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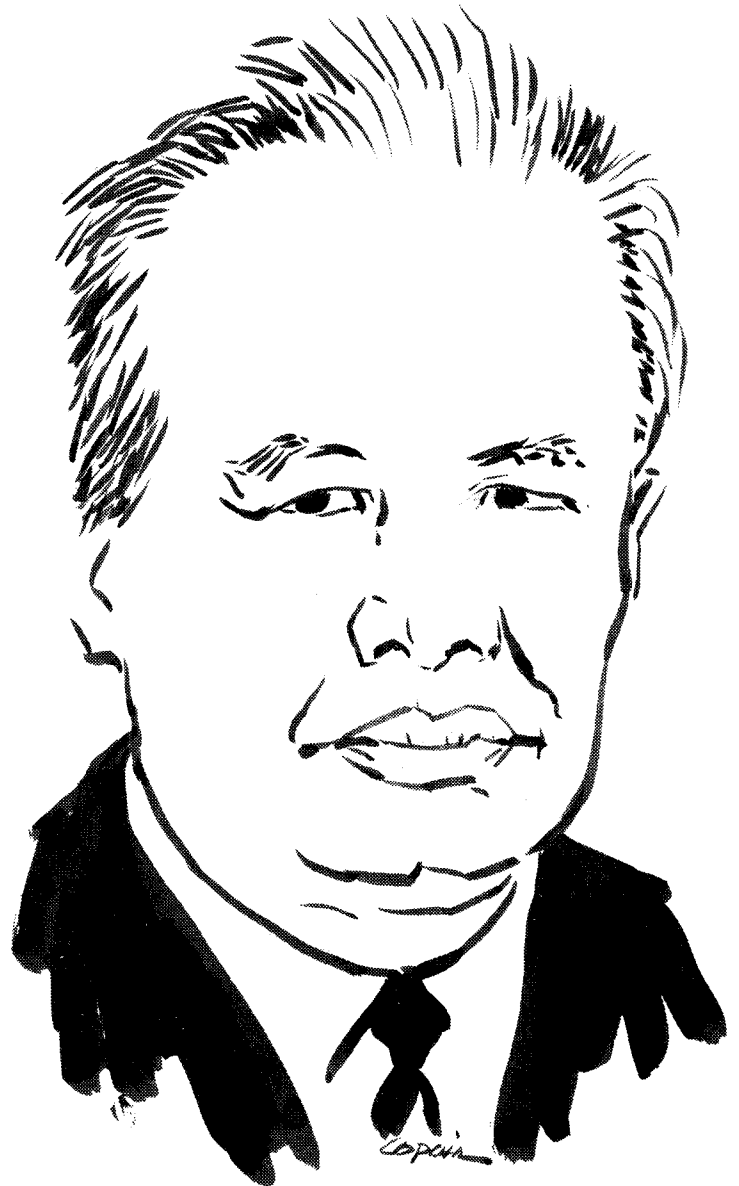
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April 3, 1972

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Why Nixon Blew Up Paris Talks

How ITT-CIA Plotted
Coup Against Allende



XUAN THUY: Speaks for long-suffering victims of most massive bombing forays in history. See p. 347.

Direct Rule Fails to End Tension in Ireland

Fainberg, Borisov End Hunger Strike

Soviet oppositionists Viktor Fainberg and Vladimir Borisov have succeeded in forcing concessions from the authorities by a hunger strike lasting more than two months, according to a dispatch from Moscow published in the March 7 London *Times*.

The two agreed to end their strike, the report said, after being transferred to the Serbsky Institute in Moscow and being permitted to have interviews with their relatives. They had previously been confined in the "special" psychiatric hospital in Lenin-grad.

Fainberg's "insanity" was first discovered by the political police when he participated in the August 1968 demonstration in Red Square protesting the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Borisov was confined later because of his association with the Initiative Committee for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR.

The *Times* reported the following demands of the hunger strike:

"They wanted their cases, and those of other political prisoners, to be examined in court hearings. They also demanded improvements in the conditions at the 'hospital', and an end to physical maltreatment of inmates by doctors and by convicts employed as orderlies."

The two are reportedly now to undergo a three-month psychiatric examination at the Serbsky Institute. It remains to be seen whether the Kremlin bureaucrats will use this "examination" as justification for further confinement or will yield to the worldwide revulsion created by the imprisonment of dissidents in mental hospitals and order Fainberg and Borisov released. □

Next Week

The next issue of *Intercontinental Press* will feature a review by George Novack of Leon Trotsky's *1905*, which has just been published in its first complete English edition. Don't miss "Trotsky's 1905—The Unity of History and Politics" in our April 10 issue.

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Why Nixon Blew Up Paris Talks With Vietnamese

By Allen Myers

"Redemption of President Nixon's pre-election pledge to bring the war in Vietnam to a speedy end seems nowhere in sight," observed the *New York Times* March 25 in an editorial understatement. The March 23 announcement that Nixon was in effect canceling the Paris negotiations on Vietnam merely confirmed what has been pointed out many times before: Nixon has no intention of ending the war except on conditions that leave a puppet regime in power in Saigon.

In a news conference March 24, Nixon said that the Vietnamese had used the Paris talks as a means of "bullying the United States," a typically demagogic comment from a man who does his bullying with bombs.

In fact, most of the "bullying" in Paris has been done by U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter, reflecting Nixon's view of the talks as solely a propaganda forum to divert public attention while he continues pressing for a military victory. Terence Smith described Porter's attitude in the March 26 *New York Times*:

"The idea for the new tactic . . . is in keeping with the aggressive, accusatory approach the Ambassador has adopted with the Communist delegations since he took up his post in September.

"In each session, he has been deliberately needling his adversaries, challenging their claims of political and military progress in South Vietnam, and abrasively demanding that they respond to the allied proposals or at least explain their own."

Nixon's spokesman has kept up a steady barrage of propaganda about American prisoners of war, in a manner that would suggest that the captured U.S. pilots were merely innocent tourists who were kidnapped without reason and are now being held for ransom. When it appeared that this propaganda was losing its effectiveness, Nixon decided to call off the talks.

The timing of the decision may have been affected by a Louis Harris poll

published March 16, which found that 53 percent of the U.S. public gave Nixon a "negative" rating on his handling of the negotiations, while only 43 percent gave him a "positive" rating.

"Behind the decision to suspend the talks at least temporarily," Smith wrote, "lay the widely shared opinion that the meetings were not only proving ineffective but actually were increasing the prestige of the enemy. The 'your side-our side' formula, Am-



HENRY CABOT LODGE: Top man in Saigon in Pres. Johnson's time, authored the theory that war in Indochina will "fade away."

bassador Porter reportedly argued from Paris, was legitimizing the Vietcong and providing them an ideal forum from which to advance their claims of progress on the ground in Vietnam."

The blowing up of the negotiations was made easier for Nixon by his reception in Peking and the upcoming trip to Moscow. Whether or not the Chinese and Soviet bureaucracies are able to force the Vietnamese to settle on Nixon's terms, he is able to use that possibility as a cover while he continues to seek a military vic-

tory. The *New York Times* alluded to this situation in its March 25 editorial:

"Secret talks, like those undertaken by Presidential assistant Henry Kissinger last year, are conceivable, perhaps in the broader framework arising out of President Nixon's recent China trip and his forthcoming visit to Moscow.

"Administration policy, however, does not appear to be directed toward a negotiated settlement. On the day of Ambassador Porter's walkout in Paris, Assistant Secretary of State Marshall Green told a House committee that he thought there was 'a very good chance' that the Vietnam war might not end by negotiations, but would 'fade away' as Hanoi realizes it cannot win through elections or through a military victory in South Vietnam. This revival of a theory first espoused years ago by Henry Cabot Lodge suggests a persisting faith in victory through Vietnamization, a naive hope that is hardly enhanced by the current military-political situation throughout Indochina."

This "faith in victory" was also evident in the conditions Porter announced for the resumption of the negotiations. These conditions amount to a demand that the Vietnamese surrender:

"As for meetings in the weeks that follow, we believe it would be preferable to await some sign from you that you are disposed to engage in meaningful exchanges on the various points raised in your and our proposals.

"Our side will be alert to signs of that nature which you may send through any convenient channel. . . . If you do indicate a desire for 'serious discussion,' you will understand, I am sure, that we may need to explore your intentions rather fully prior to agreeing to meet."

Xuan Thuy, the North Vietnamese delegate, denounced Porter's statement as "a maneuver of sabotage," and said that Nixon was using Indochina as

a "testing ground for new weapons."

Ly Van Sau, a spokesman for the South Vietnamese Provisional Revolutionary Government, told the press after Porter walked out:

"The United States has undertaken today a new escalation in the sabotage of the conference. Mr. Porter has posed a whole series of conditions we can never accept.

"Who has given Mr. Porter the right to decide what is significant or not?"

In the United States, Nixon's move was immediately condemned by the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) as a "blatant propaganda move." NPAC, which is sponsoring mass antiwar demonstrations in New York and Los Angeles April 22, announced that its local affiliates in many cities would conduct picketing during the week beginning March 26 to expose the hypocrisy of the "week

of national concern" for American prisoners proclaimed by Nixon.

The NPAC statement pointed out that Nixon's "concern" is nothing but a pretext to continue to escalate the air war, resulting in more death and destruction in Indochina, and more American prisoners of war.

The Louis Harris poll quoted earlier provided evidence that a large majority of the U.S. public shares NPAC's view that the way to end the war is for the U.S. to get out now. Harris wrote:

"A majority of 56 to 26 per cent would favor a U.S. policy which 'just announced one day that all U.S. participation and help in the war was over.'"

That majority can provide a base for massive demonstrations on April 22 and beyond. □

Preparing 'Police Offensive' Against Left

Economic Vise Closes on Rahman

By Jon Rothschild

"In our hearts we don't want you to leave," Bangladesh Prime Minister Mujibur Rahman told Indian troops during a March 12 ceremony in Dacca marking the withdrawal of the last Indian units from the capital city. "But ours is a free and sovereign country, and we must run our own affairs," he added, as if that were not altogether a happy prospect. "You leave as friends."

Well-rewarded friends, Rahman should have said. "During the last months of Pakistani rule, Indians smuggled out the bulk of Bangladesh's vital jute crop, thereby depriving the Bengalis of essential foreign exchange. Moreover, India also took all captured Pakistani Army equipment, although much of it had been paid for by taxes levied on the Bengalis when their state was part of Pakistan. As one resentful Bangladesh official said, 'What India took as war booty actually belongs to us.'" So said a special report on the situation in Bangladesh published in the March 27 issue of the U.S. magazine *Newsweek*.

Loss of the major potential source of badly needed cash is not the only problem facing the fledgling state. Some 9,700,000 of the refugees who fled to India during the Pakistani genocide have returned. But a United Nations survey indicates that 1,600,000 dwellings, each of which sheltered an average of seven people, were demolished by the Pakistani army. With their homes destroyed and their sources of livelihood gone, hundreds of thousands of peasants have flocked to the cities and towns of Bangladesh. According to *Newsweek*, 175,000 poured into Dacca during the third week in March alone.

But the economic situation in the cities is in no way superior to that in the countryside. The new arrivals, if they are lucky, find sleeping quarters in ramshackle shantytowns. The unlucky ones look for shelter in the rubble of burned-out buildings—or simply sleep on the streets.

