about 800 prisoners shouting "We want justice!" were forcibly overcome by guards. One prisoner died and two others were injured in the attack. Sheriff Clarence Jones announced after the rebellion that he would intensify repression in the institution, because when "humane treatment" failed, "you have to use force."

The Orleans Parish Prison in Louisiana and the Baltimore City Jail in Maryland also experienced prisoner revolts during September.

One of the more cynical responses to the new rise of prison militancy, and the support that militancy has received from the Black community and the student movement, came from

Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

Wurf attempts to portray himself as a militant trade-union leader. In the past several years AFSCME rank-and-file activity has precipitated some of the most significant strikes in the United States.

But on September 22 Wurf announced that New York State's 8,000 prison guards, whom his union represents, were demanding the creation of special, maximum-security prisons to isolate "incurable" militants who precipitate rebellions. He also demanded new training programs for guards on how to crush prison revolts, and threatened that guards would lock all inmates permanently into their cells if these demands were not met by October 7. On October 5, New York State agreed to the proposal for special prisons.

Since the Attica revolt was crushed, more and more information about the "incurable" criminals who led it is appearing in the press. The emerging picture flatly contradicts the atrocity propaganda handed out by government officials. The October 8 issue of the revolutionary-socialist weekly *The Militant* described three cases.

Elliot James Barkley, 21, was a member of the prisoners' negotiating council. His appeal on behalf of the prisoners was broadcast on national television. He was murdered by police during the assault. Barkley was arrested when he was eighteen on charges of having forged a \$124.60 money order. Released on parole, he was later committed to Attica for allegedly driving a car without a license.

Richard Clark, 25, whose fate is still unknown, was convicted two years ago of robbing a store of \$160. He insisted that he was innocent. He was later arrested for allegedly stealing three shirts from a clothing store and was sent to Attica.

Herbert X. Blyden, 34, was arrested fourteen years ago for allegedly robbing a gas station of less than \$100. He protested his innocence, but his court-appointed lawyer convinced him to plead guilty and hope for leniency as a youthful offender with no previous record. He was sentenced to five years in a state reformatory. After he got out, he was again arrested for armed robbery, and again represented by a court-appointed attorney. This time, he was given a fifteen- to twenty-

year sentence. In prison he has become a self-educated legal expert. He maintains that he is innocent, and his case is now on appeal.

If Wurf and Rockefeller consider these men incorrigible criminals, the

Black and Puerto Rican people of the United States seem to prefer the estimate given at the Rochester, New York, funeral of Richard Clark. He was hailed as "a martyr to end man's inhumanity to man." □

Iran

Report Try to Kidnap Shah's Nephew

"According to persistent rumors circulating in Teheran and among opposition circles in Paris," the September 30 *Le Monde* reports, urban guerrillas tried to kidnap the nephew of the shah during the third week of September.

The story has it that five guerrillas attacked the oldest son of the shah's twin sister in the Iranian capital. In the scuffle with his bodyguards, two were arrested, but three managed to escape.

Teheran authorities have neither confirmed nor denied the report, and it has not appeared in the Iranian press.

The shah is apparently concerned that any publicity given to guerrilla actions might encourage underground groups to disrupt the current celebrations of 2,500 years of the Persian monarchy.

On September 28 there was an explosion in the central police station in Teheran. The government said that it was caused by a defective gas heater, but other sources reported that a case of explosives, labeled "fresh tomatoes," had been smuggled into the building. □

Correction

In an October 11 article entitled "National Front Lists Arrests in Iran" (p. 859), *Intercontinental Press* inadvertently stated that the persons listed were members of the Iranian National Front. That organization's communique did not contain such a statement.

We are since informed that another name has been added to the list of those imprisoned: Lotfollah Meithami, engineer, graduated from the Sanati College of Teheran in 1963.

25 Jumping-Maos Each

Liu Shao-chi and all other capitalist-roaders have been dealt another blow by Chairman Mao. A five-minute morning calisthenics program, including specially composed radio-broadcast music, has been introduced throughout China.

A *People's Daily* commentator wrote that Liu had personally sabotaged such a program by going in for "championitis" and "checking the mass sports movement among the workers, peasants, and soldiers."

Sato Pledges More Arms for Cops

In the wake of student and peasant resistance to forcible land expropriations carried out by the Kodan (New Tokyo International Airport Public Corporation), the government of Eisaku Sato announced September 23 that the National Police Agency will outfit riot police like military battalions.

According to the September 26 *Japan Times*, all riot cops will be equipped with fire-resistant uniforms; protectors and shields against bombs; armored vehicles that can withstand explosives; and high-powered water cannon.

Riot squads will be composed of thirty-five members each, plus one plainclothes intelligence-gatherer.

The escalation of police armaments has been accompanied by a nationwide witch-hunt against radical students, as the government attempts to track down those who inflicted serious casualties on cops during the night of September 16. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, p. 834.)

On September 21, the last piece of peasant land was taken by the Kodan, and bulldozers began leveling the ground.

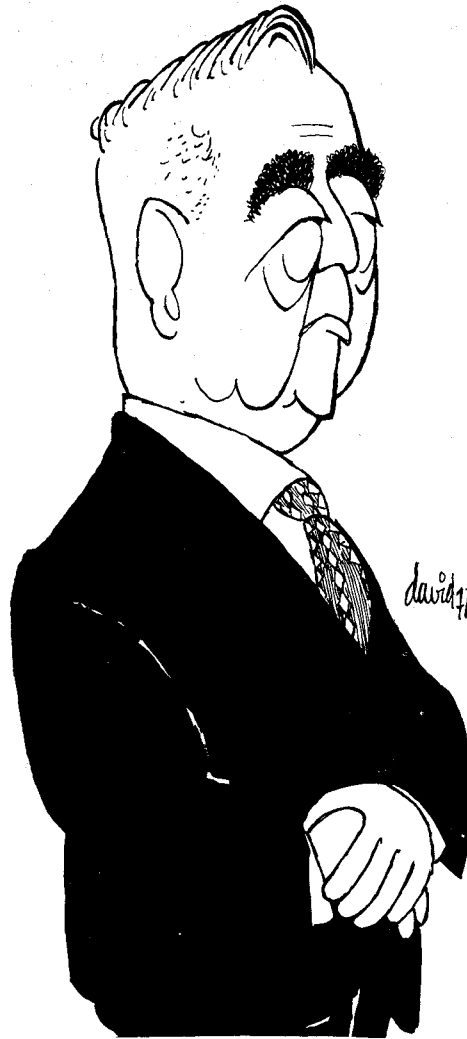
The September 16 fighting was the climax of the struggle against the second phase of expropriations to make way for the gigantic new airport. The depth of peasant and student opposition to its construction can be gauged by statistics published in the September 22 *Japan Times*.

A total of 14,000 students and farmers actively participated in resistance to land seizures. The Kodan forces consisted of 2,229 employees of the company, 150 government employees of Chiba Prefecture, and over 16,000 riot cops.

Kodan's expenses for the land-grabbing operation totaled 30,000,000 yen [1 yen equals US\$.003]. Meals for the cops ran to 12,000,000 yen and the Chiba Prefecture's bill for employees and vehicles came to 1,500,000 yen. A reported 218 pieces of heavy

machinery and vehicles were used by Kodan. All of these statistics refer only to the five-day period from September 16 to 20.

The Japanese Trotskyists appealed for solidarity with the farmers' struggle from loudspeaker trucks at two of the busiest terminals in Tokyo on September 17, 18, 19, and 20. Thousands of people came to listen, and defended the speakers against attacks by police and right-wingers. □



David, in Direct From Cuba

EISAKU SATO

'Socialist Forum' Disbands

The Auckland Socialist Forum, at one time almost the only non-Stalinist left-wing organization in New Zealand, has disbanded. The group, which at one time published its own magazine and had branches in Auckland, Christchurch, and Wellington, was made up largely of refugees from the Stalinist movement who were not content to drop out of politics completely or simply dissolve themselves into the Labour party.

Bert Roth, a longstanding member of the group, in announcing its dissolution and the handing over of its funds to the Auckland Mobilisation Committee, said: "Our membership was aging while new groups of young people were coming to the fore whose drive and enthusiasm in the cause of socialism we were not able to match.

"The magnificent mass demonstra-

tion on April 30 in which more than 15,000 people (the largest ever) marched in Auckland in protest against the war in Vietnam, shows the continued vitality of the left."

The independent leftist *New Zealand Monthly Review* commented in its July 1971 issue: "The *Forum* was founded about the same time when *NZMR* was established—when McCarthyism still reverberated through New Zealand and people were frightened to express a leftist point of view. *Socialist Forum*, Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch, kept the socialist banner flying during those difficult years. Now when a newspaper like *Socialist Action* can claim 4000 readers and young people read Marx and Engels in Penguin editions (best-sellers), the need for this type of platform seems to have dwindled. . . ." □

Students Ask Boycott of Shah's Celebration

The World Confederation of Iranian Students is circulating an appeal protesting Shah Reza Pahlevi's plan to celebrate the 2,500th anniversary of the Iranian monarchy. The appeal, signed by a number of prominent labor leaders and left intellectuals in the United States, Britain, and Europe, calls for a boycott of the shah's celebrations.

The appeal reads in part:

"This autumn, the Iranian regime will celebrate the 2500th anniversary of monarchy in Iran. For this occasion, many heads of states, prime ministers, and high government functionaries as well as men of letters, artists, and scientists have been invited to Iran by the Shah and his government.

"Because of the position they hold in their respective societies or in the world of culture, the majority of those invited are called upon to take part in these celebrations in order to pay tribute to the important and historic contributions rendered to the development of world civilisation by the Iranian people. . . .

"While recognising that there is no

doubt as to the merits of the Iranian people for their contributions in the realm of arts, philosophy and literature, it must be made clear that the main goal of these celebrations is to



SHAH: Squandering millions to celebrate 2,500 years of oppression.

highlight the traditions of monarchy in Iran . . . as 'proof' of the continuity and stability . . ." of the shah's regime.

