

Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

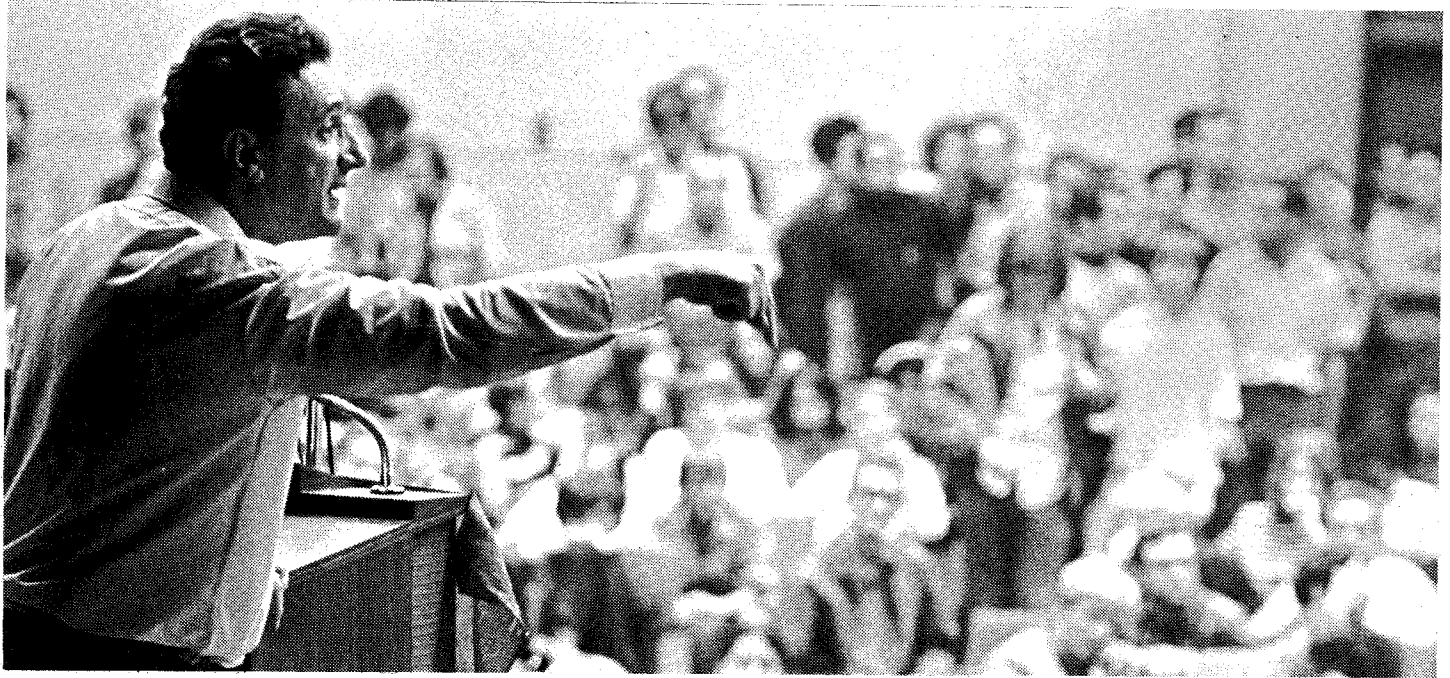
Vol. 10, No. 11

© 1972 Intercontinental Press

March 20, 1972

50c

Germany Bans Mandel—



ERNEST MANDEL addressing students at New York University during 1968 visit to U.S. In barring him from West Germany, Brandt government cited as one justification refusal of Nixon administration to give Mandel a visa.

Move Sparks Protests

French Left Condemns Renault Kidnapping

Is Pakistan Falling Apart?

Socialist Jailed by Military Court

[The following statement was issued by the Israeli Socialist Organization on February 29.]

* * *

Jerusalem

We have just learned that Arie Bober, a leader of the *Matzpen* organization,* was sentenced by a military tribunal on February 28 to thirty-five days in prison.

Our comrade, who had just been called up for his annual military service, refused to serve in the occupied territories. He was to be sent to the Golan Heights, and it is clear that he would have been ordered to participate in the recent operations in Syria and the south of Lebanon.

At a time when the warlike declarations of Israeli leaders and the destruction of villages in Lebanon and Syria expose the real meaning of the "defensive" character of the Israeli army, we reaffirm our solidarity with all young Israelis—such as the courageous comrade Giora Neuman, who has been in prison for more than eighty days—who refuse to serve in an army of occupation.

As revolutionary Marxists, we seek to extend our political activity into the army, where we must carry on agitational work and political education.

But we assert that it is the duty of all revolutionists to refuse to participate in the dynamiting of houses, or in any military action against revolutionary forces; just as all revolutionists must boycott any action directed against their class brothers, such as strike-breaking or repressing demonstrations.

Free the Political Prisoners!

No to the Army of Occupation!

Solidarity With the Palestinian Resistance! □

**Matzpen*, the Hebrew word for "compass," is the magazine of the Israeli Socialist Organization, a revolutionary anti-Zionist group. The ISO is commonly referred to by the name of its journal.

In This Issue

FEATURES		
	298	The Fourth International—by Pierre Frank
ISRAEL	282	Chapter 3: 1929-1933
WEST GERMANY	283	Socialist Jailed by Military Court
GREECE	284	Protests Mount Over Ban on Mandel
FRANCE	285	Theodorakis Quits CP
		Left Condemns Renault Kidnapping
		—by David Thorstad
U. S. A.	286	Civil Liberties Union Calls for Inquiry Into U. S. War Crimes
	287	That \$400,000 ITT Payoff to Republicans
		—by Jon Rothschild
EAST GERMANY	288	Capitalists on Way Out?
SOVIET UNION	289	One Screw Loosened, Another Tightened
GREAT BRITAIN	289	Scholars Plan Journal on Soviet Union
CANADA	290	The Case of Humberto Pagan Hernandez
PERU	290	Large Numbers of Peasants Still Jailed
MEXICO	291	Why Echeverria Adopted His "New Style"
		—by Ricardo Ochoa
CHILE	293	U. S. Agency Worried by Insurance Claims
PAKISTAN	294	Is Pakistan Coming Apart at Its National Seams?—by Jon Rothschild
NORTH KOREA	296	Kim Il Sung Warms to "Spirit of Peking"
		—by Allen Myers
IRAN	297	Four More Fall Before Shah's Firing Squads
		—by Javad Sadeeg
AUSTRIA	301	Unhappy Days Ahead for Austrian Economy
SUDAN	302	Nimeiry, Southern Leaders in Agreement
REVIEWS	303	French May-June as Students Saw It
		—by David Burton
	303	Defending Prisoners of the "Gorillas"
DOCUMENTS	304	Situation, Tasks Facing Indian Revolutionists
	305	Defend Argentine Political Prisoners!
	306	The Maneuvers Between Lanusse and Peron
	308	Berlin Senate's Declaration on Mandel Case
	309	Ernest Mandel's Reply to West Berlin Senate
	310	SMC Protests Barring of FSI at Versailles
	311	NPAC Leaders Call for Nonexclusion
	311	7 French Left Groups Condemn Kidnapping of Official
	311	Communist League Statement on Kidnapping
	312	Call International Abortion Action Week
	312	Fourth International Backs Actions Called for by WONAAC
PHOTOS	281	Ernest Mandel speaking at New York University
	285	Rene-Pierre Overney
DRAWINGS	291	Luis Echeverria; 297, Shah of Iran—by Copain

Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.
 CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Mai-tan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.
 MANAGING EDITOR: Allen Myers.
 COPY EDITOR: Ruth Schein.
 EDITORIAL STAFF: Gerry Foley, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders, David Thorstad.
 BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.
 ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.
 TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Lawrence Rand.

Published in New York each Monday except last in December and first in January; not published in August.

Intercontinental Press specializes in political analysis and interpretation of events of particular interest to the labor, socialist, colonial independence, Black, and women's liberation movements.

Signed articles represent the views of the authors, which may not necessarily coincide with those of Intercontinental Press. Insofar as it reflects editorial opinion, unsigned material expresses the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism.

PARIS OFFICE: Pierre Frank, 10 Impasse Guemenee, Paris 4, France.

TO SUBSCRIBE: For one year send \$15 to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Write for rates on first class and airmail. Special rates available for subscriptions to colonial and semicolonial countries.

Subscription correspondence should be addressed to Intercontinental Press, P.O. Box 116, Village Post Office Station, New York, N.Y. 10014. Because of the continuing deterioration of the U.S. postal system, please allow five weeks for change of address. Include your old address as well as your new address, and, if possible, an address label from a recent issue.

Copyright © 1972 by Intercontinental Press.

Protests Mount Over West German Ban on Mandel

The denial of a professorship to Ernest Mandel at West Berlin's Free University, followed by an order barring him from West German territory, has touched off a widespread controversy.

Mandel, the well-known Belgian Marxist economist, had been an extremely popular lecturer as a guest professor during the winter semester of 1970-71. In January of this year, the Free University's council of the economics department voted to nominate him for the vacant chair of "social politics." Because of his preeminent qualifications, the council departed from the usual practice of naming three alternative choices and selected Mandel as the sole candidate.

However, on February 22 the West Berlin Senate, acting on the recommendation of SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—Social Democratic party of Germany] Senator for Science and Culture Werner Stein, voted to refuse Mandel the chair. Stein and the Senate could not and did not pretend that there was any question of Mandel's qualifications for the post. The decision was made exclusively on the basis of opposition to Mandel's political ideas. (See text, p. 308.)

Students at the Free University responded with a protest teach-in on February 28, to which Mandel was invited. Even though the meeting took place during the semester vacation, the Berlin newspaper *Der Abend* wrote that the Great Auditorium of the university "was filled even to the point where there was no more standing room."

The more than 2,000 students in attendance were prevented from hearing Mandel in person by the ruling federal coalition of the SPD and the liberal bourgeois FDP [Freie Demokratische Partei—Free Democratic party].

At 8:40 that morning, when he attempted to change planes at the Frankfurt airport for the flight to Berlin, Mandel was informed by immigration officials that he was barred not only from West Berlin, but from all of West Germany. Federal Inter-

rior Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher later said that he had issued the ban against Mandel at the request of the West Berlin Senate.

The federal government, headed by "socialist" Willy Brandt, was at some pains to justify denying a distinguished Marxist the right to be heard in West Germany. In a statement on the television program "Monitor" February 28, Genscher provided the following rationale:

"The rebuff of Professor Mandel as he was on his way to Berlin to take part in this protest demonstration was directed not against the Marxist scientist Professor Mandel, but against the revolutionist, against the man who calls for the destruction of the bourgeois state apparatus and for the creation of a revolutionary leadership of the proletariat. It was aimed at the man who at this very moment is trying to move the bureau of the Fourth International to the Federal Republic or to West Berlin."

The latter accusation, it should be noted, was invented out of whole cloth. Mandel himself, speaking on the same television program, called it "a stupid pretext. I wanted only to teach in Berlin and did not even consider living in the city. In reality, this is a denial of the right of a Marxist to engage in teaching and research at the Berlin Free University. And the barring of entry into the Federal Republic is an escalation of this attack on basic democratic rights."

In his remarks, Genscher went on to picture Mandel as the mastermind of all sorts of dark conspiracies:

"It must be kept in mind that he was one of those pulling the strings during the May 1968 disturbances in Paris. That is why he was expelled from there. The United States has also denied him a visa. Likewise, Switzerland had denied him entry. In other words, the action requested by the Berlin Senate and carried out by us — on the basis of our own conviction — was not occasioned by his theoretical views, but by the fact that he calls for revolutionary action, that he himself engages in such actions, and that he also sometimes appears in a con-

spirative manner, under the cover of pseudonyms. . . ."

Genscher's appeal to undemocratic practices in other countries was not the only indication that the attack on Mandel was more than a purely domestic German affair. On March 9, the *New York Times*, which had not yet printed so much as one word on the conflict over Mandel, published an extraordinary editorial on the situation at the Free University in Berlin, entitled "Free University in Danger."

Readers unfamiliar with the Mandel case must have been puzzled by the ominous generalities of the editorial:

"Meetings have been disrupted. Professors have been prevented from teaching. Entire departments have been politicized. . . ."

The paper, in speaking of professors prevented from teaching, was not referring to Mandel, but was complaining of "disruption"—by leftists! The editorial did not even mention the Mandel case, but went on to proclaim its generalities as justification for an international crusade against politics — leftist politics, of course — in the university:

"Because the battle has been so political in nature, fought primarily between the antitotalitarian [!] Social Democrats and the sympathizers with East Germany's Communists, little attention has been paid to the critical situation by the German and the international higher education leadership. As a result, the moderate and liberal majority among students and faculty feel increasingly isolated and abandoned. They have a right to demand help from the larger academic community lest an institution designed as a model of academic freedom become an object lesson in academic suicide."

The "moderate and liberal majority" at the Free University have, indeed, reason to feel "isolated" when their clearly expressed desire to have Ernest Mandel on their campus is misrepresented as a reign of terror by the left.

The hypocrisy of the *New York Times* editorial is the more notable when it is recalled that the paper has

opposed the refusal of the Nixon administration to give Mandel a visa. The paper, which boasts of presenting "all the news that's fit to print," apparently considers that what is fit for American ears is unfit for German.

It has already been widely pointed out that the attack on Mandel's rights is not an isolated incident, but part of a wider pattern, which has seen other socialists also denied teaching positions. In this regard, the February 24 *Stuttgarter Zeitung* noted a certain inconsistency in the publicly proclaimed positions of some of the principals:

"More than a year ago Professor Richard Löwenthal, at a university conference of the SPD, voted against the hiring of Marxist [Hans Heinz] Holz by the Free University of Berlin, which was then being discussed. He pointed to Holz's lack of scientific qualifications and explained further that if it were a case of a man like Ernest Mandel, his position would of course be different. Senator Stein also spoke for the hiring of really good Marxists—then. How the fronts have shifted! The Berlin Senate now declines even to inspect the scientific abilities of the Belgian, and refuses him a position because Mandel is a revolutionist."

The actions against Mandel appeared closely related to decisions reached by Chancellor Willy Brandt and state presidents at a conference in Hamburg in January. That group issued a declaration January 28 stating that positions in the public service should be denied for reasons of "membership . . . in parties and organizations that oppose the constitutional order, whatever may be the other demands of such parties and organizations."

Margherita von Brentano, a vice president of the Free University who resigned her position February 24 to protest the exclusion of Mandel, alluded directly to this conference in explaining her resignation:

"When the decision of the presidents' conference of January 1972 leads to a situation where universities in the Federal Republic and West Germany, unlike universities in France, England, Italy, and even the United States, have no room for one of the most important (if not *the* most important) theories of the era except in the castrated form that those who teach it are obligated not to represent it, then these universities are no longer either

free or places of science. Science that is required to have no consequences is no longer science. . . ."

Despite the indications that the decision to bar Mandel was made at the highest levels of the federal government, the action aroused opposition in sections of both the SPD and FDP.

The national executive board of the Jungsozialisten [Young Socialists—the youth group of the SPD] called a press conference February 28 to denounce the banning of Mandel as a "throwback to the authoritarian state, which sneers at the democratic rights, the freedom of information and opinion of its citizens."

"The Young Socialists," reported the February 29 *Frankfurter Rundschau*, "called upon SPD members of the government, parliamentary delegates, and state ministers to oppose such measures decisively and immediately, and not to yield to the pressure of 'rightist forces' who want to put inadmissible limits on the democratic freedoms of society."

The March 1 *Kölnische Rundschau* reported that the Schleswig-Holstein SPD had characterized the ban on Mandel as a "political scandal," and warned of "the acute danger of a witch-hunt against the political left."

The Baden-Württemberg state organization of the Young Socialists also condemned the ban and demanded that it be lifted.

The Jungdemokraten [Young Democrats—the youth group of the FDP] were also critical of the action against Mandel. Heiner Bremer, the organization's national chairman, issued a statement: "The Mandel case shows that in the federal republic the courage to discuss with those of different political views is obviously not very widespread. We believe that the reasons advanced by the federal interior ministry are not sufficient to justify barring Mandel from the country."

On February 22, the day the West Berlin Senate denied Mandel a position at the university, the state's FDP organization stated its view that Mandel's "unquestioned qualifications" made his presence at the university desirable.

The West German government's action against Mandel has implications that are likely to continue to rouse opposition. Mandel referred to them in the "Monitor" television interview:

"I am afraid it [the ban] is an indication of a more general development.

And I would like to make two observations in this regard:

"First, it seems to me a politically unworkable measure. They don't accuse me of actions against the criminal code, but only of defending my political views. These views are also represented in my books. Are they going to forbid me to speak to 1,500 students and at the same time permit me to speak to the tens of thousands who read my books and articles? Will they now also forbid my writings? Perhaps they want to burn books?"

"Further, I would like to point out that the political ideas for which they reproach me were, before the first world war, absolutely self-evident for Marx, for Engels, for Rosa Luxemburg, and even for the acknowledged leaders of the Social Democracy at that time, Karl Kautsky and Rudolf Hilferding. In this sense the West Berlin SPD leadership has permitted an ideological patricide that is unparalleled in the European history of ideas."

Because of the importance of the civil liberties issues involved, plans are under way for an international campaign in defense of Mandel's rights and the right of Germans to hear his views without interference. □

Theodorakis Quits Greek CP

Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis announced in Melbourne, Australia, on March 6 that he had quit the Greek Communist party a week earlier, according to a Reuters dispatch. He joined the party thirty years ago, and has been a critic of the military dictatorship that rules Greece and that imprisoned him from 1967 until 1970.

Theodorakis said that from now on he intended to devote his energies to the Greek nation. He voiced hope that a new left-wing movement could be built in Greece and that "healthy" elements from both existing Greek Communist parties would participate in creating the new movement.

"I consider myself a popular revolutionary, a defender of freedom and a defender of the interests of the working class," he said. But, he added, "We cannot separate Communism from what happened in the Soviet Union, the Eastern European countries, and the People's Republic of China. As far as I am concerned, I am not satisfied with what has happened there." □

French Left Condemns Renault Kidnapping

By David Thorstad

The murder of Maoist worker René-Pierre Overney outside the Renault plant in the Paris suburb of Boulogne-Billancourt February 25 is continuing to have repercussions throughout France.

