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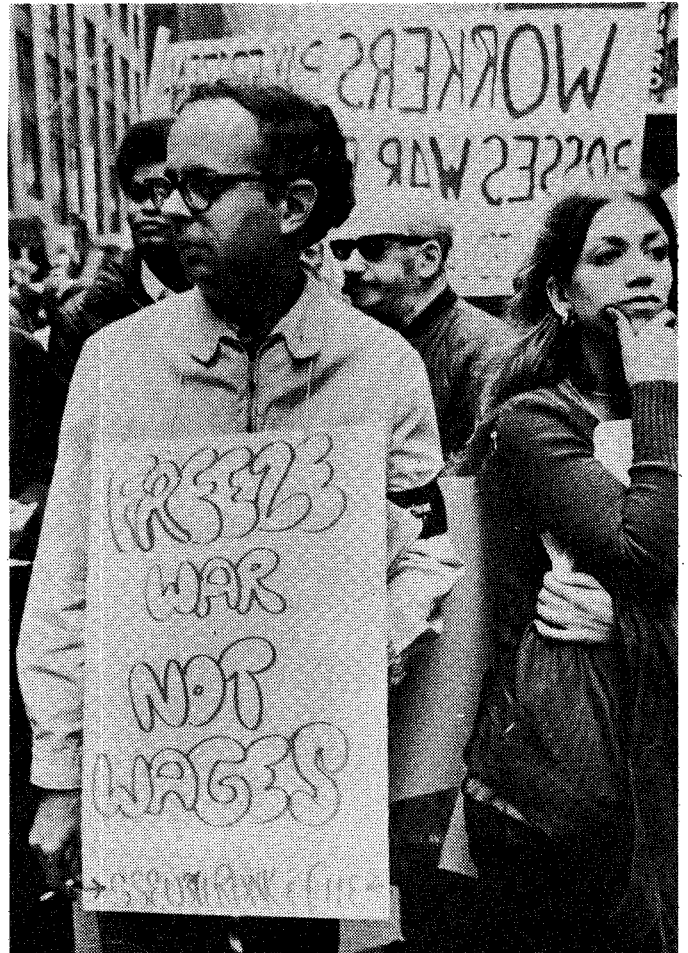
More Labor Endorsements for November 6

**Ligue Communiste
Leaders Arrested**

**British Torture
in Northern Ireland**

**Youths Rebel
in Ceylon's Prisons**

**Lambertist "Declaration"
on Socialist Labour League**



OCTOBER 13 RALLY in New York City sponsored by unions gave ranks opportunity to express opinion on war and wage freeze. Even larger labor turnout is expected November 6.

What It Takes to Make a Dog Like Meany Roll Over

Oceans Doomed?

In testimony before a subcommittee of the U. S. Senate October 18, Jacques Cousteau, the world's best known undersea explorer, predicted the death of all the oceans within fifty years unless the highly industrialized countries change their policies on pollution.

The course of destruction, he said, is far more advanced than most people realize.

Places on the ocean floor that were clear and beautiful only twenty years ago are now almost extinct of life.

"People have thought the legendary immensity of the ocean was such that man could do nothing against such gigantic force," the explorer told the U. S. senators. "Well, now we know . . . what we are facing is the destruction of the ocean by pollution and by other causes."

Cousteau warned: "Anything done against the water is a crime against life—and the water must remain alive if we are to remain alive."

The industrialized countries, he reported, are responsible for up to 80 percent of the world pollution.

"If nothing was done today, I would say maybe 30, 40 or 50 years would be the end of everything."

He urged an international conference on a government level to end the "wild and destructive" international competition that exploits the oceans for their riches without calculating the cost.

It makes no sense, he said, to pick up beer cans and litter while poisons are being dumped by the ton into the oceans and the air.

"We must put our emphasis on saving the world from poison first—then we can make it beautiful." □

Because There Was a Choice?

After four days of sidewalk voting, citizens of San Diego, California, voted 37,833 to 6,857 in favor of keeping the aircraft carrier *Constellation* in the United States. Sailors at the local naval base voted 7,227 to 2,804 for staying home. The Navy had scheduled the vessel to return to Vietnam.

Four antiwar groups cosponsored the referendum, which was called "Connie, Stay Home for Peace."

The Navy rejected the results of the vote as "utterly meaningless."

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More Labor Support for November 6

By Jon Rothschild

"How do you write a letter of condolence to a constituent whose son has died? We do not know why we are in Vietnam today. You cannot explain to a constituent why his son had to die."

Charles Whalen, a normally mild Republican Congressman from Ohio who shouted the above question during a stormy House of Representatives debate on a watered-down antiwar resolution October 19, was not alone in his fear of the wrath of his constituents.

Mounting support for the November 6 day of mass protest against the Indochina war has forced endorsement of the action from a larger number of bourgeois politicians than ever before. As of October 24 the list included seven senators, twenty members of the House of Representatives, and the mayors or city councils of Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Seattle.

Even conservative Governor Jimmy Carter of Georgia told representatives of the Atlanta Peace Action Coalition October 13 that he favored immediate U. S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, and that he would consider declaring November 6 a day for all Georgians to work for peace in whatever way they could.

One of the major factors pressuring the politicians to support the antiwar rallies has been the unprecedented backing the demonstrations have received from organized labor. New trade-union endorsement of the actions has continued to pour in to the offices of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

On October 21, District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), which represents 100,000 public workers in New York City, endorsed the demonstration in a resolution that called the war "the primary cause of inflation" and noted that "the tremendous social and political weight of the labor movement can be the crucial factor in forcing an end to the war."

A labor contingent for the New York City action has been endorsed by more than thirty-five unions and union leaders.

Other unions or union leaders planning to participate in labor contingents include Harold Gibbons, International Vice President of the Brotherhood of Teamsters; Victor Reuther, Director of International Affairs for the United Automobile Workers; the Colorado State Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO); the Washington, D. C., Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO; the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; and the Minnesota United Auto Workers. In Atlanta, Georgia, John Wright, president of the Atlanta Labor Council, AFL-CIO, keyed an October 3 antiwar conference. The city's Alliance for Labor Action has paid for the printing of thousands of leaflets publicizing the demonstration there.

The twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, continue to pile up labor support for the November 6 rally and march. Recent endorsers include St. Paul's Typographical Union Local 30, United Electrical Workers Local 1139, AFSCME Council 6, and the Service Employees International Union Local 26. Unions representing more than 6,500 workers have given support to the labor contingent.

On October 21, Fred Stover, president of the U. S. Farm Association, which is headquartered in Des Moines, Iowa, announced that a contingent of farmers would march in the Minneapolis-St. Paul demonstration.

On various armed-forces bases around the country, GIs have been organizing activities for November 6. The Atlanta Peace Action Coalition reported that soldiers at Fort Benning, Fort McClellan, Fort Hunter, Fort Stuart, and Beaufort Air Station plan to participate in the demonstrations.

In the San Francisco-Berkeley-Oakland area, the Bay Area Concerned Military organized a "First International Military Rights and Antiwar

Convention." Thirty GI groups endorsed the conference, which will help build a GI contingent in the San Francisco march and rally.

Support for the November 3 student strike, which was called by the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), has likewise mounted. The SMC's publication, *Student Mobilizer*, recently reported that more than 100 officers and leaders of student governments and other student organizations have endorsed the strike.

Some student governments, such as the University of Tennessee's, have passed resolutions declaring November 3 "antiwar university day." At the University of Michigan, one of the largest schools in the country, more than half the football team joined 750 other students in signing a petition asking for an antiwar half-time show at the October 30 football game. The petition called for the school band and other students to march with peace symbols, while the Vietnam Veterans Against the War read the names of the school's war dead over the public address system.

In addition to the actions in the United States, demonstrations have been organized in several other countries. (An international appeal was sent by NPAC to seventy countries.) In Heidelberg, West Germany, U. S. GIs have announced that they plan to demonstrate on November 6. In France, the Front Solidarité Indochine (Indochina Solidarity Front) appealed to trade unions to demonstrate in Paris November 6. The Communist party-dominated CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) did not respond to the appeal. For this reason, the Socialist party and the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor) declined to participate in the action.

Thirteen organizations, including the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, French section of the Fourth International), Lutte Ouvrière (Workers Struggle), Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), and Témoignage Chrétien (Christian Witness), signed the appeal.

The New Zealand revolutionary-socialist biweekly *Socialist Action* reported that the Wellington Committee on Vietnam will hold a picket and educational activities on November 6. □

Lon Nol Drops 'Democracy' in Wastebasket

Cambodian Premier Lon Nol dropped his democratic pretenses October 20 and announced that his American-supported government would henceforth rule by decree under a state of emergency. Nol, who is sometimes known as "the mayor of Pnompenh," indicated that his military forces were experiencing some difficulties despite the massive backing they receive from the U. S. air force:

"Should we vainly play the game of democracy and freedom that will lead us to complete defeat, or should we curtail anarchic freedom in order to achieve victory? The Government has made its decision. We have selected the way that will bring us to victory."

Nixon's puppets in Pnompenh had earlier promised that elections to the National Assembly would be held during October. Their inability to carry out this plan seemed to be behind Nol's decision to make himself formally the military dictator that he has always been in reality. On October 16, he ordered the parliament to transform itself into a constituent assembly, thus neatly avoiding the problem of elections and at the same time ridding himself of even token restraints on his dictatorship.

United Press International reported that one of Nol's top priorities was expected to be a crackdown on newspapers that criticized his move against the National Assembly. That such criticism reflects mass sentiment was indicated by a demonstration of 4,000 Buddhist monks the same day that Nol decreed the state of emergency. Presumably he was referring to them when he said somewhat cryptically:

"Recently certain groups have launched acts aimed at creating confusion. There is a fifth column at work."

However convenient Nol's actions may have been for him, they inevitably were a potential embarrassment to his patron, Richard Nixon. The U. S. government refused to make any official statement. "But privately," the October 21 *Washington Post* reported, "State Department officials deplored the timing. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is on the point of conclud-



SIRIK MATAK: Messenger boy missed fine points of message.

ing its deliberations on the foreign aid bill."

The amount of cash that the United States should shell out to maintain Nol in power has been a subject of dispute in the Senate, where some senators see the issue as an opportunity to establish "dovish" reputations cheaply.

The U. S. ambassador in Pnompenh must have been quick to explain this point, for the very next day Nol's information minister issued an official statement denying in effect most of what Nol had said in his October 20 decree.

"The measures recently decided upon by the Government of Khmer Republic," the statement said, "cannot in any circumstance be taken to mean that our democratic ideal will be forgotten nor that a new dictatorship could ever be installed in our country."

If Nol was having trouble getting his orders straight, part of the fault lay in the chain of command, which had not expressed itself with sufficient clarity.

"Premier Delegate" Sirik Matak, who has exercised most of Nol's functions since the latter suffered a stroke in February, visited the United States in August and came away with the conviction that the dollars would continue to flow no matter what.

In the October 16 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, Boris Baczynskij reported that Sirik Matak is "inspired" by what "seems . . . to be American support for the regime in Phnom Penh. In a detailed report on his tour, he noticed that no American newspaper had criticised the republic during his visit. He even suspected a change of heart in the republic's favour on the part of Senator Mike Mansfield, an old friend of Prince Sihanouk. The senator did not mention the prince's name even once during a one-hour conversation Sirik Matak had with him.

"Summarising his impression of American attitudes to the Cambodian struggle, the premier delegate said: 'I think they understand now.' In other words, the American people now accept Phnom Penh's version of the causes of the conflict—aggression by North Vietnamese and Vietcong. The Cambodian leader might have exaggerated the steadfastness of American support. Except for his press conferences, the Khmer delegation . . . seemed to have confined its contacts to the US military and business bastions."

What Sirik Matak and Lon Nol appear to have overlooked is the fact that U. S. military and business bastions—and Richard Nixon—have to contend with the antiwar sentiment of the American people. This sentiment, which will be highly visible on November 6, can only be deepened by Nixon's puppets revealing some of the truth about their regime. □

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What the Pentagon Plans for Cambodia

The Pentagon has developed a grandiose scheme to transform Cambodia into a huge pro-U. S. armory.

The first-year U. S. aid grant to Cambodia (1970) was \$185,000,000 in military aid and \$70,000,000 in supposedly nonmilitary economic assistance. With this handout, the Cambodian regime expanded its army from 30,000 in April 1970, when the U. S. invaded the country, to 183,000, its current strength.