"The oppression and misery to which the Iranian masses have been subjected by the Pahlevi Dynasty are only too well known to require any mention here," continues the appeal, recalling "that in the past year alone many Iranian democrats and revolutionaries died at the hands of [the] regime's henchmen either under torture or before the firing squads."

In calling for the boycott of the celebrations, the appeal says that participation in them would be tantamount to "sanctioning all the crimes and oppression with which the Iranian monarchy is associated in the last twenty-five centuries," and to approving the shah's squandering of millions of dollars on the celebrations while most Iranians live in dire poverty.

Among the endorsers of the appeal are Noam Chomsky; the editors of *Monthly Review*; Jean-Paul Sartre; Simone de Beauvoir; fourteen British Labour party MPs; a number of British trade-union leaders; and leading figures on the Italian left, including various writers and intellectuals as well as representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties and the *Il Manifesto* group. □

Revolt in Israeli Prison

About 480 Arabs, held in the Ashkelon prison twenty-five miles south of Tel Aviv for allegedly committing "acts of terrorism," rebelled against their living conditions September 30, according to the October 2 *Le Monde*.

Agence France-Presse reported that the inmates set fire to mattresses and used bottles and broom handles to fight guards. It took three hours for the authorities, who had to call for reinforcements, to regain control of the jail. One guard and ten prisoners were reported wounded.

Arieh Nir, head of Israel's prison system, claimed that the rebels had been inspired by the Attica revolt in the United States. □

Minus a Nominal Charge for Profits

"For a dollar today we're getting 50 cents' worth of health care—if it were done right we'd get 80 cents' worth."—Dr. Murray Hunter, medical director of a West Virginia clinic, as quoted in the September 13 *New York Times*.

The Mexican Left Searches for the Answers

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

On the anniversary of the massacre of Tlatelolco, three years after the army and police launched their suppression of the mass student and popular movement on October 2, 1968, by shooting down hundreds of persons attending a peaceful rally, Mexico seems now to be passing through a difficult watershed period.

Events in the month of September pointed up the conflicting currents. President Luis Echeverría made his first report to congress on September 1. This speech had been proclaimed for weeks in advance as an event of the greatest importance, a statement that would answer the questions most troubling the Mexican people.

Naturally, everyone expected a report on the investigation into the massacre that occurred last June 10, when rightist commandos, trained and equipped by the army, attacked a student demonstration, killing dozens of youths and bystanders and terrorizing a whole section of the capital city for several hours.

Echeverría's report came as a big disappointment. The president did not answer the questions that are agitating the political life of the country. In fact, his report itself raised new questions that were left unanswered.

Echeverría admitted once again in his speech to the congress that armed bands attacked the students on June 10, thus contradicting the story put out by officials of his own government that the massacre was the result of "dogmatic" wrangling among the demonstrators.

However, since he was apparently unable to report any progress in bringing these murderous terrorist groups to justice, the president seemed also to be admitting that the goons and their patrons in the political establishment are too powerful to be prosecuted. By this, he indicated either that his government is unable to control all sections of the bourgeoisie, or that it is unable to maintain its rule by relying on the official repressive apparatus alone.

Among other things, this situation

seems to illustrate the narrow margin for maneuver the Echeverría regime has for its so-called democratic opening. In any case, in September a secret armed terrorist repressive force, the "Hawks," remained on the loose—and, along with them, the politicians of the Díaz Ordaz regime who set them up and control them.

At the same time, the massacre of Tlatelolco, followed up by the new murderous attacks on a peaceful mass demonstration last June, has produced a mood of despair and confusion among broad sectors of the student population. This mood has been expressed in two ways—by the spread of the "drug culture" and by the proliferation of small adventurist groups.

In the first case, there is evidence that at least some elements in the government and the ruling class are actively promoting a "drop-out" mentality among the youth. Besides its political advantages, of course, this development has its financially profitable side.

One of the landmarks in the growth of the hippy movement, which has been led by demoralized young rebels of the generation of 1968, was the "Festival de Rock y Ruedas" [Rock 'n' Roll Festival] held on August 22 in Avándaro, a summer resort about two hours' drive from Mexico City.

This event was organized by one of the most reactionary sectors of the Mexican bourgeoisie, the sector linked to the Azcárraga and Espinoza Yglesias financial combine. This powerful financial group controls the Banco de Comercio, the country's biggest bank, as well as the largest radio and television network, and it has close ties to the Chrysler Corporation through its partnership in the Fábricas Automex. Former president Díaz Ordaz is also linked to this group.

The festival in Avándaro was the occasion of one of the most notable political scandals of the season. Many high government officials were implicated—the secretary of the interior, the governor of the country's most important state, and many others.

The press published pictures showing that soldiers had been assigned to "organize" the festival, to collect the money for tickets and do other such jobs. So, on the weekend of August 21-22, some 100,000 youths gathered in Avándaro to listen to modern music, smoke marihuana, and take drugs under the complacent gaze of the army and thousands of police.

In fact, some dailies reported that these "guardians of law and order" often provided the marihuana and other drugs themselves. Such "tolerance" seemed surprising to some people.

More and more revealing facts about the Avándaro festival have been coming to light. It has been learned for example that many of the combos that played at the affair, all of which were of the poorest quality, were the same ones that have played for *Porristas* [right-wing social clubs] on the campuses in festivals designed to draw support away from the *Comités de Lucha* [Struggle Committees] and introduce the drug culture into the student milieu.

Furthermore, the new president himself seems to have been mixed up with the Avándaro affair. Large numbers of leaflets were distributed with the slogan "Echeverría is with it."

At the other extreme from the "hippy left," or the "love generation," is the still more tragic phenomenon of the adventurist groups carrying out anarchist-type actions and kidnappings.

Such guerrilla actions made the headlines several times in September. Just before Echeverría give his report to congress, the police captured a group called CAP [Comandos Armados del Pueblo—Armed Commandos of the People]. These youths were accused of holding up drugstores and carrying out a series of "revolutionary expropriations."

The arrest of the CAP group was the third wave of jailings this year that Echeverría has directed against the adventurist far left. At the beginning of the year, nineteen persons belonging to the MAR [Movimiento de

Acción Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Action Movement] were arrested. This July, the police moved against a group linked to Genaro Vázquez Rojas. Besides this, the army, in the person of General Cuenca Diaz, secretary of the Defense Department, has been issuing regular reports about its "social action" work in the state of Guerrero, where the armed group of Vázquez Rojas has been operating for three years.

The month of September concluded with the kidnapping of a businessman and high government official, Julio Hirschfeld Almada. He was captured on September 27 by the FUZ [Frente Urbano Zapatista—Zapata Urban Front] and released sixty hours later in return for a ransom of 3,000,000 pesos [one peso equals US\$.083].

This last guerrilla action may have a strong impact on the life of the revolutionary movement in Mexico. Once Hirschfeld was out of danger, the police immediately launched a crackdown, described by the Federal District Administration press office as a "dragnet." Some 500 cops from all the federal repressive bodies were sent in to comb whole districts of the city "house by house," according to the press.

Like the MAR before them, the CAP and the FUZ are made up of youths belonging to the generation of 1968, who have been frustrated by the repression. The members of these groups are honest revolutionary youths disgusted by the depth of decay into which the Mexican political system has fallen. But their moral and political indignation has been directed toward the most obvious and least effective outlets—open rebellion by small isolated groups without links to any sector of the masses, even the students.

Lacking a political program, a strategic orientation, or an appreciation of the need for the patient and difficult preliminary work of organizing revolutionary cadres, the rebels behind these mushrooming "direct action" groups are contributing to the political confusion that exists in the country.

In present conditions, the only ones who can profit from such adventures are the most reactionary groups. While the guerrillas seem to be personally honest, their activities can easily be infiltrated by provocateurs. Some leaders of the revolutionary

left like Rico Galán argue that it is very likely that some actions, such as kidnappings and bank robberies, have been carried out by the "Hawks" themselves.

Such accusations have been supported by the statements of a high military official reported in the Mexico City press that he "recognized the methods used by the bank robbers as the same taught to the 'Hawks.'"

Without examining such charges thoroughly, it does seem clear that the work of the "direct action" groups is obstructing the job of building the revolutionary vanguard, which is the urgent task at this time. And such a result can only gratify the progovernment forces.

Some groups of students and left personalities, on the other hand, have tried to find a way out of the difficulties of the present period by putting forward various "broad," or reformist political formulas. The case of Heberto Castillo and his compañeros is notable in this regard. Their proposals have received considerable publicity in the liberal press and seem to have a certain credibility for large sectors of public opinion.

On September 21, Heberto Castillo held a news conference, along with the student leaders Cabeza de Vaca from Chapingo and Salvador Ruiz Villegas from the engineering school of UNAM [Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico], and the writers Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes. They called on "Mexicans to struggle politically to change the reality that repels almost all of us."

These figures declared: "We want to work politically side by side with the people, not in the name of the people." They specified: "We are not announcing the formation of a political party initiated from above by one group of Mexicans with a ready-made program. No. We are calling on Mexicans to discuss the bases, the program, the goals of a political organization that can transform the reality in which we are living and give a say to the people, a voice in the affairs of the country that has been taken from them. We are going to open our ears to the people, listen to them, get to know them directly. We understand that the people are tired of listening, of following orders. They want someone to listen to them, they want to give orders themselves. . . ."

"Some people, perhaps many, cannot understand yet why we are not proposing a political program or a name for the organization, a label. The reason is that we want the program and the name to come from the people. . . . Therefore, we will go to the people in the coming days, to listen to them, to consult with them, to put our heads together with theirs, to learn from them."

If we didn't know from a reliable source that Castillo has no sympathy for Maoism, we might think that this was a typical project of "serving the people." But no, Fuentes, Paz, Castillo, and Cabeza de Vaca are too intelligent to stick a Maoist "label" on themselves, and they would be even less likely to do so at a time when Maoism is rapidly becoming discredited.

What then does this populist ingenuousness represent? Castillo and the others do, of course, admit to having a few "ready made" ideas. This is fortunate. After all that has occurred in the class struggle here in the past few years, it would be incredible if even the most primitive group had failed to draw some lessons. (It should be remembered, too, that Castillo and some of his compañeros have spent almost three years in prison and so have had time to reflect deeply on the experiences of 1968.) In fact, such a failure would reveal the most abject political incompetence.

