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Castro Scores Pirate Attacks

Setbacks for Nixon
in Laos, Cambodia

British Coal Miners
Stage Nationwide Strike

Massive Witch-Hunt
in Santo Domingo

Interview From Belfast:
**Women in the Battle
Against British Troops**



VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY: "People who are convinced of the injustice of an existing social system cannot have their views changed by techniques of political persecution."

The Frame-Up Trial of Vladimir Bukovsky

Tito Opens the Door

U.S. Firms to Invest in Yugoslavia?

A number of U. S. corporations are showing interest in investing in Yugoslavia, according to a report by David A. Andelman in the January 1 *New York Times*. Nearly a dozen large companies are "in the advanced stages of negotiation" to set up joint projects with the Yugoslav government.

The negotiations got started last October, when Tito visited Washington and told U. S. corporate officials that he would permit Americans to hold a majority interest in joint projects with Yugoslav firms. Previously, foreigners were limited to 49 percent ownership of such ventures.

"President Tito's statement changed our whole attitude toward investment there," Andelman quoted the president of the Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company as saying. "We look upon this as a way of possibly serving a market we are having trouble serving now—South America. Products produced by a joint-venture company in Yugoslavia could be exported to South America more readily than [from] our plants in Great Britain, France and Australia. Costs are rising so rapidly in the Common Market that we are thinking of Yugoslavia as an alternate to our European operations."

Andelman noted that a number of firms that had decided not to invest in Yugoslavia when they were limited to a 49 percent holding were reconsidering now that they would have the opportunity for majority ownership.

While these negotiations are taking place, the Tito government has launched a propaganda campaign against Yugoslavs who become too wealthy. In a story distributed by the *Washington Post* news service, Dan Morgan wrote:

"... a new line was clearly set by Tito in his speech to trade union officials, many of whom complained of widening income gaps.

"Tito lamented that some well-heeled people had built \$70,000 villas and were riding in expensive cars while workers went on foot."

It makes you wonder what Tito will say when he sees American capitalists driving through Belgrade. □

In This Issue

		INDOCHINA WAR
Allen Myers	59	Setbacks for Nixon in Laos, Cambodia
		GHANA
	60	Army Officers Take Over
		MIDDLE EAST
Jon Rothschild	61	Sadat, Israelis Increase Pressure on Fedayeen
		NAMIBIA
	62	South Africa Sends Cops Against Ovambos
		CUBA
	63	Castro Scores Nixon-Sponsored Pirate Attacks
		U. S. A.
George Novack	64	Supreme Court to Rule on Mandel Visa
	74	Oil Monopolies Move In on Gas, Coal, Uranium
		CAMBODIA
	64	Nixon Polishes Lon Nol's Begging Bowl
		INDONESIA
	65	Suharto Threatens Another Bloodbath
		BANGLADESH
	65	Rahman Announces Awami League Government
		DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
	66	Massive Witch-Hunt in Santo Domingo
		CYPRUS
	67	A Pawn in the Hands of Imperialism
		GREAT BRITAIN
	68	Coal Miners Stage Nationwide Strike
		SPAIN
	69	Franco's Cops Seize "Trotskyist" Students
		SOUTH VIETNAM
	69	More Tiger Cages Being Built
		CEYLON
	70	"Cordial" Take-Over of Tea Estates
	70	New Rise in Discontent Confronts Bandaranaike
		SOVIET UNION
George Saunders	72	The One-Day Frame-Up Trial of Vladimir Bukovsky
		AUSTRALIA
Dave Holmes	75	Founding Conference of Socialist Workers League
		IRELAND
	76	Interview With Kitty O'Kane
		REVIEWS
George Saunders	80	Ponomarev's Directives on How to Meet Growing Threat of Resurgent "Trotskyism"
		DOCUMENTS
	82	The Szczecin Workers Debate Edward Gierek
Pierre Frank	86	Lambert's Reply to Healy
	87	Ceylon MP Describes His Brother's Arrest
	88	Russell Foundation Schedules Symposium
		DRAWINGS
Copain	57	Vladimir Bukovsky; 61, Anwar el-Sadat; 70, Colvin R. de Silva; 71, N. M. Perera

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Setbacks for Nixon in Laos, Cambodia

By Allen Myers

In a brief statement January 13, Richard Nixon announced that U. S. forces in Vietnam would be reduced to a level of 69,000 by May 1. The figure does not include the thousands of naval and air force personnel stationed aboard aircraft carriers or in Thailand, who conduct the air war against the peoples of Indochina.

The new reduction—70,000 troops over a period of three months—represents a very slight increase over the current withdrawal of 45,000 in a two-month period.

Nixon said that he would make another announcement on further withdrawals before May 1. This made it possible to estimate more precisely the size of the "residual force" he intends to keep in South Vietnam indefinitely. This force, which will have the dual role of propping up Nguyen Van Thieu and providing a pretext for continuation of the air war, will probably consist of 25,000 to 35,000 troops, according to most observers.

Meanwhile Nixon has continued the gradual escalation of the bombing, which has become the chief feature of "Vietnamization." Since the massive raids of December 26-30, there have been almost daily missile and bomb attacks on North Vietnam. Administration officials, when pressed, admit that these are likely to increase. In the January 14 *New York Times*, Robert B. Semple, Jr. described the contents of a briefing that followed Nixon's announcement:

"... Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird said—as the President did on television Jan. 2—that there would continue to be an American 'presence' in Vietnam until the issue of prisoners of war 'has been resolved.' The Secretary conceded that air power—both American and South Vietnamese—would be forced to assume a greater burden of the defense of the country as ground troops continue to leave."

Nixon's strategy becomes all the more dependent on massive bombing as the armies of his puppets give way on the ground. In recent weeks, the

liberation forces have made notable gains, particularly in Laos, where they have surrounded the CIA base at Long Tieng and occupied the entire Boloven Plateau in the southern panhandle.

In Cambodia, the condition of Lon Nol's army was indicated by the desertion of an entire brigade stationed at Krek, near the South Vietnamese border. The 2,400 troops of the 22nd Brigade abandoned their posts, uniforms, and weapons when Saigon troops in the area pulled out without informing their Cambodian "allies."

"The fleeing troops," United Press International reported January 12, "kept a few American M16 rifles but the more than 200 Cambodian soldiers who reached Tay Ninh [in South Vietnam] had only four such weapons among them."

On January 13, Saigon troops were sent deep into southern Cambodia, south of Pnompenh.

"This was the first time Saigon's forces have been officially reported fighting on the Pnompenh side of the Mekong River for nearly a year," according to a Reuters dispatch.

The situation in Laos, however, was the most pressing thorn in the side of U. S. imperialism. In the January 12 *Washington Post*, Peter Osnos wrote in a dispatch from Vientiane:

"By the standards of recent military activity in South Vietnam and even Cambodia, the daily rundown of Communist military advances across Laos is striking. Even with U. S. air support, the Laotians seem more helpless than ever."

"For all practical purposes," Osnos added, "Long Cheng [Long Tieng], the major Central Intelligence Agency base in the northeast that was also headquarters for Maj. Gen. Vang Pao's CIA-backed army of Meo tribesmen, has been lost. . . ."

"Americans regard the loss of Long Cheng and its environs as particularly serious because it means that the army of Meo tribesmen, who carried the brunt of government fighting in the northeast, are finished as an effective

force, depleted physically and demoralized spiritually."

The prospect, Osnos wrote, was for further American defeats:

"... ranking Americans here are now convinced that the enemy will not stop until it establishes once and for all [that] its dominance over the northeastern sector of the country and in the south assures that Laotian forces pose no hindrance to activities on the Ho Chi Minh Trail."

In a January 15 editorial, the *New York Times* indicated that Nixon's response to these setbacks would be an escalation of the air war:

"... use of the Ho Chi Minh trails through Laos—and their air interdiction, which American planes alone are capable of attempting—promises to go on as long as the Vietnam war continues. And so does the use of American air power and the American involvement in Laos and Cambodia. Winding down the American ground involvement in the war, as Mr. Nixon continues to do with his latest announcement of further troop reductions, is not the same as withdrawing from it—or ending it.

"What the current Laos experience shows is that the American involvement in Indochina, particularly from the air, is more likely to be extended than ended, unless a political settlement is negotiated that terminates the war itself."

But the only "political settlement" acceptable to Nixon is one that allows for the indefinite presence of U. S. troops in South Vietnam and the continuation of a compliant puppet regime in power in Saigon—something that the liberation forces have been fighting to prevent for decades.

Ever since he took office, Nixon has been maneuvering to gain time. The gradual troop withdrawals were designed to keep antiwar sentiment in the U. S. below the boiling point while he attempted to bomb the peoples of Indochina into surrender. Now, as the number of U. S. troops approaches the level intended for permanent occupation and the antiwar movement prepares to mount mass demonstrations in the streets April 22, Nixon's time appears to be running out. □

Located on Capitalist Road?

The name of Peking's "Anti-Imperialist Hospital" has been changed to "Capital Hospital."

Army Officers Take Over in Ghana

On January 13, for the second time in six years, the military seized control of the government in Ghana. During the early morning hours, troops loyal to Colonel Ignatius Kutu Acheampong cut Ghana's normal lines of communication and closed the airport in the capital city of Accra. The deposed prime minister, Dr. Kofi A. Busia, was in London at the time of the coup, and there was reportedly no armed resistance to the take-over.

Acheampong went on national radio to announce that "the constitution is withdrawn. Parliament is dissolved." All political parties were banned. Members of parliament were ordered to "report at the nearest police station for their own safety." Senior military officers took over all government properties and residences.

Acheampong announced that the country would be ruled by a "national redemption council," which, he said, would include representatives of labor unions, farmers, religious groups, lawyers, businessmen, and army officers. But when the composition of the council was revealed, it was a purely military outfit: seven army officers, plus one each from the navy, air force, and police.

On January 16 the council froze all bank assets of the former prime minister and other cabinet officials, and added that from now on the council would rule by "decrees having the force of law." Then, the constitution and parliament were formally dissolved by decree.

The day before, Lieutenant General A. A. Afrifa, the officer who led the military coup that overthrew Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, was arrested by the Acheampong group, along with two associates. The new leaders claimed that Afrifa had planned to mobilize troops to reinstate Busia.

Acheampong claimed that "malpractices, corruption, arbitrary dismissals, economic mismanagement, and a host of other malpractices that characterized the Nkrumah regime" had returned under Busia, and this had prompted his action. But the severe economic crisis was his real motivation. At the beginning of the year, Busia had announced a new austerity

program that included a 44 percent devaluation of the cedi, the country's national currency.

The Ghanaian economy is heavily dependent on cocoa production, which accounts for more than 60 percent of all export income. Under Nkrumah, cocoa was controlled by the Cocoa Marketing Board, which paid farmers a fixed price regardless of short-term fluctuations in the world market price. For years the regime depended on a wide differential between what it was paying the farmers and what it was getting on the world market. In 1953-54 cocoa was drawing \$1,500 per metric ton on the world market. But by 1965 the price had fallen to less than \$300 per ton, well below Nkrumah's break-even point of \$540 per ton.

Combined with the cocoa crisis was the victimization of the country by Western creditors. Most of Ghana's development programs were financed by high-interest short-term supplier credits. With Nkrumah's continued attempts to industrialize the country by

relying on Western capital, these problems mounted, forcing him to resort to severe import restrictions and increased taxes. Shortages of essential commodities and rampant inflation followed.

After Nkrumah's overthrow, Western capital relaxed the terms of many loans, and the world market price of cocoa rose, easing the budget deficit somewhat. But Busia's pro-West regime, which took power in 1969, was no more successful in developing the country than Nkrumah's regime had been. Inflation was reduced at the cost of rising unemployment, and the economic growth rate dropped to 2 percent a year, less than the rate of population growth.

This, combined with the international economic crisis, prompted Busia's austerity program. It is doubtful that the latest clique of pro-West military leaders will be able to cope with these problems. Acheampong, a forty-one-year-old officer who served with the UN troops in the Congo and studied at the U. S. Army General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, is known as a "rough soldier." He was reportedly especially bothered by the effect of the proposed austerity plan on the armed forces, and particularly the consequent reduction in the gasoline allowance for officers. □

Constitutional Amendment Sought

Swiss to Vote on Right to Abortion

Some 60,000 signatures have been collected on a petition asking that Switzerland's constitution be amended to prohibit laws restricting women's right to abortion. According to Swiss law, after a requisite minimum of 50,000 persons sign such a petition, the government is obligated to submit the proposal to a popular referendum. The vote, however, can be delayed for as long as three years!

The proposed constitutional provision reads as follows: "There shall be no penalty for interruption of pregnancy."

According to the January 6 *Le Monde*, proponents of the amendment hold that "abortion is a serious act that should be undertaken after mature reflection and with the assistance

of a medical specialist. But each must be free to decide. The law should not impose on those who desire to terminate a pregnancy the views of doctrinaires who put abstract principles above the well-being of their fellows." □

Merry Christmas to Liz From Parliament

Parliament presented Queen Elizabeth with a generous present the week before Christmas, voting to increase salary and expenses paid to the royal family from £475,000 to £980,000.

Contrary to the usual procedure, forty-five members showed a lack of Christmas spirit by voting against the 106 percent pay rise. One Scrooge even called the queen's request "the most insensitive and brazen pay claim in the last 200 years."

Sadat, Israelis Increase Pressure on Fedayeen

By Jon Rothschild

An anecdote current in Cairo during late 1971 has it that President Anwar el-Sadat got into his car one morning and, being a democratically-minded leader, asked his chauffeur for the best way to their destination. "Turn left, sir," replied the driver. "Always go left."

"Okay," responded Sadat. "Signal left, but make a right."

It is perhaps the best description of the Egyptian ruler's policies—both foreign and domestic. On December 31, the "year of decision" came to an end—and no decision was made. Another round of fiery Sadat rhetoric had petered out, with no corresponding action. Last November 1 Sadat transferred his headquarters to the military command center to take direct control of the armed forces. The semiofficial Middle East News Agency announced that the war of attrition with Israel would be resumed by the new year unless a comprehensive settlement was reached.

The last two months of 1971 saw repeated threatening statements from the Egyptian leadership, denunciations of U.S. and Israeli duplicity, etc.

Finally, on January 13, following the wide dissemination of the news that the U.S. government plans to sell more Phantom fighter-bombers to Israel, Sadat explained his inaction.

In December, it seems, he had issued an order for a military assault across the Suez Canal, but he was compelled to cancel it because of the India-Pakistan war. "I gave orders to Gen. Mohammed Sadek, the minister of war, and told him to wait. We had to make a reassessment of the situation. Our battle cannot be separated from the balance between the big powers."

The clear implication was that the Soviet Union, supplier of most of Egypt's military equipment, had intervened to prevent the resumption of hostility along the western cease-fire line.

In the same statement, Sadat rejected U.S. plans to negotiate an interim

settlement involving the reopening of the Suez Canal, which has been closed since the June 1967 war. He accused the United States of playing "hide and seek" with Egypt during 1971, and hinted that the United States, in resuming open military aid to Israel, was jeopardizing its oil interests in the Arab world.

Like so many other Sadat threats, this one must be regarded with a cer-



SADAT: Signals left, but turns on Palestinian resistance movement.

tain suspicion. The United States has been playing "hide and seek" with the Arab-Israeli negotiations for four-and-one-half years, not just one, and its aid to Israel has been constant for even longer than that. Furthermore, Sadat said that Egypt still hopes to recover the territory occupied by Israel in 1967 by peaceful means, a prospect that had been specifically rejected during his bluster about the "year of decision."

In areas where his verbiage is less deafening, however, Sadat seems to move with somewhat more dispatch. The radical biweekly *AfricAsiA* reported in its January 10-23 issue that Egyptian police, working closely with Interpol, had arrested Fakhry

Amer on suspicion of having been involved in the November 28 assassination of Jordanian Premier Wasfi Tal.

Amer is the fifth Palestinian imprisoned on such charges, and it appears that Sadat is using the assassination as an excuse for a quiet witch-hunt against fedayeen supporters in Egypt.

The quiet crackdown in Egypt coincided with open attacks on the Palestine resistance movement in Lebanon. On the night of December 31, according to a January 1 *New York Times* dispatch, the Lebanese army and the commandos fought a "pitched battle with machine guns." It was the "worst clash between them in almost two years."

On January 10 the Israeli army, in its first openly acknowledged violation of the Lebanese border since February 1, 1971, crossed into Lebanon and raided two villages, Bint Jebel and Kfar Hamam. The official justification was that "terrorist activity" against Israeli settlements had been conducted from the villages. Israel admitted losing two soldiers killed; fedayeen sources claimed they killed twenty Israeli troops. The number of Arab civilians killed is unknown.

In the midst of the Lebanese-Israeli attacks on the Palestinian movement, the Lebanese Communist party, which was legalized in 1970 after a twenty-four-year ban, held a congress in Beirut. Thirty foreign delegations from Communist and pro-Communist parties attended, in addition to non-CP observers.

In spite of the setbacks to the revolutionary movement in the Arab world during the past year and a half, the conference simply reiterated timeworn formulas of Arab Stalinism. The major political resolution stated that the Lebanese CP "must clear the way for the establishment of a democratic and progressive regime before the country will be sufficiently ripe for socialism."

The delegation of the Iraqi CP sat side by side with the representatives of the Baathist Iraqi government,

which executed a large number of Communists upon its accession to power in 1963. The Syrian Communist party representative, Yussef Faisal, is a member of the Syrian cabinet. The Baathist government in that country has severely restricted the right of the fedayeen to function.

Some resistance has reportedly developed in the Syrian CP to the leadership's response to the government's support of General Nimeiry's crack-down on the Sudanese left last year.

During the witch-hunt, Mahmoud el-Ayoubi, Syrian vice president, went to Khartoum to convey Syria's support to Nimeiry. Asked what repercussions the Sudan events might have in Syria, el-Ayoubi replied: "The Communists will continue in the government so long as we tolerate them. But the day they begin to agitate, we will hunt them down." Some Syrian Communists suggested that they

should dissociate themselves from such a regime. They were overruled by the leadership.