After a little haggling between the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Cabinet, a Cambodia aid program of \$200,000,000 in military aid, \$110,000,000 in "economic assistance," and \$15,000,000 in agricultural commodities was submitted to Congress for the 1971-72 fiscal year.

To escape budget limitations imposed by congressional "doves" under heavy antiwar pressure from their constituents, the Pentagon has devised four ways of increasing the military sector of the package by an additional \$52,000,000.

According to the October 13 *New York Times*, an August 30 memorandum sent by the Joint Chiefs to Secretary of Defense Melvin Laird suggested using one of the following ways to up the military ante:

1. Transfer \$52,000,000 from the economic sector to the military. This

can be done at any time without congressional approval.

2. Use the economic aid to purchase "common use" items, like trucks and jeeps, then turn them over to the Cambodian army.

3. Increase procurement for the U. S. Army by \$52,000,000, then transfer it to Cambodia for future "repayment."

4. Make some exceptions in the Defense Department supply regulations, declare some equipment to be "excess" and turn it over to Cambodia.

The extra cash would be used to increase Cambodia's regular army by 40,000 and raise its paramilitary force to 143,000. This increase is seen as a step in a progression leading to a regular army of 256,000 by mid-1973 and more than 300,000 by 1977. The paramilitary forces would increase to nearly 200,000 by mid-1973 and more than 500,000 by 1977.

This would mean that in 1977, nearly one-half of Cambodia's adult male population would be drafted into the regular army or the Thieu-style "civilian" paramilitary militia.

The master plan also calls for the Agency for International Development to assist the outfitting of the militia, and the Central Intelligence Agency to develop additional programs, including airlift support. □

Successes Reported for Bengali Guerrillas

The Mukti Bahini (Liberation Forces) of Bangla Desh have succeeded in recapturing some territory that had been occupied since last March by Yahya Khan's West Pakistani army. Although the total area of liberated zones is reportedly small in comparison to the total area of East Bengal (1,000 square miles out of 55,100), Bangla Desh military forces point to their existence as a sign of the future.

In the October 22 *New York Times*, Sydney Schanberg described his visit to one such area, around the town of Putkhali in the Jessore District of

southwestern East Bengal. Comprising about 100 square miles, the Putkhali area is adjacent to a 200-square-mile liberated zone in the Khulna District. Some 150,000 people live in the two zones.

Most of the villagers had fled last March, when Yahya's invading army burned their huts and crops, destroying most of the jute, banana, and mango trees. But in July, the Mukti Bahini retook the area, and much of the population returned.

A local administration of sorts has been created. It functions informally, as villagers set about reconstructing

the economic and social life of the region.

"The Mukti Bahini are here, so we are here. We are safe now," a farmer told Schanberg. Morale among the liberation fighters is high.

Gérard Viratelle reported in the October 15 *Le Monde* that the Mukti Bahini have been successful in crippling much of East Bengal's transportation and communication facilities, making it increasingly difficult for Yahya's occupiers to "pacify" outlying regions.

The resistance seems to be firmly implanted in widespread sections of East Bengal: in the marshes around Gopalganj southwest of Dacca, in the forests of Madhupur north of Dacca, throughout the river channels of Noakhali in the southeast Ganges delta area, and in the extreme northwest pocket around the town of Thakurgaon. Many river routes, the major means of transportation in the country, are impassable to the army. Yahya's troops have abandoned attempts to repair the guerrilla-damaged railway linking Sylhet in the northeast and the major port city of Chittagong.

The strain on India of more than 9,000,000 refugees fleeing Yahya's army has brought threats of war between India and Pakistan. Yahya, reluctant to concede that his army cannot handle the guerrillas, has blamed nearly every Bengali action on Indian forces.

According to Benjamin Welles in the October 24 *New York Times*, military specialists estimate that India and Pakistan have each mobilized about 250,000 troops along the West Pakistan-Indian border. About 100,000 Indian troops surround East Bengal, according to the same sources. During October 23-24 some 600,000 military reservists were mobilized by India, and special wartime taxes were announced.

On the eve of her departure for a three-week tour of West Europe and the United States, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in a special address to the population, called for national unity and "alertness, not only of our defense forces, but of all our people."

Yahya, on his part, thundered that his armed forces "are fully prepared to defend every inch of the sacred soil of Pakistan, with complete faith in the righteousness of their cause and trust in the help of Allah." □

What It Takes to Make a Dog Like Meany Roll Over

By Frank Lovell

There was never any doubt about what they would do. The only questions were how and when. The "when" came quick. It took only five days and all the top dogs among the union bureaucrats obediently came to heel behind Phase Two of Nixon's wage freeze.

On television October 7, Nixon told the American workers that if they want more pay they will have to produce more. He informed them, moreover, that Phase Two of the wage freeze, beginning November 14, will be administered by a tripartite Pay Board of fifteen members—five from the unions and ten equally divided between industry and "the public." All will be appointed by Nixon.

According to all accounts, AFL-CIO President George Meany, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock, Teamsters President Frank Fitzsimmons, Steelworkers President I.W. Abel, and Machinists President Floyd E. Smith had been consulted and had indicated their willingness to serve as the five union representatives on the government's new Pay Board.

Then something unforeseen happened. Nixon admitted right on television that his Pay Board is only a dummy setup. The final decisions are to be made by Treasury Secretary John B. Connally, who heads the Cost of Living Council, the top board in control. This made Meany and the others look like performing dogs in a circus. Naturally they began growling about it.

The next day Connally came on television to explain the real meaning of Phase Two. He said that if the workers produce more and productivity goes up, then permission can be given for wages to go up, too. Just the same his Cost of Living Council will supervise everything. This still sounded too much like Nixon's speech to ring the proper bells in union executive offices.

Meany let it be known that Nixon had misled the leaders of labor; Nixon was a man not to be trusted, as they had known all along; and they

would never serve on a Nixon-appointed team if a government veto whip were held over them. They demanded "autonomy" for the Pay Board.

Nixon promptly responded that he was being misunderstood. Director George Shultz of the White House Office of Management let Meany know that there really had been a misunderstanding.

Labor Secretary James D. Hodgson paid a personal visit to Meany to assure him that the Pay Board, including all labor members on it, will have a free hand to keep wages down as long as possible.

Republican Senator Jacob K. Javits, who tries to maintain the image of a "friend of labor," made public a letter to Meany, giving further assurances. "I understand," Javits wrote, "that the Administration has made it clear to American labor that the determinations of the tripartite board on pay and of the commission on prices will not be vetoed or overruled by the Cost of Living Council, and I am clear that this is the intention of the President."

Another "friend of labor," Democratic Senator Mike Mansfield, added his assurances, urging Meany and the others to go ahead and loyally serve as expected.

Other representatives of the capitalist class gave signs of impatience. An October 11 *New York Times* editorial charged the labor bureaucrats with being "on strike against stability," surely a high crime.

The editorial argued: "It is nonsense to suggest that the new tripartite Pay Board, tailored to Mr. Meany's design, should be independent of any type of surveillance from the Government's own Cost of Living Council, monitor of the entire effort to restore stability to the dollar."

As for precedents, the *Times* reminded Meany: "It is rewriting history to deny that such surveillance was exercised by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion in World War II or by the Economic Stabilization

Administration in the Korean war."

Clearly, if Meany and the others failed to respond as expected, they would be "unpatriotic," maybe guilty of treason.

The combination of cajolery and stiff language brought the labor leaders around. When it was thoroughly understood on all sides that they would serve as required, Meany called a full meeting of the thirty-five-member AFL-CIO Executive Council for October 12 to formally endorse the decision that had already been made for that body.

Fitzsimmons and Woodcock were invited to participate in that meeting. Neither the Teamsters nor the Auto Workers are AFL-CIO affiliates, but both are heavily involved in the wage-freeze scheme. Not one of all those present opposed the wage freeze. All agreed with the statement they released: "We will help try to make the President's mechanism to control the cost of living work."

Nixon had given a written guarantee that the Pay Board "will take actions which in its own judgment it deems suitable to achieve the goals and objectives of the program. . . ." That was a change from "reviewed by the Cost of Living Council," the position he and Connally had taken a few days earlier, but it was a change without a difference—what the *Washington Post* called "a semantic shift."

The false premises of the "mechanism" are that workers are paid too much and this causes inflation. The purpose of the Pay Board is to cut pay scales, to negate labor-management collective bargaining agreements this year and next, and to eliminate all cost-of-living escalator clauses in those agreements.

This has been known since the wage-freeze edict was first issued by Nixon August 15. Union officials, including Meany, exposed and denounced it at the time. The scheme has not changed one iota since then. What has changed is the attitude of the top labor officials. Instead of battling against the wage freeze, they have decided to "help

Marcellin Strikes Again

Ligue Communiste Leaders Arrested

[The following article is translated from the October 23 *Rouge*, weekly paper of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.]

At seven o'clock on the morning of October 21, police searched the apartments of several leaders of the Ligue Communiste, among whom were Henri Weber, Daniel Bensaid, Charles Michaloux, Michel Recanati, Jean Métais, and Jeannette Grimaldi.

The police acted on the basis of an investigatory commission authorized in connection with the demonstration organized by the Ligue Communiste against the U. S. consulate the day of the electoral farce in Saigon.

Several members of the Political Bureau, including Weber, Métais, and Grimaldi as well as Charles Michaloux and Michel Rotman, were arrested. On the heels of the *Rouge* trial [see *Intercontinental Press*, October 18, p. 887], in which Michaloux was one of the defendants, Marcellin is thus continuing his policy of repression against an organization that is committing the crime of growing and that has shown, dating from the *Rouge* trial, that it is not isolated.

With this action, the French government openly comes to the defense of American imperialism. The French government worries about a few broken windows while every day tons of bombs and napalm are rained on the Indochinese peoples.

The Ligue Communiste appeals to all working-class and democratic organizations immediately to answer this new provocation on the part of the regime—a provocation that concerns the workers' movement as a whole. Faced with the repressive policy of a regime in crisis, it is time to form a united front, on the principle of non-exclusion, of all the forces determined to build the mass response that is called for. As for the Ligue Communiste, we shall take all the necessary initiatives—no one will silence us.

The mobilization for the victory of the Indochinese revolution will go forward and will especially show its strength in the November 6 demonstrations throughout France. □



Conrad, in the Los Angeles Times

'I think we've got him right where he wants us!'

try to make [it] . . . work."

The choicest bit in this farce is that the five union representatives amount to nothing but window dressing on the fifteen-member Pay Board. If all five of them disagreed with a decision, they could be outvoted two to one. The decisions are made by the ten management and "public" representatives.

To top everything, any decisions the board may make in favor of wage increases are limited to the Cost of Living Council guidelines of a possible 2 or 3 percent rate of inflation.

When You Move...

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It is very possible that those who have now agreed to serve in the name of the union movement will be forced to leave this rigged setup. But it will take considerable pressure to bring this about.

In 1967 Walter Reuther described Meany as "the complacent custodian of the status quo." George Meany has grown older and more complacent, and become flabbier between the ears. His cohorts are not far behind in senility and love of the status quo.

As their most recent actions have shown, they are highly responsive to the pressures put on them by the employers and their political representatives. But there are more powerful forces at work in American society—the underprivileged and the underpaid. And the attempt to curb wages at this time may break the bonds that contain them. □

How British Practice Torture in Northern Ireland

"I was taken into a room. In the room there was a consistent noise like the escaping of compressed air. It was loud and deafening. The noise was continuous. I then heard a voice moaning. It sounded like a person who wanted to die. My hands were put high above my head against the wall. My legs were spread apart. My head was pulled back by someone catching hold of the hood and at the same time my backside was pushed in so as to cause the maximum strain on my body. I was kept in this position for four, or perhaps six hours until I collapsed and fell to the ground. After I fell I was lifted up again and put against the wall in the same position and the same routine was followed until I again collapsed. Again I was put up and this continued indefinitely. This treatment lasted for two or three days and during this time I got no sleep and no food. I lost consciousness several times."

This was the way that Patrick Chivers described his treatment by the repressive forces in Northern Ireland after his internment as a suspected member of the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Chivers's account was carried in an article by John Whale in the October 17 London *Sunday Times*.

The article, entitled "How Ulster internees are made to talk," described the systematic torture of prisoners by the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC), using techniques devised by the British military.