Furthermore, Castillo and Fuentes are not newcomers to politics. They participated actively in 1961 in founding the MLN [Movimiento de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Movement]. Afterwards, all the other "founding fathers" of the MLN abandoned it, leaving Castillo alone in a sinking ship. But he never formally dissolved the organization, although it has long since ceased to exist, a fact, moreover, that indicates serious political irresponsibility. It should give those who have looked up to him as a leader something to think about.

Moreover, because Castillo and the rest are not neophytes, some questions arise about their new venture which it seems could be answered without their having to listen first to "the voice of the people." What did they learn from the MLN, and is the new group a continuation of it?

Fortunately, as I have said, Castillo and his compañeros have some "ready made" ideas. They have per-

ceived that the agrarian reform has failed, that the trade-union bosses are lording it over the workers, and that governmental corruption has reached abysmal levels. As the result of such insights, they are prepared to say, "We want to take over the government."

"For what purpose?" it might be asked.

"To transform the economic, political, and social structures of Mexico," they say.

That is, Castillo and his friends declare their intention of changing the prevailing capitalist system with the very modest weapons of a humble attitude toward the people and a willingness to let the people show them the way forward. They want to change the capitalist system, but at the same time that they "are going to go to the people" to inform them of this objective, the people are supposed to give them the instruments and solutions to achieve this objective.

Unfortunately, it is very probable that the Mexican people still have a long way to go in achieving the consciousness needed to define their objectives clearly. But they already probably see these new populists as one more confusing element, and not as part of the solution.

The Mexican people in general cannot give directions to anybody. What the average person is looking for is help in finding a way out. This is what any self-respecting vanguard must realize, and not waste any time with belated populist sentimentalism. It is hard enough for the people to understand this system, to say nothing of getting them to understand the need for replacing it. Replace it with what? How? By what means? Unless a vanguard tries to answer these questions, it does not deserve the name of a leadership, and of course it will never be one.

Because of the insistence of the reporters, the Castillo group did find itself forced to give its opinion of the MLN experience. Carlos Fuentes stated his view: "The Mexico of 1971 is not the Mexico of 1961."

Unfortunately, this is not very specific. The important questions about the MLN were left hanging. Why did this broad organization, its program, tactics, etc., fail? What did the MLN achieve? Were the results on balance positive, or negative, or mixed? Finally, how does the Castillo group intend to change, or how has it

changed in the last decade? To be sure, Mexico is not the same as it was ten years ago. But what about Castillo and his friends? Are they the same liberals they were in 1961?

The attitude the Castillo group has taken toward the Echeverría regime indicates that they are still reformists. In their view, the "democratic opening" promised by the new government is real. The June 10 massacre and the sham character of Echeverría's investigations are not important from their standpoint. They do not see the narrow limits to democratic concessions, or the threat in the present context of even worse repression. And so, of course, they do not understand the need for clearly differentiating themselves from government policy in order to project a truly revolutionary solution that will end this rotten system once and for all.

Thus, the panorama of the opposition, as featured in the press, does not offer a very convincing alternative to the regime. But some less publicized tendencies point in a more hopeful direction.

In the present situation, the interest in revolutionary politics is so great that it has impelled some intellectuals with access to the mass media to pose important questions clearly. One example of this is Gastón García Cantú.

In the October 1 issue of *Excelsior*, García Cantú wrote: "In the present circumstances, who gains from this anarchistic activity? The answer is unmistakable. The gainers are the foes of building an independent movement based on legal and democratic rights."

In particular, he wrote that "in the presence of a popular mobilization, anarchism is impossible."

Such a clarification of the issues favors a wider acceptance of the Marxist perspective, which is to bring about a "popular mobilization." And at the same time as these questions are being posed more clearly in the mass media, revolutionary Marxist methodology seems for the first time to be spreading to nuclei not directly connected to the small groups that existed prior to 1968.

In September, a coordinating committee of several groups held its first activities pointing toward a wider regroupment of revolutionary Marxist forces. The organizations involved were the Grupo Comunista Internacionalista [Revolutionary Communist Group], Teoría y Práctica [Theory

and Practice], the Partido Mexicano del Proletariado [Mexican Proletarian party], and the Núcleo de Marxistas Independientes [Independent Marxist Nucleus].

The coordinating committee held two public meetings, one at the UNAM and the other at the Politécnico [Polytechnic Institute], to give a Marxist answer to Echeverría's report. Members of the FAT [Frente Auténtico del Trabajo—Authentic Workers Front] also participated in these meetings.

In its first issue, *Brecha*, the organ of the coordinating committee, expressed solidarity with the Fourth International, writing:

"The only instrument capable of dealing effectively with the complex conditions of the crisis in capitalist society is a cohesive party based on a common understanding of developments and the tasks they impose. We must repeat again and again that the international capitalist class has learned more from the triumph of the Russian, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions than have the workers themselves and their allies. It is utopian, therefore, to think that in these conditions victory is possible without the supreme revolutionary instrument, the Leninist party. The Chinese won and the Cubans also won without this, but we will never win with a blunted instrument like the semi-Stalinized Chinese CP or the guerrilla movement of Fidel and Che. Today the bourgeoisie is much more adroit and will not let itself be taken by surprise again."

These are the revolutionary Marxist guidelines that the Mexican Trotskyist movement is following in its work to organize the vanguard in the dangerous conditions created by the uneven development of this vanguard's consciousness. □

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Kuron, Modzelewski Reported Freed

On October 5 *Le Monde* reported a rumor that Jacek Kuron and Karol Modzelewski, leaders of the University of Warsaw student movement, had been freed from prison September 17. They were serving three-and-one-half-year sentences. Three days later the Paris daily confirmed the news.

The two revolutionary Marxists were due to be released in 1972 (Kuron in August, Modzelewski in October). They had been sentenced in January 1969, after being tried on witch-hunt charges in the aftermath of the March 1968 student struggles that had helped trigger the "Prague spring" in Czechoslovakia. It was not the first time that they had been tried by the Polish bureaucracy for their political views.

Both of them were sons of Polish Communist party bureaucrats. (Modzelewski's father was the first minister of foreign affairs in the government of the Polish People's Republic.) They were expelled from the Young Socialists in November 1964, after writing a document critical of the Gomulka regime's curtailment of intellectual freedom.

In response to their expulsion, they distributed a statement of their views, "Open Letter to Members of the University of Warsaw Sections of the United Polish Workers Party and the Union of Young Socialists." The document was the first revolutionary Marxist critique of the Stalinist bureaucracy to be produced by the new generation of rebel youth in the workers' states.*

The Gomulka regime arrested the two students. In July 1965 Kuron was sentenced to three years in prison and Modzelewski to three-and-one-half years. Kuron was released in May 1967, and Modzelewski in October of the same year, approximately one year before their sentences were due to expire.

In March 1968 they were both arrested again and charged with hav-

* The text of the "Open Letter" is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014, in a pamphlet entitled *Revolutionary Marxist Students in Poland Speak Out*, 96 pp., \$1.25.

ing "taken part in a movement—founded on a political program drafted by them and hostile to the Polish People's Republic—which sought to foment public demonstrations against the state." They were also accused of having received a duplicating machine from the Fourth International and of having used Modzelewski's home as an organizing center for planning demonstrations.

On January 15, 1969, after dropping the charge of association with the Fourth International, the regime

sentenced each of them to another three-and-one-half-year stretch in prison. The ten months they had been held before trial was deducted from the sentence, but the time that had been subtracted from the earlier one was added. This meant that Kuron had to serve another three years and eight months, Modzelewski three years and ten months.

At their trial, they refused to recant their views and denounced the anti-Semitic hysteria fostered by the regime as a means of dividing the workers and students.

According to *Le Monde's* October 8 report, other Polish dissenters, such as Jakub Karpinski, have been released, and all of the intellectuals imprisoned for having participated in the March 1968 events are now free. □

Lanusse Quashes Attempted Coup

Two mutinous units of the Argentinian army seized the radio stations in the towns of Azul and Olavarría just after midday October 8 and broadcast an appeal to overthrow the "corrupt, incompetent and ludicrous government" of General Lanusse. No other units, however, joined the rebellion.

Buenos Aires "remained calm," according to *New York Times* correspondent H. J. Maidenberg. "The only sign of trouble," he reported, "was the closing of Government House. The usually colorfully uniformed guards there changed into battle dress."

The mutiny was touched off, according to an October 8 Reuters dispatch, when Lanusse ordered Colonel Alejandro Garcia, commander of the Azul garrison, transferred to a remote southern town. There have been persistent reports in the press that a purge was under way to remove those officers most opposed to a return to civilian government. Lanusse has promised elections in 1973.

"President Lanusse's problems this week began on Monday [October 4]," Maidenberg said, "when Admiral Gnavi, just back from a trip to Peru and Colombia, reportedly told him that some of his subordinates were plotting against the junta because they did not want any elections to be held."

Shortly after Gnavi returned from

his trip, twenty top naval officers were dismissed, arrested, or permitted to resign. "These developments were said to have alarmed conservative elements in the other military branches."

But the revolt fizzled. On October 9 the rebels surrendered to troops loyal to Lanusse. The Argentine military dictator condemned them over radio and television as a "handful of sordid people aimed at cheating the people." As for their principles, Lanusse termed them "all most absurd and reactionary, and crudely hidden behind a mask of false nationalism and doubtful Christianity."

Diplomats in Buenos Aires interpreted the rebellion as a test of Lanusse's control over the armed forces.

It is not yet clear, however, what the test proved. It seems that Lanusse could have drawn a further lesson about the disadvantages of military rule. The rebellion was another demonstration of the way political disagreements in the ruling class tend to turn into violent clashes when the army runs the country directly. □

More Surprises in Store?

In addition to being a great politician, Nguyen Van Thieu is also quite a military strategist. The August 18 *New Zealand People's Voice* quoted his comments on a battle: "We achieved a fast withdrawal which is good as it catches the enemy by surprise."