Now, according to *AfricAsia*, a faction recommending a "Sudanese line" (the Sudanese Communist party was known for its relative independence of the Kremlin and its refusal to dissolve itself into Nimeiry's "Sudanese Socialist Union") has formed around Daniel Nehma, one of the leaders of the party.

The CP has reportedly scheduled a special conference to try to resolve the differences. Rumors of an open split have been current in the region, and some Beirut newspapers even reported that Khaled Bakdesh, the founder of the Syrian Communist party and the leading Stalinist of the entire Arab East, had been expelled from the party. The Political Bureau, however, immediately denied the rumor. □

must be carried at all times by every Black in South Africa.

The SAPA report of January 10 mentioned that the government planned to hold a meeting on January 18 in Grootfontein with the official Ovambo Council to discuss the strike. The Council is a pro-government outfit composed of Ovambo collaborators.

After the announcement, strike representatives held a meeting at which they voted to reject any compromise reached at Grootfontein unless they are also consulted. It was the strikers' refusal to accept the authority of the Ovambo Council that apparently prompted the decision to send police reinforcements. The January 13 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that two tribal chiefs have been attacked by strikers and "there have been unconfirmed reports of other unrest in Ovamboland."

The Ovambo Council has issued a statement saying that it is prepared to take action against illegal bodies interfering in Ovambo affairs (a reference to the strike council) and has urged miners to return to labor-recruiting offices, saying that it will protect scabs from the strikers. So far, there has been no response.

As the Ovambo strike continued, the apartheid government was faced with a new challenge, this time in Tswanaland (Zululand). Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Zululand Legislative Assembly, which was set up under Pretoria's Bantustan program, refused to take the oath of allegiance to the South African government. The action drew applause from the members of the body. Although the assembly did swear an oath of allegiance to the South African state president, Buthelezi's refusal represented the first anti-government gesture on the part of the Zululand official Black leadership. □

Exclusive Gathering

Agence France-Presse reports that a stupendous banquet is being prepared in Peking for Nixon and his entourage. Protocol would normally require that invitations be sent to the diplomatic corps in the Chinese capital. But this would mean inviting the representatives of the North Vietnamese, the North Koreans, and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. So in order to spare Nixon any embarrassment, the guest list will be confined to the Americans and their Chinese hosts.

As Miners' Strike Spreads

South Africa Sends Cops Against Ovambos

On January 12 the South African government sent an undisclosed number of police reinforcements to Ovamboland in northern Namibia. (Ruled by South Africa in defiance of United Nations and World Court orders, Namibia is called "South-West Africa" by the apartheid regime.)

The objective is to break the strike of the Ovambo miners, who have successfully resisted all attempts at forcing them back to work since they left the mines in early December. The number of strikers is now estimated at between 13,000 and 15,000, about one-third of the territory's labor force.

The strike began as a protest against the contract-labor system, whereby Ovambos are bound to a white employer for periods of one year to eighteen months at wages of about \$12.50 a month.

On January 10 a report was released by the South African Press Association (SAPA) saying that the government had decided to abolish the system and would negotiate a new plan with the Ovambo chiefs. But on January 12, the same day the cops were sent in, that report was denied by M. C. Botha, minister of Bantu

administration. He made it clear that the regime will not be forced into any reform of the procedure that has provided Pretoria's mining industry with what amounts to almost free labor.

The expert organization of the strike has shocked the government. Within hours of its beginning, thousands of Ovambos throughout Namibia had walked off the job, despite the country's lack of communication facilities. The strikers have reportedly formed a twenty-four-member council, drawn from all tribal areas, to coordinate the action. Twenty different mining centers are now affected, and pamphlets and petitions articulating the demands of the strike are being distributed throughout Ovamboland.

These include increased wages for contract workers, permission for workers to be released from contracts binding them to a particular employer, the right to take their families along when they leave Ovamboland to work in other areas of Namibia, the removal of the government police post in Ovamboland, and the elimination of the notorious passbook that

Castro Scores Nixon-Sponsored Pirate Attacks

After its initial blustering, the Nixon administration has become strangely silent about the *Johnny Express*, the ship captured by the Cuban navy on the night of December 15. The silence, perhaps, indicates an unwillingness to answer certain questions about the incident posed by Fidel Castro when he was interviewed on Cuban radio and television December 22.

The U.S. State Department had called the seizure of the ship—and of its sister ship, the *Lyla Express*, on December 5—a "clear and present threat to the freedom of navigation and international commerce in the Caribbean and a threat to American citizens." Nixon ordered U.S. naval forces placed on alert and had a well-publicized meeting with the wife of the *Johnny Express's* captain, a Cuban counterrevolutionary who is a naturalized U.S. citizen.

The captain, José Villa Díaz, was Nixon's sole pretext for saber rattling, since the *Johnny Express* flew a Panamanian flag and no other members of the crew were U.S. citizens. Unfortunately for Washington's propaganda efforts, Villa quickly confessed that he was employed by the CIA to carry out pirate attacks on Cuba.

In his broadcast, the text of which was translated and printed in the January 2 English-language edition of *Granma*, Castro explained why the *Lyla Express* and *Johnny Express* had been captured, and warned that a similar attitude would be taken to ward all ships used by the CIA or counterrevolutionary groups to attack Cuba.

The two ships were owned by a family named Babum, counterrevolutionaries who, among other things, participated in the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

Castro described the long history of *gusano* and CIA pirate attacks on Cuba, a number of which were the work of the *Lyla Express* and *Johnny Express*. Often, these attacks are carried out from swift launches that are dispatched from a larger ship remaining in "international waters."

One recent assault, on October 18, killed two militia members at Boca

de Samá and wounded three other persons. The leader of the group responsible was able to describe this exploit for the National Club of Republican Women in New York City. This man, Castro noted, is also an American citizen.

"Since when," he asked, "has the acquisition of U.S. citizenship been considered as a permit for anyone to obtain a pirate's license, the right to carry out piracy, the right to kill men, women and children and go unpunished? Since when?"

"And it was on the occasion of the statements by this gentleman," Castro said, "placing the responsibility on himself right in New York, with absolute impunity and with no complaint on the part of the U.S. government—when here were left the dead and the mutilated—that the decision was taken and instructions were given. We decided to proceed against the ships which had carried out actions against Cuba. From the information we had, we knew the *Lyla Express* and the *Johnny Express* were among them."

Castro indicated that the Cuban government believed most or all of the crew of the *Johnny Express* were unaware of Villa's role and would therefore be released. He then went on to discuss Nixon's threats. On December 16, he said, a Miami radio broadcast included the following statement:

"It is believed that by tomorrow night the [U.S.] Navy will have destroyers and other warships in the Caribbean, moved from the Atlantic to respond quickly to any attack. These forces could be sent from the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo and bases in the Gulf of Mexico."

The threat to use the imperialist base at Guantánamo brought the following response from Castro:

"We understand this as a very serious insinuation, because here they insinuate the possibility of actions against Cuban naval units and against Cuba that can be carried out from Guantánamo Naval Base. And we believe that this constitutes a serious insinuation and that the U.S. im-

perialist Government must clarify this. Because to suppose that such acts can be carried out with impunity is really absurd, and to think they can use naval and air forces from Guantánamo Base against Cuba with impunity is really an absolutely irresponsible declaration."

Later in his talk, the Cuban premier returned to the subject of the base:

"And we have proposed that the blockade should cease and should cease without any conditions; that the pirate attacks, the infiltrations, the violations of air space should cease. All this should cease. And they should cease without condition. Because those were things that they didn't consult with us on. And they should start by quitting that policy. And they should return Guantánamo Base. They should return Guantánamo Base!"

Nixon's provocations thus appear to have backfired, bringing to the fore the question of continued U.S. occupation of a portion of Cuba and the use of Guantánamo as a base of aggression against the Cuban revolution.

As Castro noted elsewhere in his talk, there is increasing opposition in the United States to the government's aggressive policy toward Cuba. This opposition has been reflected to a certain extent recently in speeches by Senator Edward Kennedy calling for a modification of the U.S. government's attitude. The Cubans' demand for the return of Guantánamo and an end to the blockade and the pirate attacks deserve the strongest support. □

25 Bolivian Prisoners Reported Freed

Twenty-five political prisoners were released by the Bolivian dictatorship on January 6, according to the Paris daily *Le Monde* of January 8.

Colonel Mario Adett Zamora, minister of the interior, admitted that there were still 250 political prisoners held in the country's jails. □

Supreme Court to Rule on Mandel Visa

By George Novack

The U.S. Supreme Court agreed January 10 to rule on the constitutionality of the section of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act under which Ernest Mandel, the internationally known Belgian Marxist, was denied a visa to lecture in the United States in 1969.

Last March, a three-judge Federal District Court in Brooklyn declared the law unconstitutional, saying that American citizens have a First Amendment right to hear his views and debate these with him.

The government argued that it had unrestricted sovereign authority to exclude anyone on any ground from the country in order to preserve the existing system from Communist subversion. However, the lower court held that the government could not bar Marxist speakers and that the statute was not evenly applied because it banned only individuals of the radical political left.

A distinguished group of eight professors from leading Eastern universities, including Wassily Leontiev of Harvard, Noam Chomsky of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Richard Falk of Princeton, were co-plaintiffs with Mandel. The suit was initiated by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and is being handled by its general counsel, Leonard Boudin, and David Rosenberg, both of Harvard Law School.

The plaintiffs contended that Mandel's exclusion violated the right to free and open debate of political questions and that they and others are entitled to learn about his views not only in print and by air but face to face. The majority opinion in their favor had great significance for civil liberties since it certified the right to hear as an integral part of the First Amendment guarantee of free speech.

Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly *La Gauche* and author of the celebrated *Marxist Economic Theory* and other writings, visited this country in 1962 and 1968 but was twice denied entry when he applied for another visa

in 1969. This arbitrary action precipitated an open breach between the State and Justice departments. Bending under public protest, Secretary of State Rogers recommended that he be allowed to come, while Attorney General Mitchell persisted in keeping him out.

This fall Mandel was again denied

To Whom It May Concern: Send Money

Nixon Polishes Lon Nol's Begging Bowl

"Excellency: I am writing this note on a personal basis in order to bring to your Excellency's attention directly the economic problem that we are now confronted with in the Khmer Republic. . . ."

Thus begins a letter prepared by the U.S. State Department for its man in Pnompenh, "President" Lon Nol of the "Khmer Republic." The letter was quoted January 11 by columnist Jack Anderson, who had obtained a copy of the secret document along with a number of secret cables between Washington and the U.S. embassy in Pnompenh.

The documents reveal a touching concern for the financial well-being of Lon Nol's "government"—especially when the burden of supporting it can be shared with Washington's allies and clients.

The "personal" letter was prepared in order to avoid the danger that fund requests might be filed away by tight-fisted governmental bureaucracies, according to one cable from the State Department to its Pnompenh embassy:

"We believe political approach necessary lest finance ministries, who are generally opposed new aid programs, arrange for an evasive or negative reaction to appeal.

"Department believes high-level political appeal needed to improve chances for success. Letter from Lon Nol to heads of prospective donor

permission to fill speaking engagements at Eastern universities, pending the government's appeal to the Supreme Court. He thereupon made a successful two-week cross-Canada tour this December, speaking to large audiences from Vancouver to Montréal. He was also able to reach some American listeners through an interview over Toronto CBC television.

Mandel's case was one of the first to be granted a review by the full nine-member court now filled with Nixon's appointees. In the past the conservative new justices have shown flagrant disregard for the freedoms in the Bill of Rights.

governments could help nail down."

The form letter prepared for this purpose concluded: "I am asking that your government make a contribution of _____ to the fund for 1972 at a meeting to be held in Pnompenh."

All Lon Nol had to do was fill in the blank with the correct amount—which had also been figured out for him in Washington. According to Anderson, the Nixon administration had decided to seek the following amounts from different governments: Japan, \$7,500,000; Australia, \$3,000,000; Britain, \$500,000; New Zealand, \$300,000; Indonesia, \$250,000; Malaysia, \$250,000; Singapore, \$250,000; Thailand, \$250,000; and the Philippines, \$250,000. Nixon promised to kick in an additional \$12,500,000 of U.S. funds.

Anderson concluded from the documents that "the administration has resorted to deception again to raise exchange support funds for Cambodia." And, in fact, some persons might see the State Department's efforts as evidence that Lon Nol enjoys something less than complete independence.

A State Department spokesman was quick to explain, however, that the letter prepared for Lon Nol's signature was merely a form of "technical assistance"—a rather pompous phrase to describe the polishing of a begging bowl. □

Suharto Threatens Another Bloodbath

Indonesian dictator Suharto threatened January 6 to "eliminate" student demonstrators he said were harming "order and national stability."

Suharto's threats, described as "the strongest words he ever used" by the Indonesian press, came as a reaction to widespread demonstrations protesting plans to build an expensive tourist trap called "Indonesia Indah" ["Beautiful Indonesia in Miniature"].

Demonstrators want to devote the funds for the project, which is directed by Suharto's wife, to more worthwhile causes, such as schools and hospitals.

At a December 23 protest outside the headquarters of Indonesia Indah, two students were stabbed and one was shot by "unknown persons," who so far have had no difficulty in eluding the police.

The police were, in fact, preoccupied with other concerns. On December 28, they called in and threatened four executives of the University of Indonesia Student Council, which had organized another demonstration outside Suharto's residence on December 24.

The student leaders were informed that there was a ban on such demonstrations and were warned not to call similar actions in the future. They told the press afterward that they were aware of the prohibition but not deterred by it.

In his January 6 remarks, made at the dedication of a hospital in Djakarta, Suharto threatened to invoke the March 11 [1966] Declaration, which gives him virtually unlimited power to maintain "public order and national security."

Those opposed to the Indonesia Indah plans, he said, must express their views "constitutionally." Toward those who went beyond what he considers "constitutional," Suharto said he would have the same attitude as he did toward the Communist party in 1965 — when hundreds of thousands of the party's members and sympathizers were murdered in cold blood.

The Indonesian dictator added that he "would not tolerate those who use democracy as a disguise."

"If they do not understand what I mean by 'will not tolerate,' I will eliminate them," he said. □

Rahman Takes Over Four Ministries

Announces Awami League Government

After vowing "eternal friendship" with India during his stay in New Delhi, Sheik Mujibur Rahman arrived in Dacca, capital of Bangladesh, on January 10. He was greeted by an estimated 500,000 Bengalis who had been awaiting his return since Pakistan President Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced his intention to release the Awami League leader.

There had been some speculation in the Western press that Rahman would become a mere figurehead in the Bangladesh regime. But two days after his arrival, the sheik effected a series of parliamentary maneuvers that made him the center of all decision-making in the newly established republic.

Acting as president, Rahman declared a temporary constitution in effect, modeled on the British system. He appointed a new chief justice of the high court (Sabusadat Sayem, who had been a judge in the old East Pakistan Court). Then Rahman resigned as president and Sayem swore in Abu Sayeed Choudhury as the new president. Choudhury then swore in Rahman as prime minister, the key post under the new constitution. As prime minister, Rahman named a new cabinet.

When the cabinet appointees were announced, it became clear that Rahman intends to be a busy man. He chose himself as minister of defense,

home affairs, information, and cabinet affairs. Former Prime Minister Tajuddin Ahmed was named as minister of finance and planning; Syed Nazrul Islam, who was acting president until Rahman's return, was named minister of industry, trade, and commerce. None of the designated ministers are members of parties other than the Awami League.

Besides the parliamentary shifts, Rahman revealed that the provisional constitution calls for the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to draft a permanent one. That body will be composed of all those elected to the National and Provincial Assemblies in the December 1970 election, except people who collaborated with Pakistan during the occupation. As there were only two nonmembers of the Awami League elected to the National Assembly, one of whom is a right-wing Muslim fanatic who defected to Pakistan, there is no doubt that the new constitution will be an exclusively Awami League document.

Rahman quickly demonstrated the orientation of the new government. At a January 14 press conference in Dacca, he virtually retracted a statement made by Foreign Minister Abdus Samad, who had said that any aid from the United States would be "tainted." The implication was that U. S. "aid" would not be accepted no matter how badly economic assistance was needed. But Rahman said he would accept aid from any source, provided there were no "conditions" attached. Although he felt "strong resentment" against the U. S. government for supporting Pakistan, he did not want to be the enemy of any nation. Bangladesh would be, he said, the "Switzerland of the East."

East Germany, Bulgaria, Poland, Mongolia, and Burma recognized the Bangladesh government during the second week in January. The Soviet Union and the rest of the Soviet bloc are expected to do so soon. Britain and France, although they have not yet recognized Bangladesh, sent diplomatic representatives to the ceremony swearing in Rahman as prime minister. In fact, nearly the entire foreign diplomatic corps in Dacca attended, with the exception of the U. S. and Chinese representatives. (The latter have been recalled to Peking.)

Some nations may have been dissuaded from granting recognition by Bhutto's threat (already carried out

against Poland and Mongolia) to break relations with any country that establishes diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. (In a nationally broadcast news conference January 13, Bhutto explained this decision with the astounding statement that he wanted "the world to give us a chance with East Pakistan.")

The United States has maintained its consulate in Dacca, apparently waiting to observe the evolution of the Rahman regime before it decides the question of recognition. U. S. Consul General Herbert D. Spivack, although he did not attend the Rahman inauguration ceremony, was present at the Dacca airport on January 10 when the latter returned. Senators Hubert Humphrey and Edward Kennedy have both called upon Nixon to recognize Bangladesh.