The torture, Whale reported, is carried out in a military camp at Holywood, near Belfast. The camp, Palace Barracks, houses an interrogation center set up by the branch of British military intelligence responsible for Northern Ireland.

Reports of mistreatment of prisoners have been widespread in the Irish press ever since internment was begun in August. (See, for example, the articles cited in *Intercontinental Press*, September 6, p. 737 and p. 742.) But Whale's article marked the first time that a major British paper had confirmed the truth of the charges.

Whale wrote that the *Sunday Times* holds signed statements from eleven internees who were tortured at Palace Barracks. As a result of his experiences there, one of the men has been hospitalized with a mental disorder.

"The technique was the same for all 11 men," Whale reported. "They had been rounded up at various points in the province. . . . All were blindfolded by having a hood, two layers of fabric thick, placed over their heads. These hoods remained on their heads for up to six days.

"Each man was then flown by helicopter to an unknown destination—in fact, Palace Barracks. During the period of their interrogation, they were continuously hooded, barefoot, dressed only in an over-large boiler suit, and spread-eagled against a wall—leaning on their fingertips like the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle.

"The only sound that filled the room was a high-pitched throb, which the detainees usually liken to an air compressor. The noise literally drove them out of their minds.

"At intervals, they would be taken from this room for questioning by RUC Special Branch men. Unless they were cooperative, they were returned to the room. This continued for up to six days."

This "disorientation" process, Whale reported, was developed by the British military, allegedly on the basis of Soviet "brainwashing" techniques. ". . . it was refined for British service use by an RAF [Royal Air Force] wing-commander, who committed suicide later. It is taught to select military personnel at the Joint Services Interrogation Centre, whose location is an official secret."

The RUC continues to use less sophisticated means of interrogation as well, according to the *Times* article. Tony Rosato, a student who was interned but not subjected to the disorientation treatment, described the condition of a prisoner named William Anthony Shannon:

"He whispered to me that he had ulcers. He must have been 26, perhaps, crying, and in agony with his

stomach. I didn't understand what it was. He said he had been hit a couple of times in the stomach. I thought back to when I went in. They ask if you have any ailments. I had asthma and I told them, and that became another subject for abuse. They took my inhaler off me. They bargained to give you a tablet. My inhaler was used on other people, people who did not know what it was. Policemen would be bragging about a new truth drug and things like this. They would march into a room and the next thing I would hear was my inhaler being used, and police saying 'Open your bloody mouth, that thing is dangerous. It is poisonous.'"

Another prisoner, Bernard McGearry, described his treatment in a notarized statement:

"Everybody who questioned me was in plain clothes and had Northern Ireland accents. I was put against the wall, fingertips touching and feet spread apart. One man thumped me in the stomach with his fist while the others stood by to watch me. Meanwhile, the man at the desk and the man beside me shouted questions. This lasted five minutes. The two beaters left and I was questioned for another ten minutes. The two beaters returned and asked if I had talked. Then they put me up against a wall again and did the same thing over again for five minutes. They then said, 'He better talk before we get back or he will get the needle.' They indicated a needle with a handle four inches in length, which was lying on the desk. I was questioned for another five minutes.

"Then I was told to sit down, and asked if I had anything more to say to save myself. I would be sent to the Maidstone [detention ship] for 10 or 15 years. They said the interrogations and beatings could go on for a week or more unless I talked. One of the beaters returned and said, 'Bannigan has talked and Morgan has talked.' At this point I could hear thumps and squeals from behind the partition."

Confronted with these revelations, the British government vacillated be-

tween denying that torture was used and defending it.

When socialist MP Bernadette Devlin went to Prime Minister Edward Heath's official residence to demand his assurance that "torture and interrogation of Ulster detainees would cease," Heath refused to see her. His private secretary said the prime minister would give no such promise on the basis of "hypotheses" that he did not believe.

Home Secretary Reginald Maudling said a government committee would investigate the charges.

". . . but he stressed," according to the October 20 *New York Times*, "that 'intelligence is of enormous importance in defeating the gunmen' of the Irish Republican Army. . . ."

One member of Parliament expressed the British government's attitude with unusual bluntness. "One cannot fight urban guerrillas with kid gloves," he proclaimed, "and it is unfair to ask our troops to do so."

Bernadette Devlin warned the members of Parliament that they could not escape their responsibility by pretending ignorance. Calling for an emergency debate on the *Times* report, she said:

"If this House once again turns a blind eye to a cry from the people of Northern Ireland for some means of inquiring into what they believe to be fact, and what I believe without apology to be fact, then on the head of this House be it."

After conferring with Labour party leader Harold Wilson, Heath announced that a committee that had been assigned to investigate whether internment was justified would now be authorized to investigate the reports of torture. While this committee conducts its leisurely researches, the interned prisoners remain at the mercy of the RUC. □

And Wearing Swastikas?

Something new has been added to New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller's bodyguard. On the occasion of the governor's address to the Rockland County (New York) Republican Club, not long after he had ordered the Attica massacre, the September 23 *New York Times* reported:

"Security was heavy. There were plainclothesmen, state troopers and members of the Rockland County Mounted Patrol, a group of equestrian volunteers, clad in brown shirts, pants and boots. . . ."

U.S.A.

Police Claim Capture of H. Rap Brown

H. Rap Brown, former leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was reportedly shot by New York City police October 16. The police claim to have apprehended Brown and three other men as they were attempting to escape from a bar they had robbed.

About fifty cops chased the alleged robbers, a shoot-out ensued, and a man the police say is Brown was shot twice in the stomach. His condition was listed by hospital authorities as "fair."

Although the cops insist that fingerprints identify him as Brown, the wounded man maintains that his name is Roy Williams. On October 20, a criminal court judge went to Brown's (or Williams's) bedside to arraign him on charges of robbery and attempted murder. Bail was set at \$250,000. According to the October

21 *New York Times*, Brown's brother and wife were present at the arraignment.

Brown has been sought by the FBI for seventeen months. In April 1970 he failed to appear for trial on charges of arson, rioting, and inciting to riot.

Those charges stemmed from a 1967 ghetto rebellion in Cambridge, Maryland.

The strength of the government case in that trial was seriously damaged by the admission of Howard County State Attorney Richard Kinlein that Dorchester County State Attorney William Yates II had "fabricated" the arson charge against Brown in order to bring the FBI into the case.

On October 20 Kinlein was convicted of contempt of court for his statement and fined \$350. The court claimed that Kinlein's revelation had been "prejudicial to a fair trial." □

New Zealand Sweatshop

Women Strike Against 60 Cents an Hour

By Roy Hanlon

[The following article is reprinted from the October 8 issue of the New Zealand revolutionary-socialist semi-monthly paper *Socialist Action*.]

* * *

A strike and picket line by a small group of women in Christchurch has once again brought into the open the archaic conditions under which many women are employed in this country, particularly those who are not yet unionised.

Almost the entire female staff of American Health Studios, Ltd., attendants, masseuses, and clerical workers, walked out on September 25.

The women work twelve hours a day, for three days a week. They have half an hour for lunch, ten minutes for dinner, tea breaks if they are lucky, and they provide their own tea, milk and sugar. There is no writ-

ten wage agreement, and sixty cents an hour is the accepted norm, with one week's paid leave a year.

The strike was precipitated by the management's dismissal of a clerical worker who was claiming \$679 [one New Zealand dollar equals US\$1.12], as owing to her for having been paid thirty-one cents an hour less than the minimum award rate. Two other women have been similarly short-paid.

The workers belong to no union, but after repeated requests to the management for better conditions had been ignored, they turned to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union for help.

The manager of the studio lamented to *Truth* in the paper's October 5 issue: "This is an unusual business—certainly not the sort of business that needs a union."

And why? "We take the girls out to dinner," said the manager, "and

they have the opportunity to travel to other health studios owned by Mr. Jamieson" (the overseas owner). That must be nice for them, especially if the conditions are anything like those existing in Mr. Jamieson's Christ-church premises.

Within an hour of the walk-out, the Canterbury Trades Council held an emergency meeting and declared the studios "black" [subject to boycott]. Trade union officials joined the picket line. A truck driver delivering a four-gallon tin of massage oil was told the studios were "black". "Is that so?" he said—and picked up the tin and put it back on his truck.

Tries It Out for Size

Agnew Not Ready for Throne of King Minos

After celebrating the 2,500th anniversary of the Persian monarchy in Iran, U. S. Vice President Spiro Agnew journeyed to another bastion of western democracy, Greece, where on October 17 he received the Grand Cross of George I, the country's highest honor.

In presenting the cross, Lieutenant General George Ziotakis, who acts as regent for the exiled King Constantine, commended Agnew "for the distinguished service you have rendered to our country in the development of relations between our two countries."

The Greek people seemed less enthusiastic over Nixon's big-mouthed vice president than the ruling junta. Despite a massive government effort at turning out the populace of Athens to welcome Nixon's envoy, not more than 60,000 lined the route between the airport and the Athens Hilton, where Agnew stayed.

According to the October 18 *Christian Science Monitor*, the majority of the crowd were schoolchildren brought by their teachers at the command of the junta.

Even Agnew's carefully prepared visit to the town of Gargalianoi, the farm community from which his father emigrated seventy-four years ago, was marred by opposition to the junta. Two townspeople, although they said they wished to welcome Agnew, whatever his policies in the U. S., explained

The picket was supported by women customers, who prepared a petition supporting the workers. At one time there were more than twenty customers on the picket line with the workers and union officials.

The women are now members of the Canterbury Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union, and have won improved conditions plus a wage increase that will mean an extra twenty cents an hour for some. A start has been made, but the wages remain pitifully low, especially for the younger workers. And overtime is still not paid for the hours worked after eight hours a day. □

that "we only wish that he could come when we are free people, when we are not living under this dictatorship."

On October 18 Greek opposition politicians, including two former cabinet ministers, boycotted a U. S. embassy reception for Agnew.

But Agnew brushed all this aside. For three days he was the official guest of the junta, then for four days he toured the country as a private citizen. His comments showed his capacity to dig both the glories of ancient Greek civilization and the modern achievements of the NATO alliance and the Marshall Plan.

In Crete, for example, he visited the ruins of Knossos, one of the birthplaces of western culture, and then moved on to a missile base on another part of the island. He sat on the throne of King Minos, and quipped that he was not quite ready for that. In Athens October 22 he viewed the Acropolis, but stopped off on the way to pay his respects to a statue of Harry Truman.

In Gargalianoi, he commented that "At his [his father's] knee I learned of this town and of the principles of the ancient Hellenes." Later in the day he noted "some of the excellent things that are happening in rural Greece" under the present regime.

The vice president made clear that in his opinion the culmination of Hellenic civilization is to be seen in the

military dictatorship's contribution to NATO. Upon his arrival he toasted Premier George Papadopoulos, saying: "When we leave Greece we will take with us solid assurances that Greece will continue to perform her responsibility as the southern anchor of NATO defenses."

On October 23, just before leaving the country, he said, "And I leave with renewed respect for the efforts of the Government of Greece in carrying out its country's role as a member of NATO."

On October 19 Agnew reportedly told newsmen that Nixon would not be bound by a congressional amendment to the foreign aid authorization bill which bars U. S. military aid to Greece until constitutional rule has been reestablished.

The amendment permits aid to continue anyway, if the president certifies in writing that such aid is "in the overriding interests of United States security."

Agnew said that both he and Nixon are convinced that this is the case. "I don't want to imply," he stated, "that the President is going to fly in the face of Congressional opinion, because Congress itself has left an option to exercise, which I think he will exercise without question."

The *New York Times* reported October 24 that the U. S. State Department denied Agnew had ever said such a thing. The vice president's aides refused to make the transcript of his remarks available to the press.

Newsmen accompanying Agnew reported that he told them he believes in the sincerity of dictator Papadopoulos, who claims he will someday restore representative rule to Greece. But when a spokesman for Agnew was asked by reporters whether Nixon's emissary would urge the junta to announce a timetable for such a transition, he reiterated the well-known precept of the Nixon administration: "It is not up to us to impose another government our attitudes." The sincerity of the statement is as questionable as its grammar. □

The Chief Justice, With 20-Inch Biceps . . .

When the names of six persons being considered for nomination to the U. S. Supreme Court became known, the *New York Times* thought it important to report that one of the two women in the group "still has a bathing beauty figure." We presume, however, that the judges on the court will continue to wear black robes.