U.S. Military Aid Continues Despite 'Ban'

Despite the official suspension of the supply of U.S. arms to the Yahya Khan regime, evidence continues to mount of Nixon's efforts to circumvent the ban and to maintain military support for the Pakistani butcher. On October 4, Senator Edward Kennedy displayed to a Senate committee documents showing that the Pentagon has had dealings with Pakistan as recently as September 15.

Kennedy produced copies of contracts between the Pentagon and the Islamabad government, one of which was for \$9,000,000 worth of spare parts for military aircraft.

On being questioned concerning these deals, State Department spokesman Christopher Van Hollen admitted that in addition to these contracts, \$3,800,000 in military equipment had already been sent to Yahya since the March 25 "suspension" and that another \$2,300,000 worth was "still in the pipeline," reported Benjamin Welles in the October 5 *New York Times*.

Commenting on the figures disclosed, Senator Kennedy said: "This seems to be merely the tip of the iceberg. What else is going on?"

The documents produced by Kennedy tend to confirm a charge made by Senator Frank Church last July. Church maintained that the Pentagon had at least \$35,000,000 worth of military equipment in the "pipeline" for Yahya's army.

... Van Hollen said a cut-off of all arms would have appeared to be a sanction against Pakistan and might have jeopardized United States influence with the Pakistani government," Welles wrote.

With the end of the rainy season nearing, Yahya has need of all the weapons he can obtain. The September 25 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that in the last month alone 5,000 well-trained guerrilla fighters have been added to the liberation forces and that the rebel government "also is pushing through an intensive programme of military training for what may eventually turn out to be a 'regular army' of 60,000 to 70,000 men." The magazine reported that the personnel for this army is coming

from among the 8,500,000 refugees now in India, and that arms are being purchased with the "substantial funds collected by overseas Bengalis. . . ."

The same article pointed to some

Disillusioned With Maoism

Role of the East Bengal Communist Party

[The following article is translated from the September 25 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International).]

* * *

In a long article on the situation in Bangla Desh, Gérard Viratelle, *Le Monde's* permanent correspondent in India, wrote, regarding the composition of the National Liberation Front: "Another group (the EBCP, East Bengal Communist Party — *Rouge*) linked to the Fourth International, appears to be the most dynamic at present."

If the second assertion is undoubtedly correct, the first demands qualification.

We have already pointed out in *Rouge* that it is false to call the EBCP Trotskyist. Not long ago the EBCP considered itself Maoist, but without swearing allegiance to the Chinese bureaucracy. However, the attitude of Peking toward the revolutionary events in Pakistan during 1968-69 prevented sincere revolutionists from following a "great helmsman" who sacrificed the Pakistan revolution to his bureaucratic interests.

The betrayal of the Bengali masses in their struggle against Yahya Khan's murderous hordes this year tragically offered fresh evidence of Peking's attitude. Isolated in their struggle against the Washington-Peking-Islamabad axis, the Bengali revolutionists of the EBCP, holding internationalist views much like ours, sought allies.

interesting developments inside West Pakistan that could influence the outcome of the struggle in Bangla Desh: "The Bengali struggle may slowly be having an effect on tribal movements for autonomy in the western wing. The Khaiber Mail recently reported the activities of the Baluchistan national front for liberation. Kabul (Afghanistan) Radio recently broadcast a report about mammoth meetings by Pathans demanding a sovereign Pakthoonistan." □

Now, the entire world Maoist movement is undergoing the most deplorable political contortions, worthy of the heyday of rampant Stalinism, to justify Peking's line on Bengal.

The current represented by the Lambertists in France and the Healyites in England comes close to betrayal so far as the colonial revolution is concerned. Healy's organization shamelessly supports the Awami League. As for the Stalinists — they are beneath words.

Only the Fourth International is participating in the Bengali masses' fight for a united socialist Bengal. It was therefore logical for the EBCP to get in touch with us. The quality of their approach was demonstrated by what their representatives said at the international meeting held in Paris May 15.

Nonetheless, it is an exaggeration to speak of the organization as "linked" to the Fourth International. If the bourgeois journalists, going by appearances, do not hesitate to do so, we, for our part, are much more careful in the terms we employ.

In a later article we will take up the vanguard role the EBCP plays in the Bengali revolution, inside the National Liberation Front, in the armed resistance against Yahya Khan's butchers. □

Such as Nixon, Rockefeller . . .

Researchers at the University of Utah have developed a surgical method for removing the venom ducts of king cobras to render them nonlethal. We can think of more likely candidates for this procedure.

Victory for Press Freedom in Quebec

By John Riddell

Montréal

The acquittal of John Lejderman by a Montréal municipal court October 4 marked an important victory against the continuing police harassment of the independentist movement here.

Lejderman, a member of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, had been accused of selling the revolutionary-socialist monthly *Libération* without a permit. [See *Intercontinental Press*, October 4, p. 831.] *Libération* is an outstanding journal in the movement for an independent and French Québec.

Municipal Judge R. Baudette ruled that bylaw 333, under which Lejderman was accused, does not apply to newspaper sales. He thus threw out of court the legal foundation on which, over the past four years, scores of persons have been arrested for selling radical newspapers.

The victory flows from a long battle against attempts by police to censor the radical and nationalist press through selective arrests.

Bylaw 333 became notorious around the case of *Logos*, an "underground" newspaper that won several judgments from the Québec superior court against harassment by Montréal police. But despite an expensive legal defense, *Logos* was never able to overturn bylaw 333.

More recently, *Libération* has been the main victim of this harassment. A score of its militants have been arrested over the last few months, though only in Lejderman's case did the police bring charges.

A vigorous propaganda campaign against these arrests culminated in front of the municipal courthouse minutes before Lejderman's trial, when *Libération* supporters defied police by selling the newspaper.

"Whatever the court decides, we're going to continue our street sales," Lejderman explained to reporters outside the courthouse. "No bylaw can have any validity which restricts freedom of the press and the free exchange of political ideas."

Police arrested *Libération* salesman

Jean Hérivault, only to release him without charge after the court's verdict was announced.

Lejderman, who handled his own defense, pointed out that bylaw 333 does not specify that newspaper sales are forbidden. As further evidence he introduced bylaw 2820, which specifically excludes street sales of newspapers from permit regulations.

Under questioning by Lejderman, police witnesses admitted that they had

never seen a permit such as they insisted was necessary for newspaper sales.

"What then is the significance of my arrest?" Lejderman concluded. "I cannot be accused of not possessing a permit, because no such permit exists. I cannot be accused of breaking a law against sales, because no such law exists."

"In fact I was arrested because I am an independentist, because my newspaper fights for an independent and French Québec. That is why we were singled out for police harassment."

The Crown can still appeal the court's ruling. Nonetheless, *Libération's* victory deals a blow to police harassment and repression of the nationalist left. □

De Beauvoir Indicted Under Same Law As 'Rouge'

Pompidou Extends Campaign Against Press

When Charles Michaloux, executive editor of the Paris revolutionary-socialist weekly *Rouge*, was indicted on five counts of libeling the French police, *Rouge* pointed out that such charges would be used by the Pompidou regime to attempt to silence other voices on the left as well.

This forecast has been borne out. The September 26-27 *Le Monde* reported that Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin has indicted Simone de Beauvoir on two counts of the same charge.

The indictment stems from articles published in March and April in the radical magazine *l'Idiot international*, of which de Beauvoir was the legally responsible editor at the time.

The articles, one an interview with Denis Langlois, author of *The Black Dossier of the French Police*, the other entitled "Chasser pour tirer" (Shoot First, Ask Questions Later), charged the cops with brutality during demonstrations.

Michaloux's trial, originally scheduled to reconvene September 28, has been postponed until the end of October.

The court had denied him the right to present proof of the accuracy of the articles for which he had been indicted.

His attorney, Yves Jouffa, appealed that decision. According to French law, before the appeal can be debated in court, a judge must rule on its eligibility.

The September 25 *Rouge* reported that Jouffa moved to dismiss the case, since such a ruling had not yet been issued. The delay would have allowed Michaloux only a few days to prepare his defense. In response to this motion, the case was postponed.

Recognizing that the regime's main goal is to bankrupt the paper through court costs and heavy fines, the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, the French section of the Fourth International and publisher of *Rouge*) has initiated a broad fund-raising campaign to ensure uninterrupted publication. A goal of \$18,000 has been set. As of the third week in September, more than 10,000 support cards had been sold, and a second printing of the same number was almost exhausted. □

What Sort of Advice?

A barber who used to be employed by the White House has pleaded guilty to embezzlement and income tax violations.

When he was still in office, Lyndon Johnson called the barber one of his "most influential counselors."

'Military Reformism' in Latin America

[Hugo Blanco granted the following interview to a correspondent for the Inter-Press Service in Mexico City on September 21. Translation is by Intercontinental Press.]

* * *

Question. What was the reason for your trip?

Answer. I had no "reason" for traveling. You will have to ask General Velasco the real reason that he made me "travel."

Q. It is held in political circles that there are two basic paths to socialism: the peaceful one being attempted, for example, by Chile and Peru; and the path of armed struggle, favored by organizations in a number of Latin American countries. Which of these two paths do you follow?

A. The world is moving towards socialism. This process is inevitable. Whether this transition is made peacefully or violently depends not on small revolutionary groups but on the ruling class's attitude and on the obstacles created by the latter. Chile and Peru are no exception to this, in my opinion.

Q. How would you characterize the Peruvian government?

A. As a military reformist government.

Q. What is your opinion of the significant legislative reforms effected by your country's government (dealing with industry, agrarian reform, education, etc.)?

A. The reforms made by the government are confined within the capitalist system. They lead toward industrial development of the nation without severing its ties to imperialism.

Q. What is the current and the potential role of the armed forces on the Latin American continent?

A. Its general role is that of a repressive force. My opinion is that this role will not change.

Q. Revolutionary strategists are debating over the method of the guerrilla foco as opposed to that of the revolutionary party. What is your position?

A. I stand opposed to the guerrilla foco and in favor of building the party.

Q. Latin America is witnessing structural change on a continental scale. What countries do you feel are central to this change?

A. There has been structural change in Cuba. I am not aware of other structural changes in any other Latin American country.