As the diplomatic maneuvering con-

tinued, columnist Jack Anderson released another "secret sensitive" Joint Chiefs of Staff memo on a meeting of the Washington Special Action Group of the National Security Council. This one contained a remarkably straightforward explanation of the reason for the division in top U. S. strategy circles over Nixon's policy of unequivocal support to Yahya:

"After discussing various possible commitments to both Pakistan and India, Mr. Packard [deputy secretary of defense] stated that the overriding consideration is the practical problem of either doing something effective or doing nothing. If you don't win, don't get involved. If we were to attempt something it would have to be with a certainty that it would affect the outcome. Let's not get in if we know we are going to lose. Find some way to stay out." □

Police Use Tanks Against 'Guerrillas'

Massive Witch-Hunt in Santo Domingo

Hundreds of troops and police battled for hours with a small group of alleged guerrillas near Santo Domingo January 12. Four guerrillas and eight police were reported killed.

The police claimed that their victims were members of a group that robbed the Royal Bank of Canada in Santo Domingo last November. Two members—Harry Jiménez Castillo and Plinio Matos Moquete, a lawyer said to be the group's leader—apparently escaped.

In the day-long battle, police used small arms, bazookas, mortars, and tanks.

"The battle began," the Associated Press reported, "at a house fourteen miles east of the capital in which the gunmen were hiding out. The assault with bazookas and mortars was carried out against a 1,600-foot-deep cave in which the surviving members of the gang holed up later in the day."

The police attack touched off student demonstrations in Santo Domingo, and the government ordered schools closed.

In the days preceding the battle, the police, directed by Brigadier General Neit Rafael Nivar Seijas, used the search for the alleged bank robbers

as a pretext for carrying out widespread searches and arrests in Santo Domingo. The Santo Domingo daily *El Nacional de Ahora!* of January 8 described the "military occupation of various sectors of Santo Domingo" by "hundreds of troops and police."

"Dozens of youths," the paper reported, "were arrested by the combined forces, especially in poor neighborhoods. Among those detained is Aridio García de León, general secretary of the district PRD [Partido Revolucionario Dominicano—the Dominican Revolutionary party, led by Juan Bosch]. The number of detainees is not known.

"The commands were formed by members of the army, the navy, the air force, and the police, all equipped with small and heavy arms.

"At least two air force helicopters hovered over the affected areas during the entire time the action lasted."

In areas cordoned off by the troops, no one was permitted to leave—even though this prevented workers from going to their jobs.

El Nacional de Ahora! said that Nivar admitted that the searches had an object in addition to finding the al-

leged bank robbers: the seizure of "illegal arms thought to be in the hands of the civilian population."

Earlier, Nivar had announced the discovery of a plot to carry out actions "with the intention of disturbing public order." The information, according to police, came from unnamed "sources that merit the highest confidence." The "plot" allegedly involved plans to assassinate government officials. Police said the plotters were the same persons who had robbed the Royal Bank.

The troops who conducted the searches, however, seemed more interested in investigating political views. *El Nacional de Ahora!* described the occupation of an area including the neighborhoods of Gualey, Las Cañitas, and Espaillat:

"Beginning at four o'clock in the morning, a contingent of some 300 men drew a cordon around the zone that comprises these three sectors and carried out a house-by-house search of every block in this part of the city. . . .

"De León was arrested, according to his wife, Enma Sandoval de García, when the combined force searched his residence and found literature of the Partido Revolucionario Dominicano. . . .

"Several youths, who claimed they were students, said they were arrested when police found in their homes allegedly 'subversive' literature and magazines published by leftist organizations." □

Telling It Like It Wasn't

The Soviet government has finally published, twenty months after it went to the printer, the volume of the official history of the Communist party that covers the period 1929-37.

The new volume is more remarkable for what it omits than for what it says. There is no mention, for example, of the first of the infamous Moscow purge trials, in which Zinoviev, Kamenev, and fourteen other old Bolsheviks were sentenced to death.

Also omitted is the June 1937 purge of Marshal Mikhail Tukhachevsky and other top military officers.

Stalin is listed in the volume's index only fifteen times. One of the references to him says he was responsible "to a large extent" for those purges the volume does mention. Stalin's role is "explained" by saying that he "was endowed with great powers during that period." The reason for this remarkable endowment is not described. □

Cyprus—a Pawn in Hands of Imperialism

Nicosia

The lack of a revolutionary leadership rooted in the oppressed masses of the Cypriot population has given the imperialists an opportunity to cultivate confusion. By means of such instruments as the American CIA and the Intelligence Service, it has spread various illusory slogans with the sole aim of keeping the Cypriot people divided and slaughtering each other to promote imperialist objectives.

Among the Greek Cypriots, the imperialists have encouraged the demand for Enosis [Union] with Greece. Among the Turkish Cypriots, they have promoted the demand for partition. And this is despite the fact that official imperialist policy opposes both Enosis and partition.

The organs of imperialism aim at neither Enosis nor partition but the kind of dissension that will enable them to maintain their bases in Cyprus in order to intimidate the governments of the Arab countries and interfere in their affairs.

Now, let us review the conditions that have produced the present situation. The Zurich-London agreements [signed February 19, 1959], which the imperialists and their instruments forced on the Cypriot people, have bound us hand and foot. The imperialists kept their grip on their bases and the ports, airfields, and roads; they imposed an anachronistic constitution on us; yet they told us that we were free.

When the plenipotentiaries signed these agreements, they did not realize that they had bound the Cypriot people to the chariot of imperialism. The Cypriot representatives, who were politically inexperienced and under heavy pressure from the imperialists, were not in a position to draw the correct conclusions. Thus, they fell victim to the machinations of imperialism and its instruments.

"Sign," Averoff [the Greek minister of foreign affairs at the time] said, and "when the English leave Cyprus, we will direct Cypriot policy, as Greeks, in your interests and in ours."

When the accords were signed, Averoff said characteristically, "This is the happiest day of my life."

After the signing, the English administrators made way for all of the imperialist powers to establish themselves here as allies of our Greek and Turkish politicians. Since then Cyprus has become the center of espionage and propaganda in the Middle East. Imperialist agents move about freely, promoting agitation both inside and outside of Cyprus, violating the sovereignty of the states in the region.

We are told that we are self-governing, but when we try to repeal a few articles in the constitution in order to facilitate the functioning of the government apparatus and improve cooperation among

Greek and Turkish Cypriots, we are met with imperialist intrigue.

"Our allies" tell us with feigned helpfulness: "You are right, change is needed."

They tell the Turks, helpfully, "Don't accept any changes in the constitution because the Greeks are out to deprive you of your rights." And so communal riots start, to the glee of the imperialists.

The first thing the imperialists did when the communal slaughter started was to "save" us. The imperialists tried to draw a "peace line" between the two communities. But in fact their aim was to cut off all contact between the Greeks and Turks on Cyprus.

In the confusion created by wild rumors, the English and American ambassadors met in the middle of the night in their pajamas and appealed jointly to Makarios to sign the document for setting up a "peace line" to "save" the Cypriot people from slaughtering each other. "Your Beatitude [*Makariotatē*—the superlative form of Makarios, which means "blessed"]: The Turkish fleet is preparing to land in Cyprus and, unfortunately, we cannot stop them because they have this right according to the Zurich-London agreements."

Under the conditions created by such terrifying rumors, and in view of our politicians' inability to see through the machinations of imperialism, Makarios signed the agreement to set up a "peace line."

Later we appealed to the United Nations to apply the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter to safeguard the rights of the minority. When the representative of Cyprus put this question before the General Assembly, all of the imperialist powers, with the United States in the lead, chorused that the Zurich-London accords were international agreements and could not be overturned.

These imperialists have broken treaties of friendship and cooperation, as well as nonaggression pacts. They have trampled every human right under foot. They have flouted the United Nations resolution on eliminating racial discrimination. And today they pose as the champions of international treaties! But their objective is of a different sort.

Cyprus is located in the eastern Mediterranean and offers a base from which the imperialists can dominate the Arab countries where their interests lie. Thus, our island has had to suffer for their need to defend their interests, which are being endangered by the Arab popular movements. These movements threaten to sweep away the reactionary feudal regimes and expel foreign capital, making the people the masters of the sources of wealth in their countries.

This is what the imperialists fear and so they are using Cyprus and the Cypriot people as pawns in their political maneuvers. All the rumors about Enosis, partition, independence, etc., are being exploited in the same way by imperialism—as a means of threatening and bargaining with the Arab governments to safeguard its interests in the Middle East.

Cyprus, we might say, is the anvil on which the imperialists forge their political weapons in the Middle East. Thus, they have no intention of offering any solution to the Cyprus question. Instead, they propose to keep it an open sore in order to promote and exploit antagonisms. As we have said and repeat, while the imperialists were binding us hand and foot by the Zurich-London accords, they told us we were free. A state of siege was forced on us by the English, Greek, and Turkish armies; they have become a state within a state, dominating both the Greek and Turkish population of this island.

The English armed forces hold the harbors, the airports, and all the roads, and have the right to use them in wartime. Of course, after these concessions were given, the Cypriots got the right to elect parliamentary representatives. Cyprus became a full member of the United Nations, entitled to make trade agreements with any state, Eastern, Western, or neutral. Our president has made official visits to all sorts of countries, including African states and members of the Soviet bloc. He has conducted official talks with representatives of various countries.

However, all this does not detract from the rights and interests the imperialists maintain in Cyprus. All these activities of the Cypriot government are supervised officially and unofficially by the imperialist powers. The Americans use Cyprus as a base for collecting intelligence from the Middle East, and forward it immediately to Washington. This huge espionage establishment has a myriad of operatives, who are permitted to move about and work freely without being burdened by any taxes. They get all the food, clothing, coats, and refrigerators they need—all at the cost of the Cypriot people, who have to pay crushing taxes.

Besides the Zurich-London accords, Makarios signed special agreements with the imperialists after he was elected president of the Cypriot republic, agreements which have never been made public. As later came to light, the government granted unlimited military rights to the English and to the American militarists, when the latter became the jailers for international imperialism.

As a result of these concessions, Cyprus has become another transmission belt into the Middle East, although the simpletons say that the imperialists are trying to solve the problem within the framework of NATO. The imperialists now have no solution. While they pretend that Cyprus needs them, they leave the Cypriots only crumbs and pious hopes. They promote chauvinism, both among the Greeks and the Turks, as well as among the Cypriot people, with the aim of creating conflicts and divisions that will make our problem

unsolvable, like so many other unsolvable problems imperialism has created in order to trap the people's struggles in its own chauvinist channels. This way it hopes to divert the popular masses from engaging in class struggles which offer the only perspective of solving their problems by eliminating classes and the exploitation of man by man.

While our politicians express fear that the imperialists may solve the Cypriot problem within the framework of NATO, they avoid telling us what the status of Cyprus is today and what rights Anglo-American imperialism has obtained in our country. "We are being intimidated by external forces," our president says. But he doesn't tell us who is doing the intimidating. He does not want to expose them before the Cypriot people, because the people will demand explanations and will assign responsibility. Speaking officially in parliament, our president has declared that Cyprus belongs to the Western world. But if our government genuinely represented the people, it would have to cut all ties with imperialism. It would have to take away all the rights they enjoy in Cyprus and, if they refused to leave, appeal to all free peoples for help.

The president's last visit to the Soviet Union accorded with his political alignments both in Cyprus and abroad. Of course, this visit marked a shift in pol-

icy toward the Eastern countries and a loosening of Cyprus's ties to Greece.

At the moment the imperialists need time to shore up the Arab governments and help them repress the movements of their peoples. Makarios's visit to Moscow is in line with this policy of the imperialists.

As for the Greek colonels, they think the imperialists will yield to their fond aspirations and grant them a part of Cyprus as a reward for their servility. But the imperialists will keep the Cyprus question open in accordance with their own aims. With a Cypriot government, it is easier to set traps for everyone, Greeks, Turks, and Cypriots.

We call on the government to consider the dangers the Cypriot people face in the event of a military confrontation in the Middle East. To achieve their ends, the imperialists do not care if the Cypriots are wiped out to the last man.

We call on Greek and Turkish intellectuals to join forces in an exemplary alliance and work to educate all the Cypriot people so that they will understand the dangers to which the presence of imperialist bases in Cyprus exposes them. We call on them to prepare the way for a united struggle to root out imperialism from every corner of Cyprus and abolish the foreign bases, and to work together to liberate our people socially and economically from every form of exploitation. □

til now have not acted on a national scale to defend their interests. The January 15 *New York Times* quoted one miner in the village of Edlington, about 160 miles north of London, as saying, "We've been too patriotic for too long, just letting them close down the mines and laying off people. It's time to catch up."

On January 15, about 15,000 members of the clerical section of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) joined in the strike, in defiance of the NUM leadership, which had told them to stay on the job. Also defying union leaders were safety workers. According to the January 16 *Observer*, more than half the country's pits are without crews to perform maintenance work on the working faces. The NUM leaders had asked the safety workers not to strike, on the excuse that mine equipment could deteriorate beyond repair during the walkout.

NUM scouts and flying squads are traveling around the country trying to identify and picket major stockpiles. They have appealed to other unions to support the strike by refusing to transport already stocked coal. The *Observer* reported that some groups of railwaymen are refusing to deliver coal from British Rail stockyards. The January 16 *London Sunday Times* reported that two ships carrying a total of 67,000 tons of coal from Australia and the United States were diverted from the docks of Newport on January 15 after dockers refused to unload the cargo. □

Great Britain

Coal Miners Stage Nationwide Strike

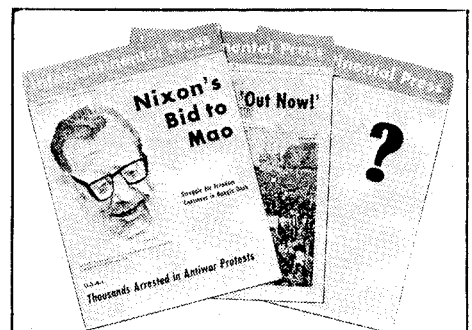
On January 9 some 280,000 British coal miners went on strike, their first nationwide shutdown since 1926. The walkout came as the National Coal Board (NCB), which operates the nationalized mining industry, rejected the workers' request for pay increases ranging from \$20.80 a week for the lowest-paid workers to \$13 a week for the highest. The present wages are about \$46.80 for the surface workers, and up to \$78 for those underground. The NCB's highest offer was a raise of approximately \$5.20 a week for all workers, with another \$2.60 a week sometime in the future, if productivity increases.

The coal miners have been among the worst victims of Britain's economic crisis. During the past ten years the number of employed miners has fallen from 536,000 to the present level; and the number of working pits has dropped from 669 to 290. Working conditions in the mines have not

substantially improved in the last decade, despite the introduction of new machinery. Des Wilson, writing in the January 16 *London Observer*, described some of the everyday hazards faced by the miners: ". . . despite the machines, these men can still spend six hours a day on their hands and knees. . . . Despite all the safety inspectors down there—looking for faults in ventilation, or in the water pumps, and looking for fires—men still get injured and still get killed."

Pneumoconiosis, the lung disease, is nearly universal among miners of more than ten years activity. For some of the miners, real wages have actually declined since piecework wages were abolished.

The strike has developed into a general challenge of the government's incomes policy of limiting pay increases to less than 8 percent. The miners have engaged in local actions against pit shutdowns and conditions, but un-



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Franco's Cops Seize 'Trotskyist' Students

[The following item has been translated from the Francoist newspaper *Pueblo Sucesos*. It concerns the arrest of alleged members of the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, a Spanish Trotskyist organization formed in April 1970. In solidarity with the Basque political prisoners who staged a hunger strike to protest prison conditions and to publicize their demand for immediate release, the LCR organized various demonstrations in December.]

* * *

BILBAO, 23 December. — Seven of the fourteen students arrested by the police following recent incidents at the University of Bilbao have been turned over to the appropriate judicial authorities.

According to informed sources, the affair relates to incidents occurring in the Biscay capital at the end of last year's university term. As will be remembered, at that time there had been two attacks on the Provincial Delegation of Trade Unions and the IBM offices in Bilbao.

Investigations led the police to the conclusion that those responsible were organized in various small groups called "Red University" and "Barricade." These, in turn, were aligned with the "Revolutionary Communist League." The combination of these groups define themselves as Trotskyist, and their watchword is "permanent revolution."

These same sources add that several of the leaders of these groups went to France during the summer to exchange views with other French organizations of the same tendency.

According to police investigations, one of their tactics consists of making use of all possible deficiencies that can be seized upon in the functioning of an institution, as they did, for example, at the University of Bilbao.

These same sources assert that the members of these groups took advantage of deficiencies associated with the opening of the University of Bilbao to organize the recent incidents there. The first signs of the agitation of these Trotskyists, who had a certain suc-

cess, were noticed at the School of Economic Sciences, which was closed down last November 26. A little later their activities extended to the Schools of Science and Medicine and, to a lesser degree, the Law University.

As a result of these acts, and the student demonstration of last December 7, the police intervened and arrested the fourteen students mentioned. Red banners, iron bars, and leaflets signed by the "Revolutionary Communist League" were abandoned by the demonstrators.

Important documents were confiscated from the seven students turned over to the judicial authorities. Their declarations allowed the police to learn the form in which their organization intervened in the University of Bilbao, where they acted—according to the same sources—through the indirect means of a local committee that directly depended on the Central Committee, whose propaganda organ is published abroad.

Aside from the seven students in question, who are studying economics, and are not originally from Biscay, seven other students were arrested for having participated in a confrontation and were released, after having been interrogated at the central police headquarters. □

Thieu Holds More Than 100,000 Prisoners

More Tiger Cages Being Built in Vietnam

When the "tiger cages" of the Saigon regime's prison on Con Son Island were discovered by a visiting U.S. congressman in July 1970, an international outcry was created. Highly embarrassed by the disclosures of the crippling, starvation, and blinding of prisoners there, the Nixon administration attempted to put the responsibility on its Saigon puppets.

Six months later, according to the American Nobel Prize-winning biologist George Wald, writing in the January 10 *New York Times*, the U.S. navy hired an American firm to build additional tiger cages in the island prison.