Dacca is in process of being transformed into another Calcutta, whose population increased fivefold in the

twenty-five years following the partition of Bengal.

The country's transportation system lies in ruin, with some 500 road and rail bridges destroyed and 7,000 of its 8,000 trucks disabled. Because of this, not even the inadequate amount of food available can be distributed. Nearly 230,000 tons of it is in danger of rotting before it can be removed from warehouses.

Toni Hagen, director of the UN Relief Operation in Dacca, expects widespread food riots "a few weeks from now."

It is difficult to see how such an eventuality can be avoided. The United States, the only country with sufficient resources and technological capability to alleviate the food situation, has indicated its unwillingness to do so. An unnamed administration official is quoted by *Newsweek* as saying, "Most people in Bangladesh are living such a marginal existence that economic problems don't really affect them."

For any government, the solution of such problems would require Herculean efforts. But Rahman has more than demonstrated that his first priority is to reestablish capitalist "law and order." He has asked the workers to accept present wages and conditions to restart industrial operations. The 400 factories abandoned by Pakistani owners are being administered by government-appointed bureaucrats, many of whom spent the nine months of the liberation struggle in Calcutta. The central government bureaucracy in Dacca has been largely staffed with Awami League personnel, plus a large number of civil servants who managed to retain their positions during the war.

But the central obstacle for Rahman remains the disarming of the rural population. The great majority of Awami League-led Mukti Bahini units have surrendered their arms. Units led by more leftist forces, however, and an unknown number of largely unorganized peasants still have their weapons.

With the disarming of the best-armed units completed, Rahman has turned to a political campaign to destroy the rest. The March 18 issue of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* quotes a "local pundit": "Once the Sheikh has accomplished his political objective of isolating the Mukti Bahini and mak-

ing them appear as lawless elements, he will be ready to launch a massive police offensive to recover all the arms which have not yet been surrendered to him."

What such a police offensive will mean was shown during the liberation struggle itself. The March 4 *Far Eastern Economic Review* reported somewhat belatedly that a "noteworthy feature" of the war for independence "was that clashes occurred frequently between the leftist groups and the Awami League forces."

The October 1971 issue of the paper of the East Bengal Labour Movement reported "armed encounters" between their members and the "Mujib Bahini," a special pro-Rahman detachment of the Mukti Bahini.

In Pubna, after the withdrawal of the Pakistani army, a "war situation" developed between the Mujib Bahini and the forces led by the East Bengal Communist party of Allauddin and Matin. "Allauddin's father was killed and his house set on fire. It was with some difficulty that the Allied (Indian Army and Bangladesh) forces brought the situation under control. The leftist group has since gone underground, but tension remains."

The East Bengal Communist party is a formerly Maoist group that broke with the Chinese bureaucracy before the Pakistani war of suppression began.

To bolster his preparation for the expected "police offensive" against the left, Rahman has sought to utilize diplomatic support from the Soviet bureaucracy, and even—despite its monumental betrayal of the Bengalis—the Chinese bureaucracy.

The pro-Soviet Communist party, led by Muzaffar Ahmed, has been an uncritical supporter of the Rahman government. More importantly, the pro-Peking wing of the National Awami party, led by the popular peasant organizer Maulana Bhashani, is now reportedly prepared to overlook Mao's support of Yahya Khan. "It is noteworthy, too," wrote A. L. Khattib in the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "that the Bangladesh Government has not made any criticism of China. In fact the Sheikh has made tentative statements of conciliation toward Peking."

It remains to be seen whether or not Rahman will be able to reach an understanding with the Chinese

leaders—or if this would result in Bhashani's solidly supporting the government. In the past Bhashani has muted his criticism of Pakistani regimes after consultation with the Chinese.

In the long term, however, it is unlikely that the Stalinist forces in Bangladesh—whether pro-Moscow or pro-Peking—can contain the mobilization of the Bengali workers and peasants.

Bangladesh

How Can Shattered Economy Be Rebuilt?

By Kailas Chandra

[The following article is reprinted from the February issue of *Red Spark*, published by the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Since the release of Sheik Mujibur Rahman from army custody in West Pakistan, political developments in Bangladesh have fallen into an expected pattern. The Yahya regime, which did not hesitate to let loose a virtual genocide against the people of Bangladesh, was discreet enough to save the life of Sheik Mujib as a key weapon in its hands. Evidently, the class instincts of Yahya Khan, who for all practical purposes appeared to have gone mad when faced with the prospect of losing the eastern wing for the rulers of Pakistan, did not want to destroy the very "political" base of capitalism in Bangladesh.

In the first month of the army's crackdown in Bangladesh, it was clear that the military junta could not retain its hold over 7.5 crores [one crore is 10,000,000] of Bengalis who were determined to liberate themselves. The people of Bangladesh have paid a very big price, with more than five lakhs [one lakh is 100,000] of men and women killed and many more lakhs rendered destitute, for their freedom as a nation.

Although initially left defenceless, thanks to the total unpreparedness of the Awami League leadership, freedom fighters rallied around the Mukti

With no end to the economic difficulties in sight, and with the dangers and added hardships of the monsoon season fast approaching, the desire of the Bengalis really to administer the land for which they have sacrificed at least 1,000,000 people will inevitably rise. To contain that sentiment, Rahman's bourgeois regime will require much more than a police offensive. □

Bahini and gave a determined fight against the occupation forces. It is clear now that many parts of Bangladesh had been liberated by the Mukti Bahini, and the Pakistan army could not have any access to them in spite of its superior fire power and armour.

The Indian armed intervention came at a time when the Mukti Bahini, which had swelled into a sizeable armed force with about 1.5 lakh armed men, was in a position to give a crushing blow to the occupation army, which had already been demoralised. The so-called Bangladesh government-in-exile led by Tajuddin Ahmed had lost all moral authority over the liberation forces. There were dissensions even in the ranks of the Awami League, which claimed the leadership of the liberation war with the help of the Indian government.

After the Pakistani troops surrendered to the Indian army, the problem facing the Awami League was how to establish a stable government and maintain "law and order" after persuading the Mukti Bahini militants to surrender their arms. Only the popular image of Sheik Mujib could save the new regime from a serious debacle.

It was not surprising, therefore, that Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was installed in the presidential office by Yahya Khan himself, ultimately decided to set Sheik Mujib at liberty. There was indeed big pressure brought to bear upon Bhutto by big powers, particularly the USA, Great Britain, and the USSR. Reports about a fake trial

of Mujib while in custody had evoked international protests.

It is significant that Sheik Mujib, after being released, visited London before returning to Dacca via New Delhi, that too in a special Royal Air Force plane placed at his disposal by the British government, as if to demonstrate the special links the nascent bourgeoisie of Bangladesh wants to develop with the British imperialists. In fact, Britain has the biggest of financial stakes among capitalist powers in Bangladesh in the form of large British-owned tea plantations and jute mills, apart from banking and other credit institutions.

Since his return to Dacca, Sheik Mujib has made some drastic changes in the administrative setup. He gave up his ornamental post as president and directly assumed the responsibilities of prime minister of the new nation. His cabinet has been reconstituted with known conservatives and leaders of industrial and business interests, as it were to demonstrate that he was not succumbing to the pressure of the revolutionary groups inside and outside the Mukti Bahini.

One of the first steps he took was to bring pressure on militants of the Mukti Bahini to surrender their arms. A regular standing army is sought to be built as a substitute.

Sheik Mujib has used his popularity to reassure the capitalist powers that what he was trying to build was only a capitalist economy with certain restrictions. Towards that end he has sought aid from the capitalist countries.

Despite the perfidious role of U.S. imperialism in aiding and abetting the Yahya regime, Sheik Mujib has not condemned U.S. imperialism. In fact his attempt has been to seek a détente with Washington. As for the role of Maoist China, he does not seem to bother about its comradeship with the Bhutto regime in Islamabad so long as it does not affect internal relations in Bangladesh. In relation to the Soviet Union he is presenting a "correct" diplomatic posture of "friendship" because of the known support of the Soviet Union to the Indian military action in Bangladesh. In any case the Soviet bureaucracy will be an ally of the bourgeois regime of Sheik Mujib.

It is evident, however, that even Sheik Mujib has not been able to persuade all sections of the liberation

forces to surrender their arms. In fact young militants among the freedom fighters feel that the revolution they started in March 1971 should be continued till the objective of a genuine socialist transformation of their society is achieved and not stagnate at the present capitalist stage. Unfortunately what is lacking is a revolutionary party of the working class in Bangladesh that can lead the revolution towards socialism. There are indeed several revolutionary groups consisting of the militants of the Mukti Bahini and various former Maoist tendencies that are trying to provide a revolutionary-socialist alternative to the Awami League's plans of reconstruction of the Bangladesh economy on capitalist lines.

Attempts by the Mujib regime to restore and rebuild a shattered economy on capitalist lines in Bangladesh are bound to evoke resistance from the masses of workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia, who seek quick solutions of their problems of food, employment, and shelter. In fact the impact of destruction and devastation caused by the Pakistani army cannot be overcome without a total reconstruction of the economy on socialist lines.

The tillers must be made the real masters of their land, and agriculture must be modernised under state-aided cooperatives and collectives. All means of production, including factories, mines, and plantations, should be nationalised under the workers' control. There should be a state monopoly over foreign and internal trade, along with nationalisation of all banks and credit institutions. Only thus can the resources of Bangladesh be gathered for reconstruction. Above all, the old capitalist state apparatus should be destroyed and replaced by a new state structure based on elected workers and peasants councils. The Awami League leadership, which is under heavy pressure from capitalist powers of the world, including India, is unable to undertake such a revolutionary course of action.

Indeed, under the pressure of the masses, the Mujib regime has taken steps to prevent private Indian capitalists and businessmen from establishing direct contacts with their counterparts in Bangladesh. According to a recent agreement reached between the prime ministers of India and

Bangladesh, the trade between the two countries is expected to be conducted on a state-to-state level. But the Indian businessmen are shrewd enough to find other avenues of contact. The so-called state institutions like STC [State Trading Corporation] are also instruments of the bourgeoisie through which such contacts can be established.

The Indian government has agreed to render financial assistance to rebuild the Bangladesh economy. Significant is the agreement to withdraw the Indian troops from Bangladesh by the end of March. This is indeed a concession to the freedom fighters, who have not taken kindly to the presence of a "foreign" army in their midst.

Now that most of the world powers, including the ECM [European Common Market] countries (with Britain also), the USSR, and (pro-Soviet) workers states have recognised Bangladesh, the question still remains—what next? Unless the people of Bangladesh are prepared to break with their capitalist past and march towards the goal of socialism, all the assistance received from outside will not make any difference; they still face the danger of the Pakistani domination being substituted by the domination of another capitalist power. If the unprecedented sacrifices made by the people are not to be wasted and if Bangladesh is not to be transformed into another colony of imperialist powers, it is imperative that a socialist transformation is brought about under a *Workers and Peasants Government of Bangladesh*. □

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Mukti Bahini Organizer Describes Rising Discontent in Bangladesh

[Manash Choudhary was one of the leading organizers of the Mukti Bahini in the northern sector during the Bangladesh liberation struggle. The following interview with him was obtained March 2-3 by Naren Bose for *Larai* (Struggle), the Bengali-language fortnightly journal of the Communist League, Indian section of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Question. What is the present state of affairs in Bangladesh?