Q. You are extremely well acquainted with La Plata river basin. What is your assessment of current conditions there?

A. The policy of the Pacheco Areco government has been one of substantial repression. There has been popular resistance to this repression. The Tupamaros, although I disagree with their methods, provide an example of this resistance. The liberal bourgeoisie is aware of the blind alley to which this repressive policy has led them. The Frente Amplio [Broad Front] is the alternative they hope to provide. The leadership of this Front is in the hands of a section of the liberal bourgeoisie.

As in Uruguay, the Argentinian economic situation is deteriorating day by day. This underlies the popular discontent. The Lanusse military government, just like the Uruguayan liberal bourgeoisie, is looking for a way out. They hope to find it by utilizing Peronism. This is the reason for the current preelection maneuvers. The government may make certain concessions, but they may very well be too late and ineffective. The response of the masses to the bourgeoisie's policy shows itself in diverse ways. The

biggest manifestation of this "Córdoba uprising" of 1969 and other great preinsurrectionary mobilizations, in Córdoba as well as in other cities. The various guerrilla currents also reflect popular discontent, albeit in an indirect manner.

Q. What does [Carlos] Lamarca's death mean to the revolutionary movement?

A. Lamarca's blood now flows together with that of Che Guevara and that of the countless martyrs, both well-known and obscure, who have died fighting for the liberation of our Latin American continent. His murder is another example of the fierce repression waged by the Brazilian military government. It is also an admirable symbol of the Brazilian people's intense efforts to put a halt to the repression and to the system that produces it. We might disagree with Lamarca's tactics, but we fully share his objectives. His death is a loss that will be felt by the entire revolutionary movement.

Q. Please characterize briefly the developments in Chile, Brazil, and Bolivia.

A. My characterization is quite brief: reformism, "gorilla-ism," and "gorilla-ism," respectively. □

Sweetening the Sweet Ban

The Nixon administration has thrown its support behind a bill that would pay U. S. companies to the tune of \$100,000,000 for losses they claim they incurred when cyclamates (artificial sweeteners) were banned by the government.

Originally described as "generally recognized as safe" by the Food and Drug Administration, the chemicals turned out to be linked with cancer. Companies claimed "devastating losses" due to the ban.

There are no plans to compensate people who may have contracted cancer from cyclamates. □

The Perfect Replacement

While we take no position on the rumors that Nixon is considering replacing Spiro Agnew with a different vice-presidential candidate next year, those who feel inclined to make predictions should note that a Washington show based on Walt Disney cartoon characters is reported to have opened with the president's wife being kissed by Mickey Mouse.

The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky

By George Saunders

"I absolutely do not repent for organizing this demonstration. I find that it accomplished what it had to accomplish, and when I am free again, I shall again organize demonstrations, of course with complete observation of the law, as before."

These were the words of Vladimir Bukovsky, young writer and political dissident, in his final statement at a trial in September 1967 at which he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. Convicted for "disturbing the peace," his real offense to the bureaucracy was that he had organized a demonstration, in Moscow in January 1967, protesting the arrests of two other young dissenters, Yuri Galanskov and Aleksandr Ginzburg.

Released in early 1970 (his pretrial detention had been credited to his sentence), Bukovsky was true to his word. He immediately resumed organized efforts to struggle for democratic rights and to publicize violations of these rights by the bureaucrats who have controlled the Soviet government from Stalin on.

For more than a year Bukovsky carried on his energetic and often quite dramatic efforts. He gave an interview to the *Washington Post* describing conditions in Soviet camps, prisons, and "special" psychiatric hospitals. He gave a television interview to newsmen William Cole, then working for CBS, along the same lines. He appealed to Mikos Theodorakis, the Greek composer and dissident Communist, to intervene in behalf of Soviet political prisoners as a former political prisoner himself (of the Greek colonels). Finally, in an open letter of January 28, 1971, to psychiatrists in the West, he appealed for protest against the use of psychiatric hospitals for the forced detention of mentally sound dissenters. With this appeal he included exact copies of diagnoses made by KGB-minded psychiatric "experts" in the cases of five oppositionists, including that of Ivan Yakhimovich (who has since been freed from such detention but has not been heard from politically). Bukovsky asked Western psychiatrists to express their opinions on whether the diagnoses contained enough evidence to require the confinement of the individuals involved. He also urged psychiatrists attending international professional conferences to raise the question of such abuse of psychiatric facilities for repressive purposes.

Increasing attention has been called to the internment of Soviet dissidents in prison-hospitals. Bukovsky's role in calling the attention of progressive world opinion to this violation of human rights has been an important one. (He himself suffered from this form of official reprisal earlier in his career—in 1963, after organizing a showing of "underground" abstract art; and in 1965, after organizing a demonstration against the arrest of Soviet writers Andrei Sinyavsky and Yuli Daniel.)

The Brezhnev regime has apparently decided not to leave this twenty-eight-year-old gadfly on the loose any longer. He was rearrested on the eve of the Twenty-fourth

Congress, on March 29, and despite protests in his behalf, including one by nuclear physicist Andrei D. Sakharov, an investigation was begun that pointed toward a trial under Article 70 of the Russian Republic Criminal Code prohibiting "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation," carrying penalties of up to seven years imprisonment.

Now it has come out that the KGB has transferred Bukovsky to the notorious Serbsky Institute in Moscow for "psychiatric examination."

In the first days of October an appeal by Nina Bukovskaya, Bukovsky's mother, began to circulate in *samizdat* in Moscow. This open letter calls on "all people of good will" to help save her son from being turned into a "complete cripple" by Soviet prison psychiatrists.

Nina Bukovskaya asserts that the normal six-month period of pretrial detention has expired and that the KGB (the secret police) can no longer legally justify her son's detention.

"His only crime is the fact that he recounted for the whole world the practice of confining people who dissent in psychiatric hospitals under the pretext of mental illness." Pointing out that "the investigation is now in its seventh month," she stresses that investigators found "no kind of actual violation of the law by my son."

"Seeking a way out of his embarrassment," she writes, "the KGB investigator, Captain Korkach, has sent my son to a special institute of forensic psychiatry for an examination of his psychiatric condition."

Nina Bukovskaya had been summoned to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute where Vladimir had been kept much of the summer. She reports that a doctor told her, in the presence of a secret-police agent, that her son was not cooperating with the psychiatric examination and that he was "seriously ill" physically. His rheumatic fever had apparently worsened.

The normal length of pretrial detention is reportedly two months but in some cases may be extended to six. It may extend beyond that only in exceptional cases and then requires the special permission of the USSR Prosecutor General Rudenko. In no case can it legally extend beyond nine months.

The police and authorities apparently do not feel they can rid themselves of the troublesome Bukovsky with just another trial. The reference of his mother to the danger of his being turned into a "complete cripple" is a real one. Rather than holding trials where defendants can proclaim their views and thus win more support, the heirs of Stalin have been resorting more and more to locking dissenters up in prison-hospitals until they "regain normality" by abandoning their dissident views. This process is accompanied also by forced injections of debilitating drugs. The effect of these drugs, especially Aminazin, according to testimony from Soviet political prisoners, is to render the individual completely limp and apathetic, the aim being to suppress dissidence by destroying the

dissenters' mental capacity. [See "The Case of Natalia Gorbanevskaya," *Intercontinental Press*, June 7, p. 520.]

The *samizdat* journal *Chronicle of Current Events* No. 18, dated March 5, 1971, translated by Amnesty International, gives the following example of the authorities' aims in this special technique of repression:

"3. In January 1971 an 'Appeal to Soviet Society,' signed by Vasily Ivanovich Chernyshov, was received from the Leningrad special psychiatric hospital. . . .

"The author does not conceal his bitterness and horror at the catastrophic hopelessness of his position. . . . The most terrifying aspect of it is the forcible 'treatment,' the slow mutilation and destruction of the human soul. 'After treatment, I have been told, I shall be able to work even as a bookkeeper, but I shall not be capable of creative work . . . I fear death, but I shall accept it. I am terribly afraid of torture. But there is an even worse torture—meddling with my brain with chemical substances . . . I have now been informed of the decision that I shall be given "treatment." Farewell!'

"On February 16 Chernyshov was brought before a commission, and after a five-minute interview, treatment was indeed prescribed. When Chernyshov asked: 'What are you treating me for? As you know, my views are different now,' Tamara Anatolevna, one of the doctors, replied:

"'Can't you get it into your head that we couldn't care less *what* your views are—the main thing for us is that you shouldn't have any views at all.'"

* * *

Besides the appeal by Nina Bukovskaya there have been a number of protests in behalf of Vladimir Bukovsky. Forty-seven Soviet citizens, including such prominent oppositionists as Pyotr Yakir, Zinaida Grigorenko, Aleksandr Yesenin-Volpin, and Anatoly Yakobson, signed a statement affirming their personal acquaintance with Bukovsky.

"None of us ever had the slightest doubt that he was absolutely sane," they declared. "On the contrary, we all know Bukovsky as a well-integrated and mentally balanced person.

"Alarmed by the prolonged examination of Bukovsky and lacking any guarantee of its objectivity and honesty," they continued, "we declare that if he is adjudged mentally incompetent, we will be unable to regard that as anything but a crime, exceeding the authority of the officials involved."

Similar, separate appeals were reportedly made in Bukovsky's behalf by Academician Sakharov, one of the founders of the nongovernmental Committee for Human Rights, and by Mikhail A. Leontovich, also a nuclear physicist. They declared that they knew Bukovsky to be "a balanced and strong-willed person of deep principle." Sakharov praised him especially for his efforts to free those held in psychiatric prison-hospitals.

Support for Bukovsky has also come from some Western psychiatrists, along the lines of his appeal of last January. Forty-four members of the department of psychiatry at Sheffield University in Britain called on psychiatrists throughout the world to oppose the Soviet government misuse of mental hospitals. Their September 17 letter to the London *Times* urged psychiatrists to raise the issue

with Soviet colleagues and at international conferences. They cited Bukovsky's case in particular.