"... last January," Wald wrote, "the U.S. Navy Contracts Office in Saigon issued a \$400,000 contract to the American construction combine, Raymond, Morrison, Knudsen-Brown, Root and Jones, to build three new tiers of tiger cages on Con Son Island. The job was to be done with prison labor, at pay scales of 55 to 72 cents per week. The former tiger cages were built by the French colonial regime. We are building the new ones."

Wald visited Saigon last fall, and met a number of prisoners who had recently been released from Con Son. Some had been imprisoned as long

as fifteen years.

"The marks of suffering were visible upon them. One had been totally blinded by what we were told is a disciplinary device at Con Son: throwing lime down on the prisoners. One had lost a leg. Several had difficulty walking.

"Each of them told his story, an interpreter translating line for line. What impressed me most was their anger; they were bitterly angry, and that anger was directed, mainly, not at their Government, but at ours."

It is hardly surprising that these Vietnamese hold Nixon responsible for what happened to them. U.S. funds for the training and equipment of Thieu's police rose to \$30,000,000 in 1971—an increase of nearly 50 percent over the previous year.

"How many prisoners are in South Vietnamese jails?" Wald asked. "No one knows. All requests for lists by the South Vietnamese Committee on Prison Reform have been refused. That committee estimates the total at over 100,000. Representative Anderson in The Congressional Record for June 17 says at least 120,000—most of whom have never stood trial. We were told that there are at least as many prisons in South Vietnam as schools, and more prisoners than students." □

'Cordial' Take-Over of Ceylon Tea Estates

Presumably to lend some credence to its proclaimed intention of creating a "socialist democracy" in Ceylon, the "United Front" government of Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has nationalized seven of the country's tea estates.

The former owners of the estates have taken a remarkably cheerful attitude toward the sudden intrusion of "socialism" into their lives. Writing from Colombo in the January 8 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, B. H. S. Jayawardene reported:

"The Minister of Plantation Industries, Dr Colvin de Silva, assured Parliament there had been 'cordial negotiations' with the owners. 'The main purpose of the Government in taking over these estates,' he said, 'is to ensure they will be run efficiently and maintained in good condition.'"

The nationalized estates are, in fact, sorely in need of more efficient running. The *Far Eastern Economic Review's* business editor, Stewart Dalby, pointed out that low world-market prices have destroyed the profits of most tea companies in Ceylon.

An additional reason for cordiality



DE SILVA: In the market for any estate that's losing enough money.

in the negotiations was the government's agreement to pay the equivalent of US\$750,000 for the unprofit-

able estates. The former owners are supposed to invest this money in Ceylon—perhaps so that the "socialist democracy" can bail them out again if their next venture also meets with adversity.

The United Front had promised nationalization of the tea, rubber, and coconut estates in the May 1970 elections that brought it to power. Once in control of the government, however, the coalition marked time. The public coffers were nearly empty, and nationalization without compensation was, of course, unthinkable.

"With Ceylon's economy still feeling the effects of last April's insurgency," Dalby wrote, "the justification for taking over the estates on purely economic grounds is now as weak as ever. Presumably, what prompted the Government to throw caution to the wind [sic] was the accusation—keenly felt by the Government, and implicit in the insurgency—that it had reneged on socialist promises."

Now that nationalization has proved to be so painless—to the owners—the government is in the market for estates just as long as the money lasts. According to de Silva:

"I would like it to be known that my ministry is ready and willing at all times to negotiate the purchase of estates in the interests of the development of Ceylon." □

Ceylon

New Rise in Discontent Confronts Bandaranaike

"When speaking of Ceylon, it is customary to say that 'the next few months will be crucial.' For once, it seems to be really true."

According to Ananda Jayavira, writing in the January 8 *Le Monde* from Colombo, the "United Front" government of Sirimavo Bandaranaike is now facing its most serious political and economic crisis since the brutal crushing of the young rebels last April. Discontent with government policies, notably the continuing State of Emergency, is even finding expression within the ranks of some of the ruling parties.

The nationwide witch-hunt unleashed last year created a deceptive political

tranquility, as most opposition was intimidated into silence. (There were some exceptions, such as the Ceylon Mercantile Union led by the Trotskyist Bala Tampoe, which, in Jayavira's words, "since the beginning of the repression, has not ceased to challenge the regime.")

The renewal of active opposition was triggered, Jayavira writes, by the November 11 announcement of the new budget. Finance Minister N. M. Perera (a leader of the ex-Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja party [LSSP], one of the components of the "United Front") revealed on that day that the workers and farmers would be asked to foot the bill for the economic crisis.

In the grip of a whopping debt of more than \$336,000,000, the government had decided to carry out an agrarian reform, to limit incomes, and nationalize industries, while at the same time reducing social-welfare expenditures. But Bandaranaike became convinced, under pressure from members of her own party, that merely proclaiming an agrarian reform might touch off land occupations in the countryside. As for the nationalization projects, these were abandoned so as not to antagonize Western money-lenders.

Then Perera told the people that the price of rice would be raised; the sugar ration would be limited to two

pounds a month per person; and free hospital care would be phased out. Personal spending would be restricted to about \$336 a month, taxes and compulsory savings absorbing the remaining income.

The population responded to the budget announcement with work stoppages, slowdowns, and street demonstrations, despite the statutes of the State of Emergency, which is still in force. There was even an attempt to derail a train. The public pressure was so great that the government was forced to retract a projected rise in the price of bread and cereal, and the sugar ration was increased.

According to Jayavira, Perera's budget even came in for some criticism from the ranks of the LSSP. One item that was exempted from the new taxes was barbed wire, a hot item in Ceylon, as it is used to enclose the 16,000 prisoners held since April in concentration camps. The pro-Soviet CP (also a member of the ruling coalition) responded by titling an editorial "Barbed wire is a bargain."

Public opinion, Jayavira wrote, seems to have reawakened after the months of terror. "The revolt was crushed with great ferocity, by a police and army aided by Western countries, socialist countries, and Asian neighbors of Ceylon. In the prisons there have been many revolts, and many have been shot."

Protests against the State of Emergency are becoming increasingly frequent. The youth group of the pro-Soviet CP asked for the lifting of the Emergency, the creation of a commission of inquiry into police and army atrocities, and the releasing of Vasudera Nananayakkara, a dissident LSSP deputy, as well as other leftists held in prison. The CP rejected these suggestions.

The Federation of Public Service Workers, one of the country's largest trade unions (and sympathetic to the CP), has initiated a campaign for return to a democratic system of government and for reestablishment of the rights of the trade unions.

The Ceylonese Compositors Union, affiliated to the Federation, has asked the Soviet Union, China, and the other workers states to stop all economic and military aid to Ceylon until the government fulfills its election promises (nationalization of major industries, etc.).

In October, the Ceylonese jurists asked for the reestablishment of civil liberties. Some of them created a "missing persons bureau" to look for the thousands of people who disappeared during the April events.

"But the most important recent event," writes Jayavira, "was the formation of the Movement for Civil Liberties in Ceylon, organized by well-known liberal and leftist personalities. It is headed by Professor Saratchan-



PERERA: Raises taxes on nearly everything except barbed wire.

dra, the country's most celebrated playwright. It includes artists, writers, jurists, and trade unionists, as well as Buddhist dignitaries and Catholic prelates. . . ."

Faced with this situation and a crippling economic crisis, the Bandaranaike regime's options are increasingly limited. It cannot fail to take into account the fact that the new opposition is coming from prestigious sources, including trade unions that are affiliated to the ruling parties.

Any new attacks on the poor could well lead to a wave of resistance from the working class. On the other hand, the composition of the regime rules out any revolutionary measures to deal with the economic crisis. At this point, Jayavira writes, the major question seems to be whether a new leftist force can be organized, or whether the right, supported by the military, will seize power. □

Sale of Harvesters

Australia to Breach Blockade of Cuba?

The Cuban government is negotiating to purchase up to 100 mechanical sugarcane harvesters from an Australian company, according to a report by Joseph Waters in the January 8 *Far Eastern Economic Review*.

This threatened breach in the blockade maintained by U. S. imperialism appears likely to be completed despite some strong, persuasive measures available to Washington:

"It should be borne in mind that Australia sells about A\$30 million [US\$35,700,000] in sugar a year to the US. Congressman Robert Poage, Chairman of the House Agriculture Committee in Washington, summed up: 'The Australians could not have picked a worse subject at a worse time. You can't slap your best friend in the face and expect to get away with it.'"

The Australians, however, appear convinced of the capitalist maxim that their "best friend" is the dollar. And the Cubans are negotiating not only for harvesters, which will cost between Australian \$2,000,000 and \$3,000,000, but also for up to \$15,000,000 in dairy products. The harvester firm — Massey-Ferguson — laid off workers last year because of a lack of business.

"The full mechanisation of Cuban cane harvesting," Waters wrote, "is a formidable goal. And what makes it so interesting is the fact that Australia seems set to play an important part in achieving it. It is another of those ironies of cold war politics that anti-communist Australia should be seeking economic salvation, even on a minor scale, with countries such as Cuba as well as China and the members of Comecon. . . ." □

Have Patience

A U. S. government study has revealed that 88,900 of the country's 563,000 highway bridges are "critically deficient" and that "a large number of lives could be endangered" if they failed. The Highway Administration says it has enough money this year to fix fifty of them. At that rate, they'll all be safe by the year 3750.

The One-Day Frame-Up Trial of Vladimir Bukovsky

By George Saunders

Acting with guilty haste, the Brezhnev-Kosygin-Podgorny regime went through the motions of a sudden, virtually secret, one-day trial on January 5 and condemned Vladimir Bukovsky to seven years confinement (two in prison, five in a strict-regime labor camp), plus five years enforced exile in some remote area. This was the maximum penalty under Article 70 of the Russian Republic Criminal Code prohibiting "anti-Soviet propaganda or agitation."

Bukovsky, twenty-nine, is one of the leading figures in the struggle for democratic liberties in the Soviet Union today. His defense had become a major focus for the Soviet civil-rights movement since his arrest in March 1971. [See "The Case of Vladimir Bukovsky" and "Kremlin Shifts Ground in Bukovsky Case" respectively in the October 18 and November 22 issues of *Intercontinental Press* for 1971, pp. 889-90 and p. 1011.]

Many features of the January 5 trial pointed to the Kremlin's extreme nervousness about the case. Above all, the bureaucrats seem to have feared that supporters of democratic rights might gather at the courthouse and that demonstrations or other undesirable actions drawing public attention to the trial might develop. After all, a few weeks before, on December 21, democratic-minded citizens had turned the official funeral ceremonies for writer Aleksandr Tvardovsky into an unofficial quasi-demonstration of their own.

The bureaucracy's fear of protests or excessive publicity around the Bukovsky trial and the pains it was willing to take to avoid them can be gathered from the following account by Charlotte Saikowski, Moscow correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*. It appeared in the January 6 issue of that paper.

"For foreign newsmen [and newswomen, too, presumably], it was a bizarre scene that was played out near the courthouse as the trial opened.

"When they arrived in the suburban worker district of Lublino, where the

court is located, they found the street barred to them by several militiamen and a dozen or so secret police and so-called 'people's volunteers' with the customary red bands around their arms.

"Asked why they could not proceed to the courtroom, a tall, fur-hatted militia lieutenant told them firmly:

"'This is a railroad district. It is forbidden to foreigners.' (Technically, all areas within Moscow city limits are open to foreigners.)

"'And if we come tomorrow or next week, is that still the law?' one newsman responded.

"'I don't know. There is no permanent law in any country. It depends on the circumstances.'

"Returning to their cars, parked in the almost empty lot of a new supermarket, the correspondents were told by plainclothesmen they were not allowed to park there. A supermarket official, a woman, also emerged to ask a reporter to move his car.

"The reason for all this official action was to try to prevent direct contacts between the newsmen and friends of the accused attending the trial."

The trial was held on very short notice and was concluded the day it began. Bukovsky's lawyer, Vladimir Shveisky, was notified of the trial date, apparently, only the day before. Bukovsky's mother, Nina Bukovskaya, was informed and in turn spread the word. Academician Andrei Sakharov, the nuclear physicist and civil-rights advocate, appealed together with several prominent scientists and rights advocates to the prosecutor and ministry of justice, urging that a fair trial be guaranteed.

Sakharov and other well-known friends of the accused were reportedly denied admission to the courtroom on January 5. In previous political trials, such as that of Revolt Pimenov a year ago, and those of Soviet Jews in the spring of 1971, Sakharov was allowed to attend. This time there seems to have been a special effort to prevent any but the official version

of the trial proceedings from becoming known.

Perhaps the Kremlin leaders have unpleasant recollections of the trial transcript circulated the last time Bukovsky was tried, in September 1967. It was Pavel Litvinov who then made public the final plea by Bukovsky, which still stands as an eloquent denunciation of the denial of democratic rights by the heirs of Stalin.

With the obvious aim of preventing publication of any similar statements by Bukovsky in his new trial, foreign correspondents were also excluded. Instead, the official press agency Tass provided an unusual running account of the trial throughout the day. This Kremlin-doctored version was for foreign subscribers of the agency only. As of this writing, Soviet readers have been given only one short, distorted account so far as we know—in the January 6 local Moscow paper, *Vecherniaia Moskva*. Only short bits of the Tass version have appeared in the Western press. We have not yet been allowed to see the full Tass account by any of the papers that subscribe to Tass.

Some uncensored news of what actually happened at the trial did get out. Friends of Bukovsky were able to report that in his final plea he made a declaration to this effect: "My only regret is that in one year, three months, and three days I did so little." (Released after serving a three-year sentence in January 1970, he was re-arrested in March 1971. In the interim he was extremely active in publicizing facts on the bureaucratic suppression of political dissent. Documents showing the Kremlin misuse of psychiatric facilities to incarcerate political opponents, such as ex-Red Army General Pyotr Grigorenko and dissident Communist Ivan Yakhimovich, were sent abroad by Bukovsky a year ago. It was that action more than any of his numerous other civil-rights activities that led to his arrest and indictment.)

* * *

A note in regard to the timing of

the trial is in order at this point. As we have said, Bukovsky's case became a major focus of the Soviet democratic movement during the past year. Protests became especially intense in October 1971 when the legal time limit for pretrial detention expired and he was still being held for "psychiatric examination."

At the same time international attention was focused sharply on the issue of repressive use of psychiatric techniques in the USSR, not least through the efforts of Bukovsky himself. In addition, the book *A Question of Madness* documenting the repressive commitment of Soviet biologist Jaures Medvedev to a psychiatric hospital and the successful campaign that freed him was much in the news. And an international psychiatric congress in late November-early December in Mexico City was to consider a resolution condemning abuse of psychiatry for repressive purposes.

Accordingly, the Soviet government paper *Izvestia* ran an article October 24 denying that political opponents were forcibly confined in mental hospitals. And in mid-November word came that Bukovsky had been ruled sane and fit to stand trial rather than being held indefinitely as an alleged mental patient.

The aim was to defuse the issue at the psychiatric congress. As it turned out, a majority of the professionals at the Mexico City congress voted not to take a "political" stand, many no doubt considering this a skirmish in the Cold War, in which they did not want to become enmeshed. Some also were probably pressured or persuaded by the large Soviet delegation of psychiatrists, which included Dr. Snezhnevsky who had been quoted at length by *Izvestia* on the merits of Soviet psychiatry and the absurdity of the charges that its facilities were used against dissenters.

Having avoided a bad black eye at the psychiatric congress, the Soviet bureaucrats still had to deal with the prisoner Bukovsky. Since they might revive the controversy by holding him indefinitely on grounds of insanity, a quick trial was chosen as the way out—to face his supporters at home and abroad with a *fait accompli*. The maximum sentence is undoubtedly intended to "legally" remove him from circulation as long as possible. But the hopes of the Kremlin bosses that he will be forgotten, or that the prob-

lems raised by his case have been removed, are not likely to be realized.

* * *

Undoubtedly more extensive information about the trial and about the struggle in support of Bukovsky, which is sure to continue, will be forthcoming through *samizdat*—whether in the *Chronicle of Current Events* or some other form of privately circulated material.

From what little has been reported of the Tass version of the trial, one can deduce the kind of sensationalism used by the prosecution in this latest frame-up trial. The prosecutor, Aza Bobrushko, accused Bukovsky not only of trying to send information abroad and to smuggle a printing press into the USSR for disseminating "subversive" material, but—oh, crime of unpatriotic crimes—of allegedly trying to persuade two Soviet military personnel to assist him. (Next, we'll hear, no doubt, that he appealed to the Czechoslovak army to invade the Soviet Union and "restore capitalism.")

Tass claimed, according to the January 6 *Washington Post*, that Bukovsky "did not deny the facts concerning the actions for which he was tried."

Perhaps he did not deny his real activities, but argued instead—as he did in his previous trial—that these were legal under the Soviet constitution, which guarantees freedom of speech, assembly, and the press. If so, Tass would surely have found such a detail not worth mentioning.

A remarkable aspect of the trial was reported in the January 6 *Vecherniaia Moskva*: a filmed interview that Bukovsky gave to U.S. newsman William Cole in early 1970 was shown to the court. That film had been broadcast over major Western television systems in June 1970 and after. Some of Bukovsky's remarks in that interview are of interest in relation to his trial, since he undoubtedly spoke in a similar vein in defiance of his oppressors.

Before quoting from that interview, a comment is in order regarding Bukovsky's stated opposition to the Soviet "social system." When he describes himself as an "anti-Communist," he actually means "antibureaucrat." That is, he is opposed to the bureaucratized Communist party in the Soviet Union which uses repression and lies in the

name of Marxism in order to preserve special privileges at the expense of the working masses and of the worldwide struggle of the oppressed. Although he would surely not describe his views quite that way, he has shown a clearly fraternal attitude toward such dissident Communists as Grigorenko, Yakhimovich, Yakir, Sakharov, and the Greek Theodorakis. Moreover, none of his statements or actions have shown him to favor restoration of private ownership of the means of production. His one concern is that Soviet citizens enjoy democratic freedoms and be secure from arbitrary repression by the state—aims that true Communists and revolutionary socialists from Marx and Engels through Lenin and Trotsky to those of today share with him.