Amalia Fleming Released From Prison

Amalia Fleming was released from Korydallos prison October 21, after a Greek court suspended her sixteen-month sentence for eight months. She had been convicted of plotting to help another political prisoner, Alexander Panaghoulis, escape from jail. (See *Intercontinental Press*, October 11, p. 859.)

Public prosecutor Demetrios Koutsopoulos said that it was necessary to suspend her sentence so that Fleming could be treated at home for dia-

betes and a disease of the urinary tract. The junta was apparently afraid the she would die in jail, precipitating an international scandal.

The sentence has not been abrogated, and at any time after eight months she could be returned to prison.

According to the *New York Times* of October 22, Fleming said that she had been well treated in jail, but that "other people were molested."

Haile Selassie in Peking

Mao Welcomes Another 'Anti-Imperialist'

Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, like similar figures before him, received the red-carpet treatment during his state visit to China October 6-12.

"Several hundred thousand people in Peking lined the streets to give the Emperor a rousing welcome on his arrival in the capital," the October 15 issue of *Peking Review* reported. "He was warmly welcomed at the airport by Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council; Li Hsien-Nien, Vice-Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. There was a grand welcoming ceremony at the airport.

"Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, greeted H. I. M. [His Imperial Majesty] Emperor Haile Selassie I at the Guest House."

The "Might of the Trinity" arrived in Peking fresh from another diplomatic triumph. In September, his police managed to capture eight Sudanese Communist members who were fleeing the bloodbath in Khartoum. Traffic over the Sudanese-Ethiopian border has usually been in the other direction. In the last year, more than

30,000 refugees have crossed from Eritrea into the Sudan as a result of Selassie's military operations against the Eritrean independence movement.

None of this prevented *Renmin Ribao*, the newspaper of the Communist party, from greeting the "King of Kings" with an editorial entitled "Warm Welcome to Distinguished Ethiopian Guests." The paper portrayed the emperor as the staunchest of anti-imperialists:

"... After defeating the fascist aggressors, the Ethiopian people have continued to struggle to safeguard national independence and develop the national economy. The Ethiopian Government follows the non-aligned policy of peace and neutrality and opposes imperialist aggression against Asian and African countries, thus making useful contributions to the promotion of Afro-Asian unity against imperialism.

"A long-standing traditional friendship exists between the Chinese and Ethiopian peoples. . . . We heartily rejoice at the constant growth of the friendship between the Chinese and Ethiopian peoples and the friendly relations between the two countries. . . .

"The Chinese and Ethiopian peoples have always sympathized with and

supported each other in their common struggle against imperialism. The Chinese people resolutely support the Ethiopian people and other African people in their just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and racial discrimination and for safeguarding national independence. The Ethiopian people, on their part, give positive support to the Chinese people's struggle. We are grateful to the Ethiopian Government for its just stand of supporting the restoration to China of all her legitimate rights in the United Nations and opposing the U. S. imperialist scheme to create 'two Chinas.'"

"His Imperial Majesty Emperor Haile Selassie I" was granted the favor of an audience with Mao Tsetung, and on October 9 Selassie and Chou signed an "agreement on economic and technical co-operation and a trade agreement."

Peking Review did not give any details, but if the Chinese government expects to surpass its competitors in "technical cooperation" with Selassie, it had better be prepared to shell out the cash. The U. S. government's contributions to the "Conquering Lion of Judah" were described by Stanley Meisler in the September 22 *Los Angeles Times*:

"The United States has spent more than \$170 million on arms, equipment, and training for Ethiopia, more than on any other country in Africa. Ethiopia usually gets two-thirds of all the military assistance set aside for Africa. Almost \$13 million has been budgeted for Ethiopia this fiscal year.

"Although Ethiopia likes to describe its army and air force as bulwarks against the threat of foreign aggression, their main task has been battling internal insurrections, especially in the northern province of Eritrea. To this end, the United States has sent teams of Green Berets in the past to train Ethiopians in counterinsurgency."

In return for this assistance, Selassie allows the U. S. government to maintain the Kagnew strategic communications base in Asmara, from which it is able to eavesdrop on communications in the Middle East and along the Black Sea coast of the Soviet Union.

With credentials like these, it is no wonder that Selassie is welcomed in Peking with almost as much enthusiasm as that other great "anti-imperialist," Yahya Khan. □

Plan to Fight Reactionary Election Laws

At an October 19 press conference in New York City, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) announced plans to challenge a series of election laws in the United States that infringe on the rights of candidates and voters.

Judy Baumann, CoDEL national secretary, said the group would seek an end to filing fees that make it impossible for the poor to seek office; would challenge "loyalty oaths" that are required of candidates in several states; and would sue to overturn laws in Missouri, New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois that require independent nominating petitions to be signed by voters on a geographic basis throughout the state.

Baumann said that CoDEL would also fight for Spanish-language ballots for Spanish-speaking voters and would support the right of eighteen-year-olds to hold office as well as to vote.

Dr. Benjamin Spock, cochairman of the New party, told reporters:

"The election laws in many states are not designed to help people express their political choices. They are designed to make it as difficult as possible for any group except the Democratic and Republican parties to get on the ballot. . . . These laws must be challenged by those who really believe in democracy and especially by those who think the Republican and Democratic parties are leading us to ruin by their foreign policies, war policies, and domestic policies."

George Novack of the Socialist Workers party national campaign committee pointed out that Linda Jenness, the party's presidential candidate, had succeeded in overturning excessive filing fees when she ran for mayor of Atlanta.

"In the current presidential race," he said, "the Socialist Workers party plans to . . . place its national candidates on the ballot in at least thirty states. They should by right be on the ballot in all fifty states. But it will not be easy for the party to acquire ballot status anywhere owing to the arbitrary and ambiguous election regulations that stand in the way."

A statement of support from José-

Angel Gutierrez and Tito Lucero of La Raza Unida party was also read to the conference. It said in part:

"We need an end to all filing fees that bar poor Raza people from becoming candidates. We need ballots that are printed in Spanish as well as English. . . . We need to eliminate

Great Britain

Writers Take Up Defense of Free Speech

The formation of a new organization for the defense of freedom of expression was announced by Stephen Spender in an article in the October 15 issue of the London *Times Literary Supplement*. The group, Writers and Scholars International (WSI), will concern itself with censorship and repression wherever it occurs.

"The role of WSI," Spender wrote, "will be to answer the appeal of those who are silenced in their own countries by making their circumstances known in the world community to which they spiritually belong and by making their voices heard, so far as this is possible. I think that doing this is not just an act of charity. It is a way of facilitating and extending an international consciousness, traversing political boundaries, which is already coming into being, though it is much hindered by dictatorships, censorship and acts of persecution."

WSI plans to publish a journal, *Index*, under the editorship of the organization's director, Michael Scammell. Its aim will be to "record and analyse all forms of inroads into freedom of expression and examine the censorship situation in individual countries and in relation to various constitutions and legal codes. Examples of censored material (poetry, prose, articles) as well as the results of its findings will be published in the journal."

The impetus for the formation of WSI, Spender said, was originally provided by the appeals for solidarity

laws providing one set of easy rules for getting on the ballot if you are a Democratic or Republican candidate, and another set of more difficult requirements for third-party candidates."

The general counsel of CoDEL is the noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin. Sponsors include Republican Representative Paul McCloskey; Nobel Prize-winner Salvador Luria; Ruth Gage-Colby of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; members of the Peace and Freedom party; and prominent lawyers. □

issued by dissenting intellectuals in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

"One writer—now packed away in a Russian labour camp—did have a positive idea of the ways in which colleagues in the countries of comparative freedom could help those in the lands of censorship and repression. He wrote to an English writer asking him whether it might not be possible to form an organization in England of intellectuals who made it their business to publish information about what was happening to their censored, suppressed, and sometimes imprisoned colleagues. He insisted that such an organization should not concern itself only with writers in Russia and Eastern Europe but throughout the world. He thought that an attempt could also be made to obtain and publish censored works, together with the news about the writers of them."

WSI is directed by a council consisting of Lord Gardiner as chairman, David Astor, Louis Blom-Cooper, Victoria Britain, Peter Calvocoressi, Edward Crankshaw, Stuart Hampshire, Elizabeth Longford, Roland Penrose, Peter Reddaway, Mrs. J. Edward Sieff, Stephen Spender, Zbynek Zeman, and Director Michael Scammell. □

Proof Positive

The Indonesian army paper *Chas* has accused Soviet correspondents in the country of espionage. The paper said it knew they were spies because of their critical reporting.

Youths Rebel in Ceylon's Prisons

Sirimavo Bandaranaike's "United Front" government in Ceylon is apparently having difficulty maintaining "law and order" in its detention centers. The centers were set up to hold the nearly 16,000 youths arrested during the witch-hunt the regime launched last April.

The October 9 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported that rebellions have taken place at five of the centers. The campuses of Vidyodaya and Vidyalandara, which have been transformed from universities into prisons, were the scenes of two of the revolts.

According to the account by an unnamed Colombo correspondent, "The detainees attacked guards with improvised weapons. Furniture was smashed, tube lights and ceiling fans wrenched out, toilets reduced to a shambles, doors and windows shattered. The buildings of the Vidyodaya university, a multimillion rupee showpiece, now look like cattle sheds. The damage caused in the science department of this university alone is esti-

mated at about Rs 1 million [1 rupee equals US\$.168]."

The correspondent also reported that pictures of Lenin, Marx, and Che Guevara adorn the walls of the campus-prison.

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of October 7, the Lanka Sama Samaja party, one of whose members is minister of justice, threatened disciplinary measures against lawyers who undertake to defend any person suspected of having supported the April "insurrection."

Other defendants, however, are having more luck. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* correspondent, "many" members of the security forces have been brought before courts after the government received complaints that they had committed rape and murder under cover of the "state of emergency." Bandaranaike has decided to try them behind closed doors in order to avoid the damage to morale that might result from publicity. □

medev insane. Protests by leading Soviet scientists and intellectuals, however, in this case forced the government to retreat.

As with many *samizdat* writings that reach the West, it is not known if *A Question of Madness* was intended by its authors for publication outside the Soviet Union. The purpose of the book, Jaurès Medvedev wrote, is "to call attention to the dangerous tendency of using psychiatry for political purposes, the exploitation of medicine in an alien role as a means of intimidation and punishment—a new and illegal way of isolating people for their views and convictions."

In his open letter, which was addressed to *Pravda*, Roy Medvedev wrote that the police "took everything they felt like taking." The seizure of his materials he called a "crying violation of the legal guarantees of the freedom of the person and guarantees of the protection of personal property in the U. S. S. R."

Among the papers believed to have been confiscated was a lengthy history of the Stalin period based on the recollections of Communists who had been imprisoned. This history was reportedly submitted to the authorities for publication in 1965, but the bureaucracy refused to allow it to be printed.

The confiscation of such materials is a serious blow to a scholar, Medvedev pointed out in his letter:

"Possession of personal archives and, even more, of manuscripts of one's own works and of printed publications is the elementary right of a research worker and of any citizen. The confiscation of this type of material, without any legal basis, represents absolute arbitrariness and lawlessness." □

Soviet Union

Roy Medvedev Protests Police Raid

Soviet historian Roy Medvedev is circulating an open letter protesting the illegal confiscation of his private papers, Hedrick Smith wrote in a dispatch from Moscow that appeared in the October 19 *New York Times*. The seizure of Medvedev's papers by political police reportedly occurred October 12.

This attack by the Soviet bureaucracy came approximately one month after the publication in London of a book written by Medvedev and his twin brother Jaurès. The book is scheduled to appear December 1 in an English translation entitled *A Question of Madness*.

The book describes Jaurès's confinement in a mental institution for three weeks in 1970 and the campaign that eventually won his release. Jaurès Medvedev, a noted geneticist and molecular biologist, was arrested when his appeals for greater scientific freedom aroused the anger of the authorities. As it has done with many political dissenters, the bureaucracy at-

tempted to avoid the embarrassment of a frame-up trial by declaring Med-



JAURES MEDVEDEV

No Thanks for Massacre

Despite its brutal suppression of young rebels last spring, the Ceylon government's chances of survival appear not to be rated very high by international speculators. Finance Minister N.M. Perra, in a speech opening a new branch of the bank of Ceylon, recently complained:

"The grave consequences of the terrorist activities have put the country into a perilous position, while international goodwill has declined. Our letters of credit are not honored in other countries."