Answer. It is beyond imagination how huge our loss of life and property was. Now Bangladesh is declared an independent, sovereign country based on secularism and socialism. But the people of Bangladesh can barely taste independence. The peace that prevails is very superficial. People are terror-stricken even now.

There is great discontent with and disregard for the leadership. In my opinion, this is due to the corruption, nepotism, and encouragement of miscreants on the part of the leaders, high officials, and some ministers. The majority of these persons in the time of the liberation movement were far from the struggle and lived a safe and lavish life in Calcutta or elsewhere in India.

By corruption I mean, for instance, you cannot get work in any office unless you give a bribe to the men concerned. By nepotism, I mean these "big men" always appoint their "own people" to jobs or services. To gag the opposition and to maintain their supremacy, they encourage miscreant hooliganism. These mischief-mongers commit all sorts of crimes, like exacting money from the middle class, poor peasants, and workers by threats. These are people's grievances. They usually say, "We have not sacrificed our best to see such a Bangladesh."

Q. Tell us something about the Muk-

ti Bahini and the Freedom Fighters (FF).

A. The number of Mukti Bahini and Freedom Fighters must be over one lakh [100,000]. Their sacrifices today need no recommendation. They are the worst sufferers in the existing setup. As a result, they feel extreme discontent with the present leadership.

It is declared that in the national militia the Mukti Bahini and Freedom Fighters will make up only about 15 percent. So far they have been recruited after careful screening. The recruitment is done, not by merit, but by the choice of the leaders.

So long as there is the "Sheik Sahib Cult" (for Sheik Mujibur Rahman), things may be stable, but the cult cannot remain forever. In my opinion this "personality cult" may work for another six months. The Mukti Bahini and FF will act as the gravediggers of the capitalist system in Bangladesh.

Q. What other Bahinis are there?

A. There are the Mujib Bahini and the Suchasevak Bahini (Volunteer Corps—VC). The Mujib Bahini is a semifascist organization with growing power.

The only function of the Mujib Bahini is to gag opponents, particularly the revolutionary forces—some important members and supporters of the Maulana Bhashani faction of the National Awami party have been murdered—and to spread the Mujib cult.

The Volunteer Corps functions in the same manner as the Mujib Bahini, but the VC is more serious and dangerous. They collect money by threats from the panic-stricken people, particularly from the poor. Many letters and telegrams are sent to Mujib asking him to check or ban this organization. Even Bhashani sent a telegram suggesting punishment of the miscreants of the VC.

The result is rioting. There are oc-

casional minor clashes in Dacca and other towns between the Mujib Bahini, VC, and former EPR [East Pakistan Rifles] on the one hand and on the other the Mukti Bahini and the FF.

The question may arise about the role of the police. In fact the police are very weak. They have very little power. Moreover, they are afraid to arrest any mischief-maker because of the "big bosses."

Q. What is the attitude of the people towards the present government?

A. People have opposed the government's corruption since the day of its inception. They are obviously discontented. Still, they have adopted a policy of "wait and see."

Q. What is being done for rehabilitation?

A. People have no food or shelter, and disease is rampant. It has been announced that officers, and particularly wounded members of the Mukti Bahini, will be rehabilitated in the deserted houses. They will be provided with land in the village areas. Deserted property, including small industries, will be distributed among them. But the distribution is primarily among members and supporters of the Awami League. This is a far cry from proper rehabilitation. These malpractices and corruption will lead the country to famine and despair.

Q. Can people think of another revolution?

A. This is very important. The present government in Bangladesh is maintaining the old *status quo* of the Pakistani regime. As a result, people are completely frustrated and gradually disillusioned. They are mentally preparing for another revolution.

Q. Are people prepared to accept the inclusion of Bangladesh in the Commonwealth?

A. People may think of fighting and revolution, but they have no idea about the country's foreign policy or what the Commonwealth is.

In this connection I remember the resolution of the West Bengal Committee of the Socialist Workers party

[now the Communist League] in December, where it was written that "Bangladesh will gradually side with the Anglo-American bloc." I guess that before or immediately after the American election, a new policy will be evolved to tie Bangladesh to American imperialism. It is said that there are a good number of leaders in Bangladesh who are prepared to join the American bloc at the wink of an eye.

Q. What is your idea of a United Red Bangladesh?

A. We basically agree with this. The people of Bangladesh are beginning to think about this idea. The problem is to implement it strongly.

Q. How far is it true that "non-Bengali" Muslims, or "Bihari Muslims," are treated badly?

A. We hardly distinguish between Bengali and non-Bengali. The collaborators with the Pak army should be punished. They may be Bengali or may not.

Q. What are the policies of the present government on land and industry?

A. It is really amazing that Bangladesh still has no definite land and industrial policy. The leaders are flying around inside and outside the country, either to beg for help or to parade their vanity before the eyes of their own countrymen.

On one occasion it was heard that one can hold only about 200 bighs (66 acres) of land and that big industry will be nationalized.

The reality is that the Pak capitalists fled Bangladesh, deserting their industries. The foreign capitalists also fled, leaving their industries. It would not be difficult for the Bangladesh government to confiscate all big industries, both "national" and foreign, without compensation and to set up workers' management. But on the contrary, the industries are run by high officials and ministers based on the capitalist system of exploitation, as was done by the old Pak military junta.

Similarly, there is no attempt to give land to landless peasants or to set up

collective farming.

In a word, the old Pak laws of exploitation still prevail in our country. The Bangladesh government is trying to supplant one capitalist system with another. To sum up, there is no qualitative change in the ownership of the means of production.

Q. Have there been displays of militancy by workers, peasants, and students?

A. Militancy is very high among the working class, the peasantry, and the students. In the atmosphere of corruption and demoralization, they are not dispirited. The working class has already started fighting against the present state of lawlessness and exploitation. One good example is the recent rickshaw strike. This paralyzed Dacca for a day. A few days ago there was a three-hour bus strike. Here we had some influence. The strike was called against the miscreants and hooligans of the Volunteer Corps. In my opinion, the gain from the liberation movement is that it made the previously timid working class militant and class conscious.

Q. Can you tell us about the surrender of arms?

A. The surrender of arms was reported in the bourgeois press as a tremendous success. There was a ceremonial show of success. But on the other hand, the arms still in the hands of the people are sufficient to carry out another revolution.

Q. What is the future of the Trotskyists and Trotskyist organization in Bangladesh?

A. The number of Trotskyists in Bangladesh now is quite considerable. The real task is to organize them into a party. I can firmly assure you that soon we will have a party in Bangladesh.

Because of the anti-Bangladesh policy of China and the hesitant policy of Russia, the interested groups and parties started systematic propaganda against "Communism." We are the only group that advances the idea of uninterrupted revolution. I feel that we will start functioning under the name of Communist League.

In conclusion, I should tell you that we will soon resume printing our weekly paper and other propaganda so that we can air the day-to-day problems of the people and can put forward a revolutionary program based on internationalist communism.

Czechoslovakia

Pelikan Predicts 'Middle-Level' Trials

Jiri Pelikan, the former member of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist party and former head of Czechoslovak television now living in exile, held a news conference in Paris on March 13. In it, according to a report in the March 15 *Le Monde*, he discussed the recent wave of arrests of persons associated with the Prague Spring.

"I do not think there will be any big trials," he said. "There were efforts to arrest Josef Smrkovsky, former president of the National Assembly, and then to denigrate him before public opinion. But the present leadership is aware that by taking measures against Dubcek, Smrkovsky, or Kriegel, it would set off a mobilization of world public opinion

and thereby actually aid the oppositionists. For the moment it will be middle-level activists and people who are not well known, whether Communists or not, who will pay the price of the normalization process."

The current wave of repression should not be attributed to one or another wing of the party leadership, he asserted. Rather, it is a product of the logic of "the occupation regime at a time when Brezhnev wants to suppress all signs of dissidence within the bloc of socialist countries in Eastern Europe before engaging in a dialogue with the Western countries."

The Paris news conference was sponsored by the January 5 Committee for Freedom and Socialism in Czechoslovakia. □

Continued Controversy Over Ceylon Constitution

The Ceylon "United Front" government led by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike has offered another revealing glimpse of the "socialist democracy" that is supposed to be achieved under the country's new constitution. In a statement issued March 14, Bandaranaike announced that every adult Ceylonese would be issued, and be required to carry, an identity card.

The purpose of the measure, she said, was "to safeguard our country against the entry of illicit immigrants and secondly to provide every adult with an adequate and ready means of identifying himself for any purpose."

Unfortunately, Bandaranaike reported, Ceylon "socialism" is not yet able to provide such a convenient luxury to its citizens free of charge:

"The photograph for the identity card will cost 1 rupee [about US\$0.16]. Registration and issue of the identity card will cost another 1.50 rupees, so that a person will have to spend 2.50 rupees in all.

"In the present financial context, it is not possible for the Government to meet this expenditure, and there is no alternative but to ask every individual to meet the cost himself. I might say, however, that the price of 1 rupee that you will have to pay for the photograph is about one-fifth the price that is normally charged, and the cost of 1.50 rupees for registering and issuing the identity card is just sufficient to meet the cost of implementing the scheme. The identity card itself is a neat little document that can be carried with you. It will have your personal particulars and your photograph, and it will be enclosed in a plastic cover and laminated, so that it will be tamper-proof and durable and last a minimum of ten years."

This happy prospect means that the "neat little documents" may last even longer than the first National Assembly established by the new constitution. The length of office of the National Assembly in fact continues to be a matter of some controversy.

Under the terms of the April 1970

election that brought the United Front to power, members of the House of Representatives were elected for a maximum of five years. However, this body declared itself a "Constituent Assembly" and proceeded to approve the new constitution, under which the present Constituent Assembly becomes the National Assembly, with a six-year



DE SILVA: If you don't like it, stick your fingers in your ears.

term of office. The members elected for five years in 1970 will thus serve for a total of eight years without having to undergo the nuisance of seeking reelection.

Minister of Plantation Industries Colvin R. de Silva, a leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP), was reported to have run into some vocal opposition to the new constitution at a public forum March 1 in Colombo. The March 1 issue of the Colombo weekly *Ceylon News* described de Silva's reception:

"The Minister could not be heard for minutes at a time as a whistling, hooting audience drowned his words."

"After several minutes of absolute chaos," the report added, "the Minis-

ter was able to make his speech. But the heckling continued off and on with Dr. de Silva telling some of the hecklers: 'If you don't like what I am saying, there are two fingers you can stick in your ears.'"

Another speaker at the forum was Bala Tampoe, general secretary of the Ceylon Mercantile Union and secretary of the Lanka Sama Samaja party (Revolutionary), Ceylonese section of the Fourth International. The *Ceylon News* account indicated that his remarks must have been better received than de Silva's:

"Charging the Government of violating any mandate it had, Mr. Tampoe said that Members of the House of Representatives had gone to 'some hall in Thurstan Road, proclaimed themselves the Constituent Assembly and thereafter proceeded to write the Constitution at the rate of fifty rupees a day.'"

De Silva's phrase about fingers in your ears must have called up images of thousands of identity cards showing Ceylonese citizens with their fingers in their ears—one of the few legally permitted gestures of opposition remaining.

An article in the March 23 *Ceylon News* may indicate that even members of the Communist party might adopt that pose despite the fact that the CP is a partner with the LSSP and the bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) in the United Front.