The high point of the movement triggered by the murder was the massive funeral procession on March 4 from the Place de Clichy to the Père Lachaise cemetery. The organizers estimated that 200,000 persons participated in the seven-mile march. Most were young, and many were immigrant workers. As they followed the coffin draped in a red flag and borne on the shoulders of Overney's comrades, in muted tones they sang the "Internationale" and "Adieu, Comrade," and whistled the "Song of the Partisans."

"Red was the color of this vast crowd," reported *Le Monde* March 7. "Red with red flags, red carnations, posters and portraits of 'Pierre Overney, murdered worker.' A few slogans, almost always the same, on the banners: 'Abolish the bosses' militias,' 'Freedom for the imprisoned Renault workers,' 'CRS [special police] out of Billancourt.' These last slogans, grouped together on a single placard, were signed by the various participating organizations."

The defense guard was provided by the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International.

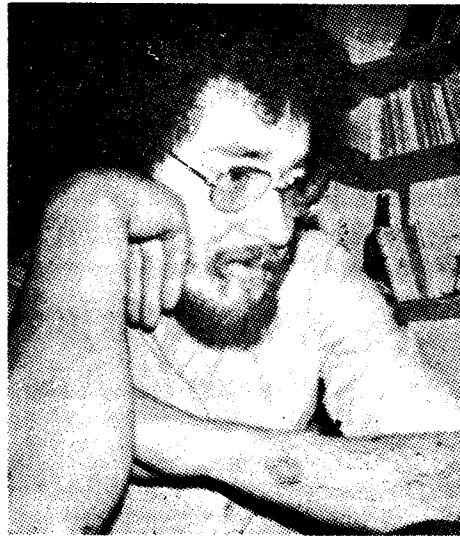
At the cemetery, there were speeches by Maoist leader Alain Geismar and Ben Saddok, a member of the Renault Struggle Committee to which Overney belonged, who addressed the crowd in Arabic.

Solidarity demonstrations took place in cities all across France, among them Marseille, Nîmes, Lyon, Metz, Rodez, Montpellier, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Toulouse, Rennes, Pau, Nancy, Strasbourg, Aix, Grenoble, Sochaux, Caen, and Compiègne.

Virtually the entire French left supported the call for the mass funeral protest—except for the Communist party and the union it controls, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of La-

bor). The CP newspaper, *L'Humanité*, called the march "an indecent demonstration against the CGT and the Communist party," and gave as its size the ludicrous figure of 25,000.

The day of the march, the CGT's general secretary, Georges Séguin, who is also a member of the Political Bu-



RENE-PIERRE OVERNEY

reau of the CP, lumped the leftist groups that organized it together in the same camp with the fascist group Ordre Nouveau. Speaking at a meeting in Dijon, he said, "The commandos of Ordre Nouveau might as well go on vacation. Those made up of ultraleftists have taken it upon themselves to do their dreary antiworking-class work for them."

Four days after Overney was buried, four members of a Maoist commando group kidnapped Robert Nogrette, an assistant personnel director at the Renault plant. He was released two days later. The abduction was carried out by the "Pierre Overney Group" of an organization called the New Popular Resistance (Nouvelle Résistance Populaire—NRP), which describes itself as a "clandestine organization for the self-defense of the masses."

The kidnapers demanded that sev-

en Maoists arrested in connection with the rally at which Overney was murdered be released and that workers who were subsequently fired from Renault be rehired.

According to the March 10 *Le Monde*, Nogrette, whose job entailed assessing which workers should be fired, had, together with other management personnel, been called "fascist big shots" by the Maoist Renault Struggle Committee.

In reality, the 63-year-old Nogrette did not much resemble a "fascist." He first went to work at Renault more than thirty-seven years ago as a fitter. He worked his way up over the years, and was planning on retiring at the end of March. In addition, the fact that he was not in the best of health did nothing to rally public support to the cause of the Maoists. Not only did he require a salt-free diet, but he was even carrying a urine sample for his doctor when he was kidnapped.

The response to the guerrilla action was predictable. Hundreds of searches of buildings and apartments were carried out by the police, and roadblocks went up. Virtually all the political parties and trade unions condemned the act. The CP said it was proof that it had been right all along when it accused the far left of being in collusion with the government. Overney's murder faded into the background.

Geismar called the kidnapping "logical and normal" and defined the NRP as "a group that guarantees the protection of the masses and carries out actions that the masses themselves cannot achieve in the present state of affairs."

Henry Giniger of the *New York Times* (March 11) reported on Nogrette's release March 10: "Mr. Nogrette said that his captors, numbering three or four, including a girl with a submachine gun, conceded they had committed a blunder in kidnapping him. This was an opinion shared by some of their ideological comrades, who in interviews deplored the loss of the sympathy that they had gained by the Overney killing."

The case has now been turned over to a Court for the Security of the State. The kidnapers could receive up to twenty years in prison if convicted, Giniger said. "The severity with which the government was acting and speaking against the Maoists was con-

trasted by some French commentators with the lack of any similar condemnation of the Overney killing. . . ."

From the very beginning, the leaders of the CP and the CGT have looked on the broad response to the Overney killing with anxiety and hostility, even going so far as to call it a "plot" cooked up by the government, the bosses, and their Maoist "accomplices" to foment disorder. They have repeatedly referred to the May-June events of 1968 as something to be avoided at all costs. "Many are the workers today who remember how in 1968 the ruling powers, by using the violence and depredations of the 'ultra-leftist' groups, were able to prevent the great popular movement . . . from resulting in a profound political change," wrote Georges Marchais, CP assistant general secretary, in a letter to Séguy at the beginning of March.

There are two main reasons behind the CP approach. First, it is seeking to establish an electoral bloc with the Social Democrats for next year's elections, and it looks with near panic on any mass, extraparliamentary movement that might rock the boat. Second, it is afraid of being outflanked by groups like the Ligue Communiste who have demonstrated their ability to mobilize considerable numbers of people on their own. Throughout the past year, noted Thierry Pfister in the March 7 *Le Monde*, there have been a number of such demonstrations—Overney's funeral procession was only the largest—which "prove that from this point on, mobilizations can be organized in spite of the hostility of the CP. Furthermore, at René-Pierre Overney's funeral, the Communist party found itself isolated from the other forces on the left."

Even the February 28 protest against the Overney murder drew "more people" (40,000), according to Pol Echevin in the March 6-12 issue of *L'Express*, "than the CGT has brought out with the help of other organizations for ritual demonstrations" against the war and for retirement at the age of sixty.

The day after this march—and four days after Overney's murder—Séguy of the CGT discovered the need for a "mass response" against repression. The need for such a response is widely recognized on the French left, as the support for the Overney funeral procession indicated. The CGT call, how-

ever, condemned in the same breath both the bosses and "the different variants of ultraleftism." The other major union, the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), responded by reminding the CGT that the CFDT blamed the bosses for the "escalation toward repression that is raging in the factories," and that it rejected "the trap of antileftism just as much as the trap of anticommunism." The CGT's call, it said, "could only be interpreted as intended to lead a collective struggle simultaneously against the bosses and against the activists or groups of the far left."

Since the publication of an interview with the CFDT's general secretary, Edmond Maire, in the March 6 issue of *Le Nouvel Observateur*, the controversy between his union and the CGT has heated up even more. In

the interview he accused the CGT leaders of not behaving like unionists when they refused to place the responsibility for the murder of Overney squarely on the shoulders of the bosses and the government, thus sacrificing their obligations as union leaders to the electoral needs of the Communist party.

"We say that the Communist party and the CGT," he told a meeting of strikers in Lyon March 3, "by making ultraleftism the number-one enemy, by refusing to analyze what ultraleftism is expressing, by seeing the heavy hand of ultraleftists in any strike that goes on for a little while, are making a big mistake. Not only are they reinforcing the very thing they think they are fighting against, but they are also acting as a brake on action and on the struggle against repression." □

Civil Liberties Union Calls for Inquiry Into U.S. War Crimes

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has called for a "broad-based inquiry into war crimes" committed by the United States government and its allies in Indochina. In a resolution released February 26, the ACLU said:

"U. S. Government policies in Southeast Asia have resulted in the widespread use of practices violating laws of war such as free fire zones, massive relocation and extended confinement of civilians without military necessity, defoliation and toxification of food and water supplies, and wanton destruction of cities, towns and villages. Because these policies raise serious questions not only under the standards set by the Nuremberg principles, but also under basic civil liberties standards, we call for a broad-based inquiry into war crimes in the widest possible definition of war crimes, under existing standards—including crimes against humanity and crimes against the peace—focusing upon the actions of the U. S. military and other combatants against the people of South Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia and North Viet Nam. . . ."

The resolution stressed that the ACLU was not calling for the prosecution of individuals, but for the establishment of "standards designed to

prevent a repetition of civil liberties violations by American government and military forces and policies."

The statement also noted that "the American servicemen taking part in such brutal actions are often conscripted soldiers unwillingly engaged in combat . . . [who] are subject to criminal prosecution and possible conviction as a result of their refusal or willingness to follow the illegal orders of their military superiors."

In its call for an inquiry, the ACLU made no mention of the investigation conducted more than four years ago by the Bertrand Russell War Crimes Tribunal, which found the U. S. government guilty of war crimes in Vietnam. Hopefully, the ACLU is not proposing a mere repetition of the tribunal's work.

The conclusions of the War Crimes Tribunal, which were either slandered or ignored by the capitalist press, have been abundantly confirmed since they were first presented. To ignore those conclusions and launch a new investigation that covers the same ground would have the effect of lending credence to the pretense that high civilian officials have been unaware of the atrocities being committed in Indochina. □

That \$400,000 ITT Payoff to Republicans

By Jon Rothschild

Last July 31, the U. S. Department of Justice announced that an out-of-court settlement had been reached with International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT, also known as International Take and Take) on three anti-trust suits that had been pending against the mammoth conglomerate. The terms were generally regarded as, to say the least, favorable to the company—it was allowed to maintain control of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company, the loss of which would have cost the telephone giant about \$1,000,000,000.

Eight days before this settlement, the Republican party National Committee announced that it had selected San Diego, California, as the site for the party's 1972 convention, at which Nixon will be renominated for the presidency.

Several weeks later it was revealed that the Sheraton Corporation of America, one of ITT's many subsidiaries, had agreed to underwrite a major portion of the \$400,000 that had to be raised from "private sources" in order to hold the convention in San Diego.

Normally, the Justice Department's understanding attitude toward ITT could have been ascribed to the usual reluctance of the U. S. government to do anything that might bring the good name of big business into disrepute through court cases open to the public. But more than that was involved. In his February 29 syndicated column, Jack Anderson, of Pakistan Papers fame, published some sensational excerpts from a memorandum dated June 25, 1971, written by Dita Beard, chief ITT lobbyist, to W. R. Merriam, head of ITT's Washington office.

It seems, according to Beard, that the fix was in. ITT agreed to fork over \$400,000 to the Republican national convention, and the Justice Department agreed to a "reasonable" settlement of the suits. Even this would not necessarily have been cause for too much objection in the capitalist press. U. S. politics is considered, after all, the "art of the possible." But this particular deal, to judge from

the Beard memorandum, was negotiated by none other than John Mitchell, Mr. Law and Order, who has just resigned his post as attorney general to manage Nixon's reelection campaign. The deal was implemented by Richard Kleindienst, the Arizona racist nominated by Nixon to take Mitchell's place.

The reason for the memo was twofold. First, Beard was concerned over the fact that news of the deal had leaked out. It would be "wise," she wrote, for ITT officials to deny any knowledge of an arrangement with the Republican administration: "John Mitchell has certainly kept it on the higher level only, we should be able to do the same."

Secondly, there was apparently some confusion about whether the \$400,000 should be given in services or in hard cash. The Republicans, perhaps because of the notorious inability of the phone company to provide decent service, wanted cash. Beard claimed that ITT President Harold Geneen had agreed to cash. The memo concluded with the words: "Mitchell is definitely helping us, but cannot let it be known. Please destroy this, huh?"

Anderson reported that when confronted with the memorandum, Beard acknowledged its authenticity, but denied that any deal had been made. She agreed to meet with Anderson's associate, Brit Hume, to discuss the situation.

Beard told Hume that she had discussed the antitrust suits with Mitchell at a party hosted by the governor of Kentucky on the occasion of the Kentucky Derby, which, aside from the U. S. presidential campaign, is the most famous horse race in the United States. According to Hume, Beard said she was told by Mitchell that Nixon had instructed the Justice Department to "lay off ITT."

As it happened, the Senate Judiciary Committee was in the process of holding hearings on Kleindienst's nomination when the Anderson story

broke. Kleindienst, of course, immediately claimed that he had in no way participated in the antitrust settlement, which he said was exclusively arranged by Richard McLaren, who was then head of the antitrust division and has since been promoted to a federal judgeship. Kleindienst asked that the hearings continue in order to remove the "cloud" over his head. It was a decision he would come to regret.

One person who should obviously have been summoned to testify was Beard herself. But, lo and behold, the good woman disappeared, not, however, without first telling Hume that ITT officials had run a good part of her document files through a paper-shredder—confetti cannot be subpoenaed.

A few days later she was found in a Denver, Colorado, hospital—being treated for angina pectoris, a heart disease. Her poor health, her attending physician said, did not allow her to testify.

The Senate hearings, which as of this writing have lasted more than a week, have lifted the lid on a nauseous cesspool.

Kleindienst finally admitted that he had not exactly told the truth when he said he had had no relation at all to the ITT case. In fact, he held at least four private meetings about the case with an ITT director. But he insisted that he had brought no pressure to bear on the outcome of the suits.

Nixon's attorney-general-designate, according to the *New York Times*, has a "tough-guy image" on questions of law and order, but he "came across at the hearings as something of a cream puff where antitrust enforcement is concerned."

Then it became known that Peter Flanigan, a former investment broker (now a White House aide) who has been described as Nixon's liaison to the "business community," had commissioned an "independent" study of the merits of ITT's claim on the Hartford insurance company. The study was conducted by Richard Ramsden, a partner in an investment management firm that controls a pension fund which, in turn, owns 3,240 shares of ITT stock. Ramsden claims he told Flanigan about this, but was told to proceed anyway.

A somewhat bizarre note was intro-

duced into the hearings when Dr. Victor L. Liszka of Arlington, Virginia, who has treated Dita Beard for her heart condition, testified that she suffered from "distorted and irrational behavior," and was in such a condition when she authored the memorandum.

Some people wondered whether such testimony was not a violation of the sanctity of the doctor-patient relationship. Others wondered why ITT would have as its chief lobbyist a person given to fits of "irrational behavior"; and still others wondered what it had

to do with the veracity of the memorandum anyway.

But Anderson provided some interesting information on the subject. Dr. Liszka had claimed that he had no connection whatsoever with ITT—an objective observer, you see. But it now appears that Liszka has done referral work for the Hamilton Life Insurance Company, a subsidiary of—surprise, surprise—ITT.

Mitchell denied all knowledge of any financial commitment by ITT to the Republican party. Anderson retorted that if Mitchell repeats that story on the witness stand, "it will be one of

the most arrogant displays of perjury this committee has ever heard," which is saying a lot.

The ongoing Senate hearings have become so complicated that it is now difficult to follow all the threads. But it has been established that the Justice Department did in fact settle antitrust suits favorably to ITT, that an ITT subsidiary made a considerable contribution to the Republican party, and that Kleindienst was not telling the truth when he said he knew nothing about the ITT negotiations. Is this all coincidental? Journalists Nicholas von Hoffman and I. F. Stone both complained that the whole affair had a very bad "smell." They forget that the principals in the incident are a giant corporation and the United States government. And as an old Arabic proverb says, he who has an onion for a father and a clove of garlic for a mother cannot be expected to smell like a rose. □

"Thank You, Operator"



Wright, in the Miami Daily News

East German Capitalists on Way Out?

Oxford

The East German bureaucracy, under pressure from the working class, has decided to nationalise the remnants of private industry in that country, according to a report in the London *Sunday Times* of February 27.

The private sector, which was encouraged by the Ulbricht regime in an effort to raise output in the 1950s, gradually expanded until East German capitalism now employs 1,250,000 persons, one-fifth of the total working force, and accounts for 15 percent of the gross national product.

According to the *Sunday Times*, there are 4,000 well-to-do capitalists in East Germany, 300 of whom are millionaires. The millionaires have recently had their incomes cut by taxation to about \$25,000 a year. Their property and other holdings are expected to be nationalised with compensation.

The bureaucracy was forced to act because of working-class discontent at the "encroachment of the rich on workers' privileges," according to the report. Luxury villas, it was said, excluded workers from country and lake recreation, and last summer East German workers had to stay away from Baltic resort areas because most of the hotel space was taken up by East German big businessmen and select party officials.

"Young East Germans," the *Sunday Times* reported, "are causing concern by turning a closer ear to Chinese Communism and its 'pure ideology'. Officials say Russia is backing the new nationalisation drive to counter this increasing Chinese influence." □

Soviet Poet Freed, Historian Slandered

One Screw Loosened, Another Tightened

Natalia Gorbanevskaja, the courageous thirty-five-year-old Soviet poet who was confined to a mental institution in 1970 for her anti-Stalinist activities, has reportedly been released.

The February 25 *New York Times* reported that friends of Gorbanevskaja said she had returned to Moscow from the Kazan hospital on February 22. It is unknown whether hospital officials considered her "illness" to have been cured or just decided that she should no longer be held.

The original diagnosis, arrived at July 8, 1970, after only fourteen hours of hearings, was that Gorbanevskaja suffered from "creeping schizophrenia," which, according to the testimony of one doctor, is a disease with "no clear symptoms."

Gorbanevskaja first came to the attention of the Stalinist political police in August 1968, when she took part in a Moscow demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. She was arrested on Christmas eve in 1969 and held without trial until the "insanity hearing."

Acquaintances said Gorbanevskaja appeared to be healthy upon her return to Moscow.