Bureaucrats Defend 'Special' Hospitals

Apparently stung by wide publicity about the confinement of political dissidents in psychiatric institutions, the Soviet bureaucracy has published a lengthy denial that this form of repression is used in the Soviet Union.

The bureaucracy's defense appeared in the October 23 issue of *Izvestia*, the newspaper of the Soviet government. One reason for its publication at this time may have been the hope of counteracting the scheduled publication of biologist Jaurès Medvedev's account of his confinement in 1970. (See page 933 of this issue.) Another stimulus may have been an appeal from the Soviet Human Rights Committee, which was founded last November by physicist Andrei D. Sakharov and other prominent scientists.

The Committee has appealed to the World Psychiatric Association to put on the agenda of its Mexico City congress, to be held this month, the question of the use of psychiatry against political dissidents. Without specifically mentioning the Soviet Union, the appeal warned that the misuse of psychiatry "can be practiced as a method of political persecution."

The *Izvestia* article added nothing new to the art of Stalinist polemics. Critics of the bureaucracy are motivated by malice to distort reality:

"The malignant critics are concerned about only one thing, to portray insane persons as 'fighters for ideas.'"

The paper went on to argue that the prisoners in special mental hospitals are only those "who committed socially dangerous acts while not responsible for their actions or became ill during a pretrial investigation, during actual court proceedings or after the passing of sentence."

Izvestia maintained that all such cases are reviewed every six months and the prisoners released when their mental health shows sufficient improvement.

The bureaucrats' defense of their practices did not mention the fact, but there is abundant evidence available to indicate the standards by which a prisoner is judged "cured" or "insane." According to the *samizdat* journal *Chronicle of Current Events*, these

standards were spelled out quite clearly to Vasily I. Chernyshov during a hearing before a psychiatric commis-

Chukovskaya Protests Jailing of Librarian

Novelist Lydia Chukovskaya has charged in a letter to the legal collegium of the Odessa Regional Court that Soviet courts have taken to considering the term "anti-Stalinist" to be synonymous with "anti-Soviet."

The letter, according to the October 11 *New York Times*, was written July 20 to protest the June 25 conviction of Reiza Anatolevna Palatnik, an Odessa librarian, on charges of possessing, with intent to distribute, anti-Soviet literature. After Chukovskaya received no response from the Regional Court, she allowed her letter to be publicly distributed.

Palatnik was sentenced to two years in prison. The material in her possession included poems by Anna Akhmatova and Osip Mandelstam, two letters (dated 1966 and 1968) by Chukovskaya, and the transcript of a university discussion honoring Mandelstam, who died in one of Stalin's prison camps in 1938 but was later rehabilitated.

Chukovskaya wrote that her two old letters were known to the authorities, who had not prosecuted her for writing them. She stated that she, and not Palatnik, is responsible for them.

She said that the court record showed that a "competent commission of experts" had ruled that the "overwhelming majority" of materials confiscated from Palatnik's apartment in an October 1970 search slandered the Soviet state and the Communist party. It was also charged that Palatnik had materials critical of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and its policy toward Israel.

Chukovskaya's letter said, in part:

"Observing court practice in recent years, one involuntarily comes to the conclusion that 'anti-Soviet' is grad-

sion last February 16:

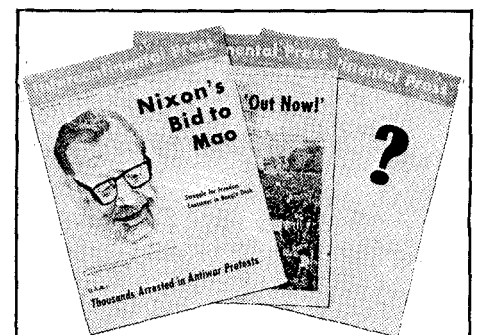
"Can't you get it into your head that we couldn't care less *what* your views are—the main thing for us is that you shouldn't have any views at all."

Certainly no one but the most malignant critic could regard as fighters for ideas the prisoners to whom such an objective criterion is applied.

ually approximating the concept of 'anti-Stalinist.' . . .

"Surely the academic test in R. Palatnik's trial did not declare as anti-Soviet any old poetry by O. Mandelstam, but only that in which he creates Stalin's portrait in lines as distinct as on a poster. And the stenographic account of the university discussion declared anti-Soviet also happened to be dedicated to O. Mandelstam, who died in a Stalinist camp. And 'Requiem' [by Akhmatova] just happened to be dedicated to the year 1937. Yes, and the Stalin terror just happened to be referred to with revulsion on many occasions in my open letters."

Chukovskaya demanded that the court declare that anti-Stalinist writings were not equivalent to anti-Soviet ones, and thus "remove the basis" of the Palatnik conviction. □



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Mobilisons-nous le 6 novembre!

[The following article "Pourquoi le f.s.i.?" (Why the FSI?) has been translated by *Intercontinental Press* from the first issue (October) of a new monthly journal, *Solidarité Indochine*, published in Paris. The main headline of the four-page issue is "Mobilisons-nous le 6 novembre" (Let's mobilize November 6). This is followed by three more headlines: "Solidarity with the antiwar militants in the U. S. A."; "Immediate withdrawal of the U. S. troops from Indochina"; "Total victory to the Indochinese peoples."]

* * *

Why the FSI [Front Solidarité Indochine—Indochinese Solidarity Front]?

First, because the war is still going on. On September 21, more than 200 American planes bombed the Democratic Republic of Vietnam for ten whole hours. There has been no raid north of the seventeenth parallel more violent than this since the bombings were officially ended November 1, 1968.

In South Vietnam, hunt-and-destroy missions, bombings, and the dumping of noxious chemical products have continued uninterrupted. In Cambodia, the Americans, using Thailand as a base, are ceaselessly building up their forces.

Despite the withdrawal of a part of the troops from South Vietnam, despite the drugs and the shame felt by those who fought in the same army as Calley, the American war grinds on in the central and eastern parts of Indochina.

While the war has not ended, it has reached a turning point. The U. S. policy today aims at openly tying all of Southeast Asia economically to the "free world." This includes investments in agriculture and particularly oil (more than forty companies are engaged in this, from Indonesia to Vietnam and Thailand), the manufacture of semifinished products which the "multinational" companies project selling on the world market, etc. That is the status of Taiwan. The objective of this "Vietnamization of the economy" is to compensate in part for the set-

backs to Vietnamization of the war and is part of Nixon's upping the bid to gain reelection.

To denounce this dirty war and its objectives of pillage—that is one of the reasons for the FSI.

There are other guilty ones besides U. S. imperialism. The trusts and governments of various countries have all been involved in this decade of masked domination. How interpret otherwise the insistence with which the vice president of the Commission of Foreign Affairs of the National Assembly, the UNR [Union pour la Nouvelle République—Union for the New Republic, the Gaullist party] deputy Michel Boscher, maintained that the real "friends of France" in Cambodia are to be found in the entourage of Lon Nol? And what is the meaning of French firms participating in prospecting for Indochinese oil? There are many ways of serving as an accomplice. It is up to the FSI to expose and combat every attempt of French imperialist circles to join in the pillage of Indochina.

In Saigon as in Phnom Penh they demand the maintenance of "law and order." Have confidence in Thieu! The U. S. has recognized its man. And he is for the U. S. to the marrow of his bones. The one-man electoral farce staged October 3 in a country teeming with police armed to the teeth in American style tells us as much about the popularity of the man and the system as the last elections staged by France just before the public victory of the Algerian Front de Libération. There, too, participation in the election was exceptionally high.

As often occurs in big struggles—remember May-June 1968—it was in the streets, the high schools and colleges, in the factories, and not in the voting booths that the opposition to the U. S. aggression was expressed throughout the summer in South Vietnam. In the cities, in particular, new political forces went into action.

The FSI offers complete support to all aspects of the struggle of the Indochinese revolutionists.

Finally, it is not true that public

opinion in the U. S. is indifferent. It has not even been distracted by economic worries. This was said to be the case last winter. Yet the demonstrations in Detroit and Washington, the position taken by some of the unions, the marches made by veterans, turned the first half of 1971 in the United States into a year for Vietnam.

Today the "trip to Peking" cannot hide from the Americans that the real problems are settled where they are fought out—in Laos, in Cambodia, in Vietnam. They cannot help but see that the seven points presented by Mme Binh July 1 offer a solution. They understand the importance of the proposal made October 1 by Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the FNL [Front National de Libération] to form a "united anti-imperialist and anti-Thieu action front." In addition the antiwar movement has projected demonstrations for the beginning of November on a broad scale.

● Material and political support to the fighters in Indochina.

● Form committees of the FSI everywhere.

● Stage mass demonstrations November 6.

● Bring everyone out to express solidarity with the peoples of Indochina at the meeting in Paris November 10.

Torture in Paraguay

Paraguayan political prisoners are being subjected to vicious tortures, former Colorado party Deputy Nelson Rolon reported at a Caracas press conference of the newly formed Venezuelan Committee of Solidarity with the Political Prisoners of Paraguay.

"Rolon displayed photographs of castrated bodies with their ears removed, declaring that such tortures 'are currently being practiced upon the political prisoners in Paraguay,'" according to an Agence France-Presse dispatch published in the September 21 Caracas daily *El Universal*.

Mao Outscores Party, 9 to 2

The titles of an eleven-lesson introductory English course for Chinese fourth-graders are: "Chairman Mao," "Long Live Chairman Mao," "Wish Chairman Mao a Long Life," "Long Live Mao Tse-tung's Thought," "Long Live the Communist Party of China," "Chairman Mao is Our Great Teacher," "I Am a Little Red Guard," "Chairman Mao Is Our Red Commander," "Chairman Mao: The Red Sun in Our Hearts," "Chairman Mao's Little Red Guards," "Little Red Guards Love Chairman Mao."

Our Role in Battling Against the Military Coup

By Hugo Gonzalez M.

[The following excerpts from a letter by Hugo González M. appeared in the October 16 issue of *Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste, published in Paris. González is the general secretary of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party, the Bolivian section of the Fourth International).

[The translation from French is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

(. . .) The fascist coup d'etat, which we have consistently denounced, was directed more against the revolutionary masses and their vanguard than against Torres and his regime. Once again the army has made a sharp turn, abandoning reformism in favor of pure and simple armed violence aimed at checking the revolutionary process. This time, on the basis of previous experiences, the army obtained the prior consent of the two bourgeois parties: the MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria—Revolutionary Nationalist Movement] and the ultraright FSB [Falange Socialista Boliviana—Bolivian Socialist Phalanx]. The army, not these parties, is in control.

It is interesting to note how the different sectors of the bourgeoisie mobilized in support of the coup. The Brazilian, Argentinian, and Paraguayan armed forces all intervened. Troops from these countries crossed the Bolivian border, ready to partition the country and declare an autonomous region in eastern Bolivia (the departments of Beni, Santa Cruz, and Tarija) if the Bolivian army proved incapable of handling the situation in the Altiplano.

The centers of violent struggle were La Paz and Santa Cruz. The rapid mobilization of the entire army, 30,000 troops with all their arms, was the factor determining the fate of the rest of the country.

In Santa Cruz the punitive actions carried out by the Rangers were sav-

age. The number of dead and wounded is not known; on this, the regime has maintained silence. But a reasonable estimate would be more than 500 deaths among students, workers, and peasants. The repression was typically fascist. The chief of the Rangers, Colonel Selich, who is now minister of the interior, believes that the only good Communist is a dead Communist, and he adds that all those who don't agree with him are themselves Communists. In Santa Cruz people were massacred, shot, and are still being shot, for the "crime" of belonging to our party, to the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], the pro-Chinese CP, or the ELN [Ejército de Liberación Nacional—National Liberation Army].

A leader of the MIR told me that all the cadres of their Santa Cruz regional organization were executed. It seems that the fate of our regional leadership has been the same.

We have not been able to contact anyone in Santa Cruz, because the means of communication are under army control. Party commissions are engaged in reorganizing our ranks to continue our work in this region.

Prisoners and wounded are numbered by the hundreds. For all intents and purposes, Santa Cruz is in the hands of the most reactionary sectors of the army and the falangists.

In La Paz, when confronted by the coup, we did everything possible to contain the army by organizing the masses for war on the highest possible level. Our party was the armed motor force of the left and of the COB [Confederación Obrera Boliviana—Bolivian Workers Federation].