Also, there is some confirmation in fact for Nina Bukovskaya's assessment of the secret police intentions. In late September, before the six-month period expired, the interrogator Korkach took the unprecedented step of calling in two Western newsmen, James R. Peipert of the Associated Press and Andrew Waller, bureau chief of Reuters news agency. Korkach told Peipert that the questioning had to do with a case involving Article 70. (Peipert and Bukovsky were attacked and beaten by agents while meeting in downtown Moscow last January.) At the same time, a number of Bukovsky's Soviet friends were called in for questioning in his case.

The KGB officer warned the American and British newsmen not to reveal the subject of the interrogation under pain of prosecution by Soviet law. This way of dealing with the Western press, unprecedented in the recent period, indicates how fearful the bureaucracy is lest information on the Bukovsky case get out. Its case must have been shaky indeed. And psychiatric "treatment" is chosen as a desperate way out.

It is urgent that people on the left, unionists, activists in the antiwar, women's, and other radical social movements speak out, as well as psychiatrists and bourgeois politicians, in defense of the Soviet oppositionists. An indication of the urgency of international support for these courageous fighters for true socialist democracy can be seen in the fate of former Red Army General Pyotr Grigorenko, an oppositionist-minded Communist who defended Soviet power, arms in hand, in World War II.

Following the example set by Bukovsky last year in making a filmed interview for television, Soviet dissidents have smuggled out a film in which they appeal for support in the struggles for "Human Rights in the Soviet Union," the film's title.

Zinaida Grigorenko, in the film, describes her husband's condition now that he has been detained for over two years in a special psychiatric hospital. On her last visit to him, at the time of filming (several months ago), he told her: "I go around with compresses of urine on. My body is covered with sores. The gastritis is worse. So is the cystitis. I am very, very ill."

In her filmed plea to public opinion, Zinaida Grigorenko also says:

"It is a fact that my husband is condemned to solitary confinement where he is not even allowed to have a pencil or piece of paper to write on, where they order him to stand, like a stone statue. That means either physical death or madness. People—help me to save my husband, to save those like my husband who are suffering for their opinions." □

Report Heath Asks for Canadian Troops

"So overstrained are British forces by the increasing demands for troops in Ireland that the British Government took advantage of the visit to London in mid-September of the Canadian Defence Minister, McDonald, to request the Canadians to increase their NATO ground troop commitment to plug the gap left by the rundown of BAOR [British Army Overseas Reserve]." — *Irish Citizen*, October 1.

Two Contributions by Leon O Broin to Irish History

By Gerry Foley

One of the effects of the crisis in Ireland has been to make the key questions of Irish history once again subjects for political analysis by revolutionists around the world. It has seemed virtually impossible, in fact, for anyone to write about the events of the last three years on this small island without having to take up the problems of a long, complex historical development.

It is hard to imagine a more interesting field for Marxists than the 800-year-long struggle of the Irish people against domination by the powerful, exploitative institutions nurtured on the larger, neighboring island, institutions beginning with Anglo-Norman feudalism and continuing up to capitalism, with its various forms and mechanisms.

The history of Ireland offers excellent material for sharpening the most modern tools of Marxist analysis, dialectical insight, the theory of combined and uneven development, and the concept of permanent revolution. And so, it is to be hoped that the current topical interest in Ireland among revolutionists will deepen into a serious scientific study. The field is still largely open. Although some valuable Marxist studies exist, including some by Marx and Engels themselves, revolutionary and materialist literature on Ireland remains fragmentary, leaving many important questions untouched or only superficially examined.

Furthermore, Irish history is a field where contributions from all parts of the world are likely to be welcomed. The young Irish left, in particular, is becoming more and more aware of the need to look at their own country from a broader international perspective, to escape the limitations of the prevailing intellectual climate in Britain, to explore the affinities of their struggle with those of other oppressed peoples who are reinterpreting history as they liberate themselves.

Unfortunately, one thing that does not seem to have been understood yet by revolutionists becoming interested in Ireland is the need for learning the Irish language. Nonetheless, at least a reading knowledge of Irish is an essential tool for anyone who wants to gain a full understanding of Ireland.¹

This is true for several reasons. One is that the language question has by now become inextricably tied up with Irish nationality; the shadow and substance of the "national language" reflects all the contradictions of the frustrated national revolution. Secondly, since the period leading up to the rebellion of 1916, Irish has been used fairly extensively in the nationalist press. And thirdly, there are a fair number of historical works written in Irish, which no one with a serious interest in the history of the country would want to have to pass up. Liam

O Broin's latest book and another one by him published in 1963 are good examples.²

Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán [The Plot in Dublin Castle] offers a good description of how the political police were organized in the last period of direct British rule, as well as a number of insights into the workings of the system. Much of this story would sound familiar to revolutionists in Latin America, among other places. The use of spies, double agents, provocateurs, etc., has by no means been confined to Ireland. But in the context of the Western capitalist world—broadly speaking—this small island has had the greatest experience in such things. And O Broin shows that the "liberal," "gentlemanly" English government has proved itself quite as adept in using the shadier forms of political coercion as, let us say, the czarist regime in Russia, or the Brazilian "gorillas" of our own day.

The fact that all this repression has taken place under more or less intact bourgeois parliamentary rule, however, has helped to give unusual complexity to Irish history in the last two centuries. Plots, intrigues, forgeries, frauds, and provocations abound.

Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán deals with one aspect of one of the more notorious of these cases, the controversy over the forged letters used in an attempt to link the legal agitation of the Parnell movement to acts of violence. These letters were published serially, beginning in late 1887, in the *London Times*, the most authoritative capitalist paper of the period, under the title *Parnellism and Crime*. The aim of the *Times* editors and their conservative supporters was to prepare the way for suppression of the mass nationalist movement and to frighten off Parnell's liberal sympathizers in Great Britain.

The aspect that O Broin takes up specifically in *Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán* is the collusion between the state security forces and the imperialist press, represented by the *Times*. In his biography of Parnell published in 1937, the author dealt with the incident in general.³

Most of this short but rather detailed study centers around the papers of William Henry Joyce, a Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) official assigned to gather evidence

2. *Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán*, Sairseal Agus Dill, Baile Atha Cliath, Eire, 1963, 191 pp., including index and bibliography. Fifteen shillings (about US\$1.80). *An Maidineach*, same publisher, 1971, 376 pp., including index and bibliography. Two pounds (about US\$5).

3. *Parnell, Beathaisneis*. Oifig and tSolathair, Dublin, 1937, 566 pp., including index and bibliography. This relatively early work is written in nonstandard Irish and thus is harder to read for those who have learned Irish outside Ireland. On the other hand, it is also in the old spelling, which is a help because the only comprehensive Irish dictionary was published forty years ago, a fact, by the way, which is sufficient commentary on the seriousness of the Dublin government's claims about its intention of reviving Irish as the main language of the country.

1. Lists of textbooks and dictionaries are available in the United States from the New York Gaelic Society, 831 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10021.

to support the implications of the forged letters. Roger Casement was preparing to publish a series of exposures based on the Joyce papers, O Broin writes, but was diverted by his work in the conspiracy leading up to the rebellion of 1916. For various reasons, no study of the papers was published before *Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán*.

Joyce was one of a group of RIC officials called together in Dublin Castle, the center of the British administration in Ireland, in September 1887 by Arthur Balfour, later prime minister of the British government and then chief secretary for Ireland. Balfour called on these officials for ideas in developing a strategy to meet Parnell's "Plan of Campaign" against rack-renting landlords and suggestions about how to apply the latest Coercion Act.

"After this meeting," Joyce wrote in one of the papers quoted by O Broin, "the chief secretary named me to the post of Resident Justice, not to carry out the normal duties of a justice but to collect secret information under the Coercion Act. I did not want this post at the time . . . but when I consulted with the chief inspector who was my superior, I was told that I would be making a mistake if I rejected the appointment. So, reluctantly, I accepted it. In early 1888 I collected special information in Leitrim, Longford, and Galway. But, as I just said, my work was ended rather quickly, as the government asked me to take a new assignment, a political assignment, I might say, to be the government's chief representative in collecting information clandestinely so as, if possible, to enable the *Times* to prove before the Special Commission the accusations it made in the articles published under the title of *Parnellism and Crime*."⁴

In June 1888, Joyce received a letter calling him to Dublin for a meeting with Joseph Soames, the attorney for the London *Times*. Soames asked the Irish policeman to help him collect information that would incriminate Parnell. "He left no doubt that he had the support of the government in this," Joyce wrote. When Joyce protested to his superiors, "Harrel, police commissioner for Dublin City, told him straight out to help Soames and that he himself was doing the same thing."

But the English attorney took on a large share of the dirty work directly.

"Balfour did his best to defend Soames," O Broin writes, "but was not as discreet as the chief secretary. Joyce found this out from the questions in Parliament and from what he himself saw when he went to Waterford, where a group of Land Leaguers were being tried. He saw Soames often during this trip. The attorney was very busy hiring Irish lawyers. Edward Carson [the chief founding father of the Orange regime in Belfast], whom he had hired earlier, was sick, and Soames chose Stephen Ronan.

"At a dinner that Soames gave in a private room in the Shelbourne Hotel one evening, the Irish lawyers met Joyce, who discussed the case with them. In the same period Joyce was called to the office of Ridgeway, the under secretary, where he saw Hayes Fisher, the prime minister's parliamentary secretary, who was in Ireland. Fisher showed a sort of fear. He had finished a tour through the south of the country and everywhere he went

he heard that Soames had been there before him, collecting information from the justices and the constabulary officers and saying straight out that he had direct authority from the government to collect intelligence from them on behalf of the *Times*.

"To be sure, Soames went to work with energy and boldness. He gave particular attention to political prisoners, hoping that they would betray their old comrades in return for their freedom or for a reduction of their sentences."

All of this effort came to nothing, however, when the letters were proved to be forgeries. The forger, Richard Pigott, fled to Spain and died mysteriously there, ostensibly by his own hand. The result was one of the more notable credibility gaps of the mid-Victorian era.

The special commission presented a report showing a "state of lawlessness" in Ireland, but the government had been seriously compromised. The honor of the capitalist press was in rather worse shape. O Broin quotes this passage:

"The mid-Victorian legend of the inerrancy of *The Times* was exploded. Something of the awe of holy writ, which from the days of Barnes had clung about its columns, now faded away. *The Times* had been deceived by Pigott and might be deceived again." (*History of "The Times," 1884-1912*, p. 89.)