The paper reported that Dr. S. A. Wickremasinghe, president of the CP, and Bandaranaike had agreed to a "party leaders' meeting" to thrash out certain of the former's criticisms of the United Front:

"Speaking to the Survey Department Employees Union at Narahenpita on 'Future political trends and developments', Dr. Wickremasinghe is alleged to have made certain remarks which were 'critical' of government policies.

"According to informed sources, the Prime Minister has asked Dr. Wickremasinghe to clarify some of

the statements he is alleged to have made at this meeting. Dr. Wickremasinghe is believed to have said that the government has forgotten the very people who voted for it.

"He is also reported to have said that the government's Five Year Plan had given equal roles to the public and private sectors and that this could not usher in socialism. If socialism is to be introduced, a more meaningful

'United Front' was necessary."

Wickremasinghe appears not to have explained why the government should need to listen to the people who voted for it when it has succeeded in postponing elections for another six years. Perhaps the CP leader had his fingers in his ears when that provision of the constitution was read to the members of the Constituent Assembly. □

U.S.A.

Congress Votes 'Equal Rights Amendment'

U. S. women won a victory March 22 when the Senate approved an amendment to the Constitution granting equal rights for women. The key clause in the provision, for which feminists have fought for forty-nine years, states: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex."

The amendment was passed by an overwhelming vote of 84 to 8. Sam Ervin, a conservative senator from

North Carolina, submitted seven additions to the amendment, all designed to create loopholes in its implementation. It is a measure of the pressure brought to bear on the capitalist politicians by the women's movement that the largest vote Ervin was able to muster (on an addition that would have exempted women from the draft) was eighteen.

The legal consequences of the decision will be widespread. Laws imposing restrictions on women's rights to buy or sell property or to conduct a business, laws setting different ages at which men and women attain legal majority, differing admission standards to universities for men and women, regulations denying employment to women in certain fields, laws denying unemployment compensation to pregnant women—all will be struck down when the amendment becomes law.

Most legal observers also agree that if men are drafted, women will have to be as well—a development that will doubtless spark a new increase in antiwar, antidraft militancy.

Despite the passage of the amendment through both houses of Congress, the cumbersome procedures of U. S. legislation will prevent even formal implementation for several years.

The state of Hawaii ratified the amendment the day it passed the Senate. Thirty-seven other states (three-fourths of the total number) must follow suit before the provision is added to the Constitution.

Even after ratification, the amendment will take effect only after a two-year delay. □

Duvalier to Get U.S. Arms Credits

The Haitian dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier has been permitted to purchase arms in the United States, and the Nixon administration is now giving "favorable consideration" to a request for credit to buy more weapons, according to a report by Tad Szulc in the March 17 *New York Times*.

"... restrictions on the flow of American weapons and military equipment to Haiti were quietly lifted by the Nixon Administration even before the elder Duvalier died," Szulc wrote. "In September, 1970, the State Department began licensing the export of arms bought by the Haitian Government from private dealers in the United States.

"President Kennedy had stopped this licensing in 1962.

"Since the Nixon Administration resumed the licensing, Haiti was permitted to buy from a private concern just under \$200,000 worth of surplus arms, munitions and equipment. Additionally, the Government was licensed last month to buy six patrol vessels from another private concern for its Coast Guard for \$1.2-million."

U. S. State Department officials told Szulc that Duvalier would probably be given \$1,500,000 in credit for arms purchases in 1973.

Purchases are being handled by a company called Aerotrade Incorporated, in which Luckner Cambronne reportedly has an interest. Cambronne, who is both minister of the interior and of national defense, is considered by many to be the power behind the throne of the Haitian President for Life.

Szulc reported that Cambronne and two other Haitian officials were visiting Washington, where they were the guests of honor March 15 at a luncheon given by Secretary of State William Rogers. □

Training for What?

Sonic booms from low-flying U. S. Air Force jets in the Southwest are threatening to destroy the Landscape Arch, thought to be the longest natural stone arch on earth, with a span of 300 feet. A number of geological formations and Indian ruins have already been destroyed but the Air Force says it needs to fly low "to maintain pilot training proficiency."

Tito Lauds Imperialist 'Patience' in Ireland

The official Yugoslav radio has come out in support of the British repression in Ireland, according to a report in the February 22-29 issue of the French weekly *Lutte Ouvrière*.

"It is an undeniable fact that rarely anywhere in the world do the army and the police show as much patience, self-control, and self-discipline as in the British isles," said the Yugoslav radio.

The thirteen persons killed by British troops in Derry on January 30 were "essentially victims of a religious narrow-mindedness and of nationalist fanaticism, victims of manipulation by dark forces that are not limited only to Ireland at this time. These are forces that have been known to us for a long time by the name of clerical fascism." □

Release of Imprisoned Guerrillas Demanded

ERP Kidnaps Argentine Fiat Manager

MARCH 27—Oberdán Sallustro, fifty-six, the general director of Fiat Concord Argentina and president of S. K. F. Argentina, was kidnapped in Buenos Aires March 21 by commandos of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People].

In a dispatch published in the March 22 *Los Angeles Times*, David F. Belnap described the kidnapping:

"Using two vehicles, five persons—two dressed as policemen and one a woman—intercepted Sallustro's automobile shortly after he left home for work Tuesday morning. They dragged the industrialist from his sedan and sped away with him after shooting and wounding his chauffeur José Fuentes, who fought to prevent the kidnapping.

"Late in the day, an extremist organization calling itself the People's Revolutionary Army claimed 'credit' for the kidnapping and said Sallustro would be submitted to 'the people's justice' in his 'character as officer of a monopolistic company.'"

According to the same source, "The communiqué accused Sallustro of 'sacking the country, monopolistic practices against small national industry, intervention in local politics, exploitation of Argentine workers, repression of Fiat workers, and firing and jailing union leaders democratically elected by their followers.'

"The accusations stem from labor troubles last year at Fiat's industrial complex in the interior Argentine province of Córdoba."

A March 23 Reuters dispatch from Buenos Aires reported that in a letter to his wife, relayed by the kidnapers, Sallustro said he was being held in a "people's prison" and that he was well.

Radio stations, according to Reuters, broadcast the names of medicines that the Fiat executive must receive every day for a heart ailment.

On March 24, the guerrillas announced the terms of ransom. Unless they were met by Sunday noon, March 26, Sallustro would be executed.

According to a special dispatch,

published in the March 25 *New York Times*, "The guerrillas . . . demanded \$1-million in the form of school supplies. They also demanded the release of an unspecified number of union leaders imprisoned after violent clashes in the Fiat tractor and locomotive plants last year, the reinstatement of all workers dismissed since October, 1971, and the withdrawal of police guards who have been stationed at Fiat plants for six months.

"Other demands were that 50 imprisoned guerrillas be flown to Algeria, that guerrilla announcements be published without editing and 'indemnization' for the People's Revolutionary Army, which the guerrillas said should be 'arranged with Fiat.'

"Aurelio Pececi, a Fiat official who arrived here from Turin, Italy, on Wednesday, has said that the company was prepared to meet any demand. A Fiat spokesman intimated today that the ransom terms would be complied with."

Reuters reported the same day that the Argentine government had rejected the demand for the release of fifty imprisoned guerrillas in exchange for the life of Sallustro, saying it would not negotiate with "criminals."

As the deadline set by the ERP commandos neared, the government reiterated its refusal to negotiate.

On Sunday the guerrillas left a three-page statement in a bar to be found by newsmen, extending the deadline for thirty-six hours. The statement repeated the original demands, including releasing fifty jailed guerrillas and flying them to Algeria.

"Today's statement," Reuters reported, "also spelled out details of the other major condition for Mr. Sallustro's release, payment of a \$1-million ransom by his company, Fiat. The guerrillas of the People's Revolutionary Army listed 50 schools to which the ransom must be delivered in the form of specified supplies. . . ."

"The Interior Minister said tonight that Fiat would not be allowed to deal with the kidnapers in any way that aids criminal activity. This appeared to mean that while Fiat would be allowed to distribute the school supplies to children, they will not be al-

lowed to circulate a message to the children, another of the guerrillas' demands.

"The guerrilla statement said that Mr. Sallustro . . . is in good health."

The ERP designates itself as the "armed vanguard" of the PRT [Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers party]. In a recent statement, one of the leaders of the PRT described the ideological outlook of the organization as follows:

"The ERP is an organization for the masses, to achieve the national and social liberation of our country. It calls upon the masses to carry out with perseverance the second independence war, following the writings and actions of General San Martín and Major Guevara.

"The PRT, which leads the ERP, defines itself ideologically as Marxist-Leninist, and it assimilates the teachings of revolutionaries from other countries, among them those of Major Che Guevara, Trotsky, Kim Il Sung, Mao Tse Tung, Ho Chi Minh, General Giap, etc."

The PRT further defined the ideological outlook of the organization by stating: "We are also aware that the leadership of all Latin American revolutionaries rests in the Communist Party of Cuba." [For full text of the statement see *Intercontinental Press*, February 28, page 215.]

The kidnapping of Sallustro was only the most spectacular of a series of recent similar actions in Argentina.

On March 18 commandos of the Montoneros, a Peronist guerrilla formation, sought to kidnap a conservative political figure, Roberto Mario Uzal. He managed to fight off his assailants, killing one and wounding another, but was mortally wounded in the exchange of gunfire, dying two days later.

On March 21 it was revealed that Pedro Donati, the head of one of Argentina's wine-making firms, had been kidnapped by members of still another guerrilla group, the Fuerzas Argentinas de Liberación [Argentinian Liberation Forces]. He was released unharmed after his company paid a ransom of \$37,000.

During the week before the kidnapping of Sallustro, ERP commandos killed the former head of police in Tucumán. The ERP said he was guilty of using torture against arrested members of the ERP. □

How ITT-CIA Plotted Coup Against Allende

By David Thorstad

It is common knowledge that the Central Intelligence Agency and U.S. big business cooperate closely throughout the world to subvert and attempt to overthrow governments the U.S. capitalists do not like. From the overthrow of Mossadegh, to the Bay of Pigs invasion, to the war in Indochina, their cooperation has become a well-known secret, impossible to deny. At times, when their cloak-and-dagger operations succeed, as in the 1954 coup in Guatemala, even they themselves admit it.

The March 21 and 22 reports by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson revealing that the CIA and the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation have been devoting their attention to Chile provide only the most recent example of the sinister scheming that is the stock-in-trade of the imperialists.

"Secret documents which escaped shredding by ITT show that the company maneuvered at the highest levels to stop the 1970 election of leftist Chilean President Salvador Allende," Anderson wrote.

"The papers reveal that ITT dealt regularly with the CIA and, at one point, considered triggering a military coup to head off Allende's election."

The revelations were dramatic confirmation of charges made by leftist forces in Chile at the time that the CIA was plotting to prevent Allende from taking office.

They also prompted the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to decide to conduct an inquiry into what committee chairman J.W. Fulbright termed "the role of multinational corporations in the formulation of foreign policy." Fulbright said the committee will have to examine the notion that foreign investments by U.S. corporations are "a good thing, not only for the United States but for other countries."

Anderson (who set off a political bomb on February 29 by publishing excerpts from an ITT memorandum to the effect that the company would pay \$400,000 to the 1972 Re-

publican national convention in return for an agreement by the Justice Department to quash three antitrust suits against the company) said he obtained the secret materials "despite the wholesale shredding of files, which the company has admitted took place in the Washington office Feb. 24 in



ALLENDE: Target of ITT-CIA plot "to create economic chaos in Chile" and instigate an "uprising" by the army.

an attempt to keep 'embarrassing' documents out of our hands."