The armchair socialists, who relied on Torres's army to overthrow the capitalist machine, the spontanéists, the insurrectionists of all stripes, saw their theories belied by the realities of war. The people took to the streets seeking arms, and we stood in the forefront.

We could not do otherwise at such a moment. The whole left came to

fight at our side, and a *de facto* alliance was formed among the pro-Chinese, the comrades of the MIR, and the workers of the PRIN [Partido Revolucionario de Izquierda Nacionalista—Revolutionary Left Nationalist party]. Later, small groups from the pro-Moscow CP and some students of Lora's little group arrived.

The struggle was fierce and heroic: more than 5,000 fighters—but 90 percent of them unarmed.

At the last moment an assault on an army depot captured 1,300 old Mauser rifles left over from the Chaco war [1928-35], some serviceable, others not. We fought with those and with whatever else we could find.

We tried to take the military fortress of Miraflores, which contained the biggest supplies of modern arms. The army defended this position with all the force at its disposal: planes, tanks, infantry, etc.

But war is not something that can be improvised. If the revolutionary army is lacking, it cannot be constructed solely by the heroism of the masses. The military apparatuses of political parties, of which ours was the most important, could not lead this type of struggle. Defeat was inevitable, but it was necessary to fight; and this we did, together with the workers, students, and peasants.

From Radio Ilimani our party and the ELN directed the fighting and the mobilization.

The result of this military confrontation was approximately 400 deaths and a slightly smaller number wounded in the gorilla army. In the ranks of the people, there were 150 dead and 600 wounded. Subsequent reprisals are increasing the death toll, but the total remains unknown.

As soon as victorious fascism controlled the government, a ferocious repression was organized. The country's eight universities were occupied by the army; university autonomy was violated; courses were suspended until February 1972; professors and ad-

ministrative personnel were discharged.

The University of Santa Cruz was assaulted by the Rangers. All students caught in the vicinity were raked with machine-gun fire. The University of La Paz was bombarded by planes, attacked by cannon fire from tanks, and by bazookas. All this occurred after the fighting ended.

Hatred for the universities and all they stand for was well expressed by the fascists. The local offices of the COB, the Federation of Miners, and the Federation of Millworkers were sacked. The government organized ad hoc committees to bring the union organizations under the control of fascist agents.

The high schools and elementary schools are not functioning; classes are suspended. The government is afraid to allow students to meet and discuss. It is possible that schools will remain shut for the whole academic year.

Union leaders at all levels are being imprisoned.

There is a strong repression against the left in general, but the parties hounded to death are our own, the pro-Chinese CP, the MIR, and the ELN. In Santa Cruz the repressive forces have drawn up a complete list of all persons who, according to them, might have worked with us. It may be that these people have already been spotted and marked for death. It is the same for the comrades of the other groups.

In La Paz the army has put a price of several thousand dollars on the heads of the leaders of our party. The orders are to kill them, not take them prisoner.

As for the militants who have fallen into army hands, they are being sent to the forests, to the worst concentration camps, like Madidi.

The civilian groups of the MNR and the Falangists are taking part in the repression against us and the other groups favoring armed struggle. Because of this it is difficult to escape the repression. The civilian comandos, unlike the usual security forces, are familiar with political circles.

(. . .) At the moment there is an alliance between us, the pro-Chinese, the MIR, and the ELN. The ascension to power of the fascists means the accentuation of all forms of combat. To direct this, we intend to form a

command-front of the four organizations.

The party's situation is as follows:

In La Paz we had fifteen workers and peasants killed. Comrade Tomás Chambi, secretary of defense of the Bolivian Independent Federation of Peasants, was killed in combat. He had been imprisoned during the 1969 repression.

He commanded a detachment of peasants, all of whom fell in the fighting. Chambi died like a Trotskyist, thinking of his party and International. As if he had had a presentiment of his death, he carried a letter saying that he was proud to be a Trotskyist, that it was in the party that he developed as a revolutionist and made the decision to fight to the end. There was also a group of wounded, (. . .) some of whom were deported to Madidi (. . .)

In Santa Cruz we suffered twenty deaths. Some escaped to the mountains.

In Oruro we had three taken prisoner; we still do not know their fate.

Our miners are continuing their work as union leaders. The army has not penetrated the mining zones, but it is preparing to do so. We are also

preparing ourselves. The forms of struggle will be different. Our leaders have been condemned to death, and we must fight, both to save their lives and for the revolution.

Despite the attacks it has suffered, the party is still functioning. (. . .) There is a military and political leadership, united in the Executive Committee, which directs all activity on a national scale. We lost some stocks of arms, but during the struggle we captured some modern weapons.

We have decided to go forward, and I think that at present we are in a better position to do it than we have been in the past.

We experienced a numerical growth during the past period, leadership cadres have emerged, and much work is being done. The confidence accorded us by sectors of the vanguard is most gratifying. This is not to say that our situation is not difficult, but revolutionists cannot expect the bourgeoisie to smooth the way for them. It is necessary to fight, and we will fight. It is for this that we have been preparing ourselves up to now. (. . .)

With warmest greetings,
Hugo

Propaganda Leaflet?

Army Hid POW Letter

Staff Sergeant John Sexton Jr., who had been captured by the Vietnamese National Liberation Front on August 12, 1969, was released October 8. Although he had been seriously wounded prior to his capture (a grenade had spread shrapnel through his right side, his right elbow was shattered, and he had lost vision in his right eye), he was pronounced in generally good condition upon his arrival at Locninh, a base seventy miles north of Saigon. He said he had been treated well by his captors.

One week after his capture in 1969, Sexton had written a letter, addressed to "whoever is concerned," stating that he was wounded but being well cared for in a National Liberation Front hospital. The letter was made into a leaflet, with Sexton's picture attached, by the NLF. It was discovered by the

U. S. Army in September 1969.

In spite of the letter, the Army listed Sexton as "missing in action," and his parents assumed he had been killed. The letter disappeared into the Pentagon bureaucracy.

Several days before Sexton's release, the letter was finally delivered to his father, who was understandably upset by the delay.

Pentagon sources said that the letter was held up because "somebody made the assessment that it was a propaganda leaflet."

In view of the fact that Nixon has attempted to utilize the supposedly unknown fate of U.S. prisoners as a pretext for continuing the war, one wonders how many other letters from captured GIs have been buried by the Pentagon as "Vietcong propaganda." □

First the Bottlers and Then the Cops Strike in Evian

By Jean Ravel

Paris

Evian used to be better known to winter-sports enthusiasts than to political writers for the major French newspapers. Yet for over a month now, this Alpine town has been shocking the people of France.

It was there that the first workers' struggle since the summer holidays took place. But even more astonishingly, the French police launched a massive demonstration in Evian to publicize their dissatisfaction with the government!

The struggle of the Evian water-bottlers lasted more than three weeks, during most of which time the workers occupied the plant. Faced with the workers' exemplary combativity, local leaders of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor] and the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor] were unable to "buy off" this strike, as they undoubtedly would have liked to, with a few token concessions wrested from the employers under the pressure of a short-term struggle.

At the beginning of August, the Evian Water Bottling Company's seventy-two warehouse workers refused to continue handling between 1,800 and 2,000 twelve-bottle cartons apiece per day—which meant lifting from thirty-six to forty tons daily for a monthly wage of between 1,000 and 1,250 francs [about US\$180-225].

The work stoppages multiplied after the management refused to add fourteen workers to the existing crew. The management's stance was reinforced by a MacKinsey Bureau time-and-motion study which recommended *reducing* the number of workers while *increasing* the output of each.

The bosses shut down the plant. As a result, the water, "pure and light enough for babies," poured into the pollution of Lake Leman. Since August, they let at least 42,000,000 bottles go to waste instead of acceding to the workers' demands! "It's up to man-

agement to manage and to the workers to work." This maxim took on vivid meaning for the executives of the BSM Group, to which the Evian Water Bottling Company belongs.

Evian's 1,100 workers countered that it was their duty to propose shifts in procedure that would have improved working conditions without increasing production costs. Rebuffed by the management, they felt on solid ground in refusing to bear the costs of modernization—which they do not oppose *per se*—and of replacing glass bottles with plastic ones. They contended, moreover, that a company that sold 542,000,000 bottles on the domestic market in 1969 (up from 8,000,000 in 1946) could indulge in a few "sacrifices."

Sacrifices? But it must be remembered that the water the company sells costs it nothing! What it pays for is advertising to compete with the other suppliers, Vittel and Perrier.

Such problems are not the concern of the workers, who have shown clearly that in their struggle, as in many others taking place in Europe, the proletariat cannot be lured into passivity by a few wage concessions that are quickly gobbled up by inflation. What is increasingly at stake is improvement in working conditions. Workers' control is now on the agenda!

"Unrest among the police—*established order threatened by its own representatives*—aftermath of unsuccessful Evian demonstration by peace officers' union?" blared the scare headline in *Le Figaro*, leading spokesman for the French bourgeoisie.

"We are the proletarians among the civil servants," declared Roger Daurelle, a leader of the policemen's union.

"Enough of words, on to action," was the refrain echoed by many delegates to the annual congress of the National Union of Uniformed Police, which claims 25,000 members and is affiliated to the Autonomous Federation headed by Gérard Monate.

The delegates indeed moved on to action. They marched from Evian to the subprefecture of Thonon-les-bains, and drew applause from the striking Evian workers. Their general secretary issued a statement warning that if their discussions with prime minister Chaban-Delmas proved unsuccessful, the policemen would march on the finance ministry, on the prime minister's residence—and "if necessary," they would even occupy the presidential mansion!

Le Figaro voiced sadness: "We must confess, the protesters have switched sides."

What is behind this outbreak? Last March, the Autonomous Federation (which has 75,000 members) organized a "Day of Dialogue." The patrolmen became leafleters, handing out a statement to the citizenry—who don't love them any more, according to the leaflet—explaining the "grandeur and devotion" of the hard but worthwhile profession of policeman.

The repression against the left, the ceaseless "youth hunt" had, in fact, had an impact on a significant share of public opinion. The revolutionary press (as in the case of the indictments against *Rouge*)¹ meanwhile exposed the most scandalous aspects of the repression: the suspicious death of a young man at police headquarters, increasingly arbitrary arrests, etc.

The government, with Pompidou in the lead and the ever faithful Marcelin² close behind, felt compelled to indulge in a public campaign in defense of the "forces of law and order," whose valor and devotion were being

1. On the role of *Rouge*, weekly Paris organ of the Ligue Communiste (Communist League, French section of the Fourth International), in exposing French police repression, and the retaliatory "libel" trial of its executive editor, Charles Michaloux, see *Intercontinental Press*, July 12, p. 662, July 26, p. 705, and September 20, p. 781.—IP

2. Raymond Marcelin, who as minister of the interior controls the police.—IP

forgotten by an ungrateful public. Marcellin never loses a chance to remind the press of his ministry's budget increases, essential to getting to the bottom of the international conspiracy that has haunted him for three years! More money for more men, equipped with endlessly modernized radios and vehicles.

But apparently the police, fragile creatures that they are, not only refuse to tolerate their "unjust unpopularity," but are not even content any longer with the centimes added noisily to their paychecks by Marcellin. Their demands deal not only with wages and pensions, but also with hours and even the purpose served by their "missions"—with why, and in whose interests, police agents are spending more and more of their time sitting in their cars, on the lookout for some "leftist provocation."

The remarkable thing is that in spite of the bewildered consternation with which the Evian demonstration was received in ruling circles and in the bourgeois press, a big majority of the police unions expressed solidarity with the dissidents.

Nonetheless, no one can accuse the French police of abusing the right to strike—a right taken away from them in 1948. During that same period, the CRS³ were created by the "socialist" minister, Jules Moch. In 1958, the police marched on parliament, two months before de Gaulle's May 13 rise to power. In November 1967, Gérard Monate himself led a silent march on the Bourbon Palace. Six months later came the events of May 1968.

A writer for *l'Express* ended his account of the Evian demonstration as follows: "When the police are fever-stricken, it's a bad omen."

Paul Laurent, a member of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] Political Bureau, even thinks that "a crisis in police-government relations is always a sign of the regime's decomposition. . . ." It is not the PCF, however, that will ultimately be able to take advantage of this "decomposition," but rather the revolutionary Marxists. □

3. The CRS, or Compagnies Républicaines de Sécurité, are armed police units used in suppressing political demonstrations. — IP

Hugo Blanco Interviewed by 'La Opinión'

The Nature of the Velasco Regime

[The Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco Galdos, exiled in Mexico, granted the following interview on September 27 to correspondent Máximo Simpson of *La Opinión*, which is published in Buenos Aires. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Question. Why are you in Mexico? When did you arrive? Why did the Peruvian government ship you off? When did you get out of jail?