"Dissident sources attributed her release to an effort by Soviet authorities to gain favor with Western intellectual circles before President Nixon's scheduled visit to the Soviet Union in May," stated the *Times* report.

The same sources also "corrected earlier reports" that the well-known playwright and film scenarist Aleksandr Galich had been expelled from the Writers Union last December for encouraging other intellectuals to emigrate to Israel. "Both dissidents and established writers have subsequently reported that Mr. Galich was expelled because he refused to disavow any responsibility for the publication abroad of some of his underground political songs attacking Stalinism, censorship, and the silence of intellectuals in the Soviet Union."

In February, reported the *Washington Post* February 16, there was also an attempt to link the dissident Soviet

historian Roy Medvedev, to a case of book stealing in Moscow. The account was based on a report in the February 11 issue of the newspaper *Vechernaya Moskva*, which alleged that Medvedev received stolen books and tried to use blackmail to protect the woman who stole them. The woman, Alisa Alexandrovna, a junior scientific worker in the same research institute where Medvedev works, was convicted of forging letters, official authorization, and stamps to obtain books, according to the *Post*. She was sentenced to six years in prison.

She is said to have taken 1,233 books and magazines from the Lenin

Great Britain

Scholars Plan Journal on Soviet Union

A conference of radical scholars specializing in Soviet and Eastern European affairs has formed a coordinating committee to establish an ongoing organization and journal.

The conference, held in Glasgow last January 22-23, was attended by about fifty students and staff members from Glasgow University and the Institute of Soviet and Eastern European Studies as well as representatives from Brighton, Oxford, London, and Bradford. It discussed a range of questions dealing with the history and interpretation of the Russian revolution.

Themes of papers delivered at the conference included analyses of the 1920s, the Allies and the Provisional Government, British intervention against the Soviet republic, and the Kronstadt rebellion. The formal proceedings concluded with presentation of a paper on Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution.

Although they were unable to attend, E. H. Carr and Tamara Deutscher both sent greetings to the conference, according to the London *Times*.

Hillel Ticktin, an organizer of the

Library alone. On one occasion, asserted *Vechernaya Moskva*, Medvedev helped her carry books to an apartment where he "selected a couple of dozen books which he needed and went home."

When she was "unmasked," said the newspaper, he gave Alisa Alexandrovna a character reference and, "to rescue her from criminal responsibility even tried to blackmail the director of the institute, U. K. Vasilyev."

"It was considered unusual for a newspaper to give such prominence to the role of a witness in a relatively minor trial," noted the *Post*, "and was seen as an attempt to discredit Medvedev."

Medvedev's book on the Stalinist epoch, *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, was published in the West in January.

conference, described it as the initiation of a reaction against "the arid empiricism of established orthodoxy and the often ragged theorizing of the left."

A new journal, *Critique*, will publish some of the papers presented at the meeting, and will continue to "afford left-wing university staff and students the possibility of conducting a fruitful discussion to advance understanding both of the USSR and the nature of socialism."

A second conference has been planned for October on the theme of "social change and the social structure in Eastern Europe." The dynamic of social and political change in the USSR since 1953, the problem of the economic reforms, the politics of opposition groups, a critical analysis of left-wing theories of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and elite and class theories of the ruling "groups" will be among the points discussed.

Persons interested in the work of the conference should write to H. H. Ticktin, 31 Clevedon Road, Glasgow W2. □

The Case of Humberto Pagan Hernandez

The Canadian government, with the connivance of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, is trying to send a Puerto Rican student leader back to San Juan, where he faces almost certain death.

Since last September Humberto Pagan Hernández has been held in an Ottawa jail, originally on charges of having entered Canada illegally. In December that charge was dropped, but Pagan was ordered deported. His appeal of that decision was to be heard March 8, and an extradition hearing has been scheduled for March 27. The U.S. government wants Pagan returned to Puerto Rico to stand trial on five counts: murder of a police officer, possession of a deadly weapon, transportation of a deadly weapon, unlawful flight to avoid trial, and jumping bail.

The charges relate to a police-provoked incident March 11, 1971, at the San Juan campus of the University of Puerto Rico. The university had been the scene of mass struggles against U.S. domination of the island. One of the major issues was the presence of U.S. military programs, like ROTC (Reserve Officers Training Corps) on the campus. On March 10, ROTC cadets, who previously had not displayed their uniforms openly, marched to the campus carrying weapons and U.S. flags.

The following day, cadets, police, and leftist students massed on the campus. The police provoked an incident and shooting broke out. Among those killed was Lieutenant Colonel Juan Mercado, chief of the Puerto Rican riot squad. A wave of arrests of leftists, socialists, and advocates of Puerto Rican independence followed. Pagan, an active leader of the socialist wing of the independentist movement, was picked up in his home town of Aguadilla, where he had fled from San Juan.

He refused to turn state's evidence, was beaten and tortured, and finally was charged with Mercado's murder. He was released on \$30,000 bail.

Pagan has pointed to evidence showing that he could not possibly have shot Mercado from where he had been

standing. Students have charged that Mercado was in fact killed by police bullets.

It became clear that Pagan was to be the scapegoat for the colonial administration. In September 1971 he decided to flee Puerto Rico. In an interview published in the *Charlatan*, the student newspaper of Carleton University in Ottawa, he explained why:

"There is a right-wing terrorist organization commonly called the vigilantes. This group was organized by the police. After I was charged and out on bail, on three different occasions they tried to murder me. Two of the attempts were made by the police themselves. The propaganda that the mass media made around my case was that of creating the image of a guilty man. The colonial governor went so far as to congratulate the

Peru

Large Numbers of Peasants Still Jailed

[The Comité de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos (Committee for the Defense of Human Rights) in Lima has released the following information regarding peasants imprisoned in Peru.]

* * *

The peasants of the community of Chala, in the San José de Querós district of Concepción Province, Junín Department, recently decided at a community assembly to defend their rights against local landlords by redistributing the land and livestock among themselves. In the intensified repression that followed, about forty peasants were imprisoned by the legal authorities of the department. Although some have been released, twelve have been sentenced to prison terms varying between four and eight years.

Those Chala peasants still imprisoned at Huancayo are as follows:

police for the arrest of 'that dangerous communist criminal.'"

When Pagan arrived in Canada last September, he was arrested by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. He was interrogated extensively by the FBI and has been badly treated in jail, being denied medical attention, for example.

Pagan has asked permission to be sent to Cuba, which has formally announced its willingness to grant him asylum. Pagan is opposing his extradition to Puerto Rico on the grounds that he is a political prisoner and should be given the right of asylum.

The Canadian Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners has appealed to Prime Minister Trudeau to halt the extradition proceedings. The Committee for the Defense of Humberto Pagan Hernández is coordinating defense activities and is raising money to fly Puerto Rican defense witnesses to the Canadian hearings. The Committee can be reached c/o Students Association, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

Pedro Castillo Lozana, Victor Baquerize Clemente, Teofanes Tacsá Lindo, Felix Reyes Bruno, Miguel Inga Rojas, Pedro Ronas Reyes, Alejandro Casas Fernandez, Damian Guerra Tacsá, Hipolito Damian Inga, Demetrio Tacsá Huallas, Alejandro Rojas Lezano, Edilberto Tacsá Lindo, Buenaventura Tacsá Damian, Julio Vilches Tacsá, Ananias Garay Damian, José Marin Olortegui, Onofrio Tacsá.

The following persons are presently imprisoned in Cajamarca because of struggles for land. They face being sent to the jungle prison of El Sepa: Maximinio Julón Vasquez, Asunción Agreda Delgado, Ulises Fernandez Vasquez, Alcides Fernandez Vasquez, Zenon Rubio Chávez, Alcides Ramos Casas, Adriano Briones Guerra, Dimas Rodriguez Sanchez, Deciderio Rubias Vasquez, Oscar Marchena Huánan, Octavio Salcedo Paiziol, Carlos Antonio Urbina, Paulino Gar-

cia Paredes, Alejandro Ruiz Gallardo, Leoncio Tamalla Requejo, Eleuterio Jacopayco Condor, Tarcilo Saavedra Huánan, Dolores Ramos Huaripata, Manuel Rimay Flores, José Ramirez Vasquez, Julio Celado Torrones, Carmen Urtiza Alfaro, Marcial Sanches Ortiz, Santos Toca Cabado, Concepción Fernandez Laboriano, Lazaró Marín Montoya, Zenon Romero Torres, Ricardo Bernui Rojas, Atilano Floirán Benavidez.

The following are being held in Cuzco: Marcelino Lopo, José Roque Yucra, Nicolas Sulka, and Felix Suka, a university student from Cuzco.

In addition to the above, a number of peasants have been held in the north for more than three months following strikes in the agricultural cooperatives at Tuman, Cayalti, Pomalcoa, and Pucala. □

National Council. A new general secretary, Enrique González Pedrero, was also elected. Both he and Reyes Heróles are intellectuals.

The changes in the top leadership of the official party came at a particularly important moment for President Echeverría's policy of liberalization. A few weeks earlier, Sánchez Vite had initiated a broad campaign in defense of the trade-union czars who are most discredited in the eyes of the workers: Fidel Velázquez, Jesús Yurén, Pérez Ríos, etc. The liberal news media, and especially the influential Mexico City daily *Excelsior*, undertook to point out the contradiction between what Sánchez Vite was saying and President Echeverría's promises of "democratization." The downfall of the party team that Echeverría inherited from the previous regime and its replacement by a new reformist team is an indication of the new president's desire to follow the course of implementing reforms that he has talked so much about.

The reformist climate that had reached a dead end at the close of last year, is again on the upswing in official circles. Those sectors who are furthest to the left and who have links with the UNAM spoke up during the last week in February, and on February 28 the rector, Pablo González Casanova, announced a new reform of the university system—the "open university." This reform is intended to extend the UNAM's teaching services to a wider layer of the population.

The contrast between the fact that a section of the revolutionary left is prepared to carry out the most radical actions on the one hand, and that the government is making a conscious effort to reconstitute the basis for the reformist approach prevailing prior to 1968 on the other, is puzzling to many on the left. The harsh repression directed at groups engaging in armed actions (bank raids, kidnapping of officials, etc.) has filled the country's jails again at the very time that the regime was freeing most of the political prisoners of 1968 and earlier. Only ten *compañeros* who were taken prisoner in 1967 still remain in Lecumberri Prison (among them Mario Rechi Montiel, Fabio Barboza, and Antonio Gershenson), but there are several hundred new political prisoners throughout the country who were put in jail in 1971, and

The Political Situation in Mexico

Why Echeverría Adopted His 'New Style'

By Ricardo Ochoa

Mexico City

The events of the week of February 24 to March 2 typified the course of Mexican politics in the first part of this year.

On February 24, the press announced the arrest of a group of "terrorists," that is, revolutionists connected with urban guerrilla actions. This brought into the hundreds the total number of those arrested during January and February in relation to urban guerrilla activities. In addition, there are hundreds of others who are being held on military reservations but whose names have not been released.

What has been unleashed in Mexico is a regular hunting season on guerrillas. It has brought a number of victimizations in Chihuahua and Monterrey, and it has now spread throughout the entire country, with the army working hand in glove with the police. The death of Genaro Vázquez Rojas on February 2 was one of the most significant aspects of this vast campaign of repression.

On March 2, however, another event occurred that shows how contradictory the present conjuncture is. Following a favorable ruling by the Supreme Court, sixteen political prisoners held since 1966 and 1967 were set free. Among them were journalist Victor Rico Galán, Dr. Gilberto Balám, and Adán Nieto Castillo. Following their release, Rico Galán, Balám, and some of the other former prisoners held a news conference in the School of Economics at the UNAM

[Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México—Autonomous National University of Mexico].

A short time before this, an important change of leadership was made



LUIS ECHEVERRÍA ALVAREZ

in the government party, the PRI [Partido Revolucionario Institucional—Institutional Revolutionary party]. The resignation of Professor Manuel Sánchez Vite as president of the party was accepted, and Jesús Reyes Heróles was installed as the new president on the recommendation of the party's

especially during the first two months of 1972. The fact that the government is able to go after the guerrilla groups with impunity at the same time it carries out a series of measures designed to reform its obsolete political and governmental apparatus is causing a great deal of discussion on the left.

Historical Crisis

The basic problem confronting the revolutionary left in Mexico is the fact that for decades it has not been accustomed to thinking in Marxist political terms. The small groups existing prior to 1968 tended to justify their existence by simply pointing to the reformist course of the PCM [Partido Comunista Mexicano—Mexican Communist party]. The PCM completely dominated the small Mexican left throughout the period, despite the fact that it has been in a state of permanent crisis since 1940.

In 1968 the Mexican political system entered a period of crisis. Whether the outcome of this crisis will be positive (bringing about a change in the system) or negative (with the bourgeoisie managing to reconsolidate its regime through radical reforms) cannot yet be determined because it depends on too many factors.

The ups and downs of the crisis have been reflected in the revolutionary movement. Thus we saw the student movement collapse following the October 2, 1968, massacre. It took more than a year for the student movement to partially recover from the blows it suffered at that time.

The demonstration against the invasion of Cambodia in 1970 was the first indication that a genuine recovery was occurring. But it was in 1971 that the new upsurge of the student movement arrived—and this time it was no longer limited to Mexico City.

June 10* dealt a heavy blow to this upsurge, but it was only a partial blow, not like the October 2 massa-

cre. The student movement of the Federal District was the hardest hit since it was the direct target. But in other states, like Sinaloa, Nuevo León, Zacatecas, and Sonora, fresh and dynamic new layers of students appeared.

At the same time, however, and largely as a result of the deep crisis of revolutionary leadership, which was especially acute in the student movement, these partial defeats led many activists to turn to adventurism. Such groups arose as early as 1969, but it was only after June 10 that they began to carry out ambitious actions, such as the kidnapping of the millionaire official Julio Hirschfeld in September 1971.

Mexico's rulers learned their lesson in 1968. In spite of the fact that June 10 revealed the limitations of Echeverría's policy of making a "democratic opening," the policy was not rejected entirely, as the resignation of Martínez Domínguez, who had responded in the classical way, showed.

Why has Echeverría had to operate as he has? Clearly, what we are seeing is a serious deterioration in the very foundations of the traditional policy of those in power. The sixties under Díaz Ordaz marked an extreme and abrupt change of course that ran the risk of destroying the decades-long equilibrium that had been achieved by Mexican Bonapartism. This equilibrium, of course, was itself a result of the Mexican revolution, of Cardenism, of the peculiar course of industrialization and the agrarian reform in Mexico—in short, of the conditions that enabled the system of political control over the masses to be established.

The differences within the ruling oligarchy, the appearance and increasing strength of a powerful bourgeoisie with close ties to imperialism after 1940, and the subsequent class polarization all undermined the foundations of Bonapartism and laid the basis for the 1968 crisis.

A section of the ruling circle was obviously attracted by imperialism and its "national" agents. Díaz Ordaz was the most conspicuous representative of this wing. But in 1968 the dangers of governing with an iron fist became clear. The entire system of rule by politicians put together by the PRI was in danger of falling apart and being replaced by a military form of government.

Echeverría was given the task of preventing the crisis from taking such an extreme course, which would not yet be desirable for the system as a whole. The Mexican bourgeoisie, having itself arisen out of a revolutionary process, knows the risks inherent in taking an absolutely intransigent attitude. In spite of the fact that Echeverría will not do anything that challenges the very foundations of the system—no more than Díaz Ordaz did—nevertheless, he claims to be defending it with a "new style." This, then, is the background to his policy of creating an "opening."

It is the student movement that has provided Echeverría with the best justification for reforms. Of course, to say that in the final analysis the blood of the martyrs of Tlatelolco and June 10 has been the most important source of Echeverría's reforms does not mean that he identifies with the ideals of the *compañeros* who died in those massacres. It means only that the ideals of the revolutionary movement were not expressed with strong *organizational backing* and that, because of this political weakness on the part of the revolutionary movement, the government has a relatively wide margin for maneuver in its effort to recover the prestige it lost in 1968 in the eyes of the middle layers of society.

The very real changes in the political situation that have occurred in the first year and three months of the Echeverría administration have taken many on the left by surprise—precisely because they have not carefully evaluated the real motives of the ruling class, or at least of its most enlightened wing.

The changes Echeverría is making have not altered the class nature of the regime. They merely tend to make it more flexible and less vulnerable, and to broaden its base of support.

Within the "Opening"

Although 1968 saw the beginning of a historic crisis, it would be foolish to think that it will develop in a straight line. Rather, it will proceed unevenly, with ups and downs. This can be seen through a closer look at the events of June 10—the most important crisis Echeverría has yet had to face.

The development of the conflict showed that what is really impelling

*On June 10, 1971, some 30,000 students in Mexico City demonstrated in solidarity with students struggling in Monterrey. They were attacked by armed fascist-like thugs operating in collusion with the police. The mayor of Mexico City, Alfonso Martínez Domínguez, denied the existence of the terrorist commandos and blamed the slaughter on the students themselves, thus precipitating the first major crisis of the Echeverría regime. — IP

Echeverría to inaugurate his "democratic opening" is the existence of a movement of social protest. It also showed that the "opening" has very definite limits and that it does not represent anything fundamentally different from the Díaz Ordaz "style."

To point out that the reforms the bourgeoisie is granting as concessions are the by-product of revolutionary struggles would be a mere commonplace were it not for the fact that many on the revolutionary left have forgotten it and have failed to understand that the origin of the "opening" was the events of 1968. It was precisely the specter of 1968 that prompted Echeverría on June 10 to avoid repeating Díaz Ordaz's posture of intransigence and to force the resignation of Martínez Domínguez. With June 10 Echeverría, ending the discretion he had maintained previously, unveiled his "new style" and his differences with the orthodox ruling faction.

It was the students who, through their struggle to change the political system, lit the fuse of the present crisis. But it would be an exaggeration to speak of the students in general. In reality, the chaos within the leadership of the student movement at the time resulted in great masses of students not seeing clearly the significance or the deep underlying causes of the June 10 demonstration. It was precisely this crisis of leadership that prevented the liberal elements—who had been of key importance in 1968—from seeing through the government's assertion that the demonstration was a "provocation" against the "opening." In the last analysis, it was only the student vanguard and student activists who understood the deeply political nature of the demonstration.