Anderson said the documents show that ITT officials were "in close touch" with William V. Broe, the then director of the Latin American division of the CIA's "Clandestine Services." "They were plotting together to create economic chaos in Chile, hoping this would cause the Chilean army to pull a coup that would block Allende from coming to power." At one point, Broe even personally visited ITT Vice President E.J. Gerrity Jr. in his New York office to discuss the CIA plan.

Involved in the plotting was ITT Director John McCone, himself a former head of the CIA. On October

9, 1970, he received a confidential report from William Merriam, vice president in charge of ITT's Washington office, in which Merriam wrote: "Today I had lunch with our contact at the McLean agency (CIA), and I summarize for you the results of our conversation. He is still very, very pessimistic about defeating Allende when the Congressional vote takes place on Oct. 24.

"Approaches continue to be made to select members of the Armed Forces in an attempt to have them lead some sort of uprising—no success to date. . . .

"Practically no progress has been made in trying to get American business to cooperate in some way so as to bring on economic chaos. GM [General Motors] and Ford, for example, say that they have too much inventory on hand in Chile to take any chances and that they keep hoping that everything will work out all right.

"Also, the Bank of America had agreed to close its doors in Santiago but each day keeps postponing the inevitable. According to my source, we must continue to keep the pressure on business."

Anderson reported that ITT was given "a generally polite but cool" reception by the White House and the State Department, "although Edward Korry, ambassador to Chile, is reported to have been militantly anti-Allende and friendly to ITT's cause." The campaign was so enthusiastic that one ITT representative took the trouble to buttonhole Attorney General John Mitchell about the matter at a wedding reception in the Korean embassy. The company also presented the White House with an offer to "assist financially in sums up to seven figures," if it would help prevent Allende from taking office.

Two ITT officials in Latin America, Robert Berrellez and Hal Hendrix, sent a report to ITT Vice President Gerrity indicating that the White House was backing the anti-Allende campaign. "Late Tuesday night (Sept. 15)," they wrote, "Ambassador Edward Korry finally received a message from the State Dept. giving him the green light to move in the name of President Nixon. The message gave him maximum authority to do all possible—short of a Dominican Republic-type action—to keep Allende

from taking power."

The two asserted that the "key" to the ITT campaign was former Chilean President Eduardo Frei and "how much pressure the U.S. and the anti-Communist movement in Chile can bring to bear upon him in the next couple of weeks. . . ." Korry, they said, "has never let up on Frei, to the point of telling him how to 'put his pants on.'"

By October 16, eight days before the Chilean parliament was to vote on Allende's election, reported Anderson, "ITT was pinning its waning hopes on a military coup led by former Brigadier General Roberto Viaux." According to a report from Berrellez to Gerrity on that date, Viaux was told by Washington to "hold back last week. . . . As part of the persuasion to delay, Viaux was given oral assurances he would receive material assistance and support from the U.S."

Viaux and twenty-four other people are currently in jail awaiting sentencing for sedition for their role in the right-wing plot in which General René Schneider was assassinated on October 22, 1970.

The plotting against Allende did not cease with his inauguration on November 3. "Some of the purported ITT memorandums, discussing possible ways of dislodging Dr. Allende from power, were written after the inauguration," wrote Tad Szulc in the March 24 *New York Times*.

ITT, predictably, has denied any attempt to interfere in Chile's politics. But it has no comment on the authenticity of the documents that escaped destruction.

The State Department attempted to stand on both sides of the question at the same time. On the one hand, it asserted that the Nixon administration had reached a decision not to block Allende's inauguration, and on the other hand, it did not deny that Korry had received a "green light" from Washington to do everything possible short of military intervention to prevent Allende from taking power.

What prompted ITT to launch its scheme was fear that it would lose its highly profitable control over the Chile Telephone Company. "This telephone company, the largest in Chile with 360,000 telephones," wrote Juan de Onís in the March 24 *New York Times*, "was one of the biggest earners in the ITT world system, regular-

ly earning over \$10-million a year."

The concession contract ITT signed in 1930 to operate the telephone company guaranteed it a 10 percent annual profit on its investment. ITT, however, in effect sold itself the equipment necessary for maintenance and expansion. According to a *Washington Post* dispatch from Santiago, a spokesman for the company, now under state control, estimated that "these sales, largely by European plants of ITT, raised the company's recent annual profits to about 25 percent of its investment."

On March 12, Allende warned, "We are being attacked both from without and from within." The Anderson rev-

elations certainly add weight to such a warning and show the extreme measures the imperialists are willing to undertake in order to defend their interests.

A recent measure, reported by Pierre Kalfon in the March 17 *Le Monde*, is the pressure now being exerted by Braden Copper and the Anaconda Copper Company for an embargo to be placed on Chilean capital and goods in the United States, "in particular on the stocks of spare parts that are indispensable for the proper functioning of the North American mechanical equipment that has been used up to now in all the Chilean copper fields." □

Nixon Coming to Defense of 'Patton'?

Cubans Barred From Film Festival in U.S.

Four Cuban film directors have been refused visas to enter the United States, and were thus prohibited from participating in the First New York Festival of Cuban Films. The four, Santiago Alvarez, Jorge Fraga, Alfredo Guevara, and Saul Yelen, had been invited by the organizers of the festival, which opened March 24. Guevara is director of the Cuban Film Institute.

The State Department refused the visas under the same provision of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act that has been used to bar Belgian Marxist economist Ernest Mandel from the United States. That provision has been declared unconstitutional by a federal court, but the Nixon administration has appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

The State Department refusal to admit the Cubans, Henry Raymond reported in the March 24 *New York Times*, has been criticized by "several senators, [New York] Mayor [John] Lindsay and a group of prominent writers, critics and movie personalities, among them Arthur Miller, Norman Mailer, Vincent Canby, Stanley Kauffmann, Burgess Meredith, Geraldine Page, Otto Preminger and Jonas Mekas."

Some of those protesting the decision pointed out the contrast with

the invitation extended to a Chinese table tennis team.

"Responding to questions about the apparent divergence," Raymond wrote, "State Department officials referred to recent statements by Mr. Nixon and Mr. Rogers [Secretary of State William Rogers] attributing to the Chinese leadership a wish to improve relations while the Cubans were implacable in their anti-United States policy and their determination to export their revolution to the rest of Latin America."

The barring of the Cuban directors marked the second time in recent months that Cubans have been prevented from "exporting revolution" to the United States. Last October, nineteen Cuban sugarcane technicians were detained by immigration officials when they tried to attend a congress of the International Society of Sugar Cane Technologists in New Orleans.

Nixon must have considered it even more important to prevent Cubans from spreading revolutionary ideas about films than to prevent the revolutionizing of sugarcane technology. He has been quoted as saying that his favorite film is "Patton," a jingoistic glorification of militarism. If revolutionary ideas about film-making were to catch on in the United States, Nixon might be deprived of one of his favorite types of entertainment. □

Poll Shows Militancy of French Youth

By Pierre Frank

Revolutionary Marxists are more than suspicious of opinion polls. This investigatory method, invented by so-called modern sociology (primarily under the influence of American pragmatism) for ascertaining public opinion, denies Marxist social categories and divides the population according to criteria that are vague, if not completely dubious. Furthermore, the questions are so formulated that they determine the responses to a considerable extent. And this even leaves aside the fact that many polls are conducted, not to learn the state of this famous "public opinion," but rather to publish statistics designed to influence it.

In general these polls are reactionary devices tending to produce questionable results, most often leaning toward conservative or reactionary sectors of opinion.

With these considerations in mind, a recent poll conducted by a right-thinking outfit at the request of the conservative newspaper *Le Figaro*—the results of which were published in the March 10 issue of that paper—has an import deserving our attention.

French capitalists are worried about the youth—high-school, college, and worker youth.

Le Figaro had the polling company question "a national sampling of 1,000 youth, representative of the whole French population between the ages of fifteen and twenty." (See table.) The poll was conducted from February 8 to 15, about two weeks before the murder of the worker Pierre Overney by a Renault cop and the demonstrations that followed.

The answers to the first question show that, according to the poll it-

self, most youth look favorably on the "dissidents." *Figaro's* commentary informs us that this percentage "varied according to social milieu, but was consistently very high. [The smallest figure was recorded in the agricultural sector: 42 percent.] Politically, only the youth affiliated to the UDR, the Gaullist party, evinced hostility—although narrowly, 36% to 32%—toward the dissidents."

The second question shows that youth who are between fifteen and twenty—and who were thus between eleven and sixteen at the time of the events themselves—hold a favorable opinion of May 1968, even though they think that on the whole relations between youth and adults consequently deteriorated.

Questions three and four are by far the most interesting. Nearly 60 percent of the youth think reforms cannot improve French society, and nearly 70 percent believe France is heading toward deep crises. This is not an "objective" judgment reflecting the sympathy toward dissidents evidenced in the first question; it is a statement of political position in favor of rev-

Poll Published in 'Le Figaro'

1. As a whole, do you feel more sympathy or more hostility for the youth who are challenging present-day society?

More sympathy	53%
More hostility	19
Indifferent (neither sympathy nor hostility).	22
No opinion	6

2. Do you think the May 1968 events had a generally good effect or bad effect on:

	Good effect	Bad effect	No opinion
French life in general	42%	33%	25%
Life of the youth	43	38	19
Relations between youth and adults	35	44	21

3. Do you think things will develop without upheavals, or on the contrary that we are heading toward deep crises (economic, social, moral)?

Things will develop without upheavals	21%
We are heading toward deep crises.	69
No opinion	10

4. With which of these two opinions do you tend to agree?

To improve the condition of the French people, certain reforms are needed, but the present organization of society need not be challenged	32%
The condition of the French people cannot be really improved by simple reforms. The present organization of society must be profoundly transformed	58
No opinion	10

5. In which of the countries listed below do you think it would be most interesting for a youth of your age to live today?

France	61%
U. S. A.	48
England	39
Sweden.	31
U. S. S. R.	9
Israel	8
India	8
China.	7
Cuba	6
None of these	3
Don't know	5

(The total exceeds 100% because some persons gave multiple answers.)

olutionary solutions.

The figures on the answers to the last question are more difficult to interpret. *Le Figaro's* commentary says that 23 percent of Communist party sympathizers were attracted to the Soviet Union, and 35 percent to the United States.

So even such an adulterated method of measurement as an opinion poll has to record that the great majority of French youth—whose specific weight in the population is on the rise—is hostile to capitalist society and believes the future lies in revolutionary solutions.

The most recent political demonstrations in France—especially the February 28 action in which 40,000 people, most of them youth, protested the murder of the worker Overney, and the funeral procession for the victim, in which about 200,000 marched despite the unbridled "antileftist" campaign launched by the CP and CGT [Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor]—showed that such a poll reflects reality.

After these demonstrations, the principal bourgeois commentators declared that May 1968 had not been the expression of an accidental phenomenon, a short-lived, fortuitous event; that in spite of enormous efforts, the CP has not reconquered the youth; that henceforth the political and social forces to the left of the CP constitute a new factor in the French political scene.

It took these farsighted bourgeois commentators nearly four years to notice these facts, upon which the Trotskyists of the *Ligue Communiste* had based their policies ever since the May events.