Answer. I got out of jail last December after close to eight years of prison. I reached Mexico on the fifteenth of the present month. As to the reasons for my presence here, you must ask the Peruvian government, which suddenly prepared a fake passport and sent me to this country.

Q. Your characterization of the Peruvian regime? Is it nationalist-cooperativist-capitalist? Is it paternalist?

A. It is capitalist, since the businesses continue to be in the hands of owners represented by the government. It is developmentalist, as it is moving towards the industrial development of the country, in the interest of the entrepreneurs. It takes some anti-imperialist positions, but I think it would be an exaggeration to call it "nationalist," seeing that it doesn't dare sever its basic, dependent ties to imperialism. The business about being "cooperativist" has been disclaimed by the government itself; the "cooperatives," which are almost totally bureaucratized and state-controlled, form a very small part of the national economy.

Q. Which of the government's social and economic measures do you oppose? Why?

A. We are struggling for socialism. It would be utopian to expect a bourgeois military regime to achieve it. We urge the masses to seize control of their own destiny.

From this point of departure, we

demonstrate to the masses that no matter how progressive the bourgeois laws might be, they will inevitably serve the interests of the capitalists, not those of the workers. For example:

● The Industries Law does not turn the enterprises over to the state or to the workers.

● The Collective Industry Law is an attempt to make the workers believe that one day the factory will be theirs and that they shouldn't ask for wage increases. Fortunately, the workers are increasingly seeing through this.

● They have nationalized copper refining but not the mines, which are mainly in imperialist hands.

● The marketing of fish meal has been nationalized, but the factories remain in the hands of the imperialists and national capitalists.

● The Agrarian Reform Law deals with purchase and sale of land, and does not decree the return of communal lands seized by the haciendas, which are in many cases imperialist-owned.

● The Universities Law is a step backwards. It annuls student participation in administration, and gears the curriculum to the needs of neo-capitalism.

● When conflicts arise between the workers and the domestic and imperialist employers, the government defends the ruling class, even resorting to repression.

The key indicators of the regime's elitist posture emerged recently in response to:

● The miners' strikes against Yankee firms.

● The shoemakers' strike against domestic and imperialist concerns.

● The strike against imperialist auto assembly firms.

● The democratic election of the chancellor of Cuzco University by the faculty, students, and workers, with the support of the entire population of Cuzco.

● The nationwide strike by the teachers, who hit at the injustice of receiving starvation wages while military officers were getting exorbitant

salaries. As a result of the repression of this strike there are hundreds of prisoners and several missing persons who are said to have been deported.¹

I call on people throughout the world to demand that the government guarantee the lives and safety of the missing leaders and that it free the prisoners.

Q. Doesn't the present Peruvian regime represent a step forward from the previous feudal oligarchy? Don't you think that they have broken the back of the traditional Peruvian oligarchy, both economically and politically?

A. It is unquestionably a step forward. It has replaced the traditional oligarchy with a "new," industrial oligarchy.

Q. How do you characterize the Agrarian Reform?

A. The Agrarian Reform Law is an attempt at creating a layer of intermediate proprietors who would constitute a market for industrial products and a social base for the regime.

However, the fact that the government is curbing the mobilization of the masses leads the landlords to utilize all their avenues of bribery and leads the bureaucrats to reveal all of their corruptibility, so that even this limited bourgeois measure isn't carried out in the way the government would have liked.

Q. What do you have to say on the position and perspectives of the Peruvian left? About the positions of APRA, Béjar, and future possibilities?²

A. For a long time now APRA has not been a party of the left; it is to the right of the government.

The pro-Soviet CP, in general, capitulates to the junta, turning its back on the masses.

1. Press reports subsequent to Hugo Blanco's forced exile to Mexico indicated that the six other deported Peruvian leaders arrived in Madrid on September 17. See *Intercontinental Press*, October 11, p. 857.

2. The references are to the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (American People's Revolutionary Alliance), the Partido Comunista Peruana (Peruvian Communist party), and Hector Bejar, a widely known former guerrilla leader.

Béjar has gone over to the government.

The opportunist left is doomed to disaster, since it is caught in the wake of the bourgeois-reformist sectors.

Q. Is there any similarity between the positions of Paz Estenssoro and Haya de la Torre?³

A. The parallel between APRA and the MNR is of long standing. They were both petty-bourgeois parties that degenerated into servants of imperialism.

Q. What conclusions do you draw from the Peruvian experience with guerrilla warfare (the foco, etc.)?

A. Artificial guerrilla struggle, isolated from the mass movement, cannot serve as a substitute for the latter and is doomed to failure.

Q. What was the character of the movement that you led?

A. It was a mass peasant movement that raised its struggles from the level of minimum demands to that of land seizure; from elementary forms of mass mobilization to the nuclei of armed resistance to the brutal repression.

Its basic deficiencies were the absence of a strong revolutionary party and the isolation of the movement.

The principal gains made by the peasants of the region of La Convención and Lares in the course of their struggle are still in effect today, as no government has dared to take them away by force. The land parcels won by the peasants remain in their hands. Despite the government's insistence, the peasantry refuses to pay for them. It is now continuing its activity around other issues.

Q. Doesn't opposition to the present Peruvian regime play into the hands of imperialism? Doesn't this mean thwarting—as the left has done many

3. Victor Paz Estenssoro is the head of the Revolutionary Nationalist Movement (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario—MNR), which held power in Bolivia from the revolution of 1952 until its overthrow by right-wing military officers in 1964. With the Banzer coup, he returned to La Paz. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre is the founder and top leader of the Peruvian APRA.

times in Latin America—the nationalist and populist governments on the grounds that they don't exactly fit preconceived schema, that they are not "perfect"?

A. We did not invent the tensions between capitalists and workers. They exist and they will keep existing even if every single leftist were assassinated.

A government such as the one in Peru that keeps the industries in capitalist hands and, to maintain this situation of the rule of a handful over the majority, sustains a standing army with exorbitant salaries for its mercenary officers, preventing the people from arming themselves, cannot truthfully be called either "nationalist" or "populist."

Such "nationalism" and "populism" as it has is precarious, threatened from within by the interests of the businessmen, who are greater enemies of the workers than of imperialism, and by the officers, each one of whom has his price.

What we have witnessed "many times in Latin America" is the sellout of these governments to imperialism or their disgraceful downfall.

The only viable nationalism is that of the people in arms defending the factories and lands that are in their hands, not in those of the capitalists.

It is no accident that Cuba is still standing. In any case, it is history itself that is "falling into preconceived schema." I believe, moreover, that there are laws operative in the social and political arena just as there are in the physical arena. I don't think it's only the Marxists who recognize the existence of the political and social sciences.

Q. Some economic questions. (a) What is your opinion of exchange controls? (b) Has the banking industry been nationalized? (c) What about the Peruvian government's foreign policy?

A. (a) A progressive bourgeois measure. (b) Partially. (c) Within the limitations of its adherence to the capitalist bloc, it takes progressive positions. □

Can't Meet the Competition?

Since Nixon lifted some restrictions on trade in June, no U. S. company has sold a product directly to China.

An Irreverent Look at the 'King of Chicago'

Boss Richard J. Daley of Chicago
by Mike Royko. Signet, 216 pp.
\$1.25, 1971.

Those of us who have lived in Chicago know what the city is like and, to a certain extent, how it operates. Mike Royko decided to tell the rest of the country.

Royko's inclination throughout *Boss* is to play on the contradiction between the words and actions of the Democrats and the realities of life in Chicago. This makes for a few pleasant absurdities about Daley's mannerisms and morning routine (covered in the opening chapter), and a few spoofs on police corruption and racial oppression, but little else is gained from the approach. Royko avoids any attempt at a meaningful analysis of the political machine that rules Chicago.

Royko falls into the trap that has caught most muckrakers in the past. He realizes that Daley's machine is what keeps him in office, but he cannot see the fall of the machine until Daley is defeated. Royko turns a reality into an absolute. He winds up with a vicious circle and no alternatives.

This pessimism is behind the author's inability to explain what is unique about Daley. Royko says that Daley is the last of the old-time bosses, but he doesn't say why. He presents no comparison with the other city machines.

Royko does do a good job on exposing Daley for what he is: an overt reactionary.

While all the "progressives" in the Democratic party were scolding "southern racism" and the lesser evil of "northern segregation," Daley scorned even the most conservative Black leaders, denouncing them as communists, or even worse, *Republicans*:

"[Martin Luther] King came here to hurt Douglas [Senator Paul Douglas, the "intellectual" of the Chicago machine] because Rockefeller gave him dough, that's why he came here, to try to get Douglas beaten. He's a rabble-rouser, a trouble-maker!"



DALEY: "King of Chicago" equally fearful of communists and Republicans.

Daley has consistently refused to grant any concessions to the Chicago Black community, and his police force—which includes the largest "red squad" in the country—is notorious for its extreme brutality.

While antiwar sentiment was growing in the nation and politicians were questioning the "merits" of American barbarism in Asia, Daley stood firm. He praised the war's proponents and even defended Nguyen Cao Ky's admiration of Adolf Hitler.

Royko documents the growth of the machine, although in certain cases he resorts to generalizations and hearsay. But in the important instances, where scandals have occurred or demonstrators have been clubbed into unconsciousness, he provides valuable information and embarrassing quotes. This does not, however, excuse his sloppiness in explaining Daley's influence as "king-maker" and "King of Chicago."

Boss is nevertheless a good description of Daley's follies. In fact, Royko is so effective in this regard that Da-

ley's wife fought to have the book removed from supermarket bookstands in Chicago, calling it "trash and hogwash."

Much praise has been heaped on *Boss* and Mike Royko, largely because of the outrage that this exposé has aroused within the inner circle of the Chicago machine. Royko has been successful in accomplishing his primary task: he has made a fool of the Boss. Unfortunately, another, more penetrating study is still needed.

— Steven Warshell

'Ireland in Rebellion'

Ireland in Rebellion is the title of a pamphlet just published in New York by Pathfinder Press. The author, Gerry Foley, is a member of the editorial staff of *Intercontinental Press*. He visited Ireland in the summer of 1970.

The pamphlet contains Foley's article, "Why Socialism Is Coming to the Fore in Ireland," and interviews with Tomás Mac Giolla, president of Sinn Féin, and Cathal Goulding, known as chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army.

This report on what Foley calls "probably the oldest continuous struggle against oppression in . . . history" is priced at \$.60 (£0.25). □

Apprenticeship Program

Dr. Joseph Pauco, an adviser to the national committee of the Republican party, was the editor of the chief Nazi propaganda newspaper in occupied Slovakia during the second world war, according to a disclosure made by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson on September 24.

According to Anderson, as late as 1957 Pauco described his Nazi activities as being in "the cause of great and sacred truth." He is said to have called Joseph Tiso, Hitler's puppet ruler of Slovakia, who was hanged as a war criminal, a "martyr."

Pauco is comptroller of the Republican committee's ethnic council.

Anderson reported that Pauco denies he was a Nazi, although in a *Who's Who* biography he himself lists the editorship of the Slovakian journal as one of his accomplishments. When queried about the anti-Semitic diatribes his newspaper contained, Pauco replied, "We were friends of the Jews." □

Lambertist 'Declaration' on Socialist Labour League

[The following is a translation by *Intercontinental Press* of an open "Déclaration" that has been printed as a leaflet and distributed by the thousands in Paris by the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization).

[The declaration makes a number of obscure references. To appreciate these, a bit of background is required.

[In 1963, the majority of the International Committee and the International Secretariat, two factions within the Fourth International, decided to participate in an effort to reunite the world Trotskyist movement, which had been split for almost a decade. A minority of the International Committee headed by Gerry Healy of the British-based Socialist Labour League and Pierre Lambert of the OCI rejected this course and set up a rump "International Committee" for the purpose of "reconstructing" the Fourth International.

[In the opinion of this grouping, the majority of the International Committee, including the leadership of the Socialist Workers party in the United States, had "sold out" to the International Secretariat (referred to in the open "Declaration" below as the "Pabloites"—although the adherents of the "International Committee" now use the term as an epithet designating any grouping outside of their own that considers itself to be Trotskyist).