"I believe that the imprisonment of people like myself is an absurdity and that people who are convinced of the injustice of an existing social system cannot have their views changed by techniques of political persecution, by means of terror, by being held in camps, and so forth. For us, for people like myself, the deprivation of liberty cannot be a means of correction.

"I shall never change my political views. As I was, so I shall remain, in spite of the severity of punishment, imprisonment, and so forth. I know a great many people who have been through no less suffering than I and been deprived of their freedom, but who have remained unchanged, have remained human beings, defending the civil rights of their people; and no means at the disposal of the authorities are capable of changing our opinions."

* * *

"Interviewer: Do you think there is any hope for civil rights, freedom of speech in the Soviet Union?"

"Bukovsky: I consider that, if there is an attempt in our country to turn the system back to Stalinist ways, that will bring closer together and unite a vast number of people of various ideologies, nationalities, and opinions to struggle against that turn of events, and it will create a common platform for a decisive and final battle against such a development. I do not believe such a development could be successful in our country, for the good reason that there are enough people ready to lay down their lives to pre-

vent it happening. . . .

"What faith do I have in the victory of the cause for which I live and work? It's difficult to say — I'm not a prophet, and I can't foretell what will happen in a few years in the political

world. But it seems to me that the number of people who understand the need for open, public protest against the lawlessness which goes on every hour and every second in this country is increasing every day. I am

sure that the number will not grow less but more and that ultimately the cause for which I am working will triumph. Maybe it will happen in five years, maybe seven, I can't say exactly." □

If Only They Could Buy the Sun

Oil Monopolies Move In on Gas, Coal, Uranium

The oil industry has always been noted for its ingenuity in devising means of restraining competition, manipulating prices and production, and maximizing profits. The result of its nearly century-long machinations has been the creation of the most solid cartel in the world and the highest rate of profit of any manufacturing industry.

One of the factors that has stood the industry in good stead in these endeavors has been foresight. Oil magnates were well on their way to monopoly pricing and production when the Model T was merely a gleam in Henry Ford's greedy eye. For the past ten years, according to an article by Peter Barnes in the November 6 issue of the Washington weekly *New Republic*, the oil companies have been moving to deal with the only serious, even if remote, threat to their continued ironclad control of the world's energy resources.

Barnes first describes the *modus operandi* of oil companies within their own field: joint ventures and long-term contracts to control production and marketing; vertical integration, through which companies not only pump out crude oil but transport, refine, and market it; government intervention allowing the companies to restrict the amount of oil that can be produced in, or imported into, the United States; tax benefits and tax loopholes of all kinds, etc.

The only vulnerable spot, Barnes points out, has been the oil industry's lack of effective control over other major energy sources, such as coal, natural gas, and most recently, uranium. To some extent these can compete with oil — coal and natural gas can heat houses or be used to generate electricity — and if use of the internal combustion engine is reduced because

of the antipollution movement, a major source of oil company profits could run dry.

So the 1960s saw the major oil interests branch out, an operation that will not only have its effect on coal, gas, and uranium, but will tend to result in a rise in the consumer price of oil itself.

Today, twenty of the largest oil companies account for 60% of natural gas production and reserve ownership. As of 1970, twenty-nine of the top fifty coal companies, accounting for 28% of total production, had become oil subsidiaries. Oil companies now own some 45% of the known uranium reserves in the United States. Oil shale and tar sands, even underground steam (geothermal power), are likewise targets of the relatively new horizontal integration.

According to testimony before the Senate antitrust and monopoly subcommittee — which concerns itself with antitrust activities about as much as the Justice Department does with justice — of the twenty-five largest oil corporations, all have holdings in natural gas, eighteen have holdings in oil shale and uranium, eleven in coal, and seven in tar sands. Three of the four largest, and six of the ten largest, are in all four domestic fuels — oil, gas, coal, and uranium.

The results of this process have already been felt. On the average, coal prices have risen 70 percent in the last two years (100 percent in some locales), while demand and production have risen by only 5 percent in the same period. The coal companies, of course, point to high wages and mine safety legislation as the major causes of the increase; but miners, who continue to die from accidents, black lung, etc., and have some difficulty buying enough food, might

wonder about that. It seems much more likely that the lion's share of the increase is due to the polished expertise of the oil industry being applied to a hitherto more backward field.

Barnes finds it repugnant that public lands are virtually given away to the oil cartels and that government policy (tax loopholes, etc.) seems to be determined by the interests of the oil monopolies. He suggests that "unless intense public pressures are brought to bear quickly, American consumers will needlessly pay billions of dollars annually to the oil industry, reflecting the cost not so much of 'clean energy' as of monopoly."

The bloody history of the industry, particularly in places like the Arab East, Iran, Venezuela, and most recently Southeast Asia and Alaska, indicates that much more than financial cost to American consumers is at stake and that much more than "public pressure" is necessary to deal with the "black gold" purveyors.

Technologically, once the oil, gas, coal, and uranium arenas are sewed up, the greatest threat to the world energy monopoly would be the successful development of fusion control. In that case, the oil barons would have to corner the hydrogen market. Since 90 percent of the matter in the universe is hydrogen, will we wake up some morning to find that the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey has purchased a 51 percent interest in everything? □

Self-Diagnosis

In a January 9 speech, U. S. Vice President Spiro Agnew said the country was afflicted with "temporary insanity" during the 1960s. The diagnosis, presumably, referred to the decisions of the 1968 Republican party convention.

Founding Conference of Socialist Workers League

By Dave Holmes

Sydney

The founding conference of a new revolutionary party—the Socialist Workers League (SWL)—was held in Sydney January 1-3. The League, while not yet a section, adheres to the Fourth International. The conference was attended by observers from the smaller, Brisbane-based Labour Action group, which also supports the Fourth International.

Immediately after the conference the two groups fused. Thus the League now unites in one organisation all the supporters of the Fourth International in Australia.

The SWL has branches and supporters in six capital cities and is thus already a national organisation. The League publishes the bimonthly theoretical magazine *Socialist Review* and jointly publishes the newspaper *Direct Action* with the fraternal youth group, Socialist Youth Alliance (SYA).

At present *Direct Action* is a monthly but will soon be a fortnightly. As a left-wing paper, its circulation is second only to *Tribune*, the weekly paper of the Communist party of Australia (CPA).

Trotskyism in Australia has a history dating back to the early 1930s, when the Workers party was formed by oppositionists expelled from the CPA. Hitherto, it has never been a very strong current in terms of either numbers or political weight.

The Workers party was followed by a group around the paper *International*. This group split in 1965 between the supporters of the Fourth International and the supporters of Michel Pablo, who had a small majority in Australia. Since then there has been no official section of the Fourth International in Australia.

Several attempts were made to establish a Trotskyist group, but these were short-lived until early 1970, when the predecessor group of the SWL was formed. This group first put out the magazine *Socialist Review*.

In August 1970 the Trotskyist youth group SYA was formed out of a fight with spontaneist currents inside the broad, amorphous youth group Resistance. Many of the *Socialist Review* group members participated in the formation and development of SYA, which is now the largest and fastest-growing left-wing youth group in Australia.

SYA is organisationally independent of the League but is linked to it by a common basic program and its support for the Fourth International. The rapid development of the SYA and the formation of the SWL are striking signs of the revitalisation of Trotskyism both in Australia and on a world scale.

The conference considered three documents: on the international political situation, on the Australian political situation and our tasks, and a draft constitution.

The report and ensuing discussion on the international situation developed the analyses familiar to readers of the international Trotskyist press. The document stressed the key strategy of building the Fourth International as the nucleus of the future general staff of the world revolution, and the encouraging successes registered in this task in recent years. The conference unanimously adopted the document.

The political document centered on our orientation to the mass party of the Australian working class, the Australian Labor party (ALP), our orientation to the youth and the mass movements, and the relationship between these two fields of work.

Although there were differences on this question, the document was adopted by a large majority. The document stressed the impossibility of bypassing the ALP and the necessity of an active orientation to it.

However, it is necessary to take the fullest advantage of the opportunities offered by the youth radicalisation. Work among the youth permits us to build the revolutionary nucleus and to prove ourselves in action to broad layers.

Also, the pressure of the mass movements engenders differentiations within the ALP and permits the revolutionary Marxists to gain an audience from vanguard layers of the working class. Our orientation is summed up in the formula, "The ALP is the *focus* of our politics, but in the present period the *centre* of our activity is among the youth."

The document surveyed our work in the mass movements, particularly the anti-war and women's liberation movements, and the movements of solidarity with the peoples of Ireland, Palestine, Bangladesh and New Guinea. It also dealt with our role in the emerging liberation struggle of the Black people in Australia.

The final document considered was a draft constitution and a set of criteria for membership in the League. Differences existed on this draft, but all participants recognised the need for democratic centralism in the SWL. The document was adopted by a large majority. The conference also endorsed the preamble and statutes of the Fourth International.

During the conference, messages of solidarity were received from sections and supporters of the Fourth International around the world, including the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary) in Ceylon, the Revolutionary Communist League in Japan, the Socialist Workers

party in the U.S., the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere in Canada, the Revolutionary Marxist League in Sweden, and the International Marxist Group in England. The Socialist Action League of New Zealand was represented by Keith Locke, who delivered fraternal greetings to the conference.

On the final day of the conference, we were raided by two members of the Healyite sectarian Workers Action group. They stole copies of conference discussion material, and were clearly recognised as they fled from the building pursued by our comrades. This disgusting incident clearly showed that the Australian Healyites don't need any lessons from their international cothinkers in sectarianism and lack of respect for democracy in the workers' movement.

The incident also reflected the despair of the sectarians at the rapid growth of the forces of the Fourth International in Australia. Trotskyism is within striking distance of winning hegemony among the radicalising youth.

Maoism is the only real contender among the youth, and their youth forces, restricted almost totally to Victoria, are in severe crisis and decline. The CPA has failed to win any following among the youth. Recently in Brisbane its small youth group split from it and some of its members were influenced by Trotskyism. The Healyites have no youth orientation, regarding the mass movements as "petty bourgeois" despite the fact that the bulk of their own forces came out of these movements.

The largest, most influential group to the left of the ALP is the CPA. However, the CPA is in a state of disintegration and decline. The CPA underwent a split in 1963—resulting in the formation of the Communist party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and recently the most pro-Moscow Stalinists split to form the Australian Socialist party.

The CPA is completely unable to come to terms with its Stalinist past, despite the fact that it has gone further along this road than any other of the world Communist parties. Trotskyism has surpassed it among the youth, and tomorrow will extend its influence into the working class. □

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Irish Women in the Battle Against British Troops

"The persistent rumor that women may be interned in the North has yet to be made good," the Dublin bimonthly *Hibernia* wrote in its December 17, 1971, issue. The reason, however, why these rumors have been so persistent may be that the British repressive forces in Northern Ireland and the proimperialist press in Britain and the United States have been stepping up their attacks on women activists in Northern Ireland. The attacks of the repressive forces, of course, have been physical. Two members of the women's neighborhood passive resistance groups were gunned down by British troops in Belfast October 23. The husband of one was threatened by the soldiers when he came to take away his wife's body. (See "British Escalate Terror Against Belfast Women," in *Intercontinental Press*, November 15, 1971, p. 980.)

[Numerous other incidents have occurred since then. For example, on November 4, Mrs. Emily Groves, the mother of eleven children, was blinded. It happened this way: The British troops were searching the Andersonstown housing development on the outskirts of Belfast. The soldiers ordered the people to remain in their houses.

"Mrs. Groves told Edna [her daughter] to put a record on, 'to keep their morale up,'" Colin Smith wrote in the November 11 issue of the London weekly *Observer*. "She chose an LP of Republican songs entitled 'Four Green Fields' by a group called the Flying Column.

"They turned up the volume so the soldiers could hear it. Edna said: 'A paratrooper shouted something at my mother. I didn't hear what it was, but I think it must have been about the record because she shouted back 'I'm in my own home.' The soldiers shouted something else to her and she shouted out, 'What did you say?' and opened the window to hear him."

"At this point the man opened fire with his American Greener gun, the cannon-like shotgun which fires the rubber bullet, and hit Mrs. Groves full in the face from a range which has since been measured at 24 ft. Mrs. Groves first put her hands to her face

and then held on to the window (the imprint of her bloody palm is still there). Some of her false teeth were shattered and fell on to a coffee table beneath the window. Mr. Groves and a neighbor both say that as the paratrooper — 'he was a lance corporal' — opened fire he let out a warcry. . . .

"The neighbours claim that when the paratroops left in their armoured personnel carriers shortly after this they were singing a pop song called: 'Where's your momma gone?'"

[The press campaign has been less forceful but carried on in the same spirit. When two young women in Derry were publicly humiliated for associating with British soldiers in October, the American press in particular wrung every possible tear out of the theme of persecuted young love. Both the Provisional and Official IRA (Irish Republican Army), however, opposed these actions.

[Whatever the specific reason or justification for the reprisals against the women, any objective observer could have seen the source of feelings that would motivate them. Increasing brutality has brought the hatred of the troops in nationalist neighborhoods to a very high pitch. And the people have no way of fighting back except by exerting moral pressure on the troops. Furthermore, in an area of catastrophic male unemployment, the soldiers have a lot more money and prospects than the local men.

[A particularly poisonous attack on the women of the Northern Irish ghettos came in the November 29 issue of the American weekly *Newsweek*, which is also probably the most widely circulated news magazine in Ireland. Referring to the reprisals against the two young women in Derry, the reputedly liberal magazine wrote: "For all their hatred of the British troops, the women have reserved their most barbaric acts for their own people." About the mass terror of the troops, *Newsweek* has had little to say.

[The article concluded as follows: "And even though gun-carrying or bomb-throwing women are still a distinct minority among those who work with the IRA, Ulster officials contend

that in some hard-core areas the number of dangerously militant women may number as high as 30 per cent of IRA strength. Such a statistic bodes ill for Ulster's future. 'This society is really something of a matriarchy,' said E. Estyn Evans, professor of Irish studies at Queen's University of Belfast. 'There is, unfortunately, a lot of poison in Irish history, and the women are the ones who've transmitted it.'"

[In the January 6 issue of the *New York Times*, this campaign reached the point where it was claimed: "In an incident yesterday, mothers showed that they were prepared to push their children into the line of fire to prevent soldiers from shooting."

[The reason for these increasing vicious verbal and physical attacks on the nationalist women of Belfast is clear. It has little to do with their participating in armed violence, of which there have been few confirmed reports. *Hibernia* itself, which is a conservative magazine, pointed to the reason in its December 17 issue:

"The openly organised Civil Disobedience Campaign being co-ordinated by the Civil Rights Movement is virtually dominated by women. Mrs. Kitty O'Kane runs a most effective campaign from her small house in Ton Street: so effective that a Sergeant and a Captain Smith under the command of Major Dunphy, the local Army commander, visited her house recently to destroy her Gestetner duplicating machine."

[Gerry Foley interviewed Kitty O'Kane in her home in mid-October, while she took a short break from typing stencils. As the interview was coming to a close, they noticed a British armed patrol listening at the door. Fortunately the troops did not interfere. The text of the interview follows.]

* * *

Question. Mrs. O'Kane, would you describe what happened in this area on the day of the internment round-up?

Answer. On the day of internment,

this entire area was sealed off by British troops. At the same time, military units raided homes and took the people listed in their instructions. All they told them was "you are being arrested under the Special Powers Act."

The British troops also came into my home. My window was smashed; my door was kicked in. Six soldiers rushed up my stairs. I was still in bed. I was told to get up and get dressed, that I was being arrested under the Special Powers Act. I asked the men to leave the room to give me a chance to get dressed. I was told that there was no time for such niceties, to go ahead and get dressed. I was then told to move downstairs. There were three soldiers downstairs and three behind me. I asked permission to switch off my lights and lock up the back of my house. I was told to get on outside.

Just as I was coming out of my house, a nail bomb went off at the top of the street. The three soldiers in front of me rushed down the street and I was knocked to one side by the soldiers behind me; they rushed in the other direction. I immediately ran out into the middle of a group of women who were protesting by banging bin [garbage can] lids. Thanks to those women, I was able to escape to the other side of the area.

Q. How would you describe conditions in this neighborhood since internment?

A. The week following internment, this area was barricaded. These barricades were guarded by both men and women, especially young boys. The Friday after internment, the British army came in with a bulldozer and in strength to remove these barricades. And proceeded to arrest a few more men. A fortnight after internment, it was decided to begin a campaign of passive resistance. No rents were to be paid, no rates [taxes], and no arrears. Street committees were formed in every area in Belfast. In the Lower Falls area, where I live, street committees were got off the ground. A street leader was elected in every street to organize the people of that street in this rent and rates campaign. This action has been very successful, in that the government in Northern Ireland has been brought to its knees financially.

The women are playing a very great

part in this campaign of passive resistance. At night women vigilantes patrol these streets. They work in two shifts, from 12:00 midnight to 3:00 and from 3:00 to 6:00 in the morning. They have been very successful in the past three weeks in stopping arrests of young men in this area.

Four women are on a post in every street in the area. Military units are known to patrol the area on foot between midnight and 6:00 in the morning. The soldiers are allowed to patrol but as soon as they go to raid a house, a whistle is sounded. This is immediately taken up by the rattling of bin lids, which the British army calls the "tom-toms." The two people who keep watch on the whole area then go to find out which street the British army is raiding. A central alarm is then given, in the form of a siren blast. The women then congregate in that street. Enough women are left in the rest of the area to patrol it and protect it, in case the British army were trying to draw the women away so that it could attack some other street.

As the women go to the street where the raid is taking place, they keep rattling their bin lids, blowing their whistles; and the siren keeps blowing. This has an effect on the troops; I must say, it has a very unnerving effect on them, because they immediately want to draw out of that particular street, although at times they have fired rubber bullets and used CS gas against these women.