The repression of the demonstration was approved by Echeverría. Whether tacitly or explicitly is not clear, but this is also of only secondary importance. The real problem for the government arose when the repressive forces found themselves up against a militant demonstration that was bigger than expected. The repression turned into a tremendous political scandal. For the first time the divisions inherited from the previous regime clearly came to light, as evidenced by the resignation of Martínez Domínguez, a prominent politician associated with Díaz Ordaz.

The divisions extended into other

areas as well. The shuffle within the PRI leadership in February is a case in point. The new president, Reyes Heróles, an old liberal intellectual (he has written a history of nineteenth century liberalism in Mexico), aptly expressed the alternative facing the Echeverría regime: "The dilemma we must overcome is the following: dictatorship or chaos." He might have said, more accurately, *military dictatorship* or *revolutionary "chaos."* A reestablishment of the good old Bonapartism, standing above social classes, would be the ideal way to prevent the wheels of historical necessity from rolling along their inexorable course.

Balance Sheet of the First Year

What then is the balance sheet of the new regime so far?

Echeverría has sought to introduce a kind of neoreformism, but the situation that forced him to embark on this course is full of deadly pitfalls. The reactionary legacy of past regimes is very great.

As frequently happens in such cases, there has been some evidence of blackmail by the bourgeoisie. According to the January 1972 issue of *Comercio Exterior*, the rate of economic growth in 1971 was 4 percent, compared to 7.7 percent the previous year. The annual report of the Bank of Mexico, which is considered the most important official statement in the economic field, significantly included no figure on overall economic growth. The economic expert of *Excelsior*, Samuel I. del Villar, wrote the following March 2 about this report: "It has been estimated that the real rate of economic growth was lower than the rate of population growth. If the estimates are accurate, it would mean that for the first time in decades per capita wealth decreased last year."

Reforms in Latin America definitely seem to go together with a decrease in economic growth. The rate of 8 percent reached in Brazil in 1971—the highest in the region—provides the capitalists with a strong argument in favor of cruel military dictatorships. But the crisis of 1968 in Mexico and its present consequences make it possible only to stick to the path opened up by Echeverría and to allow his policy to run its course.

June 10 was not followed by a lessening of manifestations of discontent.

The student movement in the provinces has already been mentioned. But in December and January, in many of the most important cities of Mexico, there were also demonstrations by workers and students called by the STERM [Sindicato de Trabajadores Electricistas de la República Mexicana—Union of Electrical Workers of the Mexican Republic] in an effort to defend its right to exist in the face of threats by the official authorities and government bureaucrats.

The urban guerrilla actions to which some groups have turned provide a kind of counterpoint to all this. These groups come from the most isolated, desperate, and—in a certain sense—backward sectors of the student milieu (though at the same time, they have shown the capacity for an enormous degree of self-sacrifice). And the path they have taken does not seriously lead in the direction of solving the present crisis of revolutionary leadership. Yet the lack of such a leadership, which is one of the factors allowing Echeverría his margin of maneuver, will increasingly tend to disappear. □

U.S. Agency Worried by Claims of Firms in Chile

The Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), a U.S. government agency, faces potential insurance claims from United States companies in Chile amounting to \$216,000,000. The agency has only \$85,000,000 in reserves. As a result, it is asking Congress to grant a request to raise its reserves to \$200,000,000.

The agency, wrote Benjamin Welles in the March 6 *New York Times*, "is the most recent in a series of agencies created by Congress to insure, finance, and thus encourage private United States investment in developing countries whose governments and wobbly economies might normally cause investors to look elsewhere."

The companies in Chile are looking to the OPIC because Chile has seized their assets. "The only claims situation currently presenting a serious problem is in Chile," OPIC President Bradford Mills recently told a Senate appropriations subcommittee. "About two-thirds of our total liabilities in Chile are in two expropriations, namely Kennecott and ITT." The International Telephone & Telegraph conglomerate has been barred from converting assets valued by the company at \$108,500,000. The Kennecott Copper Company values its seized assets at \$84,600,000. □

Is Pakistan Coming Apart at Its National Seams?

By Jon Rothschild

"Bhutto is acting like a Hitler. If he lifts martial law and restores democracy, if he allows Pathans self-government, if he recognizes Bangladesh and makes friends with India, we are ready to stay within Pakistan. Otherwise we are armed and ready." The speaker was Saeed Mohammad Ayub, president of the Peshawar City Committee of the National Awami party (NAP), the second largest political organization in Pakistan.

There is little evidence that Ayub, or any other central leader of the NAP, is serious about such threats to opt out of Pakistan. But the Pathan people, who voted overwhelmingly for the NAP in the last election in Pakistan (December 1970), are indeed armed and ready. And the political issues involved in the Pathans' clash with the central government bear a striking similarity to those that triggered the Bangladesh liberation movement.

The Pathans occupy the two western provinces of Pakistan, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Baluchistan. Although they comprise only about 10 percent of the total Pakistani population, they are heavily represented in the armed forces, and the region they occupy is a geographically decisive one: it extends from Kashmir in the north to the Arabian Sea in the south, and from the Indus River in the east to Iran and Afghanistan in the west.

The Pathans speak a number of regional dialects, and their lingua franca is Pushtu. (The official state language is Urdu, another lingua franca spoken in Pakistan's other two provinces, Sind and the Punjab.) Like the Bengalis, the Pathans have been economically exploited and politically dominated by the Punjabi ruling class. Also like the Bengalis, they have in the past initiated mass movements for autonomy, some of which have reached the stage of armed clashes with the government.

In the December 1970 elections, most Pathans voted for the NAP, an opportunist leftist-oriented outfit head-

ed by Khan Abdul Wali Khan. During the war against Bangladesh, the NAP was outlawed by Yahya Khan — not, it should be stressed, because NAP leaders opposed the war, which they did not. When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto took over from Yahya in December 1971, one of his first acts was to lift the ban on the NAP.

At the time, the Western press speculated that Bhutto had legalized his major opposition so as to reestablish unity in what was left of Pakistan. But since then, Bhutto has demonstrated his determination to maintain martial law. Faced with mass upheavals of the Pakistani workers, Bhutto has aped Yahya, refusing to summon the National Assembly.

This touched off a mass mobilization of Pathan militants, who saw in the Bengali struggle evidence that the unity of Pakistan is far from unchallengeable. During February, armed clashes between the People's Guard (Bhutto's paramilitary auxiliary) and Pathan nationalists became increasingly common. On February 27 thousands of armed Pathans took to the streets of Peshawar, the major city of the NWFP. The rally had been called by Wali Khan, who recognized that the masses threatened to bypass the NAP unless party leaders showed some initiative. The major demand of the demonstration was that martial law be ended, the National Assembly be summoned, and the Pathans be granted a greater measure of self-government.

"Nobody's going to try anything with us," declared a machine-gun-carrying NAP organizer. "We are a peaceful people, but anyone who wants to start a fight will be chopped to pieces."

Wali Khan, whose major aim seems to be the creation of a coalition government in which he and his party would play an important role, recognizes that his political control of the Pathan nationalists is tenuous. He has faithfully avoided voicing demands for a separate Pathan state, although the *New York Times* reports that other

sections of the NAP disagree with him on this point.

"We've had many opportunities to secede," Wali Khan told *New York Times* correspondent Malcolm W. Browne, "most recently during the war with India, but we never took advantage of Pakistan. That shows how we support Pakistan's integrity." But he added: "Once something starts here it will be very difficult to stop."

Bhutto's reluctance to summon the National Assembly has been something of a mystery in Pakistani politics. His Pakistan People's party (PPP) holds eighty-two of the 138 seats in the House. Some Pakistani commentators have explained his hesitation by suggesting that there may be divisions within the PPP itself.

Whether or not this is true, there are other factors involved. On the diplomatic level, Bhutto faces a problem with respect to the Assembly seats from "East Pakistan." If Bhutto summons the Assembly just from what is left of Pakistan, he will be tacitly recognizing Bangladesh. If he insists that the Bengali representatives be seated, his Assembly will convene with 167 empty seats (a majority). These were won by Awami League representatives in December 1970. Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman, as head of the majority party in such a completely illusory Assembly, would presumably have to be invited to form a government of all Pakistan, with himself as prime minister.

Faced with this alternative of admission of defeat or slapstick farce, Bhutto has tried to postpone the Assembly while he seeks an accommodation with Rahman and Indira Gandhi.

Besides the current strike wave, Bhutto faces the problem of preserving "national" unity in a state that is in no way a single nation but a conglomeration of nations and peoples. Whipping the Pathans into line is thus a crucial step in the maintenance of capitalist law and order in Pakistan. To accomplish this, Bhutto has relied on a combination of repression and

concession, Wali Khan's willingness to barter with the demands of the Pathans being his trump card.

On March 3 Bhutto dismissed the two military officers widely regarded as having been responsible for placing him in power: Lieutenant General Gul Hassan Khan, who had been acting commander in chief of the armed forces, and Air Marshal Abdul Rahim Khan, commander of the air force.

Lieutenant General Tikka Khan, the former military governor of East Bengal and one of the key organizers of the slaughter of the Bengali people, was promoted to full general and made army chief of staff. Tikka Khan has an extensive record of brutal repression of oppressed peoples. Before his genocidal activities in Bangladesh, he led a campaign of armed repression against—Baluchistan autonomists.

The promotion of this butcher was universally interpreted as a warning to the Pathans.

PPP governors have already been imposed on Baluchistan and the NWFP in defiance of the electorally expressed will of the citizens of those provinces.

On March 6, the military point being made, Bhutto reached an agreement with Wali Khan. The National Assembly will be convened on April 14, and will sit for not more than three days! A committee is to be formed to draft a new constitution by August 1. The Assembly will then reconvene on August 14. Martial law will be gradually phased out, ending when the Assembly finally begins to function.

"We have averted a confrontation that would have been disastrous for the nation," said Wali Khan. "We got the best agreement we could under the circumstances." Bhutto calls it "people's martial law."

In fact there is no assurance that the National Assembly will ever meet. In the turbulent political conditions of Pakistan five months is a long time. Wali Khan's capitulation to Bhutto may postpone a confrontation between Pathans and the central government. But both he and Bhutto must remember that it was Bhutto's refusal to attend the National Assembly in 1971, and Yahya's consequent refusal to allow it to meet, that sparked the mass mobilization of the Bengali people.

The Pathans, unlike the Bengalis

in March 1971, are almost universally armed. Both the Pathans and the Baluchis, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "had not hesitated to flirt openly with the East Bengalis in their demand for autonomy."

While it is also true that Pathans were numerous among the occupying army in Bangladesh, it can be assumed that at least significant numbers of them drew some lessons from the last year of war. If the National Assembly is again postponed, or if it fails to satisfy the demands of the Pathans, the Punjabi ruling class may well find itself confronted with another Bangladesh struggle, this time in the western part of the country.

Demands for national autonomy sparked by the Bengali movement are by no means restricted to the Pakistani side of the subcontinent. On February 12 the Dravidian Advancement party, which rules in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu, adopted a resolution calling for full autonomy for the state, except in defense, foreign relations, currency, and communications.

Until this party came to power in Tamil Nadu, it had demanded complete independence for the four Dravidian states in southern India: Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, and Kerala. The total Dravidian population of India numbers at least 110,000,000.

The oppression of the Dravidian-speaking peoples epitomizes the acuteness of the national question. In the absence of an authoritative revolutionary-socialist party integrating the struggles of the workers and peasants throughout the subcontinent and defending the right of all nations to self-determination, the Dravidian (and other) movements have been led by reactionary forces (like the Dravidian Advancement party) which have sought to channel the aspirations of the masses into communalist dead-ends.

But the Tamil autonomy movement (symbolized by a huge poster at the Dravidian Advancement party convention showing Rahman and party leader Muthuvel Karunanidhi standing side by side) has caused, according to the *New York Times*, a "national furor." The attempt of the Tamils to compare their position in India with the Bengalis' in Pakistan has been denounced vigorously by the ruling Congress party, but no explana-

tion of the alleged differences has been put forth.

Articles have appeared in state-run journals arguing for Tamil independence, and slogans demanding self-government are being fostered throughout the state by the Dravidian Advancement party.

Autonomist movements have also made their appearance in the extreme northeast of India, a region that comprises a little more than 8 percent of India's territory and about 3.5 percent of its total population. Last January Gandhi inaugurated three new states in this region: Meghalaya, Tripura, and Manipur. Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh were designated union territories. In Mizoram and Meghalaya, as in the existing state of Nagaland, secessionists have been active. "In upgrading the status of these areas, Mrs. Gandhi has apparently acted to encourage moderate political leaders in these areas to counter the growing influence of extremist elements," wrote the January 23 *New York Times*.

In the state of West Bengal, where the Indian Trotskyists have raised the slogan "For a united socialist Bengal!" nationalist sentiments are far from assuaged.

All told, the sectors of the Indian population that have shown signs of resisting domination from the central government number approximately 160,000,000 people, nearly one-third of the total population.

The bourgeois governments of both India and Pakistan have each played a most cynical game with the national movements in the other's country. The Pakistani regime has supported the leadership of autonomy movements in Indian-held Kashmir and the northeast. The Gandhi regime, aside from its moves to co-opt and contain the Bangladesh struggle, has made noises from time to time about the Pathans. On both sides the aim has been solely to whip up chauvinist hysteria against the other, so as to prepare the populations of both countries to participate in the predatory moves of "its own" bourgeoisie.

But such maneuvering cannot indefinitely postpone answering the national question by a socialist revolution. As the last national congress of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International, put it in a resolution:

"By common struggles they [the peo-

ples of the subcontinent] must break the artificial barrier imposed between them and must move in the direction of overthrowing their capitalist regimes and building a Federation of

Socialist Republics of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and other states of the Indian subcontinent with the right of self-determination guaranteed to all nationalities." □

North Korea

Kim Il Sung Warms to 'Spirit of Peking'

By Allen Myers

Not the least instructive aspect of the Mao-Nixon détente has been the response to it of various Maoist and semi-Maoist groups accustomed to substituting the Thought of the great leader for Marxist analysis of political and social realities.

In the United States, the reactions have varied widely. The Progressive Labor party, long the most influential Maoist group in the country, was so shocked by the announcement of Nixon's Peking visit that it discovered that China is "capitalist" and that Mao Tsetung, far from being the fountainhead of revolutionary wisdom, is the leader of the "red bourgeoisie."

At the other end of the spectrum is the New York *Guardian*, an "independent radical newsweekly" that has increasingly tended toward Mao Tsetung Thought as a talisman to offset its declining standing in the U. S. left. The *Guardian*, not without betraying evidence of a certain embarrassment, has been anxiously assuring readers that despite all appearances there is not the slightest danger of the Chinese government applying any pressure on the Vietnamese to try "peaceful coexistence" with American imperialism.

In an editorial in its March 1 issue, the *Guardian* found a novel if not very convincing defense of Mao against the criticisms of the Socialist Workers party (SWP) in its weekly paper *The Militant*.

"In international affairs," the *Guardian* wrote, "the Militant has finally let the world know, the Peking government has followed a 'class-collaborationist' policy since 1949.

"We can think of only one word to describe such sectarian ignorance—and it isn't the word you think. It's Korea."

(The "finally" is presumably intended to indicate that the *Guardian's* edi-

tors never think in any but a long-term perspective, since elsewhere they refer to *The Militant's* "short-sightedness" as being at least twenty-five years old.)

The *Guardian's* editors must have feared that their one-word argument would be less than convincing to persons with sufficient memory to recall how much provocation it took before the Chinese government intervened against the imperialist army in Korea. Or perhaps they thought their example might release a flood of one-word counterarguments, such as Indonesia, Geneva, Algeria, Ceylon, Bangladesh, Sudan, etc. At any rate, their one-word defense of Mao Tsetung Thought was bolstered by a 600-word quotation from "a great working class leader"—Kim Il Sung.

According to Kim Il Sung Thought, Nixon's journey was a "trip of the defeated," with Nixon arriving in Peking waving "a white flag" of surrender.

Unfortunately, since the conclusion of the trip, Kim himself has shown a disposition toward magnanimity to the "vanquished" that must appear a bit premature even to the most devoted cultists of the "very great sun of the Korean nation."

Writing in the March 7 *Washington Post*, Selig S. Harrison described an interview he had been given in Tokyo by Kim Byong-sik, a representative to the North Korean Supreme People's Assembly and first vice-chairman of the Association of Korean Residents in Japan. Kim Byong-sik, Harrison noted, has been "long the recognized North Korean spokesman here."

The lesser Kim told Harrison that the North Korean government was eager for "expanded relations and an end to our confrontation with the United States."

"We recognize," Kim said, "that some

of the conservative circles in the U. S. might worry about what would happen if U. S. troops are withdrawn. We therefore feel that a 'no-war' agreement with South Korea should come first, in order to give assurance to American opinion, and we are confident that we can persuade the peace-loving people of the United States to accept our reasonable proposal for reunification."

The North Korean government had previously insisted that it would not sign a "no-war" agreement with the puppet Park regime while U. S. troops continued to occupy South Korea. Now, it appears, Kim Il Sung Thought has made the remarkable discovery that tensions in Korea are not caused by the aggressive designs of U. S. imperialism, but by a misunderstanding of Kim's intentions.

Moreover, it seems that the peace-loving people of the United States are going to determine Nixon's policy toward Korea—a prerogative of which he has been very jealous in regard to Indochina.

Since the "peaceful coexistence" achieved in Peking has been able to work such wonders, certainly no one will suggest that Kim Il Sung's willingness to sanction continued U. S. occupation of South Korea contains any element of class collaboration. But if someone did make such a charge, we wonder whom the *Guardian's* editors would quote to prove that Nixon had surrendered to Kim Il Sung. □



COPIES MISSING?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 50c per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116
Village P. O. Station
New York, N. Y. 10014

Four More Fall Before Shah's Firing Squads

By Javad Sadeeg

Executions of young revolutionists are continuing in Iran. The Paris daily *Le Monde* reported March 3 that one day after the execution of six political prisoners in Teheran on March 1, four more met death before a firing squad. Their names were reported to be Saeed Areen, Mehdi Savalani, Bahman Ajhang, and Abdol-Karim Hajian.*

The executions of March 1 were reported in the Iranian press, but not those of March 2.