All this presents the CP leaders with an unprecedented situation of enormous difficulty. Unable to find a way out, they respond with increased rigidity. Before May 1968, they had nothing to their left except some small propaganda groups that gave only a few CPers pause for thought.

Today the situation is completely different. To the left of the CP there are now organizations—still small compared to the CP, and with only a weak base in the working class—but whose *militant capacity*, because of their influence on the youth, is quite considerable.

This situation similarly complicates the relationship the CP wants to have

with the Socialist party, and the CGT wants with the CFDT [Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor]. The SP and CFDT leaders have more than misgivings about Marchais* and company. Given the strength of the workers' movement led by the latter, they cannot avoid coming to an understanding with the CP and CGT.

But the SP and CFDT leaders are on the lookout for anything that will enable them to hold their own against the demands and maneuvers of the French Stalinists.

In the Renault events they found the chance to attack the CP and CGT from the left—by sending delegations to Overney's funeral and by defending the right of the far left to exist in the workers' movement.

*Georges Marchais, assistant general secretary of the French Communist party.

France

Biggest Student Upsurge Since 1968

Over the past month, student struggles throughout France have reached a level not seen in four years. Strikes, demonstrations, and mass meetings have taken place in virtually all the country's universities.

The target of the protests is the proposed plan of Minister of Education Olivier Guichard to introduce an educational reform that would "modernize" the teacher-training program by sharply restricting access to the profession and making it more competitive. The plan, which raises the specter of unemployment in the teaching profession, has generated opposition among students, professors, and university presidents alike. French university presidents rejected it on February 15.

The proposal is to set up Professional Training Centers for Teachers (Centres de Formation Professionnelle des Maîtres—CFPM) by the 1973 school year. It aims to reduce the number of regular professors (that is, those whose official national status guarantees them a job) and to increase the number of those who work by contract. This will be done through

This last point was particularly annoying to the CP and CGT leaders; at bottom it poses the question of workers' democracy. And this is posed because of the strength of the far left, especially the strength of the *Ligue Communiste*, the Trotskyist organization whose politics are, much more than the Maoists' or spontanéists', able to reach worker militants until now under the CP's influence.

The CP had nothing much to fear on the right. It saw itself advancing to electoral successes, ministerial posts, a nice parliamentary road to socialism. Suddenly it sees itself confronted on the left by a mass of youth who know the impotence of parliamentarism, who have no confidence in reformism, and who want to make the revolution. The Overney funeral demonstration was a resounding slap at the CP leadership. It was just the beginning. □

a competitive examination during the second year of study that will select those with the right to become regular professors. They would be only about 10 percent of the total. All professors who either do not follow this route or who fail the examination will have no guarantee of employment. Should they find it, they will be paid less. In addition, their lack of job security can be used as a weapon against those who are politically active.

One of the reasons, therefore, that the plan causes such anger and anguish among students is that, if it is implemented, many of them will be faced with nothing better than a choice between quitting after failing the examination or earning a diploma with little value.

The protest movement that has been mounted in recent weeks is demanding not only that the government withdraw its plans for the CFPM. It is also demanding the right to professional and pedagogical training for everyone; the elimination of competitive examinations as a method of selecting professors, and the elimination

of the contract status for professors — in other words, a guarantee of jobs for professors.

One hundred thousand students participated in a national strike February 22-24, which was effective in most universities, and between 40,000 and 50,000 joined in street demonstrations on the final day.

"The scope of the movement," observed Frédéric Gausson in the March 11 *Le Monde*, "was impressive. In the course of the past few weeks, tens of thousands of students in the arts have gone on strike against the government plan on the training of teachers. Important institutions like the literature departments in Nanterre, Rennes, Reims, and Bordeaux, have been paralyzed for two or even three weeks."

According to the March 4 *Rouge*, weekly newspaper of the Ligue Communiste (French section of the Fourth International), which has played an important role in the events, between 80 and 100 percent of the students were on strike in Rennes, Reims, Rouen, Toulouse, Brest, Nantes, Dijon, Le Mans, Bordeaux, Nanterre, and Clignancourt, among others.

"The strength of the movement," wrote Roger Normand in *Rouge*, "has been its united national character: a national coordinating committee of strike committees has convened twice — an unprecedented phenomenon. This is probably the first time in the history of the French student movement that this has happened. In the past the call for a 'central strike committee' has been raised, even during weaker mobilizations than this one, but never has it actually been achieved. This success lends this movement an *exemplary* character."

Following the successful February 22-24 actions, the strike coordinating

committee met on February 27 and called for national days of mobilization again on March 16-17.

The most active role throughout the movement has been played by local struggle committees, in which the Ligue Communiste is a leading force. The approach of these committees has been one of striving to win the broad-



OLIVIER GUICHARD

est unity around precise demands challenging the government's educational policies. They have also sought to utilize the momentum generated by the strike to lay the groundwork for a national student organization that will continue to mobilize students not only against the CFPM but against the very nature of educational institutions in capitalist society.

On March 5-6, 180 delegates of these struggle committees, representing thirty universities from twenty cities, met in Paris for this purpose. They formed a new organization in the French student movement, the National Federation of Struggle Committees (Fédération Nationale des Comités de Lutte—FNCL). As its first action on a national scale, it called on students and teachers from all over France to converge on Paris March 18-19 for an "estates-general" on the theme "Against the capitalist schools: What kind of schools do we want?"

The response of the government to the student upsurge has been, for the time being, to make a tactical retreat. On March 13, Guichard set up a "working committee" to reevaluate the proposed reform and to report back to him within two months. □

Guilty of Opposing War

Juan Farinas Begins Serving Sentence

Juan Farinas, a socialist youth framed up on charges of having disrupted the functioning of the U. S. Selective Service System, surrendered to federal authorities March 20 to begin serving a two-year jail term.

The charges arose from incidents occurring on August 13, 1968, when Farinas, at that time a supporter of the Progressive Labor party, reported for induction into the army at New York City's Whitehall draft center.

Farinas attempted to distribute anti-war leaflets to the other inductees and to talk to them about the war. He was finally escorted out of the building by a sergeant who told him to "go to hell."

Later, Farinas, who has since become a supporter of the Workers League (U. S. cothinkers of the British Socialist Labour League), was charged with refusing to stop speaking, distributing leaflets, and engaging in boisterous and unruly behavior in an induction center; interfering with the administration of the Selective Service Act; and refusing to report for and submit to induction.

On December 10, 1970, Farinas was convicted of all charges—despite the fact that even prosecution witnesses testified that the functioning of the center had not been disrupted by Farinas's actions, and the fact that evidence was presented proving that he had intended to be inducted.

The conviction was appealed, but the U. S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

On March 24 Judge Milton Pollack heard a defense motion to reduce the sentence. Farinas's attorneys asked that he be allowed to enter the army or take a job for two years deemed to be in "the national interest."

Farinas notes in the motion that "in view of my willingness to comply with the order which led to Count IV of the indictment [refusal of induction], a sentence of two years imprisonment for the acts set forth in the other counts—leafletting and speaking—could only be interpreted

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as an excessive and politically motivated sentence."

On March 27 Pollack denied the reduction-in-sentence motion. Farinas will be transferred from the New York Federal House of Detention to Danbury Federal Penitentiary.

The Juan Farinas Defense Commit-

tee has announced its intention to appeal Pollack's decision. The committee is asking for funds to finance the appeal and a further publicity campaign, as well as to help support Farinas's wife and child. The committee can be reached at 135 West 14 Street, Sixth Floor, New York, N. Y. 10011.

wage-hike was cut from 20.6 percent to 14.9 percent by the board. The longshoremen seethed with anger.

On March 23, the day after the first resignations, the government published the Consumer Price Index figures for the month of February. The general cost of living had risen 0.5 percent during the month, mostly because of soaring food prices. The increase was the largest monthly jump since the imposition of the wage freeze last August, and if extended over one year would mean an annual increase of 6 percent.

Grocery prices rose 1.9 percent (an annual rate of 20 percent!), the biggest monthly increase in fourteen years.

Publication of the figures merely confirmed what every shopper knows — so far as prices are concerned, the stabilization program is a sham.

The statement issued by the AFL-CIO Executive Council when Meany, Abel, and Smith resigned from the pay board reflected the sentiments of most U. S. trade unionists.

"Seven months of the Administration's so-called new economic policy — including four months of Phase II controls — have demonstrated that it is nothing more than a device to make the average worker and consumer both the victim and the goat, while the banks and big business pile up increasing profits.

"In the guise of an anti-inflation policy, the American people are being gouged at the supermarket and squeezed in the paycheck. The heaviest burden of this lopsided program is placed on the backs of those at the bottom of the economic ladder, who are least able to protect themselves. Meanwhile, millions of American workers remain unemployed, their wages frozen at zero, with no real prospect of relief."

The statement noted that "retail food prices have gone through the roof," that profits have been "free to rise," and that there is no machinery to enforce limitation on prices. Corporate profits of the nation's 100 largest companies rose 76 percent last year.

The West Coast dockers contract was explicitly cited: "The rejection of the West Coast longshore agreement, for example, will mean an average loss of about \$1,150 for each of the 15,000 workers on the docks in the 18 months of the contract and a \$17-

As Food Prices 'Go Through the Roof'

U.S. Labor Leaders Quit Pay Board

By Jon Rothschild

Nixon's "tripartite" pay board, which supervises wages under "Phase II" of the "Economic Stabilization Program," was stripped of most of its trade-union window-dressing March 22, when three representatives of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) resigned from the board.

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO; I. W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America; and Floyd Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists, announced their resignations after a meeting of the AFL-CIO Executive Council voted unanimously to condemn the functioning of the pay board. The following day, Leonard Woodcock, head of the United Automobile Workers (which is not affiliated to the AFL-CIO), also quit. The only trade-union figure left on the board is Frank Fitzsimmons of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The decision of the bureaucrats to dissociate themselves from Nixon's "guidelines" on wages was prompted by a combination of rising discontent over soaring prices, anger over the government's policy of blocking compensating wage increases, and pressure from the Democratic machine. The four who resigned are among the leading labor lieutenants of the Democratic party, whose presidential candidates have sought to capitalize on the failure of "Phase II."

Not a single Democratic candidate opposed last August's freeze on wages, and none has condemned the present policy of holding wages down. But the political vision of U. S. la-

bor bureaucrats does not extend beyond capitalist politics. Unlike the workers in most advanced capitalist countries, the U. S. working class has no political party of its own. Instead of calling for the formation of such a party — which would seem to be a



MEANY: Gives up window-dressing role.

logical consequence of opposition to the entire economic program of the ruling class — the bureaucrats have sought to channel working-class resentment of the Republican policies into support of the second capitalist party.

Two recent events prompted the timing of the labor resignations.

First, the pay board decided to abrogate the West Coast longshore contract, which was negotiated after a 134-day, hard-fought strike. The

million windfall profit for the employers."

Then the AFL-CIO leaders made a remarkable discovery: "The so-called public members [of the pay board] are neither neutral nor independent. They are tools of the Administration and imbued with its viewpoint that all of the nation's economic ills are caused by high wages."

This fact has been pointed out by virtually all opponents of Nixon's "new economic policy" since the inception of the pay board. When the board was first formed, Nixon tried to give it a nonpartisan facade by naming fifteen members—five labor leaders, five open representatives of big business, and five so-called public members, the latter being present or former capitalist politicians, lawyers, or businessmen.