[In the light of this background, the main interest in the "Declaration" lies in the sharp public attack leveled against what constitutes a sizeable minority, if not the majority, of the rump "International Committee," that is, the Socialist Labour League and its American satellite grouping, the Workers League.

[The tone of the declaration indicates that the disarray in this unprincipled bloc is such as to make "reconstruction" of the "International Committee" a hardly promising enterprise.

[For further material on the background, as well as the differences over the Bolivian events referred to in the open declaration, see "Disaster in Bolivia for Healy-Lambert-Wohlforth," in *Intercontinental Press*, September 27, p. 816, and "The Lambertist View of the Bolivian Events," in *Intercontinental Press*, October 18, p. 894.]

* * *

The delegations of the Political Bureau of the OCI, French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International; of the POR [Partido Obrero Revolucionario], Bolivian section of the International Committee; and of the Committee for Organization of the Communists (Trotskyists) of the countries of the East have discussed some questions of common interest raised by the combat led by the POR, the significance of which is stated as follows:

Since the General Strike in France and the process of the Political Revolution in Czechoslovakia, the question of the working class taking political power has stood at the heart of every struggle of the workers and the

youth throughout the world. In face of decomposing imperialism which offers them misery, unemployment, fascist barbarism, and wars of extermination; in face of the bureaucracy which threatens to destroy the conquests of the glorious October 1917 Revolution, and which holds back and breaks up their struggles, all the demands and the will to resist of the workers, their whole desire to live, require a direct and immediate struggle to seize power, in order to set up a workers' government.

Never has the conquest of power by the proletariat appeared as such a clear task, so realizable, so urgent!

The creation of the Irbid soviet by the oppressed Palestinian masses, the committees and councils formed by the Polish working class, the Bolivian People's Assembly materialized the convergence of the struggles toward this immediate aim, although they proceeded through different stages and forms toward the Universal Soviet Republic.

It was in BOLIVIA that this forward march of the working class toward its own power reached its highest level, rich in experiences, expressing and realizing the most profound aspiration of the international working class as a whole. At the head of the Bolivian workers stood the Revolutionary Workers Party, armed with the Program of the Fourth International, tempered by decades of tenacious struggle for the proletarian revolution against nationalism, against Stalinism, against Pabloite revisionism, and against all varieties of the petty bourgeoisie, such as guerrillaism, solidly rooted in the most militant sections of the Bolivian proletariat. Because this Party had prepared this combat, it was prepared for it; it knew how to seize the occasion and, at each step of the revolutionary process, bring to maturity the conditions for the working class to take power. In the process of the Bolivian revolution were concentrated not only the aspiration of the workers throughout the world to have their own government, but also and above all, the lessons and experiences on the means and methods to obtain this. The realization of class unity through the Workers United Front, driving power of the Anti-imperialist United Front, was embodied in the People's Assembly, the organ of power. It was for this unity, assembling the indispensable conditions for the assault on power, that the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia, member of the International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International, worked.

This experience of struggling for a worker-peasant government, by a Trotskyist Party and under its leadership, a vital experience for the international working class, reviews the universal lessons of the October 1917 Revolution. This constitutes the most worthy commemoration of it on the eve of its next anniversary. It is thus the positive response to the Councils of the Hungarian Revolution which, fifteen years ago, vainly sought for an organized political leadership. It is the Trotskyist demonstration of a combat to provide an organized and centralized force to the struggle of the proletariat as a whole

marching toward power against the French Stalinists who betrayed and broke up the 1968 General Strike, battling the efforts of the OCI in behalf of such an organized centralization.

Today, the PCF [Parti Communiste Français] is conducting a campaign of slanders against the POR with the aim of diverting the proletariat from accomplishing its revolutionary tasks. The international apparatus of the Kremlin finds, in this work, the most real support in the campaign of the Pabloites of all kinds (Ligue Communiste, Lutte Ouvrière, etc.) against the POR engaged in struggle.

No one mistakes the target. All the hidden and open enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its Party are heaping mountains of lies and slanders today against the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia. The Stalinists who, on an international scale and under all circumstances battle against class independence such as was realized in the People's Assembly and firmly maintained thanks to the POR, are glorifying class collaboration in CHILE, condemning not only the POR but the Bolivian CP which, in the People's Assembly, was constrained to accept the United Front. All the petty-bourgeois currents are spitting their hate against the Revolutionary Workers Party of Bolivia because it vigorously resisted the adventures of the sects, firmly guiding the combat of the popular masses towards a workers' government. Particularly active in the Petty-bourgeois Front against the POR are to be found the Pabloites of all shadings from "Lutte Ouvrière," from the so-called "Communist" League, and from the United Secretariat of renegades from the Fourth International. The very ones who have been glorifying the petty-bourgeois leaders—from Stalinists like Gomulka to Yassir Arafat—who reached an unprincipled agreement with the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the "Vietnam Committees." These same petty-bourgeois are attacking the POR which knew how to express the revolutionary process in Bolivia. They are capitulating in Latin America, as in France and everywhere to the so-called spontanéist currents of the petty bourgeoisie in order to participate in the Stalinist barrage against the revolutionary upsurge of the masses which, in every country, places at stake the dictatorship of the proletariat, the democracy of Councils.

It is precisely because the events in Bolivia condense to the highest degree the march of the international working class toward power, bringing to the fore all the decisive problems of the conquest of power as well as the activity of the Trotskyist Party in the heart of this world process, in an epoch of overturns and sharp turns, that the unresolved problems stemming from the crisis of the Fourth International which Pablo, Mandel, Frank, etc., sought to destroy in 1950, are finding their expression, including within the International Committee.

Only petty-bourgeois elements find any reason for surprise in this.

The history of the Fourth International, since its foundation by Leon Trotsky in 1938, has consisted of a difficult combat to maintain it against immense forces in league to destroy it. Only the Fourth International, through its Program and its tireless struggles, has always battled for the class independence of the proletariat, for the world proletarian revolution against imperialism and class-collaborationist Stalinism. That is why it was,

is still, the target of the ferocious attacks of all the enemies of the proletariat. The Fourth International constitutes the real stake in the whole world class struggle, because it is the continuator of Bolshevism, of the October Revolution. The Trotskyists who, since 1950, have resisted the policy of capitulating before the bureaucracy which constitutes the very substance of Pabloism, the Trotskyist organizations which, in 1953, constituted the International Committee, have alone assured the continuity of the Fourth International and thus preserved the conditions indispensable for the construction in each country of the guiding Revolutionary Workers Party, national section of the Fourth International.

What is more natural than that all the difficult problems of the whole international class struggle should be reflected and concentrated within it? What is more natural than that the stake in a gigantic world combat should be translated into the crises of the Fourth International as it is translated into the crisis of all the organizations of the working class?

Today, the leadership of certain organizations of the International Committee, like the Socialist Labour League and the Workers League, lacking the necessary clarity with regard to the strategy for the conquest of power and the reconstruction of the Fourth International, have given way to the enormous pressures by attacking the POR.

The three delegations, meeting in Paris, while holding that a discussion is legitimate, both between the sections adhering to the IC as well as within each of the sections, condemns the method utilized by the Workers League and the SLL which, without even having studied the reports issued by the leadership of the POR, have undertaken to publicly condemn the Bolivian section of the IC.

That is why the delegations of the OCI and of the Committee for the Organization of the countries [sic] of the East approves the demand made by Comrade G. Lora, insisting that the IC be convened in a plenary session in the shortest possible time in order to take a stand on the report on the Bolivian Revolution and the tasks of reconstructing the Fourth International which the leadership of the POR has prepared.

Paris, October 12, 1971

Guillermo Lora, Secretary of the POR of Bolivia, member of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Pierre Lambert, of the CC of the OCI, French section of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Balazs Nagy, Responsable [leader] of the Ligue des Révolutionnaires Socialistes de Hongrie [League of Socialist Revolutionists of Hungary], member of the International Committee for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, Responsable of the Committee for the Organization of the Communists (Trotskyists) of the countries of the East.

Defense of What?

The U.S. army has decided that members of the National Guard mobilized to break last year's postal strike are entitled to receive the National Defense Service Medal.

All Out for November 6!

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

* * *

I

Since September 21, a massive series of raids have been made on the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam by U. S. bombers.

These raids illustrate once again Nixon's concept of American withdrawal from Indochina: fewer and fewer American casualties, more and more Indochinese casualties. The demoralized U.S. army has to be withdrawn, but the war of destruction—by massive bombings, massacres, uprooting entire populations—continues apace. The tonnage of bombs rained on Indochina keeps mounting. In August, more than 50,000 Cambodians were driven from their homes in the Prey Veng area by Saigon troops. In Laos, in Cambodia, in South Vietnam, U. S. imperialism is allocating more and more money for armies of Asian mercenaries whose task is to implement "Vietnamization" and "Asianization" of the war.

II

But the more U. S. imperialism persists, the more it gets trapped in the war. Despite the extension of the war into Cambodia, despite the offensive against the liberated zones of Laos in February 1971, despite the escalation of the bombings, U. S. imperialism has not been able to improve its position since 1968. Indeed, the opposite is true: the situation is extremely precarious for the armies on the U. S. payroll; and without U. S. support, the Lon Nol regime in Pnompenh and the Thieu regime in Saigon would collapse.

III

On the international level, the isolation of the Nixon regime is increasing. For over a year the White House has justified continuing the war by

using the "prisoner of war" argument. The Provisional Revolutionary Government's [PRG] seven-point proposal for settling the conflict, made on July 1, 1971, ties the repatriation of the prisoners to the withdrawal of American troops. In refusing to respond, to date, to the seven-point proposal, the Nixon administration proves that it doesn't give a damn about the fate of the prisoners. This has contributed to a new wave of protest throughout the world, particularly in the United States itself.

IV

The development of the antiwar movement is a decisive factor in the present situation.

Actually, since the war of aggression against Indochina is causing increasing deterioration of the American economy, part of the U. S. bourgeoisie has begun to call for an end to the war. But if growing protest against the war can be expected from more and more numerous layers of the U. S. bourgeoisie, these layers will not repudiate the neocolonial policies as a whole, since this would mean disavowal of the disastrous consequences of the capitalist system itself. It is thus up to the working masses of the United States to force imperialism to back down: the national minorities (Blacks, Chicanos, etc.), students, workers, the women's liberation movement, all together, united in demanding the immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops. It is up to the antiwar movement to expose the Nixon administration's dishonest tricks.

V

Two possibilities face the Nixon administration: ending the war before 1972, dealing, for that purpose, with the PRG; or playing for time until the elections in order to settle the problem after a possible reelection of Nixon, if necessary trying once again to crush the resistance of the Indochinese people.

Up to the present, Nixon has taken the second solution as his aim. The

Kissinger-Chou En-lai conversations have permitted the Nixon administration to take the edge off the PRG's diplomatic offensive and to evade having to reply to the seven points.

But Nixon has only gained a breathing spell. Putting pressure, via China, on the revolutionary Indochinese leaderships to bring them to make costly compromises is a plan riddled with illusions.

The Chinese leadership itself cannot take the risk of repudiating the struggle of the Indochinese peoples. A large section of the Chinese masses would not tolerate it. Peking cannot betray the Indochinese revolution the way it betrayed the Bengali revolution.

Since August 3, 1971, therefore, the Chinese leadership has increased its messages of support to the revolutionary Indochinese forces.

VI

The situation for U. S. imperialism is thus a dismal one. In fact, it has never been worse. Never has U. S. imperialism been so vulnerable. That is why the time has come to strike together with all our force against a weakened imperialism. We must not let Nixon stall until he gets past the 1972 elections. The revolution in Southeast Asia will be decided in the months ahead. The victory of the Indochinese peoples will be the strongest boost to the revolutionary struggle in over twenty years.

The Fourth International has a decisive role to play in the advance of the anti-imperialist struggle, in the support of the Indochinese peoples. That is why it calls on workers, students, and all anti-imperialist forces to demonstrate in all the world capitals on November 6, in unity with the hundreds of thousands of people who will fill the streets in response to the call of the American antiwar movement.

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops in Indochina!

Solidarity with the U. S. antiwar movement!

Victory for the Indochinese revolution!

Learning From Thieu?

In October 6 elections for the Sabah state assembly in Malaysia, the ruling Alliance party won all thirty-two seats. All opposing candidates were disqualified for alleged errors in their nominating petitions.