The first expressions inside the country against the executions came from students. The March 9 *Le Monde* reported that several hundred demonstrated at the University of Teheran on March 7, protesting the military trials and the large number of death sentences handed down by the courts. The police entered the university and made several arrests.

The student demonstration came one week after the shah staged a masquerade intended to convince the outside world that the Iranian people approve his reign of terror. Schools, government offices, and private enterprises were ordered closed on February 29 so that the people could demonstrate against "foreign elements" and "terrorists."

During the shah's put-up demonstrations, three bombs exploded in Teheran, killing one demonstrator and wounding several others. The Iranian press said that the police were investigating the death of the head of a school board in a district near Ardebil, Azerbaijan, to determine if his electrocution while speaking on the platform during a pro-shah rally was accidental or the result of a plot.

Terror in Iran is causing revulsion abroad. Christian Bourguet, who was sent to Iran by the International Association of Democratic Jurists, told

Le Monde (March 7) that Iran, despite being a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, violates its provisions. He said that he was barred from observing the military trials in Teheran.

In an article entitled "A Throne Drip-



SHAH: "Throne dripping with blood."

ping With Blood" in the March 6 issue of the Paris magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur*, author Rezvani scores the torture and killing of young Iranians under the shah's regime. Pleading for efforts to stop the brutalities, the writer concludes: "Today the shah has against him the youth and the intellectuals of his country; tomorrow the entire people will pass sentence on him."

The ten martyrs who were executed on March 1 and March 2 are part of a group of twenty-three brought to trial on January 23 on charges of terrorist activities and conspiracy to overthrow the shah's regime. All refused to defend themselves in the closed military court. Their trial ended on February 2, with the military court issuing six death sentences.

The prisoners, as well as the prosecutor, appealed to a higher court.

Among the four executed on March 2, only Areen was sentenced to death in the first court; the other three had received life terms. Apparently the military court of appeals is responsible for changing the life terms to the death penalty.

The ultimate responsibility lies with the shah, who has to endorse each death penalty. According to *Le Monde* (March 9), he ruled out clemency for those condemned to death in the current trials. The executions of the ten revolutionists started the morning after he returned to Iran from a skiing vacation in Switzerland.

Apparently the shah had to cut short his vacation in Switzerland because the Zurich police were looking for his personal secretary, Prince Dawallou, on charges of peddling pure opium. This was reported in a statement issued in Berkeley March 6 by the Iranian Students Association in the United States. The information was obtained from an Associated Press dispatch of March 1. The statement pointed out that possession of a few grams of narcotics carries a death penalty in Iran, a charge for which the shah has executed more than 100 persons.

According to the Iranian Students, ten more prisoners have been condemned to death by the military in secret trials in Teheran.

The students are appealing for international solidarity. Messages of protest should be sent to Prime Minister Hoveyda, Teheran, Iran, and to the Iranian Embassy in Washington, D. C. □

It's Easy to Subscribe

For 26 issues send \$7.50 with your name and address to:

Intercontinental Press
P. O. Box 116
Village P. O. Station
New York, N. Y. 10014

* Those executed on March 1 were Abbas and Assadolah Meftahi, Massoud and Majeed Ahmadzadeh, Hamid Tavakoli, and Gholam-Reza Golavi. For further details, see *Intercontinental Press*, March 13, p. 255.

The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[This is the second installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement*. The first installment was printed in our issue of March 13.

[This English translation appears through the courtesy of the Paris publishing house of François Maspero. Copyright © 1969 by François Maspero.]

* * *

Chapter 3: From 1929 to 1933. Formation of the International Left Opposition

The years 1929-33 marked the greatest economic crisis in the history of capitalism. Tens of millions of people were thrown out of work—or never even got a job after leaving school. The social crisis thus brought on ended not in a gain for socialism but in the victory of fascism in Germany.

Colonial revolts and revolutions were on the increase; the Chinese Communists set out on their "long march." In the Soviet Union the period of the five-year plans began under the leadership of Stalin, who succeeded in strangling the Bolshevik party.

In this period, despite their policy of class-collaboration (the theory of the "lesser evil"), the Socialist parties generally did not occupy the seats of government. The Communist parties followed an ultraleft, sectarian policy (the "third period"). The combination of the two policies—Socialist and Communist—paralyzed the proletariat.

* * *

Stalin, faithful to his concept of "socialism in one country," expelled Trotsky from the Soviet Union early in 1929. In so doing, Stalin believed he had once and for all gotten rid of the man who, once again, found himself in exile.

Even at that time Stalin would have gotten rid of Trotsky in a more permanent way, except that, as Zinoviev and Kamenev declared after the troika broke up, he feared an assassination might boomerang against him—his position was still far from secure, while Trotsky still had considerable authority in the USSR. Inside the USSR itself, Trotsky would never have discontinued his activity. He had refused to make an agreement to that effect when Stalin had demanded it. It was after this refusal that Stalin saw only one solution—to forbid any relationship, any contact, between Trotsky and the USSR. That was the purpose Trotsky's exile was intended to

serve. Let us not forget that in the past Stalin had considered the pre-1917 revolutionary emigration as something of little importance. Later Stalin was to admit that he had made a mistake in exiling Trotsky. It was probably from that moment on that Stalin started the preparations for Trotsky's assassination.

Upon his arrival in Turkey, Trotsky set himself the task of creating an international Bolshevik-Leninist faction to fight against the disintegration of the international revolutionary movement.

As early as 1924, centrifugal currents had been appearing in the Communist International and in most of its sections, but, except in the USSR, practically no group had developed political lineaments of its own—its own well-rounded program (outside of, perhaps, the Italian Bordigists). On the contrary, during the 1924-29 period a series of numerically tiny groups had been formed, generally without solid ties to the working class, quarreling amongst themselves, and without any real political cohesiveness. This can very well be explained by the fact that the Communist parties had arisen from currents of very diverse origin in the working-class movement, and there had not been enough time before the onset of the degeneration for reeducating and unifying these parties on the basis of the theoretical, political, and organizational experience of Bolshevism. As soon as the ebb in the revolutionary movement appeared, as soon as the impact of the Bolshevik party's degeneration was felt in the Communist International, reactions on the most diverse political bases occurred amongst those who avoided getting caught up in the Stalinist corruption. Thus in France, between 1924 and 1929, a half-dozen different oppositions appeared, each of them very varied in composition.

Immediately upon his arrival in Turkey, Trotsky addressed a letter to all of the groups and individuals who found themselves in opposition to Stalinist policy. Signed "Gurov," the letter projected an international regroupment and asked each of them what their positions were on the three basic questions: the USSR, the Anglo-Russian Committee, and the Chinese revolution. In this letter and in other documents that followed shortly thereafter, *Trotsky distinguished three fundamental currents in the Communist International* around which the different groups were, or would be, gathered—in a more or less clear-cut fashion:

a) *The Left Opposition*, which defended the fundamental political and organizational policies of Leninism advocated by the Bolshevik-Leninists in the Soviet Union;

b) *The right opposition*, oriented by the right wing of the Bolshevik party (Bukharin) and composed of groups opposed to Stalinism, not because of its fundamental policy, not on the question of "socialism in one country," but more particularly because of its "ultraleft" errors. These groups, the most important of which was that of Brandler in Germany, each tried to have an in-

dependent national policy, with the result that they found themselves moving toward the social-democratic left.

c) In the center, *the Stalinist faction*, the bureaucratic wing in the service of the Kremlin.

In his letters, Trotsky also specified that the problem of the internal regime of the party, no matter how important it was, nevertheless had to be considered subordinate to fundamental political problems, and there could be no question of entering into a bloc with the right (Brandlerites) because, while we had the same criticism of the party regime that they did, there was complete and total disagreement between us and them on the essential political problems, on the general political orientation.

The 1929-33 period of our international movement was essentially a period of *principled delimitation* (i. e., demarcating ourselves, in respect to other opposition groups, on the basis of principle) and *formation of cadres*. That was the period in which a large number of our sections were formed and in the course of which we learned, if such an expression can be used, to "talk Trotskyist."

It was during this period in France that the group which published *La Vérité* (The Truth) was established (September 1929) and organized the Ligue Communiste (Communist League) in 1930. It was in April 1930 in Paris that the first International Conference of Bolshevik-Leninists took place, which was to give birth to an international center, very weak at the time, that would become the International Secretariat. The development of our movement led to the Copenhagen Conference of 1932, attended by Trotsky, and to a 1933 conference that adopted the "eleven points" summarizing our basic program.

Let us take a look at the principal problems confronting the Trotskyist movement at that time.

Defense of the USSR

Beginning in 1929, the opponents of Stalinism were faced with the problem of *defense of the Soviet Union*, occasioned by incidents that occurred during the summer of 1929 on the East China railroad. At that time, the Trans-Siberian included a section that passed through Chinese territory.⁶

Agreements did exist between the USSR and China on the management of the railroad on Chinese territory. These agreements had been established by the two countries on an equal footing, after Lenin's government had voluntarily repudiated all treaties concluded by czarism that were of the "unequal treaty" type between the imperialist powers and China. After the victory of the counter-revolution in China, Chiang Kai-shek wanted forcibly to expel the Soviet managers of that part of the railroad. From the strategic point of view, that constituted a great danger for the USSR, since the Pacific port of Vladivostok would thus be cut off from all of Siberia. In answer to Chiang, the Soviet government sent the Red Army to enforce the rights of the Soviet state, at which point denunciations of "Soviet imperialism," and other arguments we have often heard since, took place among a number of opponents of Stalinism. It was more or less at this

6. Since then, a line has been built that goes only through Soviet territory.

time that Hugo Urbahns, leader of the Hamburg insurrection of 1923, began to expound theories on the existence of "state capitalism" in the USSR.⁷ It was at this time that Trotsky wrote *The Defense of the Soviet Union and the Left Opposition*,⁸ the first fairly complete examination of a question that was to be raised many a time thereafter.

In this pamphlet Trotsky defined the class nature of the Soviet state, product of the October Revolution. The aim of any war against the USSR would be to destroy the bases of the society (collective ownership of the means of production, etc.) and not to destroy its police rule. The defeat of the USSR would also bring in its wake colonization of the country by imperialism, which would thus be assured a new lease on life. This defeat would result in profound demoralization of the masses throughout the entire world. But defense of the Soviet Union does not at all consist in accepting or supporting Stalin's policy. On the contrary, the latter is one of the greatest dangers threatening the USSR—Stalin hunting around the world for "allies," to the detriment of the world revolution. This policy must be bitterly denounced, even in time of war. "For the defense of the Soviet Union, always! For the defense of Stalinism, never!" The only real defense of the Soviet Union in the event of world conflict is the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat in all the capitalist countries, "allies" or not of the USSR.

The United Front Against the Hitler Danger

The main struggle waged by the Left Opposition from 1930 on was the struggle for the *united front in Germany* against the rise of fascism. The Left Opposition's policy was radically opposed to the Stalinist policy of the "third period," which can be summarized as follows: Capitalism has entered a period of final crisis; *consequently* (by virtue of Stalinist logic), the entire bourgeoisie is turning fascist, and along with it, its party in the working class, the Social Democratic party, which is becoming a social-fascist party; *consequently*, the danger of war against the USSR is becoming imminent; and *consequently* the masses are becoming radicalized, placing on the agenda general strikes, revolutionary days, leading to armed insurrection. The political consequences of this "logic," of this theory of "social fascism," was that there could be no possible question of entering a united front with a social-fascist party; on the contrary, it was necessary to fight this social-fascist party, to cut right through it, in order to get at the bourgeoisie and at fascism, the "twin of social fascism."

This international policy of Stalinism had its most dreadful repercussions and its most horrible results in Germany, where the workers, faced with the Hitlerite gangs, found themselves divided. Still worse, in certain cases (the plebiscite in Prussia) the Stalinists voted together with the Nazis against the Social Democrats. Another fact: following the May 1, 1929, assassination of some

7. The theory of "state capitalism" was really not new. It had been created right after the October Revolution by Social Democrats like Otto Bauer, Karl Kautsky, etc.

8. Available in English in the following issues of *Fourth International*: October 1946, December 1946, and March 1947.—Translator

thirty Berlin workers by police led by the Social Democratic prefect Zoergiebel, the Communist party declared that all Social Democrats were also Zoergiebels who had to be struck down. Children of Social Democrats were then "little Zoergiebels," and the order was given to Communist children's organizations to beat up Social Democratic children at school. Shortly before Hitler came to power, members of the German CP and the Nazis had common picket lines during the strike of the Berlin public transport system, which was run by a Social Democratic municipality. This "third period" policy created a rift between Socialist workers and Communist workers and rendered the German proletariat helpless in face of the rise of the Nazis.

The Left Opposition led an international struggle against the line of "social fascism" and in favor of a united front of the German Communist and Socialist parties in order to stop Hitler. That campaign was based on a series of pamphlets by Trotsky: *What Next?*, *The Only Road*, *Letter to a German Communist Worker, Germany: The Key to the International Situation*.⁹

The development of the situation and our intervention led the Stalinists, who had wanted to avoid the issue, to take a position on the Nazi danger. In France the CP leadership called an information conference of the Paris region, at which the then secretary, Semard, branded the German question "the Trotskyite hobbyhorse." A public meeting of the CP at Bullier Hall was the scene of violent fistfights between Stalinists and Trotskyists.

Later, forced to respond to the workers' anxiety about the fascist threat, as well as to serve the Kremlin's diplomatic maneuvering between the democratic countries and Hitlerite Germany, the Communist International organized the "Amsterdam Committees" for the fight against fascism. It was one of the first experiments with a "mass"-type organization controlled by the Stalinists. Our organization "participated" in these Amsterdam and Paris (Pleyel Hall) Congresses in order to expose them as subterfuges. They were just that—on many counts. The Stalinists separated the fight against war and fascism from the revolutionary struggle for power.¹⁰ In that way, they spread the idea that, with a given political line, the rise of fascism could be stopped and imperialist war prevented—*within the capitalist system*.

Even at that time, the policy of "peaceful coexistence" was already taking its toll. It was not invented by Khrushchev; he only adapted it to the new conditions of the postwar period.

In that way, too, and under the banner of Leninism and the October Revolution, Stalinism reintroduced social-democratic and opportunistic ideas. The door was thus opened to collaboration with the "antifascist" bourgeoisie or bourgeois "friends of peace," and the Kremlin took its first steps on the road to the Popular Front in France and Spain, to be followed by the National Front.

Finally, these groups were subterfuges inasmuch as

9. These pamphlets are all contained in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, by Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York, N. Y. — *Translator*

10. It is obvious that a revolutionary party must conduct specific campaigns and actions against fascism and imperialist war, but these actions must be anticapitalist in character.

the Stalinist chieftains claimed they were building a united front by this "mass"-type method of organization, whereas they were only regrouping people who had accepted their leadership in advance. Thus did they distort—in the minds of revolutionary workers and in the masses—the concept of a united front among working-class organizations.

The Fight to Reform the Communist International

As we said, a great number of our sections originated in this period, which was also marked by numerous internal crises in our movement. Since there were no large-scale workers' struggles taking place in that period and since our movement did not have much of a mass base, personal aspects of our internal discussions often assumed undue importance. But the personal elements of these fights were closely bound to, were grafted onto, political and organizational problems. All these crises were *phases of the struggle to establish connections with the masses and to build revolutionary leaderships*. Only philistines, only centrists, can sneer at these fights instead of trying to understand them. In this period, an attempt at collaborating with the Bordigists, in the same international organization, proved fruitless. The Copenhagen Conference registered the impossibility of our being in the same movement, under the given circumstances.

During this entire period, we were opposed to building a new International and new revolutionary parties. *The essence of our political line was to struggle to reform, to regenerate, the Communist International and its sections*. Although expelled, we considered ourselves a faction of the Communist International and of the Communist parties, a faction struggling to put these organizations back on the correct revolutionary road.

In that period we came up against tendencies that wanted to form a new International, that said there was no longer anything that could be done with the Communist International and its sections. Our answer was that our attitude toward working-class organizations could not be dictated by subjective considerations such as our expulsion, nor even solely by the policy followed by the leadership of those organizations. The birth and continued existence of revolutionary parties and of a revolutionary International correspond to a historical situation, to given objective conditions that cannot arbitrarily be dismissed with a few strokes of the pen. The Communist International and its sections had at their command the historic capital rising out of their origin, their connection with the Russian Revolution, their years of struggle in working-class movements. These organizations had deep roots in the masses. Stalinism was squandering the historic capital of the Third International, but only great historic events could show whether it was definitively finished, doomed from a revolutionary point of view, despite our efforts to regenerate it.

From 1923 on, we had seen the Left Opposition in the Communist parties grow, with (and by means of) every revolutionary upsurge of the workers. We had no grounds for saying that the bureaucratization of these parties was irreversible. It should not be forgotten that the CPs of that era, although already led by Stalinists, were quite different from the political machines of today. They were still revolutionary formations. Finally, in our struggle

against the policies of the third period, we had warned that a defeat of the German proletariat and a victory for Hitler could constitute precisely the historic event likely to change our course with regard to the Communist International. We must bear in mind the world situation at that time. The European working class constituted the majority of the world working class; the colonial movements had only just begun.

It should be noted that later on, when we turned toward the construction of a Fourth International and new revolutionary parties, practically none of the people who

had condemned our policy of reforming the Third International and had taken a position against us in favor of creating a Fourth International—practically none of these people joined us in this task. Most of them continued to form ultraleft groupings. This proves that there were much deeper differences between us and those who criticized us at that time than the possible reform of the Communist International. Actually, these divergences stemmed from totally different concepts of the party and its relationship to the working class.