The AFL-CIO leaders surely must have known from the beginning that the "public" representatives would consistently vote against labor. In fact, up to now, the five labor bureaucrats on the pay board have generally gone along with its antiunion decisions, voting with the majority thirty-six times and voting against the majority only thirteen times. (They abstained on four occasions.)

The labor fakers thus bear a large part of the responsibility for the decisions that they now correctly say were aimed at gouging the U. S. consumer. They remained on the board while many crucial contracts were discussed, and resigned only when there were no major contracts being negotiated.

But belated as it was, the AFL-CIO decision was a welcome one for the ranks of the U. S. trade-union movement. This was reflected in the demagogic response of the Nixon administration. "It is the President's view," said a statement issued by the White House, "that a few labor leaders representing a small percentage of the 80 million wage earners in this country will not be allowed to sabotage the fight against inflation and the fight against higher prices."

Nixon himself called the labor action "selfish and irresponsible." He repeated his time-worn nonsense that "fighting inflation must be everybody's job." Then, aiming a belly blow at George Meany, who boasts that he has never walked a picket line, Tricky Dick added, "Yesterday George Meany

walked off the job."

The same day (March 23) Nixon announced the reorganization of the pay board. One business member will be retained (to balance Fitzsimmons). These two, plus the present five "public" members, will constitute the new seven-member board.

The labor resignations are not expected to have much effect on pay-board decisions in the immediate future. But in 1973, major contracts come up for renegotiation in steel, electricity, trucking, manufacturing, auto, railroad, and other industries.

Despite the comprehensive attack, most of it quite well voiced, on the administration's economic program, the AFL-CIO statement presented no concrete plan of action for the ranks of the labor movement.

The Militant, the revolutionary-socialist weekly that reflects the views of the Socialist Workers party, spelled out such a program in a March 31 editorial:

Heath Readies More Troops

Direct Rule Fails to End Tension in Ireland

By David Thorstad

The British government announced March 24 that it had decided to suspend the government and parliament in Northern Ireland and impose direct rule from London for at least one year.

Prime Minister Edward Heath, who presented the proposals to the House of Commons, also appointed Commons leader William Whitelaw to assume power as secretary of state for Northern Ireland. Whitelaw will appoint an advisory commission to assist him in running the province.

The Heath proposals provide for plebiscites to be held over a period of years on whether Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic should be reunited; that "a start should be made on phasing out internment"; and that all repressive powers of the state—courts, police, prisons, etc.—be directly invested in the British Parliament and government.

The latter provision was unacceptable to Northern Ireland Prime Min-

"They [union leaders] should take the initiative in convening a democratically selected national conference of the labor movement in order to plan a united, powerful struggle against the capitalist wage-control policy.

"Demands such a conference could adopt to protect the living standards of working people are: 1) full compensation for past and anticipated inflation through cost-of-living clauses in all contracts; 2) a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay, so that the existing work can be spread to all who need a job; and 3) immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Indochina to end this war, which has spurred inflation.

"In addition, labor needs its own political instrument to fight for its interests. A labor party based on the trade unions would provide an alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties, the parties of big business." □

ister Brian Faulkner and his government. They will therefore resign when direct rule takes effect on March 30.

"I thought that by our actions and our attitudes we had earned the right to the confidence and the support of the United Kingdom Government," Faulkner stated. "I fear too that many people will draw a sinister and depressing message from these events: that violence can pay; that violence does pay; that those who shout, lie, denigrate, and even destroy, earn for themselves an attention that responsible conduct and honorable behavior do not."

Certain implications of the Heath proposals were indeed sinister and depressing, but they were not what Faulkner had in mind. The "Heath package" will hardly be greeted with joy by most of the estimated 900 internees in Northern Ireland, for instance. For not only is the hated policy of internment not being abandoned, but only those internees "whose

release is no longer thought likely to involve an unacceptable risk to security" (approximately 100, according to Alvin Shuster in the March 25 *New York Times*) are to be released. It would be "possible to consider" further releases, Heath said, if the "security situation" meets vaguely worded standards of improvement.

"As long as active terrorism persists and bombings and shootings continue, and until respect for law and a normal situation of order have been restored throughout the province, we must retain the power to arrest and intern those who there is good reason to believe are actively involved in terrorism and violence," he insisted.

British officials disclosed that 4,000



LYNCH: "Direct rule" may mean more indirect help in moving against republicans.

additional British soldiers were standing by to be sent to Northern Ireland, which is already occupied by 15,000 British troops.

Another sinister by-product of the Heath proposals is the apparent encouragement Dublin sees in them for furthering its own campaign to crack down on the republican movement. Irish Republic Prime Minister John Lynch said he welcomed the Heath move as a "step forward in seeking a lasting solution" and making possible an improvement in Irish-British relations.

"The British Government is hoping that Mr. Lynch will crack down on

Irish Republican Army guerrillas using the republic as a sanctuary," wrote Shuster. "Sources in Dublin suggested that Mr. Lynch now felt he could move against them without running the risk of being accused of propping up a sectarian regime in Belfast."

The reaction of both the Official and Provisional wings of the republican movement was "an angry and immediate rejection of Mr. Heath's actions," according to the *New York Times*.

Chief of staff of the Officials, Cathal Goulding, said they were tantamount to imposing martial law in Northern Ireland.

Chief of staff of the Provisionals, Sean MacStiofain, said "We cannot and will not suspend or discontinue our operations until our demands are met." The demands include a declaration of intent by the British government to withdraw British troops and an immediate withdrawal of soldiers from the streets; recognition of the right of the Irish people to determine their own future; abolition—not merely suspension—of the Northern Ireland parliament; and a general amnesty. "We want an amnesty for all political prisoners, including those in the six counties [Northern Ireland], the 26 counties [the Irish Republic], and those in Britain," said MacStiofain.

At a news conference in Belfast March 25, Bernard Weinraub reported in the March 26 *New York Times*, Kevin McCorry of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association demanded a complete end to internment. "We do not accept that the so-called phasing out of internment represents a genuine attempt by the London Government to come to grips with this problem," he said.

"Internment has been the most divisive measure which has been introduced in the North over the last few years. We do not accept that there can be any progress toward an end to the sterile divisions which have seriously hurt our community while internment lasts."

McCorry announced a one-month moratorium on marches but warned that "if there are no moves toward the granting of a full civil rights program, the Civil Rights Association will relaunch its campaign of marches and active civil disobedience with a march in Strabane on Sunday, April 23."

The opposition Social Democratic and Labour party said it welcomed

the Heath proposals and "will give our fullest cooperation to their implementation." The party said it saw "one obstacle" in the plan to merely phase out internment and noted, "We need clarification of this point."

Six members of the party who are in Parliament conferred with Lynch in Dublin and then held a news conference in Derry in which they called on "those engaged in a campaign of violence to cease immediately to enable us to bring internment to a speedy end and make a positive response to the British Government's proposals."

William Craig, head of the recently formed Protestant extremist organization, the Ulster Vanguard, accused



FAULKNER: Pushed out by British when he was no longer able to maintain control.

the British government of "surrendering to terrorist violence in support of a dishonest minority cause. We accuse the British Government of acting undemocratically and in contravention of a very large majority in Ulster."

Craig warned of possible violence, according to Weinraub in the March 25 *Times*, and added, "We will continuously demonstrate that the British Government governs in Ulster under an imposed constitution and against the wishes of the majority."

The U.S. State Department on March 25 welcomed the British moves and expressed the odd notion that

"peace with justice" might be achieved through "compromise." Spokesman Barrett McGurn told the press: "We hope that as a result of the action announced by the British Government and the attitude expressed yesterday by the Government of Ireland an opportunity will be created for all those involved in the Northern Ireland problem to now proceed in the spirit of compromise to secure peace with justice."

But direct rule will bring neither peace nor justice to Northern Ireland. It cannot bring peace so long as the underlying causes of strife there—a lack of jobs, an absence of full civil rights for the Catholic minority, and discrimination—continue to prevail. And Heath has done nothing substantial to alleviate these grievances.

Moreover, it was not concern for justice that motivated Heath to take the extreme measure of imposing, for the first time in more than fifty years, direct rule from London. Observers generally seem agreed that Northern

Ireland was on the verge of civil war. In the context of ever rising tensions, Faulkner appeared unable to contain the situation. And so London moved decisively before things went completely out of control. It did so for several reasons.

First, a dramatic move would serve at least temporarily to divert attention away from the deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland by giving the impression that London will do something to improve it.

Second, while granting—or appearing to grant—a few minor concessions to the oppressed minority, it could at the same time prepare to commit even greater numbers of troops to strengthen its repressive garrison.

Finally, it would indirectly help Lynch to mount pressure against the republican movement by making it possible for him to make vague promises about a united Ireland of the future and to crack down on anyone who rocks the boat. □

Feltrinelli, had planned to step up terrorism to increase tensions during the campaign for the general elections on May 7-8."

Hofmann also reported that the Italian Communist and Socialist parties "have disengaged themselves during the last few days from the thesis that Mr. Feltrinelli was the victim of a rightist plot. The newspapers of the two parties conceded today that the publisher's link with left-wing extremists might indeed have proved fatal to him, but insisted that neo-Fascist provocateurs, too, may have had a role in the affair."

Police are looking for a high-school teacher, Carlo Fioroni, who took out insurance on the Volkswagen bus that was found near Feltrinelli's body. Fioroni also paid a policy insuring yet another vehicle "seen near another structure of the Milan area high-tension grid that unidentified terrorists attempted to dynamite last week," Hofmann said. After being questioned briefly the day Feltrinelli's body was discovered, Fioroni disappeared. *Le Monde's* report said he was thought to be in Switzerland.

The autopsy verified that Feltrinelli's death was caused by loss of blood from his leg being blown off by the explosion. Still, the investigation into the death has not provided answers to a number of questions.

Why, for instance, didn't the eight kilos of dynamite found near the body also go off in the explosion? Was the unexploded dynamite placed there afterwards, or did the explosion itself occur somewhere else?

Who were the persons investigators believe to have been with Feltrinelli shortly before he died? According to Reuters, there were at least two other persons, based on fingerprints found on the bus. Moreover, an overcoat found inside the bus could not have belonged to Feltrinelli. And the keys to the bus were gone when the body was found.

In addition, according to a report in *Politiken* March 19, a pack of cigarettes containing explosive materials was found on the body. The cigarette brand was not Feltrinelli's. □

Money Softens the Pain

U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz remarked March 14 that he is pleased by the high prices of meat because they "insure a good supply of the better cuts of beef that I prefer."

Italy

Unanswered Questions in Feltrinelli Case

For several months before his death, leftist publisher Giangiacomo Feltrinelli had been telling his collaborators that he felt threatened with murder if he were to return to Italy, according to a report in the March 21 *Le Monde*. "He added that if he returned, he would be assassinated and that the murder would be disguised as an accident."

The investigation into Feltrinelli's mysterious death has not yet determined the meaning of these possibly prophetic fears.

Feltrinelli's charred and mutilated body was found March 16 under a power-line pylon on the outskirts of Milan. There has been some speculation that he was killed elsewhere and his body transported to the power line to make it look as if he had blown himself up.

"Feltrinelli's death comes at a time when it can only be regarded as the best propaganda windfall imaginable for the neofascists," wrote Lars Herluf Jensen in the Danish *Politiken* March 20. Some far-left groups have charged

that Feltrinelli was murdered by the neofascists to lend credence to their campaign against the left and for "law and order" in the upcoming Italian elections.