Q. Is there any discussion between the women vigilantes and the troops when they come in on a raid?

A. Well, if you mean friendly discussion, the answer is No. The women of the Lower Falls have suffered so much brutality from these troops, that they won't speak to them. The language of these troops to the women isn't even fit to repeat. In fact, I could go a bit further than this. Last Tuesday night, women vigilantes were patrolling Lady Street, when one of the soldiers openly exposed himself to these women.

The ways the women have of humiliating the troops are a lot different, maybe, from what they would use in Derry or elsewhere. Here in Belfast, if a woman goes out in the street to rattle a bin lid, the troops do not just shout at them; they beat them.

Women in this area can show me their arms, their faces, and other parts of their bodies where they have been struck with rifles. I myself was struck with the butt of a rifle in my side. And I am afraid the women just have no time for any discussion with the troops other than to abuse them.

Q. Have the troops attempted to suppress all political activity in this area?

A. British troops in this area have tried to suppress all political expression, all freedom of speech, even the sale of newspapers. Major Chichester-Clark lifted the ban on the *United Irishman*, the monthly paper of the republican movement. But the British troops will not allow it to be sold in this area. Even people out taking church collections have been stopped, been interrogated, and had their books taken off them. If we call a public meeting, if the Civil Rights Association calls a public meeting to discuss the rent and rate strike, it is immediately surrounded by the British army. At times they make no move to interfere with the meeting, but arrest the speakers later and hold them for questioning.

Q. How united is the community in its opposition to the British troops? Do you get active support for the vigilantes from both young and older women?

A. We have been very surprised at the support from the women. I have seen women out patrolling these streets of seventy and even eighty years of age. I have also seen young girls approaching us of twelve or even younger, wanting to go out and do vigilante duty, if their mothers would let them stay up. This community in particular is more united now than it has ever been in the past fifty years.

Q. What is the mood of the community now? Have the people been intimidated by the brutality of the army? Or has the spirit of resistance been strengthened by these attacks on the community as a whole?

A. The spirit of the people has been strengthened by the brutality of the British troops. Prior to internment, there was a certain lack of support in this area. By this I do not mean a lack of financial support or that

people were not giving their homes, or that there was a lack of support for the men. It was just that people had fallen into a sort of apathy. Since internment, the people of this area seem to have banded together very, very closely. They have given all the support possible. Houses have been left open at night, homes of people we never thought would do this. Now every door in the Lower Falls is opened at night for people to take refuge. And if the vigilantes call on the people to turn on their lights and lift their blinds in order to turn as much light as possible on the street, the people give them 100 percent support. In fact, the brutality of the British troops seems to be strengthening the will of the people all over Belfast, all over the North.

Q. When I was in Belfast last summer, I thought I saw a rift developing between the young people and the older people. The young people seemed very anxious to drive the British troops out of their neighborhoods. The older people seemed to fear that by confronting the troops, the youths would draw them into destroying their houses. Do you think that this antagonism has been ended by internment and that now the entire community is behind the young people in their resistance to the Unionist system and the forces that support it?

A. I remember the situation you describe very well. But when the British army came into this area on the morning of internment, they wrecked a lot of homes. Not only did they wreck homes, but the people who were awakened that morning saw the brutality of the British troops to the men whom they were arresting. Even then nobody that morning yet realized the enormity of internment, or what these men were going to have to go through. As report after report filtered back of the tortures these men were subjected to, the people in this and in every area in Belfast and in the North seemed to band together. Those who before had been antagonized by the young people seemed now to be 100 percent behind these young people. In fact, when the barricades were built, both young and old went out to build them. Now, as I said before, women of sixty, seventy, and eighty years of age were willing to sit up at these barricades night after night to see that

the men of this area would be warned before the British army could come in. Even now I have seen women of up to eighty years of age patrolling these streets. And, Gerry, you know what the weather has been like in Belfast. [There was almost constant drizzle and temperatures in the low forties the whole month I was in Ireland.]

Q. What are the people doing to support the internees?

A. The support of the people for the internees is very good. At the moment in the Lower Falls area, it is the street committees that are carrying out the collections for the men in prison. Before internment, it was the republican movement. But we stopped in order to let the street committees do what they could. Parcels are made up for the men who have been interned. In their homes, people are very good about leaving in cigarettes, meat, sweets, whatever they think can help these internees. Every week a parcel from this area goes into Long Kesh concentration camp and another goes into Crumlin Road prison. At the moment a call has been put out for heavy pullovers, heavy socks, and heavy combat jackets. And the people have been very good in meeting this appeal.

A week ago, there was a man arrested in this area, David Rogers. For a full week no one could find out where David Rogers had been taken. We were sure that he had been taken to the interrogation center at Holywood barracks. The people in the area rallied together, going to police barracks, keeping phones going twenty-four hours a day to try to find out where this man was. Unfortunately, no one could find out. Later he turned up in Crumlin Road prison. His interrogation had been so good, so thorough, that he didn't even know where he had been for the past week.

Q. Do you think that the fact that dozens of republicans have been dragged off to concentration camps, facing not only brutal tortures but the threat of indefinite imprisonment, has deterred young people in this neighborhood from joining the republican movement?

A. In fact, the reverse is true. The

more torture, the more brutality the British army has been meting out, the greater the influx into the republican movement has been. I could show you three applications for membership that I have come on in the last twenty-four hours. My name is one of those listed in the *United Irishman* as a contact in this area, and since internment I have gotten a flood of applications.

But I want to make one thing absolutely clear. It is not just republicans who are being interned. Ordinary nonpolitical people are being dragged from their beds. In two homes in particular, the British army went in looking for the sons. And when they could not find the men they were looking for, the British troops took the next best thing. If there was a brother there, he was arrested; if the father was there, he was arrested. In the two cases I am talking about, both men the British took as substitutes are interned in Long Kesh. One man is half blind, in fact he's near seventy years of age. The other man is the father of eight children. And both these men have no connection with the republican movement in any shape or form. They just happened to be the fathers of sons who were.

Q. Do you think, then, that the main reason for internment was to terrorize the neighborhood as a whole?

A. No, the reason was to smash the republican movement, but in trying to do this the British troops have terrorized a lot of people in the neighborhood. In particular, they wanted to smash the Official republican movement in this area because its politics — especially on the housing issue, the issue of joining the Common Market, etc. — were getting under the skin of the Unionist government.

But since internment, the British army has gone berserk here. Thursday night seems to be pay night for most of these troops, and on that night we can always expect some fun in this area. For example, recently, just before the women vigilantes went out, these men, who seemed to be either drunk or doped, thought nothing of walking down a street and smashing every window on it. Three weeks ago in Grosvenor Place and Cyprus street, every window was smashed. They

weren't raiding. It was just a foot patrol that seemed to have nothing better to do than to try to terrorize the people. But instead of terrorizing these people, they have only made them more determined.

Q. Does this development mean that republicanism has been strengthened as a general political current, that is, that the people in the nationalist neighborhoods are more determined to fight for a united Ireland?

A. The people are very determined to smash the Unionist system. This has always been a nationalist area. When the British troops came here in 1969, claiming that they were trying to keep peace between Catholic and Protestant, the people here thought it was a myth. They understood that the role of the British army was not to keep peace but merely to keep a Unionist junta in power. The people of this area think of themselves as working-class people and want to unite all working-class people.

The mentality of the British troops was that if you want to smash republicanism, you have to smash the Lower Falls. We know that this isn't true, that republicanism is very strong in all the nationalist areas of Belfast. But the attitude of the British army was that if the Falls was smashed, republicanism was smashed. The people in this area were always for a united Ireland.

The passive resistance campaign has been very effective in making the working-class people realize how powerful they are. Because by their refusal to pay rent and rates, they are smashing the Stormont regime. They don't even have to lift a gun; they don't even have to lift a stone.

Q. When I was in Belfast last year, there was an incredible array of British military force in this area—sandbagged emplacements ringing the neighborhood, tanks patrolling the area about every half hour, and very frequent foot patrols. What has been the pattern in the disposition of military forces here over the last year?

A. After the gun battle in this neighborhood on July 3-4, 1970, when a unit of the Irish Republican Army faced three and a half thousand British troops, it was realized that in an armed conflict we were no match for

the British army, considering what weapons they had and what weapons we had. We decided then that the best way to beat the British army, especially in this area which is very close-knit, was a passive resistance campaign.

You mentioned earlier on that when you were here last year you saw some conflict between the young people and the older people. I said, too, that this was quite true at that particular time. Vehicles were racing through these streets, as I am sure you have seen them do. On a few occasions, the troops were actually goading these young people into fighting back.

We sent two deputations to Springfield Road Barracks, involving most of the people in the neighborhood, to demand that the vehicles and troops be withdrawn from the area. The Central Citizens Defence Council, which was under the chairmanship of Jim Sullivan [now interned], was also very effective in forcing the withdrawal of these troops. We had succeeded in getting the troops pulled back to the outskirts of the neighborhood. But they started to move in again just before internment. The same pattern arose—agitation by the British troops, obscene language to the women and children who were passing.

Before that, too, they seemed to be trying to build up an intelligence system in this neighborhood. A Captain Campbell and a Major Lloyd were very active in questioning children and trying to get on good terms with the people. But after that there was an influx of British troops and the

same thing seemed to be happening all over again.

Q. Is the Provisional IRA active in the Lower Falls in any way and what kinds of action do they engage in?

A. There is a certain Provisional element in the Lower Falls. Their strength is very weak. They have not been active as a unit in the Lower Falls. Any action they have taken has been more on the outskirts of the neighborhood. The Official IRA in this area has followed defensive tactics.

On two occasions, as I pointed out, the British troops came into this area for no particular reason and wrecked homes. In retaliation for this, the Official IRA shot a British soldier. Every time the British army come into this area just to smash up homes, a British soldier is shot. Two soldiers have been shot recently in this area and not in any other and statements have been issued to explain why these soldiers were shot. It is because of the brutality of the British troops. This is the role the Official IRA is playing in most areas in Belfast at the moment.

The Provisionals are on a bombing campaign. But this seems to be losing them support rather than winning it. Because the ordinary people feel that some of these bombings are uncalled for. If these bombings have been against military targets, we are 100 percent in favor of them. In fact, that has been the tactic of the Official republican movement. We have selected targets, military targets, and we have bombed them. □

Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal

Announce Investigation of Torture in Brazil

The Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, which exposed U. S. government war crimes in Indochina, has opened a preliminary investigation into torture of political prisoners in Brazil.

In a December letter to Jean-Paul Sartre, executive president of the tribunal, Vladimir Dedijer described the reasons for the investigation:

"Prima facie documentation points out that Brazil has been transformed

into the key basis for the most aggressive U.S. imperialistic venture in South America and the Caribbean and is already threatening the whole area.

"The rapporteur and member of our Tribunal, Professor Lelio Basso, during his last visit to Latin America, has already opened preliminary investigation, gathering many proofs of the criminal behaviour of the Brazilian dictatorship." □

REVIEWS

Ponomarev's Directives on How to Meet Growing Threat of Resurgent 'Trotskyism'

By George Saunders

After a decade of steadily mounting attacks on Trotskyism written by obscure apparatus-propagandists (Basmanov, Mikeshin, S. Ognev, etc.),¹ the Kremlin leaders have made a major move to upgrade the status of the anti-Trotskyist campaign. One of the top inner circle has been assigned to put his name to a rewritten and updated version of the old themes.

The assignment went to Boris Ponomarev, a secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist

party. His name appears on a long, prominently featured article in the most recent issue of *Kommunist*, chief theoretical organ of the bureaucratized Soviet party.

The article takes up twenty-one pages of *Kommunist* No. 18 for 1971 (approved for printing December 16, 1971). It is clearly the main article of the issue, coming after the customary editorial urging higher productivity, with which most issues of *Kommunist* begin.

The title in the table of contents is not revealing—"An Urgent Task of Ideological-Political Struggle." But on the first page a subtitle—in odd-looking type, all in capitals—explains what the object of "struggle" is. It reads "Trotskyism—Weapon of Anti-Communism."

So that no one will underestimate the importance of the article, the opening page also bears the author's rank: under his name is the designation "Sekretar' TsK KPSS"—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The article is divided into an introductory section and five parts, introduced by the numerals I through V. In his introduction, Ponomarev keys his essay to the Brezhnev report at the March 1971 Twenty-fourth Party Congress. Brezhnev, in passing, had mentioned Trotskyism as an important danger, and this theme was expanded in an article in the magazine *Agitator* in June 1971, signed by an obscure propagandist, S. Ognev.

The main thrust of Ponomarev's article can be paraphrased this way: "The Trotskyists are *not* more to the left than we are." Every lie and intonation here betrays a growing concern among the top bureaucrats about the influence of the revolutionary-socialist movement, embodied in the reunited Fourth International, and the ideas for which it stands.

Ponomarev's concluding remarks list five ways to be followed by Soviet propagandists to counteract the influence of Trotskyism:

"The urgency of the struggle against right and 'left' opportunism, including against Trotskyism, is emphasized in the Central Committee report [by Brezhnev] to the Twenty-fourth Congress. In this connection the following important tasks confront our theoretical and propagandist cadres:

"—To profoundly lay bare the anti-Leninist essence of Trotskyism, its ideological and political kinship with open anti-Communism, with opportunism of right and 'left' persuasions; to decisively rebuff the Trotskyists' efforts to speculate on Marxism-Leninism.

"—To show by concrete examples the hostility of Trotskyism, in theory and practice, to the basic interests both of the working class and of the other battalions of the toiling people.

"—To expose the false revolutionism of the Trotskyists, to show with facts the antirevolutionary character of their activity, their disbelief in the power of the working class, and of the possibility of building socialism in single countries.

"—To show that Trotskyism replaces the struggle against imperialism with a struggle against the basic revolutionary forces of today, above all against the socialist countries and the international Communist movement, and tries to cause divisions among the revolutionary forces.

"—To bring out the essence of the international policies followed by the socialist countries, to expose the Trotskyists' falsification concerning the essence of those policies, their class character, to explain the inacceptability of counterposing the principles of peaceful coexistence of countries with differing social systems to the tasks of revolutionary struggle—such are the basic lines for ideological-theoretical and propaganda struggle against Trotskyism at the present stage."

The themes of the article's five sections are as follows: Section I—why Trotskyism continues to exist, or "reappears" as a major opponent of the "world Communist movement." (In the past, especially under Stalin, the Kremlin bosses repeatedly announced that Trotskyism had been "definitively" defeated.) This section takes up the Marek-Fischer, Garaudy, and *II Manifesto* groups, the followers of Dubcek in Czechoslovakia and Petkoff in Venezuela, and links them all with Trotskyism.

Section II contends that capitalism

1. For key documents, along with critical notes and analysis on this topic, see the following:

"Please Correct the Address for Shipments of Gold," *World Outlook* (the former name of *Intercontinental Press*), May 8, 1964, p. 9.

"'Pravda' Again Points to the Specter of Trotskyism," *ibid.*, June 5, 1964, p. 6.

"Trotskyism Haunts Both Moscow and Peking," by Pierre Frank, *ibid.*, April 17, 1964, p. 10.

"Suslov Points to the Danger of 'Trotskyism,'" by Pierre Frank, *ibid.*, April 24, 1964, p. 14.

"The 'New' Stalinist Version of 'Trotskyism'" (N. P. Mikeshin's "Trotskyism as a Weapon of Imperialist Propaganda"), *ibid.*, November 11, 1966, p. 3. "Translator's Notes," by George Saunders, *ibid.*, p. 12. "The Political Meaning of Mikeshin's Attack," by Joseph Hansen, *ibid.*, p. 24.

"Moscow Levels New Attack Against Trotskyism" (M. Basmanov's "Trotskyism in the Service of Anti-Communism"), *ibid.*, March 22, 1968, p. 245. "Notes and Comments on the Basmanov Article," by George Saunders, *ibid.*, p. 254.

"Catchy New Title in Kremlin's Spring Book List," by George Saunders, *Intercontinental Press*, June 2, 1969, p. 548.

"Kapitsa: 'Our Ideologists Stand Isolated . . .'" *ibid.*, October 6, 1969, p. 883.

"Moscow Still Haunted by Trotskyism," by George Saunders, *ibid.*, October 13, 1969, p. 910.

"The Role of Trotskyism in the Modern World," by M. Basmanov, *ibid.*, April 27, 1970, p. 365. "The Role of Basmanov in the New School of Stalinist Falsification," by George Saunders, *ibid.*, p. 370.

"What the Modern Trotskyists Are," by S. Ognev, *ibid.*, September 27, 1971, p. 823.

"S. Ognev and the Brezhnev View of Trotskyism," by George Saunders, *ibid.*, p. 814.

supports Trotskyism, citing the increased publication of Trotsky's works in recent years and referring to Trotskyists who "in the 40s and 50s held important positions in so-called 'Sovietology,' S. Hook, J. Cannon [!], I. Deutscher, and others."²

It also repeats the charge that the "splitting activities" of the Mao leadership in China helped open the way for a renewal of the influence of Trotskyism. Then it tries to explain away the gains Trotskyism has made in the student and youth movements. "The Trotskyists are trying to build youth groups adhering to 'sections' of the 'Fourth International.' If 5-7 years ago only one such group was known—in England—now they function in France, Belgium, the U. S. A., Japan, and several other countries."

Quoting from an alleged conference of the Socialist Labour League of Britain in 1968, Section II states that the "Trotskyists" openly admit that they wish to recruit youth in order, then, to send them into the factories to make contact with the workers.

It also reviews the "provocations" of the French Trotskyists during the May-June events of 1968 in France and the fact that the Communist League, which it names, dared to "put up its candidate A. Krivine" in the 1969 election, competing with the candidate of the French Communist party.

It charges the Italian Trotskyists with trying to win leadership posts in trade unions and with calling for "fighting groups" during the "hot autumn" of 1969.