[To be continued]

European Downturn Makes Itself Felt

Unhappy Days Ahead for Austrian Economy

Vienna

The unfavorable international economic conditions that prevailed last year in the most important capitalist countries, combined with the monetary crisis, will inevitably influence the Austrian economy in 1972 and beyond. The bourgeois conservatives and the SP [Sozialistische Partei—Socialist party] economic experts have not as yet decided how to characterize the worldwide downturn: as less harmful than a deep-going downturn (i. e., a short-term recession), or as the beginning of a world economic crisis.

The answer to this question is also important in order to characterize the opportunities for a revolutionary policy that can give the working class of Austria an anticapitalist class-consciousness.

Effects of the 1967 Recession

In 1967, Austria was seized by the recession that began in West Germany in 1966-67. The growth rate of the Austrian economy in 1967 was only a little over 1.7 percent. A recovery began to make itself felt during the course of 1968.

The 1967 crisis was overcome quickly not only by an end to the downturn in West Germany, but also by the anti-working-class policies of the OVP [Oesterreichische Volkspartei—Austrian People's party] government under Chancellor Josef Klaus. The OVP at that time applied a tested formula: putting the burden of the crisis (deficit financing) on the shoulders of the working class by means of new special taxes and an extensive raising of tariffs. This policy,

by the way, was remarkably similar to the present tax and tariff policy of the SP government.

The Outlook for Europe in 1972

"In 1972, the European economy will become still more listless. According to the estimates of the OECD [Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development] and the European Economic Research Institute, the growth rate will decline from 3.5 to 3 percent. The stimulative measures adopted by many countries in the fall of 1970 will begin to work only very gradually; the growth rates of investment and consumption will decline further. The worsened competitive position relative to the United States, caused by the altered currency parities, will hinder the expected overseas recovery from affecting the European economy. This means that the mechanism on which most previous upturns were based will be inoperative. All the European industrial states, with the exception of Italy, Sweden, and Great Britain, *expect a sinking growth rate*. In West Germany the growth rate will barely reach 1 percent. In Italy and Sweden, despite the recovery, it will be only about 2 percent. The average for the EEC [European Economic Community—the Common Market] will be about 2.5 percent." (*Die Industrie*, the newspaper of the Industrialists' Association, Number 1-2, 1972.)

In the face of this pessimistic prediction for the European economic conjuncture, the bourgeois economists—and the SP ministers—attempt a cer-

tain optimism. On what is this optimism based?

1. The Austrian capitalists, who could already point to one of the highest investment ratios in Europe (30 percent), want to maintain this extremely high rate on the basis of the high degree of utilization of capacity and *high profits*. The high rate of investment is, of course, at the expense of wages.

The technological equipment of Austrian industry is still backward in many branches. In times of general economic downturn, the international competitive battle becomes even more fierce. For these reasons, Austrian capitalists and the nationalized industries will be forced to accumulate capital more rapidly and on a higher technological plane. The shortening of production time will also contribute to this.

2. The capitalist state is expected to make an essential contribution to maintaining the high investment ratio by use of the anticyclical policies developed by Keynes. On paper, the state plans to increase its investments by 17 percent, especially in the areas of federal industries, the municipalities, and the states, and above all in the electrical industry (by an additional 25 percent). The source of these inoculations is future or already inaugurated price and tariff increases. In addition, an emergency budget of 2,800,000,000 schillings [about US \$120,000,000] is to be held in reserve by the finance minister.

The combination of these conjunctural support measures is expected to maintain the high employment level of around 2,500,000 wage-earners

and prevent a decline of the domestic economy. Of course, those who live on wages must expect a relative decline in income because of the lateness of wage increases, higher deductions, and stagnation of the employment level. On the other hand, in *Die Industrie* Gunther Tichy predicts that personal consumption will increase 5.5 percent in 1972.

The Role of Foreign Workers

In the summer of 1971, there were about 160,000 foreign workers employed in Austria, around one-third more than in the previous year. In 1972, the number is still climbing (174,000). On construction sites, one out of every four workers is a foreigner.

The foreign workers are especially exploited (low wages, shameless gouging by landlords, and discrimination by the inhabitants) and contributed decisively to raising the growth rate of the gross national product to 5.5 percent. At the same increase in labor productivity, the growth would have been only 4 percent without the foreign workers.

The advantage that the foreign reserve army of labor provides for the accumulation of Austrian capital is the saving of the reproduction costs of children, youth, and older workers, as well as a part of the training cost. The disadvantages would be the flow of currency into the countries from which the workers come and the neglect of the necessary raising of the infrastructure and the standard of living.

1973—Recession Year for Austria

In the final analysis, the extent to which the recession affects Austria will depend on the depth of the economic downturn in West Germany (an important export market for Austria) and the extent of the stagnation in the other capitalist countries of Europe and the United States. The bourgeois economic experts calculate that the recession will hit Austria in 1973.

Because the recovery from the 1967 downturn set in late, the crisis in West Germany will also develop fully in 1973. In this case none of the measures intended to support the domestic economy will suffice to prevent the spread of the recession to Austria.

Even before its real beginning, the Austrian working class is feeling the effects of the recession. These are the following:

1. Faster technological renovation of industry and the faster work pace that accompanies it, and a greater exploitation of wage labor by means of an increase in relative surplus value.

2. Higher taxes on wages and a heavier burden of tariff and price increases.

3. Continuation of the "creeping inflation," which causes a lasting devaluation of wages and pensions.

The offensive of the bourgeoisie has already begun. It aims to put the burdens of the coming crisis on the

shoulders of the working class.

The offensive can be defeated only by a deep-going change in the consciousness of the workers, a clear renunciation of the "social partnership" practiced by the union federation and the SP government. The real beginnings of an anticapitalist struggle by the working class in the present situation can be found only in the struggles in the factories and unions.

The struggle will first crystalize around the vanguard of the class in those areas where revolutionary consciousness is present and the necessity of class struggle is recognized. This is also the starting point for the revolutionary left to find its way out of its previous isolation. □

Nimeiry, Southern Leaders in Agreement

Speaking to a Khartoum rally March 3, Sudanese President Jaafar el-Nimeiry announced that the decade-long war between the central government and the Southern population was over. On February 28, after nearly two weeks of meetings in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, negotiators for the government and Anyanya (the autonomist movement of the South Sudan) initialed the draft of an agreement to end the fighting. A cease-fire was to go into effect on March 22, but according to the Nimeiry, fighting has already stopped.

The truce reportedly provides for a new federal system under which the South will be granted a certain measure of autonomy. Three southern provinces—Upper Nile, Equatoria, and Bahr el-Ghazal—will be consolidated into a single "South Sudan."

The new province will elect a People's Council, which will be empowered to pass legislation affecting the South. The "High Executive Council" will implement the decisions of the People's Council.

Whether or not the regional assembly will have any real power remains to be seen. The central government will continue to control most legislation, national defense, foreign policy, trade, currency, communications, transport, and economic and social planning.

All Southern guerrillas will be granted amnesty, and the armed detachments of Anyanya will be incor-

porated into the regular army. They will be stationed primarily in the South, where they will constitute half the total troop strength.

All Sudanese troops quartered in the South would be under the command of a joint commission composed in equal numbers of representatives of the central government and the South.

For the past ten years, the Sudanese government has been waging war against the Southern population, which is non-Arab. Estimates on the number of casualties suffered by the inhabitants of the South during that period range as high as 500,000.

The failure of any sector of the Sudanese left to support the right of the South to self-determination has allowed the leadership of the Southern movement to pass largely into reactionary hands. That process has been intensified by Ethiopian and Zionist support to the Anyanya leadership.

In the course of the war with the central government, two tendencies have appeared in the Southern movement, one favoring complete independence, the other only extensive autonomy. It is therefore uncertain that the new agreement will be accepted by the whole movement.

On the other side, Nimeiry has frequently offered the Southerners an autonomous federalism, only to renege on his promises and intensify the war. □

REVIEWS

French May-June as Students Saw It

The French Student Uprising, November 1967-June 1968 by Alain Schnapp and Pierre Vidal-Naquet. Beacon Press, Boston, Mass. 654 pp. \$17.50. 1971.

"The filth, the lack of hygiene, and their consequences are obviously one of the arguments the Gaullist government intends to use to wrest the Sorbonne from the students.

"Hygiene and disinfection measures will be taken by the occupation committee in agreement with the sanitary services.

"We must all understand the significance of this action, not only because of its evident practical consequences, but also and especially because of its POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE."

In May 1968, in the Sorbonne and other universities, *everything* was of political significance. The student rebellion and the largest general strike in history, which it sparked, continue to be significant, both as an example to students in other countries (May 1970 in the United States) and as a preview of the mass movement that will some day complete the unfinished business and topple capitalism in France.

In this book, which they subtitle "An Analytical Record," Alain Schnapp and Pierre Vidal-Naquet attempt to provide a documentary history of the student uprising. They present some 232 documents of the period, obtained from all shades of the political spectrum from far left to far right.

The history of such a movement cannot, of course, be contained only in the written material of the time, and the authors do not pretend to have provided more than some of the raw materials that any evaluation must take into account.

The documents are interspersed with the observations of Schnapp and Vidal-Naquet, which are sometimes helpful and sometimes not. In the latter category should be mentioned the authors' anti-Leninist bias. The taking of Lenin's party as a model by revolutionists is, they proclaim, a "cata-

strophic" development, and their bias leads them to see the Mouvement du 22 mars (March 22 Movement) as "a first attempt, in an industrial society, to go beyond the Bolshevik model." If it did in fact represent such an attempt, one would expect that history has already offered sufficient evidence by which to judge whether that organization was in fact "beyond" or behind the Leninist example of a revolutionary combat party.

Fortunately, the material itself is sufficiently straightforward to allow readers to judge for themselves the lessons of the uprising of May-June. One can see the Communist party, for example, proclaiming the reactionary line that is still its stock response to any left movement. The Renault section of the CP responded to the fraternization of students and workers with a June 7 leaflet that slandered the students: "The Gaullist government is seeking and fomenting disorder and to this end they are being greatly helped by Trotskyist, anarchist-Maoist, and other leftist groups."

The records of the various tendencies that participated in—or opposed—the student movement are presented

here, in their own words, for all to see. Of particular interest are what Schnapp and Vidal-Naquet call the "international models." For the bulk of this section, the authors are forced, despite their opposition to Leninism, to draw on the propaganda of the Trotskyist youth, Jeunesse Communiste Révolutionnaire, in defense of the Vietnamese revolution and of the struggle for socialist democracy in the workers states.

English-speaking readers who share that internationalist perspective will want to make themselves familiar with the documentation in this book, which was originally published in France under the title *Journal de la Commune Etudiante: Textes et Documents Novembre 1967-Juin 1968*.

Unfortunately, the translation is not adequate to the subject. Readers will have to accustom themselves to the translator's use of "plus-value" instead of "surplus value," to the word "instauration" where the French writers evidently intended the quite different meaning "installation," to "eclipses" for "exceptions," to such awkward constructions as "the Americans . . . accepted to begin talks," and to occasional words such as "matraque" that simply do not exist in English. There are also numerous typographical errors, which arouse the suspicion that a check of the book's dates, figures, etc., against other sources might lead to the discovery of other errors.

—David Burton

Defending Prisoners of the 'Gorillas'

The U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has been in the forefront of the movement to free the many victims of repressions launched by U. S.-backed "gorilla" regimes in Latin America. One of the USLA's major tools in organizing action toward this end has been its newsletter, *USLA Reporter*, the March-April issue of which is currently available.

The *Reporter* centers on the committee's campaign in support of Argentine prisoners and contains several articles on the situation in that country.

But neither the work of the com-

mittee nor its newsletter is restricted solely to Argentina. The current *Reporter* also covers the situations in Bolivia and Brazil, and contains an account of the murder of Carlos Alvarado Barrera in Mexico City's infamous Lecumberri jail, as well as stories on Puerto Rico and Uruguay.

USLA Reporter continues to be an invaluable source of information on the fight for civil liberties in Latin America. Copies cost \$0.25 each, and can be obtained from USLA, 137A West 14 Street, New York, N. Y. 10011. Subscriptions are \$2.00 for ten issues. □

Situation and Tasks Facing Indian Revolutionists

[The resolution reprinted below was adopted by the national conference of the Communist League (Indian section of the Fourth International) held in Bombay December 30-January 2. The text contains minor stylistic changes made by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

The midterm elections to the Lok Sabha [parliament] in March 1971 and the emergence of the "New" Congress party led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi as the ruling party at the Center with an overwhelming majority of seats in parliament, created a new political atmosphere in the country very different from what prevailed immediately after the general elections in 1967.

The Indian National Congress, which, as a party of the Indian bourgeoisie, dominated the political scene not only in the preindependence but also during the postindependence period, was seriously challenged from the right by various bourgeois parties (Jan Sangh, Swatantra party, DMK [Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam], etc.) in states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, etc., on the one hand, and by the traditional left parties (CPI [Communist party of India], CPI(M) [Communist party of India (Marxist)], SSP [Samyukta Socialist party], PSP [Praja Socialist party], etc.) in states like West Bengal and Kerala, on the other. The Congress lost its absolute monopoly of power in several states although it retained its control at the Center.

The 1967 elections were held on the crest of nationwide struggles of masses of workers, peasants, white-collar employees, and students, creating a situation which could be considered prerevolutionary and which could have been transformed into a revolutionary situation for the overthrow of capitalism had there been an independent revolutionary leadership of the working class capable of leading the emerging mass struggles towards a socialist revolution.

The traditional workers' parties, particularly the CPI and CPI(M), instead of utilizing their gains in states like West Bengal and Kerala to organize an all-out assault against bourgeois property relations from both the parliamentary and extraparliamentary fronts, resorted to opportunist class-collaborationist politics and functioned as defenders of the capitalist system. As participants in multi-class coalition governments in different states, they objectively helped Indian capitalism to buy up mass discontent and tide over its deep-rooted crisis temporarily. Their class-collaborationist role also helped discredit the traditional left par-

ties as corrupt stooges of capitalism, indistinguishable from traditional capitalist parties.

In the process, working-class parties like the CPI and CPI(M) entered a phase of organizational disintegration. There was a major revolt inside the CPI(M) against the opportunist policies and parliamentary illusions of the leadership, leading to the emergence of the Maoist CPI(M-L) [Communist party of India (Marxist-Leninist)] and various other so-called Naxalite tendencies, some of which, however, degenerated into adventurist terrorist groups isolated from mass movements.

Against the background of the crisis facing the traditional working-class parties and the absence of a revolutionary Marxist alternative, the crisis facing Indian capitalism precipitated a major split also in the Congress, the main traditional party of the bourgeoisie. But the differences between the "Old" Congress and the "New" Congress centered essentially around their respective strategies for overcoming the crisis threatening bourgeois rule as a whole.

The Indira Congress took advantage of the confusion in the left movement to project a radical image of itself, with its pseudosocialist slogans of "Ban poverty," "Socialist reforms," etc., and to rally behind it the middle-class intelligentsia and youth—another strata of the population disillusioned with the working-class parties. This image was further sought to be strengthened by some of the legislative reforms, such as nationalization of major commercial banks and general insurance, abolition of privy purses, etc., raising new hopes among the masses and creating new illusions regarding the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism being achieved under the leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This was reflected in the sweeping victory of the New Congress at the polls and the rout of all other "opposition" parties of both the right and the left.

The performance of the Indira government after the midterm poll, however, demonstrated—despite the attempt to introduce minor reforms in the capitalist framework—its inability to solve even the elementary problems confronting the masses, such as food, jobs, and shelter. On the contrary, capitalist rule entered a phase of deeper crisis, threatening to undermine the capitalist economy as a whole. Mass struggles of workers, peasants, and students, clamoring for a quick solution of their problems, erupted in different states. In the process, the initial euphoria about the Indira government began rapidly to decline.

Meanwhile the Indian economy, tied as it is to foreign imperialist powers, was

affected by the impact of the crisis facing international capitalism as a whole. India's dependence on imperialist "aid givers" had increased, despite the assistance received from the Soviet Union. Internal industrial production had fallen, and an inflationary trend had hit the economy, with the prices of essential commodities skyrocketing. The specter of mass unemployment was assuming gigantic proportions.

It was at this time that the national liberation upsurge erupted in Bangladesh against the military junta of West Pakistan, creating a new revolutionary situation in the entire subcontinent. The prolonged armed struggle of the people of Bangladesh led by the Mukti Bahini against the West Pakistani army led to nationwide mass solidarity action in support of Bangladesh in India.

The Indian government at first extended lukewarm support to the Bangladesh liberation movement and gave limited material assistance to the Mukti Bahini guerrillas operating from the Indian side of the border, but its main strategy was to confine the entire national upsurge within the capitalist framework under the leadership of the Awami League, a party of the incipient bourgeoisie of Bangladesh.

Meanwhile, with the international solidarity action in support of Bangladesh gaining momentum in the face of the West Pakistani junta's genocide, a new militant leadership of the revolution was emerging, not only challenging the hegemony of the Awami League backed by the Indian government but also opening the prospect of the revolution being transformed into an anticapitalist, socialist revolution. Fearing the repercussions on the entire Indian subcontinent of a victorious revolution in Bangladesh, the bourgeois state decided to intervene militarily and install a government led by the Awami League in Dacca.

The objective of the Indian government was clearly that of establishing a bourgeois regime subservient to its needs. The armed intervention has helped the Indira government, however, to build a chauvinist climate in its favor, especially after the "liberation" of Bangladesh and the military reverses suffered by the West Pakistani military junta—despite the support it received from U. S. imperialism and the Maoist bureaucracy of China.

The thirteen-day war has given, politically speaking, a new lease of life to the bourgeois regime in India, though of temporary duration. This does not mean that the political and economic crises facing the regime are being resolved; on the contrary, they have been accentuated.

In the first place, the nationality problem that manifested itself in Bangladesh is already finding its expression in West

Pakistan, despite the attempts of the so-called civilian regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, which replaced the discredited regime of Yahya Khan, to assume a militant garb with seemingly radical reforms of the capitalist framework in West Pakistan. The West Pakistan economy is facing total ruination after the loss of Bangladesh and the devastation caused by the war. The unresolved nationality problem, especially of the people of NWFP [North West Frontier Province], Baluchistan, and Sind clamoring for autonomy and independence, has erupted into the open.