Perhaps the most interesting thing in *Comhcheilg sa Chaisleán*, however, is the story of Joyce himself, probably a rather typical instrument of British rule in Ireland. The defecting policeman is shown by his papers as a staunch Unionist from a modest Ulster Protestant background, sanctimonious, narrow-minded, and worshipful of authority, but stubborn and honest to the extent of his understanding. His relations with the aristocratic future British prime minister, of whom Lord Beaverbrook said "it was just possible that he didn't believe in anything or anybody," point up certain ironies. Joyce's disaffection began when Balfour insisted on appointing him a judge, instead of naming him to a police post. Joyce felt that his history as a political detective disqualified him from taking a place on the bench. Balfour had no such scruples and quickly became weary of the stiff-necked Irish Protestant.

Later, after being forced to accept a post he did not want, Joyce was forcibly retired because of poor health, which, O Broin shows fairly convincingly, was arbitrarily and falsely put down to overindulgence in alcohol. Since Joyce's case was ruled to be one of "drink-ended service," he was deprived of a good part of his pension and condemned to live out his last years in poverty. These experiences apparently put an end to his "loyalty to the Crown." He offered all the information he had on secret police operations to "the rebels." O Broin writes: "His [Joyce's] hatred of his old employers was so great that there was no evil he would not believe against them."

There is no lack of irony, too, in Joyce's explanation of the source of the illness that led to his downfall. "As far back as 1884 I had premonitory symptoms of the violent internal pain from which I have suffered so much, and in 1886 I had a very serious attack of it when I was engaged at Woodford, Co. Galway, in investigating a dreadful murder [of a landlord's eviction agent], being obliged to occupy a very damp and unwholesome room, no other being procurable, as at the time even

4. This quote is retranslated from Irish. The papers of course were written in English. O Broin shifts back and forth from Irish to English in his quotations.

the corpse of the murdered man was boycotted."

Dr. Richard Madden, the subject of *An Maidíneach*, is also a contradictory personality. His life, as recounted by O Broin, illustrates the conflicting political pressures in Ireland. Madden lived from the revolution of 1798, the birth date of modern Ireland and the doctor's as well, to the onset of the Gaelic revival. His main historical importance comes from his role in preserving the ideas and memory of the United Irishmen who led the revolutionary upsurge of the 1790s. Madden's books — *The Lives of the United Irishmen* and *The Literary Remains of the United Irish* — played a major part in infusing the legend of the first wave of Irish republicanism into the new republicanism that arose out of the Young Ireland movement in the much different circumstances of mid-nineteenth-century Ireland.

Madden, however, was in many ways a good example of the urban Catholic middle class. Born in Dublin, raised in an English-speaking environment and cut off entirely from the Gaelic peasantry, he spent the greater part of his life as a British colonial official. He was a courageous and humanitarian liberal and vigorous in attacking slavery and venal or brutal administrators. He was also a sincere Irish patriot, making what seemed to him serious sacrifices for the cause of Irish freedom. His liberalism and his authorship of books about the rebels of 1798 do seem to have complicated his civil service career somewhat. Needless to say, his attitude to the revolutionary ideas of 1798 was a contradictory one.

Although Madden was probably as respectable as an Irish Catholic "gentleman" could be at the time, his life is reminiscent in a way of the "Irish adventurers" of nineteenth-century fiction, like Thackeray's Barry Lyndon or the heroes of Charles Lever.

Madden began his career as a military doctor in the Turkish army. He also spent time in France, Portugal, Cuba, Africa, and the United States, as well as in London. He was a friend of the poet Tom Moore; the brilliant Irish parvenu of London society, Lady Blessington; and the leader of the Christian left in the French revolution of 1848, the defrocked Breton priest Michel de Lamennais.

Characteristically, the devout doctor lamented over Lamennais's "spiritual pride," at the same time encouraging his fellow Celt to take an interest in his Irish relatives on his mother's side. At the end of his life, Madden urged the northern Irish Protestant poet Sir Samuel Ferguson to publish his *Lays of the Western Gael*, one of the sources of the Celtic revival, despite the political consequences Ferguson feared.

Madden was a man of contradictions from the first to the last. He was quite capable of British imperialist chauvinism. In a book on his experiences in Turkey, for example, he wrote: "The medical officers of Ibrahim's army were the refuse of all nations and I am proud to say that there wasn't one Englishman amongst them." But he could also write like this, in a letter to his relative William Power:

"You argued with me once in favour of slavery for which I hope God will forgive you, but I cannot. On what principle an honest Irishman, a slave himself, outlawed of his natural rights, oppressed and familiar with persecution, can advocate the bondage . . . of another race, made in God's image like himself . . . and differing

from him only in the colour of his skin, I am wholly at a loss to conceive."

This paradox says a great deal, not only about the contradictions of the Irish Catholic middle class, perhaps, but about the mentality of the submerged small nationalities of the British Isles, which have suffered varying degrees of national oppression at the hands of the English ruling class but which at the same time have been accorded a privileged position in the sphere of a great imperialist power. In this sense, Madden's attitudes are also reminiscent of some Welsh liberals who have combined a muted nationalism with a kind of progressive imperialist civic spirit.

With a peculiar kind of middle-class inconsistency, Madden felt, apparently, that his liberalism absolved him of complicity in the imperialist system. He rather arbitrarily rejected certain positions because of his conception of his principles, while continuing to compromise and even crawl at times to remain in British service.

Near the end of his life, Madden wrote: "Many a time, some of my friends, who would fain in a worldly-wise fashion compromise unpleasant political questions, urged me to accept Parliamentary candidature, and I always firmly refused. They likewise reminded me that we lived in a civilised century and in an enlightened age of liberality; that Papists ought to be thankful to the British Government for having, even reluctantly, conceded Catholic Emancipation and repealed the Penal Law Code, and suggested the prudence of silence and oblivion about the past history of Ireland as far as regarded my own future prospects. These well-meaning hints and persuasive arguments did not, however, prevent my denunciation, not alone of the wrongs perpetrated in the past, but also those of the present."

When Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a reformed 1848 rebel who rose to a cabinet position in the government of the Canadian confederation, returned to Ireland for a "gratifying interview" with the viceroy, Madden wrote in his usual sincere but execrable verse:

*He speaks of youthful patriots as fools
But aged apostates, greatly he extols.
He deems his old associates a band
Of dolts, and scorns their folly by command.
His new-born zeal for British rule doth prove
For British gold the traitor's greed and love.*

But at the same time, Madden embarrassed his friends by holding office in the British administration. And in appealing for high patronage, he used these arguments to clear himself politically:

"I take no part in politics, I have never belonged to any political society, nor have I written any work intended or calculated to lead to violence, insurrection or rebellion. To do so would be against my principles, and all my experience would be against that course. I have seen many rebellions and several revolutions, in Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece; in the East and in the West. I have watched their results as a man of some observation and plain common sense might be supposed to do, and I may add, have not seen any good arise from them to the people of those countries where such civil wars have taken place.

"I hope that humanity and justice would have been served by the anatomy of a rebellion, like that of '98

in Ireland, by laying bare the machinery of secret conspiracy, the perfidy, cupidity and truculency that stalk in its paths; the brutality, intemperance, cruelty and ferocity masked under a show of zeal either for order or religion, that are to be found in the agency of the subordinates of authority, intrusted with power, against the opponents, real or suspected, of government in such bad times, when society, stirred to its lowest depths, sends that which is vilest to the top, all its scum to the surface, and no small quantity likewise of spurious patriotism, of froth and foam, bubbling up from the ferment that is going on there."

Unfortunately, these "common sense" arguments cannot be dismissed as a pose adopted for the benefit of the British authorities, even if Madden were so naïve as to believe that such professions would satisfy the guardians of orthodoxy. This conservative attitude—to say nothing of confused prolixity—deeply marked his major work. While he sympathized with the patriotism and high-mindedness of the republican rebels of 1798, their radical and rationalist principles were incomprehensible and shocking to him.

The Irish Marxist and revolutionist James Connolly wrote in his book *Labour in Irish History*: "Dr. Madden, a most painstaking and conscientious biographer, declares

in his volume of 'The Literary Remains of the United Irishmen,' that he has suppressed many of their productions because of their 'trashy' republican and irreligious tendencies.

"This is to be regretted, as it places upon other biographers and historians the trouble (a thousand times more difficult now) of searching for anew and re-collecting the literary material from which to build a proper appreciation of the work of those pioneers of democracy in Ireland. And as Irish men and women progress to a truer appreciation of correct social and political principles, perhaps it will be found possible to say, without being in the least degree blasphemous or irreverent, that the stones rejected by the builders of the past have become the cornerstones of the edifice."

Unfortunately, the contradictions exemplified by Madden, whose nationalist and democratic sentiments were blunted and distorted by his religious and social conservatism, have also marked more than one generation of Irish patriots, by no means all of whom have belonged to the middle class. These contradictions remain to be overcome today by a revolutionary movement that can make clear to the overwhelming majority of the people of Ireland at least the social and international implications of Irish national aspirations. □

Documents

The Lambertist View of the Bolivian Events

[The defeat suffered by the Bolivian workers in the military coup of August 18-22 has raised again a number of basic questions of revolutionary strategy and tactics. In this, some negative lessons have been provided by the sectarian combination that entitles itself the "International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International."

[This group was affected by the Bolivian coup because it includes the POR headed by Guillermo Lora, a well-known figure in Bolivia who played a role in the events leading up to the right-wing take-over. The inclusion of Lora in the International Committee was a marriage of factional convenience.¹

[It should be mentioned that there are two parties in Bolivia named the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party). In opposition to the POR headed by Lora is the POR headed by Hugo González Moscoso. This is the Bolivian section of the Fourth International. The two groupings united following the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International in 1963. Lora, however, soon organized a split.