"In the U. S. A. the Trotskyist group-lets—the so-called 'Socialist Workers Party' and 'Young Socialist Alliance'—viciously attack the tactical line of

2. Sydney Hook, emeritus head of the Department of Philosophy at New York University. During the thirties he moved far to the left, even flirting with Trotskyism. However, he eventually came to identify Stalinism with Leninism and shifted to the right. Although he still claims to be a socialist, he is more properly a right-wing Social Democrat. A prominent cold-war liberal, he ended up as an opponent of the current student radicalization.

James P. Cannon, one of the pioneer leaders of the American Communist party, founded the American Trotskyist movement in 1928 and participated with Trotsky in founding the Fourth International in 1938. He is the national chairman of the Socialist Workers party.

The late Isaac Deutscher, a life-long communist, is best known for his three-volume biography of Leon Trotsky.

the Communist Party U. S. A. and the program of antimonopoly struggle put forward by the American Communists. It is characteristic that during election campaigns the Trotskyists invariably oppose all progressive candidates on the 'basis' that these persons 'do not reject the entire capitalist system.'

"As Gus Hall observed in his report to a session of the National Committee of the CPUSA (November 1970), the Trotskyists 'in their traditional role as splitters' are trying 'to sow confusion and dismay in the ranks of the peace supporters.' They have hindered the reorientation carried out by that movement in accordance with the new conditions of struggle—after Nixon's announcement of his demagogic program of 'Vietnamization' of the war in Vietnam."

Ponomarev goes on in a similar vein against the Trotskyists in Japan and Latin America, concluding Section II with a quote denouncing the Trotskyists . . . by Lenin (who of course died before the International Left Opposition emerged as a distinct tendency).

Section III pretends to review the history of Trotskyism, the main point being to reiterate over and over: "Trotskyism is the opposite of Leninism. It is not the continuation of it. It is the opposite, the opposite."

Section IV returns to the theme of Maoism and Trotskyism, dwelling mainly on the slander that both advocate war. A new twist is added though, on the question of bureaucratization. Ponomarev argues that the Chinese leadership used Trotskyist ideas to justify its "bureaucratization" of the Chinese party and government as "unavoidable." For this, Ponomarev claims, "all Trotskyists" praised the organizers of the Cultural Revolution.

Section V, the last and longest, touches on the recent history of the Fourth International, quoting from the 1963 document of the Reunification Congress "Dynamics of World Revolution Today."

It gives a distorted account of the disputes within the Trotskyist movement following World War II, trying to paint a picture of hopeless dissension. Mandel, Frank, Cannon, Pablo are mentioned. Fidel Castro's 1966 speech echoing old Stalinist slanders of Trotskyism is dug up again, along

with the Trotskyists' opposition to the Popular Front in Spain in the 1930s, and Alain Krivine's statement in the 1969 elections that the "union of anti-monopoly forces" is a myth.

Section V goes on even to charge that the Trotskyists oppose the movement against the Vietnam war! (In fact the Trotskyists have been unquestionably the most active international left tendency in the antiwar movement, and this is generally recognized everywhere but in the official statements of the Kremlin bureaucrats.)

To back this glaringly false charge, Ponomarev quotes from unidentified "English Trotskyists": "All these campaigns for peace in Vietnam . . . operate in support of different variants of imperialist policy and undermine the independent international struggle of the working class."

The article concludes with the points quoted above on what themes should be stressed in countering Trotskyist ideas.

Translations of the document in various languages will no doubt appear soon in the publications of the world pro-Moscow tendency. □

Socialism in Chile?

Allende's Chile: Is It Going Socialist? by Peter Camejo. Pathfinder Press, New York, N. Y. 31 pp. \$0.60, £0.25. 1971.

The two articles in this pamphlet are particularly timely in a period when the Unidad Popular government finds its support declining on both the left and the right.

The first article, which originally appeared in *The Militant*, analyzes the program of the Allende regime, the reforms it has carried out and their limitations, the source of the government's support and its probable future.

The second article, "The History of Popular Frontism in Chile," demonstrates that Allende's coalition is not a new phenomenon on the Chilean scene, the first such popular front having won election in 1938 with the backing of the Chilean Nazi party.

This pamphlet will be an important aid for anyone who wants to understand the unfolding events in Chile. □

The Szczecin Workers Debate Edward Gierek

[The following document* is a condensation of a tape recording of a debate between the workers of the Adolph Warski shipyards in Szczecin, who had been on strike for over a month, and the first secretary of the Polish Communist party, Edward Gierek. The debate took place January 24, 1971, just one year ago, at the height of the uprising that toppled Gomulka from power.]

[The tape, recorded on the spot by the shipworkers, was forwarded with great difficulty by the Poles to the workers of the West, so that, as the Polish workers said, "the rest of the world might finally know what is really happening in Poland."]

[The text was translated from Polish into French under the direction of Gérard Bloch and condensed for *Le Nouvel Observateur* (December 6, 1971). With the permission of SELIO, the holders of the copyright, we are providing below an English translation based on the version that appeared in *Le Nouvel Observateur*.

[For additional material on the events in Szczecin, see "A Taste of Workers' Power in Poland" by Antoni Wojciechowski and Ryszard Malinowski in the February 1, 1971, issue of *Intercontinental Press*, p. 94; and "Polish Workers' Revolt Gathers Fresh Momentum" by Gerry Foley in the February 8, 1971, *Intercontinental Press*, p. 103.]

* * *

Chairman. Workers of the ship-

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yards! You have been demanding, as a condition for going back to work, a direct discussion with Comrade Gierek, our prime minister. Well, here he is! He has come here, to Szczecin, to the shipyards. (*Applause.*) The hour is a little unusual for such a meeting, but in the future . . .

Gierek. In the future, there will be no meetings under these conditions . . . (*Shouts, various movements in the hall.*)

Chairman. Comrade Baluta, chairman of the strike committee, has the floor.

Baluta (reading from a paper). Here are our demands! We demand: cancellation of the price rises; immediate and democratic elections in all the leading bodies of the party, the unions, the youth organizations, the workers' councils in the factories. We demand that complete and honest information about the recent events be given to the entire country, that the false reports spread by the official radio be denied, and that the workers' demands be published—all that, by January 25 at the latest. We demand that the workers' committee supervise the elections. We demand that the police immediately cease harassing, threatening, and arresting the strikers; because in this country, to the best of my knowledge, striking is not a crime! (*Putting aside the paper.*) There you are, Comrade Gierek, that's what we have to say.

Gierek. Before replying, comrades, I would like to ask you for a little patience and understanding. I was aware that the situation, in Szczecin and throughout the country, had become difficult—let's say it, intolerable. Why? There are objective reasons, such as our serious setbacks in agriculture and the sabotage of the capitalist countries, which make us pay for everything in dollars. But I won't bother you with all that now; because, above all, there are reasons that are the fault of individuals. It has to be said: Comrade Gomulka, in whom we had unlimited confidence for so long, well . . . yes, Comrade Go-

mulka made decisions that were not correct. And it was impossible to say the slightest thing to him. He always answered: "You don't know anything about it; I'm the only one who knows . . ." You workers were then told that the government and the party were always united, unanimous. That wasn't true. There was an opposition. But we couldn't do anything, and the little that we did get was immediately sabotaged from the beginning by the bureaucracy. We warned Gomulka often; we told him that the price of foodstuffs should not be raised; that there were going to be strikes. Gomulka didn't listen to advice. He was far too arrogant for that. What could we do? Resign? At a time when the economic situation of the country was so bad?

Because perhaps you don't know exactly where we stand. Very well, I'll tell you: We are in an impasse. We are at the end of the line. Just for this year alone, we are short 2,500,000 tons of wheat. The Soviet Union is selling us 2,000,000 tons, but we absolutely do not have the money for the rest. Now, cattle-raising is going to suffer, and we are going to have new troubles with the meat supply. And that's only one small example . . .

Yes, everything is very, very bad. The worst of it is that we don't know how to get out of it. Our investments are much too heavy—23 percent of the national revenue!—but they have already been made. It is impossible to undo what has been done. In addition, we find ourselves at the highest level of population growth, in connection with employment. In the next five years, we have to find employment for 1,900,000 young people. Wherever we turn, the situation is blocked. It's impossible to upset the applecart, to tear everything apart. The only solution, believe me, is painful . . . it's hard to say . . . but it is that you work harder and still harder—so that our economy produces its maximum. (*He pauses for a moment.*)

So I am talking to you the way I

spoke to my miner friends in Silesia. I say to you: Help us! Help me! You cannot doubt my good will. When it was proposed that I take over the leadership of the party, at first I thought I would refuse. After all, I am fifty-eight years old. In another two or three years, I will retire. I even have a pension from France and from Belgium, because I worked there eighteen years. So I could leave, couldn't I? I am only a worker like you. I worked in the mine pits for eighteen years! I don't have any relatives in high places. My relatives slave in the mines—just as I did. Yes, I tell you, I was very much tempted to refuse. But if we had done that, Comrade Piotr¹ and I, something terrible would have happened . . . Comrades, there would have been a bloodbath!

You will tell me that a bloodbath took place anyway, that there were deaths, many deaths. That's true, and I pay homage to those who fell. But now—and I tell you this in all solemnity, as a Pole and as a Communist—the fate of our nation and the cause of socialism are in the balance. Also, I promise you to grant your demands to the maximum, but I ask certain things of you: for example, to cease the attacks (I know that they are circulating) against the Soviet Union. First, because at the height of the present crisis, Comrade Brezhnev himself phoned Comrade Gomulka in order that the crisis here be settled politically and not by repression. And then you cannot, you must not . . . hit out at what is fundamental for us, what has been decisive and will continue to be decisive to our development: friendship with the Soviet Union.

As to your demands, we will do our utmost. The party will be renovated; we will get rid of the incompetents. As to lowering the price of foodstuffs, we must be realistic. I tell you, there is no possible way of going back to the pre-December 12 prices. (*Stirring, shouts in the hall: "Yes!" "Yes!" "Why not?"*) Because, comrades, in all truth, it isn't possible. But all elected bodies will be democratically reconstituted. That, yes. (*Applause.*) So that these bodies are open to all—party members or not! Open even to members of the

strike committee, why not? (*Ovations, shouts.*) To pay wages for the days you were on strike? That we shouldn't do—not in so difficult a period, while the whole country is at work. I'm going to make you a proposition, anyhow: we agree to pay your wages if, before the end of the month, you fulfill the production plan. Okay? Good.

In addition, I read on your list: give honest information on the political and economic situation. But there has only been too much of that recently, too much of that kind of information. (*Voice in the hall: "False information, false!"*) No! Don't demand of us a democracy . . . as they say . . . for all, for all friends and enemies! The erroneous reports will be corrected, but it is out of the question, at this time, to encourage agitation among the workers by publishing your demands! The last point concerns the police: if anyone has been arrested for a strike action, it is clear that he has to be released immediately. Thieves, looters, arsonists will have to be punished, but they only.

There you are, comrades, that's what I have to say to you. I know that it can't satisfy you completely. But you must know, you must understand, that that's the limit. Accept it, help us, and on our side, we will do everything we can to ameliorate this tragic situation. That is your duty . . . (*Applause.*)

Chairman. Who wants the floor? Who is ready? The delegate from department K-1? Yes?

Delegate from K-1. I would like to ask our higher officials: Can we speak frankly, as Comrade Gierek says? (*Addressing himself to the chair.*) Can I speak honestly?

Gierek. Yes, that's exactly what we're here for.

Delegate from K-1. Then we can talk as workers do among themselves?

Gierek: That's obvious.

Delegate from K-1. Then we can have mutual self-criticism?

Gierek. Yes.

Delegate from K-1. Good! Do I have guarantees of safety? You understand, since I'm a worker, I don't know how to speak very well, how to present things . . . but does Comrade Gierek know that we can no longer count the number of corpses here because it is hard to calculate how many have been picked up in the street. (*Shouts in the hall.*) Oh, it isn't so

much the number, but people were falling, bullets were whistling. And those bullets—how were they bought? With money earned by our sweat. That's really too hard to bear!

How is it possible that the working class can be turned against the working class? How is it possible that we were shooting at one another? Because, really, we have one party, don't we? Then why all this blood? And another thing: I know a man whose brother was killed. Now, this man received reparation, but on condition that he sign a declaration saying that his brother had not been killed but died of a heart attack, a labor accident, or some other reason. (*Shouts of anger, applause.*) That's not all. Comrade Gierek tells us: there won't be any sanctions against the strikers. Official sanctions, perhaps. But how about other sanctions? (*Shouting.*) Actually, they catch the shipyard workers like rats! They jump on them noiselessly, in a corner, behind trees, they beat them up. We had a case in our department: a man was beaten up. It's the truth. His back was all green as a result of the clubbing. We saw it. Why? Simply because he had wanted to note the badge number of the militiaman who was checking his papers . . .

I ask: Of what use is this militia? To beat up honest people and to take care of "bluebirds"?² And it is false to say that they shot into the air. There were two killed and two wounded, not in the street but inside the plant, in front of the administrative building where we were waiting for the manager. We certainly had the right to be there, no? Then why shoot? No, we are not protecting those who set fires and who looted, because we will have to rebuild all that with our dough, that's for sure: the financial institutions always lend us money for everything, us who work. But I think these methods of the militia have to be changed. And the leaders have to be changed, too—that . . . that aristocracy that is going to steal everything. (*Ovation in the hall.*) If we are really going to elect our officials, we have to get rid of all those people who have elbowed themselves permanently into comfortable chairs, where they sit so long that the seats of their pants become mildewed . . . because

1. Piotr Jarosewicz, prime minister, vice prime minister and Poland's representative to the Comecon under Gomulka.

2. A parasite—an individual who manages to live well without working.

they are useless! We are struggling for that, for a change of officials. Especially at the base. It's like a fish—it's the head that starts to rot first, but it has to be scaled from the tail. All this is not against Comrade Gierrek. It's only that he know about it. I have finished. Thank you.

Delegate from K-2. I want to go back to the events. So many young people have been killed, shot from behind—not from the front—in the back, in the head. There is proof. I am an eyewitness! And then, those killed in the street have been wrapped up in nylon bags and buried in secret, like cattle. (*Applause, shouts.*) But, believe me, the people will not let this go by—they will check everything, even in the cemeteries. Everything will be accounted for. Everything! And in my opinion, Comrade Gierrek should take matters in hand and punish the guilty with the greatest severity. (*Applause.*) That's all . . .

Excuse me, there are still the demands: in my opinion, Comrade Gierrek has promised us nothing; he has said that the economic situation was too difficult. It is well known that we Poles know how to work—here as well as abroad . . . So we must give him a chance—we must give Comrade Gierrek a chance. Of course, at the time we also trusted Gomulka. Only nothing was accomplished—nothing came of it. But, in my opinion, Comrade Edward is the right kind of man. Let's give him at least a year or two and we'll see the results . . . (*Applause.*)

Baluta. K-3? K-3? Not present? Then K-4.

Delegate from K-4. I am the representative of K-4, which does the actual construction of the ship's hull. Our department works outdoors. That means that in the summer we stew in our own juice; the temperature goes to 70 degrees [Centigrade] and higher. In the wintertime, we can hardly work because the equipment is frozen. When the rainy season comes, there are deaths from electrocution among the welders and shipfitters. We have never been able to get even a two-hour stoppage when it rains, though rain is a mortal danger for us.

And all that for what? For miserable wages: 1,800 to 2,000 zlotys. The same thing I was earning ten years ago! If you figure it out, for a family of five: breakfast for each, bread and something to drink, that

comes to 2 zlotys. In the evening, the same thing: 4 zlotys. The cheapest possible midday meal, 12 zlotys per person, comes to 60 zlotys. Automatically, then, 64 zlotys a day. For the month, that comes to 1,800, almost 1,900 zlotys. And that's only food—bread and drink. But in the yards, the work is hard; the worker has to eat because, truthfully, after fifteen years, it's the cemetery. Anything else is impossible. That's it, thank you. (*Applause.*)

Baluta. Comrade, comrade! Your position on the demands?

Delegate from K-4. Our department is for some kind of raise. If it rains or snows, I don't know if I can earn 1,000 zlotys. I don't know if I'm going to survive until next month. Thank you.

Baluta. Who gets the floor now? W-2? Yes.

Delegate from W-2. In connection with our demands and in the name of our department, we have unanimously decided to end the strike in order to express our complete confidence in the officials of the party and government. Since our decision is a positive one, we want to broach a few questions. First: Is it necessary for blood to flow in order to change the Central Committee of the PUWP³ and the government? Second: They are always telling us about the so-called high wages, without understanding that these wages come from too many hours of overtime. But what are the salaries of the leaders and the ministers? If they are twice as high as the salary of a highly skilled welder (5,000 zlotys), then we demand that the salaries of the high officials be reduced and frozen. Thank you.

Delegate from W-3: As to these so very important persons, other things have to change, too. I know an army officer, named Szatkowski, an old-timer of the PSP.⁴ How he worked for the party in his day! He has been a party member for twenty-five years. Now, he wanted to see Comrade Walaszek, at the *voivodie*. He said, "I'll wait one, two, six months . . . please set up an appointment for me." The secretary replied, "No, it's out of the question. You won't be able to see

him." That man went away broken-hearted. Well, if everybody in power is like that—and they often are—well, it's going to be hard to find a common language with us workers. How are they going to govern us?

As to the demands, the first and most important for us is that a raise in salaries and a reduction in prices must be declared. (*Very great applause, ovations, shouts.*) That's it.

Baluta. Comrade, comrade! Speak concretely: Are you for or against continuing the strike? That's very important.

Delegate from W-3: I'm going to ask the others . . .

(*Movements in the hall, confusion on the dais, interruption.*)

Delegate from W-3: Department W-3 decides to stop the strike. It's a gesture towards Comrade Gierrek, who came here. Thank you.