The political crisis facing the bourgeois regime in West Pakistan will have its repercussions in the entire subcontinent sooner or later, posing the problem of nationalities in India as well. While Bangladesh has been carved out as a separate nation as a result of the war, there is every likelihood of the tension between India and West Pakistan being perpetuated on the western borders, with Indian troops occupying some parts of Pakistani territory and Pakistani troops occupying some parts of Indian territory. Bhutto is already threatening to avenge the defeat suffered at the hands of the Indian army. The unsettled border problem is being utilized by the bourgeois rulers of the two countries to build up a nationalist hate-campaign of their people against each other as a part of the larger strategy of diverting the attention of the people from their basic problems in the name of fighting an "external enemy."

Already there are the unresolved "disputes," like that of Kashmir, between the two countries, which will assume sharper proportions with the unsettled nature of the new "cease-fire" line. Although the troops of the countries are committed to withdraw from the occupied territories, there is no guarantee that this will materialize and that normalcy will return soon. The masses of the workers and peasants of both India and Pakistan cannot be a party to the predatory warlike game of their capitalist rulers. By common struggles they must break the artificial barrier imposed between them and must move in the direction of overthrowing their capitalist regimes and building a Federation of Socialist Republics of Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and other states of the Indian subcontinent with the right of self-determination guaranteed to all nationalities.

The bourgeois state in India is arming itself with emergency powers to suppress mass movements under various garbs. In states like West Bengal, a policy of physical liquidation of militant cadres of mass organizations is being pursued. The Indira government has announced its plans to hold elections to the state legislative assemblies in March with the primary object of exploiting the present national chauvinist climate in favor of the Congress. The capitalist rulers fear that the worsening crisis facing the Indian economy would erode the popular base of the ruling party if the present situation continues.

New struggles of masses of workers, rural poor, and white-collar wage earners are already emerging, posing a serious challenge to the bourgeois state and lead-

ing to a new revolutionary situation in the country, for the successful consummation of which there is the urgent need to construct a new revolutionary Marxist party of the working class.

The traditional workers' parties in India, particularly the CPI and CPI(M), because of their class-collaborationist policy in relation to the bourgeois state, are unable to fulfill this historical responsibility of providing such a leadership. The CPI, as a Stalinist party subordinating its national line to the foreign-policy exigencies of the Soviet bureaucracy, identifies itself with the Indian bourgeois rulers. The CPI(M) initially adopted a pro-Peking stance but in recent years has oriented to a position of critical support to both the Soviet and Chinese bureaucracies and has sought to evolve an independent identity of its own in the Sino-Soviet conflict. The CPI pursues a policy of open collaboration with the Indira government as a part of its strategy of forging a four-class national democratic front, whereas the CPI(M) follows a policy of political opposition to the Indira government on the parliamentary and extraparliamentary fronts in pursuance of its strategy of forging a four-class people's democratic front led by the working class. Like the CPI, the CPI(M) suffers from the illusion of parliamentary transition to socialism in India. But it is the only major working-class party with a substantial mass base that is capable of conducting a meaningful struggle against the bourgeois state on a national scale at the present juncture.

Several centrist formations in the working-class movement, like the RSPJ [Revolutionary Socialist party of India], RCPI [Revolutionary Communist party of India], etc., have also undergone a pro-

cess of disintegration. There are, however, some of the further "Naxalite" groups, which are disillusioned with Maoism, and regional parties like the Lal Nishan party are orienting to a program of revolutionary mass struggle against capitalism. The Communist League, as the inheritor of the Marxist-Leninist traditions of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky, is the only revolutionary tendency in the Indian working-class movement that projects a clear perspective of an anticapitalist, socialist revolution as the only way out of the present stagnation facing the Indian economy.

The Communist League, therefore, proposes to seek united action with the CPI(M) and similar parties wherever possible in the struggles of the masses against the bourgeois state. Along with this, the Communist League will endeavor to build united fronts of mass organizations of workers and peasants to coordinate their struggles on their partial trade-union and economic demands on a national scale. The party recognizes that even the partial struggles of the masses assume a revolutionary significance against the background of the deepening crisis of Indian capitalism.

As a first step to achieve its objective of building a new revolutionary working-class party, the Communist League will seek to forge a revolutionary front of parties and groups that stand for mass struggles against the bourgeois state on the basis of an anticapitalist, socialist program. The party will also initiate a dialogue with like-minded parties and groups on the tasks confronting the Indian revolution in the coming period on the basis of the experiences of the Fourth International, the world party of the working class. □

Defend Argentine Political Prisoners!

[The following document announces the formation in France of the Comité de Défense des Prisonniers Politiques Argentins (Committee for the Defense of Argentine Political Prisoners). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

While it is less well known and less spectacularly horror-inspiring than its Brazilian counterpart, the Argentine military dictatorship is fundamentally no different. In Buenos Aires as in Rio, in Córdoba and Rosario as in São Paulo, imperialist domination and capitalist oppression manifest themselves through kidnapping, torture, and assassination.

From the repression of militant

unions (SITRAC-SITRAM)* to the police-goons' kidnapping and murder of numerous revolutionary militants (L. E. Pujals, Maestre, Verde, Gomez); from the imprisonment of revolutionary priests to the systematic torture of prisoners, the savage deeds of the Argentine military must no longer be ignored.

Recently, numerous lawyers publicly denounced these acts in a press conference held in Buenos Aires. The minister of "justice" replied by explaining, with a straight face, that "some

* Sindicato de Trabajadores de Concord - Sindicato de Trabajadores de Materfer - Concord Workers Union - Materfer Workers Union, militant unions representing workers in the Fiat-Concord auto complex.

prisoners injure themselves in their cells and then accuse the police. All the same, we can't pad the walls."

Why this crass desire of the Argentine gorillas to hide the blood with which they have spattered themselves? Because the political situation impels them to do so at this point. Faced with a deep economic crisis, with the combativity and politicization of the masses, they must try to make overtures—although limited and strictly controlled—toward the political parties, especially toward the Peronist bureaucracy that dominates the trade-union movement.

This is the meaning of the Great National Agreement, which must be accompanied by a ferocious repression of the revolutionary and workers' movements so as to avoid any outburst and give reaction the greatest possible guarantees.

This difficult game that the Lanusse regime is trying to play, this situa-

tion full of contradictions offers us, in contrast to what is happening in Brazil or Bolivia, opportunities to initiate actions denouncing the crimes of the repression.

The electoral opening only has meaning if a minimum of democratic guarantees are granted. Consequently the military dictatorship may be constrained to make important concessions if a large movement for the release of the political prisoners and against the torture and assassination of militants develops.

This is not an unrealizable goal. Through their hunger strike last autumn, the political prisoners achieved appreciable improvements in prison conditions.

Our duty therefore is to launch a campaign to inform international public opinion and to mobilize it against the Argentine dictatorship.

In the United States the USLA [United States-Latin America] Justice

Committee has already begun. In Argentina itself, several *ad hoc* groups have been formed—the Movement Against Repression and Torture, among others. Professor Frondizi (brother of the former president) has publicly appealed to the Bertrand Russell Foundation to come to the aid of the political prisoners.

It is high time for us also to move into action, to effect this elementary task of active solidarity. The Committee for the Defense of Argentine Political Prisoners will be constituted and will work with Argentine committees to:

- Launch a campaign of information and denunciation of the crimes of the Argentine dictatorship.
- Organize legal and material aid for the prisoners.
- Take the necessary initiatives to respond vigorously to all new crimes perpetrated by the dictatorship. □

The Maneuvers Between Lanusse and Peron

[The following article provides an analysis of the Gran Acuerdo Nacional (GAN—Great National Agreement) between General Alejandro Lanusse, Argentina's military president, and Juan Perón to negotiate a mutually acceptable formula for the legalization of the Peronist movement and its participation in the elections in March 1973. The negotiations are still going on.

"It is an open secret that General Lanusse has been in regular contact with Mr. Perón, who lives in Madrid," noted Juan de Onís in the March 2 *New York Times*, "since the Argentine Government returned to Mr. Perón last year the remains of his late wife, María Eva Duarte de Perón, better known as Evita. Her body was secretly taken from Argentina and buried in Italy by the military who overthrew Mr. Perón."

"The very logic of the Gran Acuerdo," wrote Jorge Raventos in the February 15-21 issue of the Buenos Aires magazine *Panorama*, "consists, purely and simply, in making explicit the draw that Argentine civilian society has put up with for more than fifteen years: Once the opponents of Peronism had overthrown it, they were not able to put together a stable re-

game that integrated Perón's followers."

[We have translated the article from the February 9 issue of *La Verdad*, published in Buenos Aires.]

* * *

The sharpening of the economic crisis is endangering the government's political plan. Briefly, this crisis is a combination of the stagnation of economic activity, one of the highest rates of inflation in the world, and a national debt to foreign dealers and creditors that cannot be resolved without further loans and extensions of payment deadlines. Hovering over this gloomy picture are the other evils of our chronic crisis: the systematic decrease in agricultural production, the collapse and paralysis of old industrial plants through machinery that is never renovated, power shortages, and inadequate roads.

There may have been other times when the situation was worse, but never have so many aggravating social and political factors been piled on top of one another as today: the split and conflict between various sectors of the owning class and imperialism, which plunders the country on a vast

scale and which controls the most profitable branches of production; an institutional crisis characterized by the fact that the political parties do not properly reflect the interests of the various social strata; and the threat posed by the workers' movement, which has begun, through action, to overcome the bourgeois and bureaucratic limitations of Peronism. All this makes the present crisis one of the most potentially revolutionary in the country's history.

The GAN: A Response to the Crisis

Ever since Lanusse came to power, the military dictatorship has been pushing its policy of reaching an agreement with all the exploiting sectors of society to come up with an electoral solution and a plan for the postelection period. This "gentlemen's agreement" must—according to official plans—serve as the premise for an intelligent regulation of economic contradictions, and above all, for checking and diverting the upward course of the workers' and popular movement, and isolating the various elements of the revolutionary left.

An objective balance sheet of 1971 shows that the government made im-

portant progress in carrying out its plan. *Through the excitement surrounding the agreement and the complicity of Perón and the union bureaucracy, it managed to control the explosive wave of workers' struggles and to slow down the development of the new class-conscious, revolutionary directions.* Since then, Perón has become the most solid prop holding up the government and the GAN.

This is a partial and relative victory for the government because the combativity of the workers has acquired a self-critical and deliberative character. Now is a time when methods and tools of struggle are being perfected; this points to bigger and better-led battles in the future. An example of this is the victory of the *compañeros* at Citröen, which we believe is of historic and symptomatic significance.

Still, the government's victory is a contradictory one, achieved at the cost of great damage to its allies in the plants—the union bureaucracy and Perón himself—in the eyes of the masses.

Despite these limitations, it is no less a fact that this victory has given the government the breathing space and authority it needs to turn its attention to the alliance between the bourgeoisie and imperialism, and to gain a greater hearing and support.

However, the deterioration of the economic situation in the past two months has brought about a retreat, has strewn the path of the GAN with difficulties, and has jeopardized the one political plan the bourgeoisie is counting on.

The Dangers of the GAN

It is not simply a matter, as some of the bosses' publications seem to think, of the people—that is, the "voting middle layer"—being driven to desperation by the extremely high prices. Nor even that in these conditions the tactical necessity for the government to resort to populist demagoguery becomes practically impossible.

In reality, the economic crisis confronts the dictatorship with a more direct and dangerous threat: that important elements of the bourgeoisie may turn their backs on the political agreement and do their best to impose their own particular interests through a coup. This could unleash an open struggle for power and, with-

in a short space of time, bring the working class and the people into the dispute.

The situation has not yet reached this point of seriousness for the government, but it cannot be denied that the crisis is complicating the ongoing political negotiations, making a concrete agreement on the elections difficult, and increasing tensions.

The Power of the President

The economic crisis has lessened the president's room for maneuver. Having gotten over his convenient illnesses and finished his travels abroad, and with the annual vacation period drawing to a close, the deadline for making decisions is almost falling due.

Although the use of presidential imagination is uncovering a few ways to surprise the country with artificial games, the room for maneuver is slight.

The president's power flows from the homogeneity of the military team that sustains him. The symptoms and manifestations of the crisis in the armed forces have not yet made their way up to those at the pinnacle of power. This team has demonstrated its ability to maneuver and apportion various roles among its members without losing its unity. The opposing faces of [General Alcides] López Aufranc [an army corps commander] or a Lanusse have up to now been the clear expression of a coherent orientation, just as repression and political legality are harmonious components of the GAN. The same homogeneity makes it possible for a few of its members—for example, [General Tomás] Sánchez de Bustamante [another army corps commander]—to give the impression that they are heading up some kind of "coup" as a way of forcing decisions to be taken.

This basic strength of the ruling team, and the backing of Perón, are the only tokens of stability that the capitalist regime holds today. And it is this that persuades the bourgeoisie and imperialism that, should the government fall, they would have nothing to put in its place.

At this time, the fate of the GAN, and even more of the regime as a whole, is being played out between the economic crisis that is eating away at both of them on the one hand, and the homogeneity of a small military

nucleus that is centralizing power in its hands and narrowing the seat of power with the direct support of the union bureaucracy and Peronism on the other. If the equilibrium breaks down and the struggle for power breaks out, it is inevitable that a new protagonist—the working class with its new vanguard—will sweep onto the scene.

It is this transparent dilemma that prompts the bankers of the United States and Europe to grant the military team one of the largest loans the country has ever obtained, in spite of the fact that Argentina is one of the most unstable places in the world for such an investment.

The power of guns, the support of Perón, the imminent economic and political aid of imperialism, and the reality that without them no other bourgeois solution is possible, are the cards that Lanusse will play in the coming months to force every wing of the bourgeoisie, the submissive as well as the reluctant, to come up with at least a "small national agreement." And today, in our judgment, this is the most probable variant.

Rarely has the Argentine revolutionary left had such a favorable opportunity for swinging the balance in its favor. Think of what would happen if the workers' movement mobilized and set itself up as the absolute leader of a population provoked by the scourge of high prices. The only thing preventing it from doing so is the rotten role of the union bureaucracy and the weight that Perón still maintains.

There remains no doubt then that the most urgent task is to build a workers' and socialist front that can lead the struggle against the main pillars and accomplices of the GAN—the government, Perón, and the union bureaucracy—and against any other bourgeois variant. □

Still Available

Complete Back Files

Intercontinental Press

1966	42 issues	\$25.00
1967	42 issues	\$25.00
1968	44 issues	\$22.00
1969	43 issues	\$21.50
1970	43 issues	\$21.50
1971	45 issues	\$22.50

P. O. Box 116
Village Station
New York, N. Y. 10014

Berlin Senate's Declaration on Mandel Case

[The following is the full text of the West Berlin Senate's February 22 declaration denying Ernest Mandel the professorship for which he had been recommended by the appropriate faculty body of the Free University of Berlin. (See article, p. 283.) The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

After full discussion, and on the basis of reports by the Senator for Science and Culture and the Senator for the Interior, the Senate takes the following position on the motion from Department 10 (Economics) of the Free University of Berlin to appoint Ernest Mandel of Brussels to a vacant chair of political economy:

1. The Senate does not question the scholarly qualifications of the applicant as stated by the departmental council. However, it cannot depend only on these qualifications. According to section 27 of the university law, the Senator for Science and Culture must investigate extensively whether the scholar proposed by the university is suited to an academic vocation. This evaluation must be based on his entire preceding activity: In the case of Ernest Mandel, this evaluation must be negative in view of his political activities directed against the democratic constitutional state. Mandel's political activities are not directed to elaborating the political framework that the basic law provides—particularly in the clauses on the social character of the state—for the realization even of socialist ideas by constitutional means. Rather they aim only at the revolutionary elimination of this liberal-democratic basic order and thus at the organs established by this basic order for expression of the will of the state.

This situation provides the Senate of Berlin with the opportunity to refer to the liberal-democratic principles of law and society to which Berlin adheres both in its own constitution and as a component of the Federal Republic of Germany. Never in German history have individual freedoms and opportunities to change society been so great as they are today. The existing constitutional order does not exclude fundamental changes and re-

forms, but on the contrary requires them anew, again and again.

Freedom has only one limit in this state—where freedom itself is placed in question, where the legal forms of social life are not recognized and the constitutionally permitted political means for fulfilling the precepts of democratic and social government are abandoned. Ernest Mandel has overstepped these limits. To expect him as a university professor and government official to stand up for the constitution that he as a politician fights by revolutionary means would be absurd, and it would also be to underestimate the fighting personality of Ernest Mandel.

The following particular points should be cited:

Ernest Mandel, a Belgian citizen, has developed an extensive political activity in Germany. He has presented his theories at meetings in many West German cities and in Berlin, and in numerous publications. His goal is the creation of a soviet republic of Trotskyist character, at the head of which would stand a national congress of workers' councils as the highest decision-making body in economic, social, and political questions. The liberal-democratic fundamental order intended by the basic law would thus be altogether destroyed since the reforms permitted by the latter, in Mandel's view, degenerate into mere partial solutions. Thus Ernest Mandel believes his goal can be attained only by a revolutionary overturn. Manifestly, he does not even consider the constitutional path.

Mandel has definite conceptions of how cadre organizations are to be built. Among the students, he seeks vanguard fighters of the revolution, intellectual leaders, and organizers of cadres. He has urged them in numerous publications and meetings—in Berlin also—to educate cadres and to establish cells in the factories.

In this context, it must be pointed out that Ernest Mandel was forbidden entry into France, Switzerland, and the U.S.A., among others, because he carried out his agitational and educational courses in those countries.

Moreover, Ernest Mandel is one of the most influential leaders of the Fourth (Trotskyist) International.

Among other things, he is the leader of its Belgian section. Mandel's influence among German Trotskyists is very great, as can be seen from numerous publications and meetings in Germany. Mandel was a participant in the second "National Conference" of the "Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend" [RKJ—Revolutionary Communist Youth] October 30–November 1, 1971, in Cologne, at which the building of a German section of the Fourth International was discussed.