[The coup in Bolivia led to some striking differences in opinion among the components of the International Committee. For instance, Tim Wohlforth, expressing his personal views in the August 30 issue of the *Bulletin*,

weekly organ of the Workers League, attacked Lora in these terms:

"[Lora, in collaboration with the Bolivian Stalinists and with the agreement of the Bolivian and international Pabloites, failed to fight at any point for the overthrow of the Torres military regime. Thus he, along with the rest of the Popular Assembly, acted as a left cover for Torres while the right wing elements in Torres' own army prepared and finally executed their coup."

[The Workers League is an American satellite of the British-based Socialist Labour League, headed by Gerry Healy; and the September 8 issue of the SLL organ, *Workers Press*, reprinted this attack.

[In what appears to be a public reply, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization), the French-based component of the IC headed by Pierre Lambert, published the following resolution on Bolivia in the September 29 issue of its paper, *Informations Ouvrières*. This was not signed by Lambert but was passed as a formal statement by the Central Committee of the OCI.

[Up to now the International Committee itself has made no comment on the events in Bolivia, and its point of view is not known. Since the IC is obviously deeply divided over this issue, it is to be hoped that it has organized a discussion among its warring cliques as to what is to be done about the situation.

[For our part, we invite the *Bulletin* and the *Workers Press* to reprint our translation of the OCI resolution

1. See "Disaster in Bolivia for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth," in *Intercontinental Press*, September 27, p. 816, for a history of this unprincipled bloc. — IP

so as to bring their supporters up to date on the views of their French comrades.]

* * *

Having studied the Bolivian situation on the basis of all the available documentation—in particular the report on the development of the revolutionary struggle written by Comrade Guillermo Lora, secretary of the Revolutionary Workers party of Bolivia—the Central Committee of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste, section of the International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, emphatically declares its total solidarity with the POR—which is also a Trotskyist party and a member of the International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International—in the struggle it is leading in Bolivia for a workers and peasants' government and a state based on soviets.

The Central Committee of the OCI notes that the International Committee has characterized the period opened by the May-June 1968 general strike [in France] and the process of political revolution in Czechoslovakia, as a period of the imminence of the revolution, that is, a period in which class confrontations challenge the state power. It declares that the process of the class struggle in Bolivia fits perfectly into this perspective. In fact, in their struggle against the domination of Yankee imperialism and the wretched Bolivian bourgeoisie, the worker and peasant masses in Bolivia rallied around an organ of the soviet type. As in the case of the Irbid soviet in Palestine and the workers' councils in the Polish Baltic ports, the creation of the People's Assembly expressed the fundamental tendency of this period, i.e., the determination of the workers and the peasant masses to launch a struggle for a government of their own.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, hails the heroic struggle waged by the Bolivian POR in a situation where all of the forces of imperialism have been concentrating on crushing this profound aspiration of the Bolivian masses to destroy the bourgeois state and capitalist productive and property relations and create a workers' government.

In the coup d'etat organized by the CIA and the military dictatorships of Brazil and Argentina, and facilitated by the Torres government, the CC of the OCI sees proof that the policy followed by the POR was in fundamental harmony with the interests of the workers of Bolivia and of the entire world. The facts agree. At every stage in the process, the political fight waged by the POR has enabled the masses to preserve their class independence vis-à-vis Torres and to frustrate the maneuvers aimed at subordinating them once again to bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalism.

It was the POR's policy that made it possible to maintain to the end a class united-front of the proletariat and all its political and trade-union organizations at the government level represented by the People's Assembly. It was this unity in and around the People's Assembly, an organ of dual power, that, under the leadership of the Trotskyist party, the POR, marked the entirety of the evolutionary process before and after the clashes of August 20-23.

The Moscow bureaucracy was not far wrong when it

condemned its Bolivian party in its press for capitulating to the POR.

To all of the petty-bourgeois currents, the POR gave an example of armed struggle based on workers' militias and fully integrated into the movement of workers struggling for their liberation.

Yankee imperialism saw things clearly when, on the first day of the fascist uprising in Santa Cruz, it said through the columns of the *Washington Post* that the Bolivian situation was far graver than the one in Chile, that it confronted the United States with a more dangerous state of things even than the Cuban revolution in 1959, inasmuch as the Bolivian masses had begun to struggle for a "workers' government."

The CC of the OCI declares that the Bolivian revolution meshes with the East Berlin uprising of 1953, with the revolution of the Hungarian workers' councils, with the movements for political revolution of the Czechoslovak people, with the struggle of the Polish workers, with the May-June 1968 general strike in France, with the struggles of the English proletariat against the Conservative government, with the strike against General Motors in the U. S. A., with the struggles of the Spanish proletariat against Franco, with the struggle of the Argentinian proletariat against military dictatorship, with the struggle of the world working class to end the domination of imperialism and that of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which has entered into alliance with it. This fact is what caused the imperialist intervention, and it explains the hatred of the Bolivian revolution by the entire international bourgeoisie, the Moscow bureaucracy and its Stalinist parties, as well as by all the petty-bourgeois parties.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, declares that those who attack the Bolivian POR are attacking the party which has been the inspirer and driving force of the People's Assembly, i.e., the organ that incarnated the struggle of the Bolivian people to create their own government and which was opening the way toward a dictatorship of the proletariat in Bolivia. In attacking the POR, these elements mark themselves as enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They take the side of imperialism and Stalinism. They assume the role of agents of the counterrevolution and are conscious or unconscious enemies of the Fourth International.

The CC of the OCI, member of the International Committee, notes that the elements that are attacking the POR and displaying their total incapacity to understand the meaning of the struggle of the Bolivian masses are the same elements that gave the title of "revolutionist" to Ho Chi Minh, the man who covered up the murder of the Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Tau, the same elements that accommodated to Nasser and then to the petty-bourgeois leaders of the Palestinian resistance, the elements that have tried to justify the Kremlin's intervention in Czechoslovakia by claiming the existence of counterrevolutionary threats. All these elements take their rightful place in the camp of the slanderers of the heroic struggle of the POR, a number of whose leaders fell in the civil war, paying the heavy price of the struggle for the international proletarian revolution.

The CC of the OCI, which in 1951-52 began the struggle to safeguard the continuity of the Fourth International,

i.e., the link with the struggle of Lenin, Trotsky, and Bolshevism, against those who followed Pablo in his attempt to liquidate the Fourth International by capitulating to the Stalinist bureaucracy, notes that the Pabloite United Secretariat has once again come out against the POR and the Fourth International² and taken the side of the Stalinist bureaucracy, as it did in 1953 at the time of the East Berlin uprising and the French general strike, as it did at the time of the second intervention in Hungary in

2. The Lambertists are referring, of course, to the POR of Lora and the "Fourth International" that Lora is helping Healy, Lambert, and Wohlforth to "reconstruct." For a contrasting view, see the quotation, cited in our editorial note, in which Wohlforth accuses Lora of acting "with the agreement of the Bolivian and international Pabloites." — *IP*

1956, and as it has at every crucial moment in the class struggle.

Today when all the perspectives on which Leon Trotsky based his struggle are taking clearer and more concrete form, in step with the acceleration of the joint crisis of imperialism and the bureaucracy, and when confrontations posing the question of power are increasing, the CC of the OCI states that it will pursue with all necessary firmness the struggle it began twenty years ago. For this is a struggle for the victory of the proletarian world revolution, for a worldwide government of soviets, for building revolutionary parties, sections of the Fourth International in every country, and for reconstructing the Fourth International, the indispensable instrument of victory.

September 17, 1971

High Casualties Among Bolivian Trotskyists

[The following statement was issued September 26 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International announces that the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario—Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International] suffered several dozen casualties in the struggle against the coup led by General Banzer and against the new military regime. Some fell on the field of battle; others were captured by the repressive forces and are in concentration camps. The repression has also fallen heavily on other organizations operating in the name of the working class. Backed by American imperialism and its agents in other Latin American countries, the "gorillas" in power are preparing to organize the most systematic and savage kind of extermination campaign. The Bolivian proletariat has experienced a long series of barbaric massacres in its history. Once again this threat hangs over its head, and more than ever it deserves international solidarity.

The POR comrades understood perfectly well that a test of strength was inevitable in the near future. Since they took a realistic view of the relationship of forces, in the military field above all, they had no illusions about the outcome. They made a considerable effort to prepare themselves for the coming test, scoring important

gains in every arena. But these exertions could not counterbalance the negative weight of the political and military deficiencies which persisted at the mass level as a consequence of the lack of any real strategy for seizing power and waging armed struggle on the part of most of the organizations claiming to be socialist. At best, these organizations did not go beyond a spontanéist concept of insurrection.

Nonetheless, in face of the rightist coup d'état and the mass mobilization, especially in La Paz and Santa Cruz, our comrades did not hesitate an instant. Their duty was to participate in the struggles with the forces they had at their disposal. And so they marched together with their class brothers, in the front ranks. Tomás Chambí, leader of the Independent Peasant Federation, fell in La Paz, along with about fifteen of his comrades. In Santa Cruz, where the counterrevolutionary assault was particularly fierce, twenty comrades were killed; and wounded or missing POR members have yet to be accounted for. Comrades have been arrested in La Paz, Santa Cruz, and Oruro. They are now being held, along with all the other victims of the repression, in the prisons and concentration camps in the tropical jungle, including the one at Madidi, where conditions are reported to be particularly revolting. Finally, leading comrades who survived and had begun the task of reorganizing the movement barely escaped capture by taking refuge in the

embassy of a Latin American country (after being turned back by several other embassies), and are now in exile.

The POR comrades have written us as follows:

"We are determined to continue our struggle and are in a more promising position than in the past. Our forces have increased in the recent period and new leading cadres have emerged. They are already at work. We are most encouraged by the confidence that vanguard sectors have expressed in us. This does not mean that we do not find ourselves in a difficult position. But revolutionists cannot expect the bourgeoisie to clear the way for them. Now, we must fight and we will fight. We prepared ourselves with such a perspective in mind."

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International pays homage to the hundreds of workers, peasants, and students massacred in the tragic days of August 1971. It pays homage to the Trotskyist militants who fell, in their own words, with their "thoughts on the party and the International." The United Secretariat expresses its fraternal solidarity with all those suffering in the prisons and the concentration camps, who must be snatched from their hangmen by an international campaign against the repression.

Long live the Bolivian working class! Long live the POR! Long live the Fourth International!