A delegate (interrupting). Comrades, just one remark. I hope that Comrade Gierrek is really announcing a change. In that case, we must support him. How? By speaking up. Because telling the truth is our only weapon. Lies are of no use to us. We must continue to orient the discussion in that direction. The workers know very well that two tendencies have taken shape in the ranks of our leadership. Both are at each other's throat. If the tendency responsible for the old policy regains ground, then we who went out on strike, we'll all land in jail. No more, no less! Because within the leadership, within the press, within the committees of the *voivodie*, there are people who, little by little, are going to try to eliminate those who support the change.

That is really on our minds, and with good reason. That is why we have to demand that the dialogue be conducted starting with the lowest echelons, in the unions with the plant management, and right up to the top. So that we can oversee what's going on. If not, they will get rid of us . . . Some people in the city are already giving us dirty looks. They are saying that we are bandits, wreckers. We don't belong in that category. We are simply workers who want to better their living conditions . . .

Baluta. Comrades, I ask you to shorten your comments and to make known your concrete position on the demands rapidly. Otherwise we'll all still be here at noon! Don't repeat

3. Polish United Workers party (Polish Communist party).

4. Polish Socialist party (absorbed by the Communist party in 1947).

yourselves. Those who haven't as yet consulted their department should do it now. (*Proceedings suspended, stirring in the hall, a rather long interruption.*) Next!

Delegate from the C.P. I, delegate of the C.P., member of the party for twenty-six years, I would like to answer Comrade Gierek when he tells us that we have to save money, that money in our country is precious. We are aware of that—it's our own blood that's in it. But we can draw off some money from those who are living too well. Comrades, I'll speak out plainly: our society is divided into classes. There are people who have so much . . . so much "socialism" . . . that they no longer know what to do. Even right here, in the shipyards! Comrade Skrzynecki has been manager for twelve months. How much has he earned? 170,000 zlotys plus a little change. And how? With all those additions, those bonuses, and so on and so forth. I think, comrades, that we have to put an end to this! We have been fighting since 1945 to eliminate classes, to abolish the inequalities that date from the time of Sanacja.⁵ And it is a just struggle. But here it is—under this system the people are being divided into classes once again. While we work and sweat, others are getting rich. Worse yet, they don't even want to talk to us. They've really become snooty!

Delegate of the N. T. P. department. Workers of the shipyards! I speak in the name of N. T. P. First, I would like to say: Comrade Gierek, you talk of a change. Do you know what a change is? It's us who are present here. (Shouts, applause, ovations.) Those who are workers, Communists, who are for People's Poland. So, it's with us that you should hold discussions, instead of sending the militia after us as if we were bandits, instead of surrounding us with a cordon of troops and trying to starve us out by preventing food from reaching us during the strike . . . Comrade Gierek, in the morning, after this long night, we'll go back to work, but we want, beforehand, to have some honest and direct answers. We've been lied to too much. Not by you, perhaps,

Comrade Gierek, but by the others. Before . . . Well, now, we want the Central Committee to commit itself and take a position on this affair. We want . . .

Gierek. That I cannot accept! It's an ultimatum . . . (Stirring and agitation in the hall.) After all, I am not the Central Committee. I'm only the first secretary. It's up to the Committee to decide . . .

Delegate from the N. T. P. That's true! Comrade Gierek is right: he can't answer all by himself. Do you know what that means? That means that the days of the cult of personality are over, workers! Hurray for Comrade Gierek . . . (Applause and laughter.) But before I finish (turning towards Gierek) I want to say that we've waited twenty-five years for this historic moment. Now, today, in the presence of the government and of the Comrade First Secretary, we want everything—yes, everything that has been said here—to be put in black and white. No traps! (Shouting, yelling.) Thank you.

Baluta. Comrade workers, some order! Hear the Comrade First Secretary.

Gierek. All that I can promise is to try to give a kind of new start. I think that, this year, a special congress of the party should be called, to elect a new Central Committee. But in the meantime, I beg of you, don't

take matters into your own hands—without the management. I say to you: come, we will discuss things—everything! My door is always open to you. We will make decisions together. You really should know this: things happened completely otherwise because Comrade Gomulka was exceptionally autocratic. It was he alone who made decisions. It often even happened—these are things one is ashamed to talk about—that the government and the comrades of the Central Committee learned about decisions from the newspapers! Yes, the decree instituting the state of emergency, for example, we learned about that from the newspapers. And the Political Bureau, not even the Political Bureau could do very much about it. Our words fell on deaf ears. I myself was against raising prices. (*He shouts.*) Yes, I was against it! I was against it! But what could one do in the face of such enormous authority? All the more since Gomulka had, in spite of everything, done a good deal for this country, during the occupation and afterwards . . .

But let's leave the past behind. We are going to do a big clean-up job. Right now, it is necessary to work. Work, don't play your enemies' game; don't help those who want to prove that "it was still a counterrevolution—so it was correct to shoot."

In conclusion, I would like to thank

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5. Literal meaning: "to cure." Political movement of the thirties, led by shady financial promoters and politicians, which supported General Pilsudski.

you, comrade workers, for the care that you took of the plant, and I would like to ask you to influence the people around you so that they will accord us the trust without which we can accomplish nothing. Thank you, comrades, thank you! (*Prolonged applause, confusion, everyone talking at the same time. Baluta's voice is heard over the loudspeaker:*

"The strike is over! The strike is over! Leave your guard posts!" *Then another voice, loud, emotion-laden.*)

A worker (anonymous). Don't leave. There's still one more thing. It's about all those who died, our dead comrades. I don't know if Comrade Gierek intends to express regret of some kind. But I would like us to render homage to them, at least with one

minute of silence; at the end of this strike . . .

Gierek. Yes, I agree.

The worker. I ask a minute of silence of all those present, starting now. I ask all those on the shipyard grounds, everywhere, to observe a minute of silence in memory of those who will no longer be with us.

(*Silence.*)

Lambert's Reply to Healy

By Pierre Frank

In my article of November 10, "The Split Between Healy and Lambert,"¹ I summarized the attacks leveled by Healy against Lambert's policies and added that it will be interesting to read what Lambert writes in reply. The reply has been given in a statement dated November 21 signed by the Central Committee of the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste].²

A considerable part of this document is devoted to lodging the responsibility for the split on Healy, to answering this or that detail, things that are of interest only to the participants in the dispute. Healy is also accused of turning to the Fourth International and, in particular, of having addressed himself to it during the year 1970. We reported in our press at the time that Healy, speaking in the name of the SLL [Socialist Labour League], had asked to meet with us.³ In the talks that took place, he was accompanied by a member of the OCI. What he wanted was that our movements should open a discussion, which he said could lead to a reunification. The Fourth International—without rejecting in principle the question of a possible reunification—was of the opinion that the relations between our movements were such that a discussion could lead to nothing positive. In Lambert's document we learn that he was against this move, as I thought at the time.

As for the political content of the rupture, it must be stated right off that in face of Healy's vigorous political attack, Lambert's reply is largely defensive, has little substance, and in no wise engages in a criticism of Healy's politics.

In summarizing Healy's attack, I deliberately left aside Healy's main theme. He accused Lambert of more or less openly rejecting dialectical materialism. Ever since he read Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism*, Healy has not been able to engage in a tendency struggle without bring-

ing up this question. He forgets that Trotsky was polemicalizing against Burnham, a professor of philosophy who openly rejected dialectical materialism, and Shachtman, who was utterly indifferent to it. Trotsky wanted to show that this "bloc in philosophy" corresponded to their bloc on the character of the Soviet Union, one arguing that it was not a workers state, the other that it was a question without any importance. Healy likewise forgets that Trotsky conducted other tendency struggles that were not less important without speaking about dialectical materialism. In any case, as soon as he sees a political disagreement, no matter how minor, Healy turns to philosophy and tries to prove that his adversary has idealist leanings. In his reply, Lambert has no trouble dealing with Healy's philosophical mania.

Aside from this, Lambert's reply does not take up the political issues properly speaking. On Bolivia he ducks the main accusation, that is, that in the Popular Assembly Lora followed a policy reminiscent of that of the Mensheviks or Bolshevik conciliators in the Petrograd Soviet in February-March 1917, collaborating with the pro-Moscow CP from the time Torres was installed in power, waiting for the general to arm the masses against the rightist officers.

As we wrote previously, it was above all Lambert's policies in France that Healy attacked. Lambert slipped on various questions—like the support he gave for a long time to Messali Hadj, like defeatism toward the Vietnamese revolution (see Berg's articles before the Tet offensive). He ducks the question of his having oriented his activities toward the backward sections of the French working class by asking Healy if the PS [Parti Socialiste] and Force Ouvrière are not "workers' organizations," and leaving the impression that Healy's "preference" is the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Lambert displays his opportunism with notable clearness when in opposition to Healy he argues for his "united class front." This policy, he writes, "is a strategic line insofar as it is always (that is, without regard to the circumstances, the relationship of forces, or tactical factors in the strict sense of the term) present in a revolutionary policy." He specifies further on: "And where the working class is under the leadership and control of separate or-

1. See "The Split Between Healy and Lambert" in *Intercontinental Press*, November 29, 1971, p. 1045.

2. For an English translation of the full text, see "Lambertist 'Reply to a Splitting Act'" in *Intercontinental Press*, January 17, 1972, p. 46.

3. See "Healy's Request to Discuss Unification" in *Intercontinental Press*, July 27, 1970, p. 711.

ganizations, this policy takes the form of a united front of all the organizations of the class." In other words, where the workers are organized and led by reformist organizations, a revolutionary policy would always include a united front of these organizations, "without regard to the circumstances, the relationship of forces, or tactical factors." This is monstrous! It means quite simply jumping on the bandwagon of these organizations when they are engaging in betrayals, for example in time of war or of movements like May 1968, without mentioning lesser occasions when the united front of these organizations is carried out in practice at the expense of the workers.

We will perhaps be told: you exaggerate; Lambert may have expressed himself badly; he has not forgotten the program. Let's see. He deals in his document with the May 1969 presidential campaign in France, forgetting quite like Healy the Trotskyist candidacy of Alain Krivine and overlooking the differences within the OCI on the vote (Defferre, Duclos, or abstention), but he cites and stresses these words by Just:

"But what about program? Didn't a single candidate put up by the workers' organizations need a program? What was it developing into? In these specific circumstances, the development of a program for a government of the united workers' organizations derived from this joint campaign."

In other words, through his campaign the single candidate would have given expression to this program.

A program emerging from an electoral campaign! When Lambert and Just go spontan  ist, they don't do it by halves.

I don't know what imbecile in the OCI thought it possible to explain "Pabloism," not by starting with the split of 1952-53 but by going back to the split of "la Commune" in 1935, in which I participated. In the Lambert organization the drums are beaten over an error committed in trying to organize groups in several areas to fight against fascism at a time when priority should have been given to leading the revolutionary socialist youth expelled from the SFIO [Social Democracy] to participate in forming a party on the program of the Fourth International. (Moreover, they forget to add that Lambert himself joined Trotskyism via the group that emerged from "la Commune.") But how pale this error was in contrast to a policy that envisions a class-struggle program emerging from a united front, even from an electoral agreement between the Communist and Socialist parties, without regard to the circumstances, the relationship of forces, etc. . . .

Let us pause here in expectation of the next document announced by Lambert on "all the questions posed by the present stage for the reconstruction of the Fourth International." Meanwhile, we will observe how Healy and Lambert, each in his fashion, reconstruct the "International Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International."

December 2, 1971

Ceylon MP Describes His Brother's Arrest

[Prins Gunasekera is a member of the Ceylonese parliament and of the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) led by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike. On October 5, he broke with the governing coalition over the issue of the continuing state of emergency in Ceylon, under which thousands of persons are still being arbitrarily held without trial. In November, Gunasekera became one of the founders of the Human and Democratic Rights Organisation.

[On December 5, Gunasekera's brother was arrested. The following account of the arrest was written the next day by Prins Gunasekera.]

* * *

On 5.12.71 at 12.30 a.m. A.S.P. de Fonseka of Galle Police arrives at my home in Kataluwa, Ahangama and calls for P.C. Gunasekera, a teacher, as there is some trouble in the school where he teaches. (He is a teacher at G/Anduyoda Boys School, Ahangama.)

The servant boy wakes me up and says that the Police are inquiring after my brother. I go out and as I emerge from my bed room, to the verandah, I hear the A.S.P. Fonseka inquiring from the

servant whether he is resting. I go up to Fonseka who was standing under the porch—call him into the verandah, and ask him to sit down. Fonseka and another Police Officer, who identifies himself as the H.Q.I. Galle Police Station, walks in and sits in the verandah chair.

I inquire from A.S.P. Fonseka why this call at an ungodly hour. I ask him what time it was—he says 12.30 a.m. By which time my brother also appears—sits in the verandah and joins in the conversation.

I ask the A.S.P. the reason for his visit—A.S.P. says—they have got orders from Colombo to take into custody my brother and take him to Galle.

I inquire whether it is to detain him or to question him—or for what other purpose.

A.S.P. says he is sorry he cannot give any more particulars than that he got orders to take him into custody and bring him to Galle.

I inquire whether it would be possible to send him back home before lunch on 5.12.71—as there was going to be a family occasion. (I explain to him the occasion—that some people were visiting our home re a marriage proposal to my younger brother and so we would like

all brothers to be present on that occasion.) A.S.P. explains that he would not be in a position to say whether it would be possible—as his only orders are—arrest him and take him to Galle Police Station. I ask him again—in that case—would I send him after lunch—after the family occasion was over. A.S.P. says—very politely, he must carry out his orders to arrest him and take him to the Galle Police.

I ask my brother in that situation, to go and get ready to proceed with the Police.

My brother leaves—we start a general conversation until he gets ready and comes out. I told the A.S.P. and H.Q.I. that I feared this would happen from the very reaction of the Prime Minister to my criticism of the Government conduct in the House during the week's Budget Debate. I told him a summary of what my criticism was. I asked them if their round-up operations were not yet over—they only smiled and said they did not know where this was going to end.

We chatted for nearly half an hour till my brother went to the bathroom, shaved and got ready for the journey.

When he got ready and came, I too

got out into the garden to walk with them to the vehicle.

Nearly 15 policemen, armed with machine guns and rifles, emerged from various spots in the garden where they had been in hiding. I asked the A. S. P. why all these battalion. He said—this is what they always do when they go out to arrest someone—nothing unusual in this case.

I walked up to the gate, my brother and the H. Q. I. walking in front of me with the armed police following.

I asked the policemen to proceed ahead and called to the A. S. P. to stop and again asked him whether it was for detention

or for questioning that he was taking my brother. His only reply was—I have orders from Colombo to take him into custody and bring him to Galle, that is all.

As it was not possible to obtain any more information from him, I abandoned further inquiries. I stayed back at the gate. Across the railway line I heard the engines of three vehicles starting—after the arrival of the police party at the halted vehicles.

At 5:00 p.m. on 5.12.71 I inquired and found that my brother had not been questioned—since his arrest at 12.30 a.m. nor had any inquiries of any sort been made by any police officer. □

ticularly in the age of nuclear weapons. But he opposed the old practices of disposing of the vital interests of other parties and of violating the principle of the right to equality among the states, big and small, and of the rights of peoples movements.

Next year will mark the hundredth anniversary of Bertrand Russell's birth. In collaboration with the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation we are inviting all concerned persons who have an interest in the ethical, historical and legal aspects of the problem of spheres of influence to attend the Russell Memorial Symposium on Spheres of Influence in the Age of Imperialism.

The Symposium will take place in September 1972. The place will be announced later.

We propose that the Symposium discuss first analytic perspectives to provide an overview and then historical test-cases from 1878 to the present.

Five main papers will comprise the section on Analytic Perspective:

1. Conceptual bases for spheres of influence and secret diplomacy in the historiography of Imperialism.
2. The institution of agreements on spheres of influence in International and National Law.
3. International morality versus secret diplomacy and agreements on spheres of influence.
4. The driving force of imperialism.
5. The emerging world order.

All those who wish to participate should contact Professor Vladimir Dedijer at the Department of History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104 up to January 1, 1972, and thereafter at Stara Fuzina, Bohinj, SR Slovenia, Yugoslavia.

We believe that this Symposium will help focus world public opinion on the struggle against imperialism on all continents. □

Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Schedules Symposium on Imperialism

[The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation Ltd has asked that publicity be given to the following open letter which is dated December 21, 1971. It is signed by Noam Chomsky, Vladimir Dedijer, and Jean-Paul Sartre.]

* * *

The scourge of spheres of influence has been haunting the world ever since the onslaught of modern imperialism, a hundred years ago. Throughout this period, punctuated by waves of mass violent death, accompanied by pauperization on a global scale, the imperialist powers have periodically concluded through secret diplomacy, conducted behind closed doors, agreements for the division of spheres of influence.

They have made vital decisions about the fate of third parties, particularly concerning the colonial and subjugated peoples, without their knowledge and against their basic interests, treating them as the *objects* and not the *subjects* of international relations.

Throughout the era of imperialism, the instrument of spheres of influence has been applied on an ever-widening scale. The first such agreement on the division into the spheres of influence was concluded in Berlin in 1884, when only the African colonies were the object of imperialist rapacity. In World War I the prey of the winning great powers was carefully dissected in the London Treaty of 1915 and similar other secret treaties. And in World War II through the Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences a greater part of Europe and Asia became the victims of such predatory methods. This time even France, which had herself been a leading partner in earlier exploitative treaties, shared such a fate.

The respective superpowers regard "their spheres of influence" as their own hunting grounds. The great surge of self-determination since the last world war has brought the fall of several colonial empires, but due to pressure from the super-

powers neo-colonialism on *all* continents has made the independence of many nations and former colonies merely nominal.

In the last years of his life Bertrand Russell, disgusted with the hypocrisy of the institutionalized organs of world public opinion and cognizant of the requests of concerned people all around the globe that something must be done, gave the initiative for the formation of the War Crimes Tribunal for the Investigation of the War Crimes in Vietnam. And in the last months of his life, he sensed that a new balance of power was being built in the world, and that the negotiations for a new division of the world into spheres of influence had begun.

He was fully aware of the need of negotiations among great powers to solve the major issues separating them, par-

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