The Fourth (Trotskyist) International was founded by Trotsky in 1938. It attempts to preserve the continuity of the revolutionary Marxist program until world communism is achieved in the process of permanent revolution. To attain this goal, it sees armed struggle also as a means to overthrow the international bourgeoisie and establish an international soviet republic.

The organization sees itself as an instrument for the coordination and encouragement of all the activities of the revolutionary vanguard.

2. Ernest Mandel does not fulfill the requirements for official appointment as a professor. According to section 27 of the university law, the Senator for Science and Culture must also investigate whether the proposed scholar meets the legal requirements of service. In this regard section 9, paragraph 1 and paragraph 18, subparagraph 2 of the law on government officials requires an official, in all his conduct both on duty and off, to acknowledge the liberal-democratic basic order and to support its preservation. This applies, accordingly, to employees of the public service as well. On the same ground, the Senator for the Interior cannot grant the exemption necessary for the appointment of a foreigner to an official post, as required by section 9, paragraph 2 of the law on government officials and section 10, paragraph 2 of the law on university professors. □

When You Move...

Don't count on the post office forwarding your *Intercontinental Press*! It's against their rules.

Send us your new address. And in plenty of time, please.

Ernest Mandel's Reply to West Berlin Senate

[The following statement, dated February 23, is Ernest Mandel's reply to the decision of the West Berlin Senate denying him appointment as a professor at the Free University. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

1) The decision of the West Berlin Senate to refuse my appointment to the Free University on the grounds of my membership in the Fourth International represents a clear departure from the principles of the rule of law on the part of the West Berlin SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands — Social Democratic party of Germany] leadership. For these principles assure that no one can be discriminated against if he has not been found guilty of an offense or a crime. Collective discriminatory measures against members of any ideological, religious, or racial minority destroy law for the sake of arbitrariness that justifies itself only by the needs of the state.

It begins with the so-called radical left minority, then come those with Jewish grandmothers, then it is against strike agitators or any agitation in the press, and it ends finally with all those who are in any way disagreeable to the local petty official.

Fortunately things have not yet gone this far, but the first steps in this direction have been taken. A witch-hunt of a McCarthyite character is beginning. It can only be continued further if an army of agents and informers is set upon the left in order to "prove" membership in an organization if membership is not "confessed." All of public life can be poisoned through such practices.

2) I know of no decision by the constitutional court that defines the Fourth International as unconstitutional in the Federal Republic of Germany. Consequently, the executive is here permitting itself to anticipate judicial decisions and at the same time, by that means, to greatly influence them. Not only is an entire group defined as guilty without being charged and without being allowed to defend themselves, but the possibility of any kind of objective legal

decision is prevented from the beginning. This also is a clear break with the principles of the rule of law.

3) The alleged unconstitutionality of the Fourth International is traced, according to their view, to wanting to overthrow the "liberal-democratic basic order." That is a crude lie. In no programmatic document of the Fourth International is there talk of a struggle against any "liberal-democratic basic order"; the West Berlin Senate is unable to quote a single line in relation to this. This whole argument only has sense if "liberal-democratic basic order" is synonymous with capitalist exploitation in the eyes of the Senate.

We do indeed wish to overthrow this exploitation, just as we want to attain the abolition of every form of social inequality, oppression, and injustice through the establishment of a classless society free of violence. It would be interesting to know whether, in the opinion of the West Berlin Senate, the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism is to be defined as contrary to the constitution. Should this be the case, then the Senate would have to set up a procedure for the dissolution of the DGB [Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund — German Union Federation], whose Munich declaration of principles calls for the transfer of the means of production to social ownership, which actually prepares for an end to capitalism.

4) Another argument for the unconstitutionality of the Fourth International, according to the Senate, is its stand for a government of workers' councils. The Senate—which has taken such trouble to become knowledgeable on the statutes of the Fourth International—should have concerned itself somewhat more thoroughly with its programmatic literature. There it would discover that, according to our view, a workers' council government is only possible with the active support of the great majority of those who live from wages—that is, an absolute majority of the people of the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Senate would further discover that we are for a multiple-party system with political opposition parties, with broader freedom of the press, assembly, and association than today, be-

cause not only should these basic rights be granted to all working people, but material means for implementation of these rights must also be provided. From this flows an interesting question about the "liberal-democratic basic order" that the Senate pretends to defend against the Fourth International. For the constitution of the Federal Republic of Germany both defends the basic rights, at least formally, and, in the interpretation of the West Berlin Senate, at the same time protects the capitalist social order. What happens, then, if the majority of the people, in the exercise of their basic rights, declare themselves for the abolition of this social order? That is exactly the situation we are working toward. In this case, should the basic political rights be sacrificed on the altar of the golden calf, or should the golden calf be sacrificed on the altar of basic political rights? The Senate has apparently come out on the side of the golden calf, since it reproaches us for a break with a "liberal-democratic basic order."

The Senate's definition of hostility to the constitution would apply not only to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, August Bebel, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, but prior to 1923 also to Karl Kautsky, Rudolf Hilferding, and Rudolf Breitscheid.

All these leading representatives of the German workers' movement advocated the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the installation of a state form like that of the Paris Commune—that is, a democratic workers' republic, which the Fourth International works toward today. What a wing of the West Berlin SPD has committed, therefore, in the decision of February 22, is an ideological patricide without precedent in the European history of ideas; for the West Berlin Senate would today bar all these leaders of the German workers' movement from carrying out teaching activities in the Free University.

5) The West Berlin Senate has sought its chief witnesses from other countries. It wants to prove the "subversive intrigues of Ernest Mandel" by the fact that he has been expelled from the U. S. A., France, and Switzerland. What the Senate by no means

adds is that 350 public figures in Switzerland—among them particularly fifteen Social Democratic members of Parliament (National Council), as well as numerous trade-union leaders—protested against this expulsion decision made by a minister of police who was well known during the war as a notorious anti-Semite; that a federal court of the U. S. A. defined the expulsion order as unconstitutional (at the present time there is an appeal by the U. S. government against this ruling before the highest court of the U. S. A.) and that this expulsion has been protested by numerous well-known professors such as Professor Wassily Leontief and Professor [Kenneth] Galbraith, and by numerous newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The same applies to the expulsion order in France, only to a much greater degree.

By this action the West Berlin SPD leadership places itself far to the right not only of the Swiss Social Democrats and world-famous American and French intellectuals, but also even to the right of American bourgeois daily newspapers and American judges.

The monstrousness of thus hiding behind the fig leaf of foreign authorities lies in the fact that the Senate declaration explicitly emphasizes that my expulsion from these countries was not on account of any punishable behavior but rather on account of "agitational and educational activities"—that is, on account of the exercise of elementary rights such as freedom of speech. That the Senate can maintain in the same breath that it defends the "liberal-democratic basic order" that is supposedly opposed by me, but can only charge me explicitly with the defense of my views in speech and writing, is striking proof of which side is actually threatened by freedom of ideas, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press.

6) Thus this decision is not only a disgrace, it is moreover an unequaled political stupidity. It is a concession by the SPD to the uninterrupted pressure of the right in the Federal Republic of Germany against the presence of Marxists in the educational field. But basic democratic rights cannot be "assured" only 75 or 66 percent of the time; they are granted as a whole or else they begin to break down. When members of the SPD themselves speed up this process, they

forget in a flippant and criminal manner the lesson of history: For no one knows where this process will some day end. Must I remind the West Berlin Senate that all Social Democratic organizations and newspapers were banned once already as "Marxist" during the Third Reich? If all organizations of the workers' movement do not cooperate to guarantee all the basic democratic rights, then the big capitalists and their agents can use the salami-tactic [cutting off one at a time—*IP*] on the workers' organizations and isolate them and smash them one after the other. At least the French Social Democrats understand this better than their West German colleagues, since they have been very active recently in defense of all basic rights for our French comrades of the Ligue Communiste. Rumors are already flying thick and fast in West Berlin about the next people to be fired. Several members of the SPD have already been mentioned.

7) We await with curiosity the opinion of the "emergency association" [an informal group of professors to defend "freedom of teaching and research"]. For here is a clear case where the "freedom of teaching and research" will be injured. Should the "emergency association" not attack the decision of the West Berlin Senate, then it will be definitively unmasked as an advocate not of freedom of teaching but of a monopoly of teaching by only one intellectual current—that is, unmasked as an advocate of the suppression of freedom.

8) The real question is the rigid

prevention of any Marxist studies, presented by Marxists themselves, in the universities. At first it was said that there were no scientifically qualified Marxists. But after Senator Stein explicitly acknowledged that I am competent, now it is objected that politically active Marxists cannot be appointed. Since, however, political practice is an integral component of Marxism, it means that any appointment of real Marxists is excluded. Lastly, the West Berlin Senate proves in this way that it is an opponent of a really pluralistic university. At the same time it testifies to its own inferiority, because this opposition can only originate from fear of an intellectual confrontation. It is obvious that I will neither fling bombs nor set up machine guns at the Free University. The only question is of giving the many socialist students the opportunity to have instruction, in the course of their university studies, that speaks to their needs—and at the same time of enabling Marxists and non-Marxists to confront each other with their views concerning scientific analysis and theoretical conceptions of the economy of a society. I welcome such a confrontation, since Marxism thrives best in a continuous atmosphere of sharp, scientific criticism. That the Berlin Senate is afraid of such a confrontation speaks volumes about their lack of confidence in their own ideas, and their unreadiness to allow even the most elementary university autonomy. This attempt to restore the authoritarian university openly and cynically provokes continual unrest. □

SMC Protests Barring of FSI at Versailles

[The following statement was adopted by an overwhelming majority at the National Student Antiwar Conference in New York, February 25-27.]

* * *

The SMC [Student Mobilization Committee] protests against the exclusion of the Front Solidarité Indochine [FSI] from the recent Versailles conference. Our conference of over 1,000 activists in the student antiwar movement in the U. S. has included participants of all political points of view.

We believe that any division that stands in the way of unified action

for an immediate and unconditional end to the U. S. war in Indochina is unjustifiable. It is only by mobilizing the masses of the world, including all social, national, and political groups opposed to the war that it can be ended. We believe that the exclusion of the FSI from the Versailles conference was contrary to this need. We call upon the organizations involved in the Versailles conference to help overcome such divisions by recognizing the principle of non-exclusion and the need for a united front of all antiwar forces throughout the world. □

NPAC Leaders Call for Nonexclusion in Antiwar Movement

[The following letter to Bertil Svanstrom, president of the executive committee of the Stockholm Conference on Vietnam, was released February 29 by the seven national coordinators of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC). Six of the coordinators participated in the Paris World Assembly for Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina held in Versailles February 11-13.]

* * *

The National Peace Action Coalition welcomed the opportunity to participate in the Paris World Assembly for the Peace and Independence of the Peoples of Indochina. It was an important opportunity to meet with representatives of the peoples of Indochina as well as representatives of movements across the world dedicated to ending the U.S. war in Indochina.

However, the coordinators of NPAC wish to express our disagreement with the exclusion from the Assembly of the French group, the Front for Solidarity with Indochina [FSI—Front Solidarité Indochine]. Experience

proves that the forces fighting the U.S. intervention in Indochina achieve maximum strength when they unite for action on the basis of non-exclusion.

The Front for Solidarity with Indochina has made significant contributions to the world-wide antiwar movement in organizing mass demonstrations in France in solidarity with the Indochinese peoples. Last November 6, the FSI demonstration in Paris was the largest outside the U.S. in solidarity with the American antiwar actions organized by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

In the interest of the largest possible spring actions—and of the Indochinese peoples themselves—NPAC urges that the World Assembly's call to spring actions be heeded by all around the world who oppose the U.S. war in Indochina. We are going forward with intense preparations for the April 22 national mass actions to be held in New York and Los Angeles—and we urge other nations of the world to join us in massive street demonstrations on that date. □

Seven Left Groups Join in Condemning Kidnapping of Renault Auto Plant Official

[The following statement on the kidnapping of Renault official Robert Nogrette was issued jointly March 9 by the following organizations: Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International; PSU (Parti Socialiste Unifié—United Socialist party); CIC (Centre d'Initiative Communiste—Center for Communist Initiative); AJS (Alliance des Jeunes pour le Socialisme—Alliance of Youth for Socialism); ORA (Organisation Révolutionnaire Anarchiste—Revolutionary Anarchist Organization); AMR (Alliance Marxiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Marxist Alliance); and Lutte Ouvrière. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Robert Nogrette, head of personnel at the Renault plant, has been kid-

napped. The undersigned organizations would like to make the following observations:

1. For these organizations, violence is a daily reality of capitalism (loss of employment, hellish speed-ups, armed militia, plant guards). In the recent period, the Renault management has heightened this violence with the murder of Overney and the firing of the workers who witnessed the killing.

2. They condemn this kidnapping as an act that stands in contradiction to the mass unity movement initiated around Pierre Overney's funeral; that enables the bourgeoisie to step up its policy of repression; and that enables the leadership of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] to try to justify its exclusionary and divisive methods.

3. They call attention to the attitude

of the leaders of the PCF and the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor] who, by refusing to participate in the funeral for Pierre Overney and to join in organizing the proposed fight against the firing and imprisonment of the worker activists at Renault, encouraged the carrying out of such an act.

4. They are determined to go ahead with a mass campaign against repression, in particular against the bosses' militia, and for the release of the imprisoned Renault workers. They call upon the workers and their political and trade-union organizations to join in this struggle. They alert them to the efforts of the ruling powers to create a poisoned atmosphere against revolutionary activists by exploiting this incident.

5. They pledge themselves to defend all activists who are or who may become victims of repression in the wake of the Renault events. □

Communist League Statement on Kidnapping

[The following is the official statement of the Political Bureau of the Ligue Communiste, French section of the Fourth International, on the kidnapping March 8 of Robert Nogrette, the assistant personnel director of the Renault auto plant in Paris. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Nogrette, who was responsible for hiring the bosses' militia at Renault, was kidnapped this morning.

The Ligue Communiste has nothing in principle against this kind of action. The comrades of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party], Argentinian section of the Fourth International, have successfully used it a number of times. But such an action is of revolutionary significance only when it is backed up by mass mobilization or mass sympathy, as was the case with the kidnapping by Basque revolutionists of the director of a plant when it was on strike.

Violence is not created by revolutionists. The primary responsibility for

it lies with the bosses, who have been fostering an atmosphere of police terror at Renault. The leadership of the PCF [Parti Communiste Français—French Communist party] and the leadership of the CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor], by doing everything they could to avoid any mass response to the Overney murder and to the firings at Renault, directly contributed toward driving certain revolutionary groups to undertake desperate acts.

Actually, under present circumstances, in which the bourgeoisie is attempting to pit the workers' move-

ment against the revolutionists and vice versa, and in which the PCF plays along, the kidnapping of head cop Nogrette will not promote an understanding among the workers of the action undertaken by revolutionists.

The Ligue Communiste will defend the Maoist activists against the repression that will not fail to be unleashed. The Ligue has already initiated all the necessary unity proposals for building a massive defense of the Renault activists who have been fired and indicted under the antiwrecker law—a response that began with the 200,000 demonstrators who took part in Pierre Overney's funeral. □

Fourth International Backs Actions Called for by WONAAC

[The following statement was released March 6 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International in response to the appeal for international support from the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States.]

* * *

In a growing number of countries around the world, a historically unprecedented political ferment and radicalization is developing among women. Young women especially—students, working women, housewives—are beginning to challenge some of the most fundamental aspects of their oppression as women. Not only are they beginning to question, but they are beginning to act as well.

Women are beginning to reject the role of domestic slaves to which class society has bound them for centuries, and they are beginning to challenge the myriad forms that the centuries-old oppression of women takes under capitalism today. Women are demanding the right to equal jobs, pay, and education. They are demanding that society as a whole, not the individual family unit, take responsibility for the care of the young, the old, the sick. They are demanding the right to choose rather than have motherhood forced upon them because safe contraception and abortion facilities are outlawed by reactionary legislation and bourgeois mores. Such demands taken as a whole go to the very heart of the oppression of women and challenge the fundamental institutions of class society.

It is in this context that the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in the United States has launched a campaign under the banner "Abortion—A Woman's Right to Choose," and is attempting to mobilize masses of women in extraparliamentary action to win this basic right.

In response to an appeal for international support to this campaign, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International expresses its solidarity with the week of actions and the May 6 mass demonstrations sponsored by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition. □

Call International Abortion Action Week

[The following call for international actions has been issued by the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC) in the United States.]

Women around the world are rising up angry against the laws which deny us the right to control our own lives, our own bodies. Yet in every corner of the globe abortion is still restricted by law, if not completely forbidden. In some places where we have begun to win victories, even these small steps forward are under attack.

For years we have been working, in various ways, separated from one another, to win our right to abortion. During 1971 we began to move forward together. During 1971 the demand "Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose!" was raised with determination, by growing numbers in a

growing number of languages and with growing power, by women in many parts of the world. On November 20 we began to coordinate our actions for the right to abortion, holding demonstrations in a number of countries on the same day. Acting together added force to our demands, and inspired us all with a glimpse of the strength and potential of international sisterhood.

Over the February 11-13 weekend 1,300 women attended the Second Women's National Abortion Action Conference in the United States to plan the next steps in our fight. We were joined, in person or through messages, by sisters from Canada, England, France, Holland, Italy, Australia, New Zealand, and other parts of the world. The conference called for an Abortion Action Week, May 1-6, during which a variety of educational and protest actions would culminate in local rallies and demonstrations on May 6.

We urge our sisters throughout the world to join us in making Abortion Action Week an international event, through which we can continue to act together to reach more of our sisters, to make our demands known, and to move ahead together. The Women's National Abortion Action Coalition sees international solidarity and united action as essential to our fight. No force on earth can resist forever the power of women of the world joined together in a fight for our fundamental rights. *Abortion: A Woman's Right to Choose!* □

COPIES MISSING?

Keep your files of Intercontinental Press complete and up-to-date. Missing issues for the current year may be ordered by sending 50c per copy. Write for information about previous years.

Intercontinental Press
P.O. Box 116
Village P.O. Station
New York, N.Y. 10014