The investigators into the case appear less interested in pursuing this angle, however, than in looking into the revolutionary milieu in which Feltrinelli operated. Thus on March 22 two leftists became the first persons to be arrested in connection with the case. They are Giovanni Battista Lazagna, a lawyer who is a member of a far-left group, and Maria Servida, a student.

"The arrests indicated that the investigating magistrates tended to link the mystery of his death last week in a dynamite explosion near Milan with the ultraleftist urban guerrilla groups that have convulsed Italian cities lately," wrote *New York Times* correspondent Paul Hofmann in a dispatch from Rome March 22.

"Sources close to the investigators said that revolutionary underground networks, possibly financed by Mr.

Rising Militancy Threatens Union Bureaucrats

By Bill Davis

Sydney

A new rise in working-class militancy and a complementary growth in the repressive forces of the state and the bourgeoisie have become increasingly evident in the chronic industrial turmoil experienced in Australia since 1969.

As with most of the advanced capitalist world, the political scene here for twenty years after the second world war was dominated by bourgeois Cold War ideology. The working class retreated to defensive, economist positions. Wages, hours, and conditions were the limits of working-class consciousness, resulting in a number of unions being easy victims of right-wing Catholic extremist groups. Concurrently with this trend, the workers' party, the Australian Labor party (ALP), was pushed increasingly toward the right.

The long period of working-class quiescence contributed decisively to the string of defeats suffered by the Labor party in successive federal elections and the loss of all state governments held by the ALP at the pinnacle of its power in the late 1940s.

Beginning of the Radicalization

After the shattering electoral defeat suffered by the ALP in 1966, 1967 can be seen as the turning point that ended this decline. In that year the broad labor and antiwar movements turned away from the parliamentary road and began taking political and industrial actions directly involving thousands of people for the first time.

On the antiwar front, the 1967 August and October mobilisations brought tens of thousands out onto the streets, while the new working-class aggressiveness had sufficient political muscle for the industrial left to win control of the congress of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) for the first time in two decades.

Since 1904, Australian workers had been shackled by a compulsory arbitration system, which was enforced

with fines of \$1,000 per day for strikes. Under this crushing imposition, workers in this period rapidly came to realise that there was little justice in a system that gave free reign to employers to set their own prices, but at the same time severely penalised workers who fought to maintain a decent standard of living in the face of those price rises.

With the resurgence of the industrial left, a collision course with the Liberal-Country party government over this issue was inevitable. So in May 1969 the secretary of the Tramways Union in Victoria, Clarrie O'Shea, was gaoled for contempt of court for refusing to pay fines imposed on his union for an "illegal" strike. Immediately, hundreds of thousands of workers struck, and with one massive display of defiance, the penal clauses were effectively dead and buried as far as the workers were concerned.

The ALP, however, has tried to reintroduce penal clauses under various guises into its platform for this year's federal election, with the intention of persuading the bourgeoisie that the Labor party is a sure bet to control the industrial unrest now rife in the country.

Since 1969 the number of working days lost per annum through strike action has risen dramatically from 1,000,000 before O'Shea was gaoled to 3,000,000 in 1971. Scarcely an industry, an occupation, or a union has not taken industrial action in the last two years, particularly in the period since the middle of 1971, when the employers' offensive against the Australian working class really sharpened.

Unemployment Reaches 160,000

To make Australian commodities more competitive in a contracting international trade market, the bourgeoisie has tried to control an annual inflation of 8 percent by repressive measures to cut demand, control wage rises through productivity deals, accelerate automation and related redun-

dancies, and thus create a manageable pool of unemployed.

It is the clear intention of the employing class to make workers bear the burden of the irrationality of capitalism. In one sense they have been successful: registered unemployment has passed the 120,000 mark and real unemployment is thought to be closer to 160,000. At the same time a clear differentiation has taken place among trade-union bureaucrats who were previously elected as left-wingers at the ACTU congresses in 1967, 1969, and 1971, but have now been exposed as compliant reformists seeking to smother militancy in order to elect a Labor government this year.

ACTU President Bob Hawke, once thought to be a militant, has been a significant casualty; he has been so thoroughly discredited that Liberal ministers persistently call on him to intervene and "settle" industrial disputes. There has been a growing movement among militants to keep this labor-faker out of stop-work movements.

Far from deterring militancy, the actions of the bourgeoisie and their Labor apologists have resulted in a rising class consciousness. Workers are rapidly coming to realise that their interests can be protected in the current crisis only by their own united strength. Rather than resorting to the traditional strike weapon, workers are now experimenting with a variety of forms of action, all of which raise the political question of who controls the job—the worker or the boss.

The Builders Labourers' (BL) strike of 1971 was a high point of class consciousness. In an industry notorious for accidents and death, gangsterism, and scabbery, the New South Wales branch of this union reintroduced the long-discarded practice of aggressive picketing of building sites.

Whenever the boss brought in scabs, or tried to use tradesmen to do the Labourers' work, the pickets threw them off the site and demolished whatever work they had performed. So suc-

successful were the BLs that the strike was won. At the same time clear evidence was provided of the class collaboration between the Stalinist leadership of the tradesmen's unions, the right-wing-controlled Sydney Labor Council, employers, and the government.

Following the howls of rage about the sanctity of property, rank-and-filers invaded the Labor Council and a wild brawl broke out. On the recommendation of a pro-Moscow Stalinist, the Builders Labourers Federation was expelled from the Labor Council. Then the Maoist-dominated Federal Executive of the Builders Labourers tried to move in and take over control of its New South Wales branch, which is under the influence of the Dubcek-line Communist party of Australia.

Sellout in Victoria

Over the past six months the struggle against redundancies and for control over the job was highlighted dramatically in a number of important disputes.

The Latrobe Valley, situated south-east of Melbourne around the towns of Yallourn, Moe, Morwell, and Traralgon, was once thought to be the Ruhr of Australia. Thousands of workers were lured there by this prospect and have since become captives of their mortgages and hire-purchase commitments. Automation in the power industry has advanced at a dramatic rate, to the point where the prospect of heavy layoffs is now a reality.

Since 1968 total employment in the Valley has fallen 6 percent, and workers are forced to leave their families to go elsewhere in search of work.

The workers employed by the Victorian State Electricity Commission demanded an extra week's leave. In fact their claim had first been made nine years earlier, but no one took it very seriously. With redundancies on a large scale in the offing, the men realised that work sharing offered the only solution, and therefore struck over the leave-claim.

Instead of throwing support behind the strikers at a critical stage when employers and the government were howling for blood, ACTU President Hawke and other union bureaucrats urged the workers to go to arbitration, well knowing that the campaign

will be certainly doomed to defeat there.

Labor Council Betrays Busmen

As part of a long-term productivity deal, the New South Wales government offered members of the Bus Employees Union extra pay if they would agree to drive double-decker Atlantean buses without conductors, whose job it is to collect fares and supervise passengers in the cabin. The drivers refused, as they considered that on Sydney and Newcastle roads, traffic was so hazardous that driving was a full-time occupation and it was unreasonable to place responsibility for the safety of passengers on one man.

After flying scabs out from Britain to do the work that Australian bus drivers would not do, the government then began dismissing hundreds of drivers who refused to operate the Atlanteans on a one-man basis. In December the Bus Employees Union declared a general bus strike, which lasted for weeks.

In view of the fact that the New South Wales government runs its buses at a loss and that it actively encourages private, as opposed to public, transport, such a general bus strike coming at Christmastime was doomed to failure. The only way it could have been won would have been for the union movement as a whole to recognise that the real issue was a frontal attack by the bourgeois state to utterly smash a union.

However, the Sydney Labor Council refused to contemplate a political response to this declaration of class war; it would not even call a strike in other transport services to prevent alternative means of transport being used.

The lessons that bus drivers learned from this defeat are that any productivity deal implies inevitable redundancies, that other means of industrial action than the simple strike should be considered, that control over safety is integral, and that the right wing should never be trusted.

Layoffs on the Docks

The Waterside Workers Federation (WWF) has a reputation for being the most militant in Australia. At one time it conducted more strikes than any other industrial sector. But now it is only a pale imitation of the old

tiger, when Big Jim Healey (of the Communist party) was general secretary. For the economic difficulties experienced by Australian shipping and stevedoring companies in competition from air and road transportation have led to an intensification of automation, with the introduction of palletisation and then of container handling.

As an inducement to the reformist WWF leadership to accept containerisation and the consequent heavy reduction of the work force, the government and employers offered permanency in a casual industry. Wharfies who made themselves voluntarily redundant were to be paid off with a lump sum for every year worked. This programme had been so successful that in the last couple of years the WWF declined in numbers from 24,000 to 16,000.

But this was not sufficient for the government, which decided that compulsory redundancies should be enforced to reduce a surplus wage bill of \$8,000,000 per annum, although productivity has increased 40 percent in the last two years. As Dianne Zetlin wrote in the February 7 *Direct Action* (Number 14), "The WWF Federal Executive was quite literally bowled over by a feather. Their immediate response was to renege on the decision of the All Ports Conference to accept *NO* compulsory redundancies. They latched on to petty economic concessions in redundancy payments and accepted the establishment of a precedent for compulsory redundancies. Today 400, tomorrow how many more?"

Reviewing the labor front in *Direct Action* (Number 15), Jim McIlroy summarized: "The State Electricity Commission (Latrobe Valley) strike is linked with the recent Atlantean and waterside workers' disputes as the early battles of a long campaign. The issue of redundancies, directly or indirectly, has been common to all these disputes, as has a rising militancy in the face of the attacks of the bosses. It is vital that these struggles be won in the long run, because defeat of these militant sections will open up the way for a general campaign against all sections of the working class."

Workers Fire Foreman

One recent dispute that did provide evidence of a growing class conscious-

ness was the Harco strike.

At the Campbelltown, Sydney, plant of Harco Steel Industries, the boss responded to a work-to-regulations campaign and overtime-ban by his fifty boilermakers and ironworkers by firing six of the leading militants. Instead of accepting this decision, or even stopping work in protest, the workers resolved that the sacked men continue to work and that in order to pay them, the rest of the shop impose a thirty-five-hour week on themselves and demand forty hours' pay. In this way the work would be shared, but no retrenchments would take place. To organise the production of the plant to absorb the sacked men, the workers "dismissed" the boss's foreman and elected their own. By these moves the workers sought to challenge the boss's right to hire and fire and, implicitly, his right to control the production of his own plant.

The significance of these steps forward can be gauged by the forces massed to smash the work-in. The workers were threatened with trespass under the Summary Offences Act, injunctions upon entry of the premises, fines and bankruptcy proceedings; the extreme right wing of the Ironworkers leadership screamed about a "Communist plot" while the *coup de grâce* was delivered by the CP-controlled state executive of the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths' Society, which ordered the dismissed men to accept the dismissals without a fight because of anticipated legal costs.

Every time workers take such actions themselves and are then sold out by the union bureaucrats, two valuable lessons are learnt, as they were at Harco—they don't need the boss to run their own lives, and they had better not look to union leadership to make the fight.

No Phones for Capitalists

One strike that is worthy of mention is the Post Office linesmen's dispute. This strike was notable not for raising the issue of job control, but rather because the Amalgamated Postal Workers Union and its members showed a heightened class consciousness in the tactics adopted during the course of the struggle.

Fighting to prevent the loss of an allowance granted since 1914 for underground work, the postal linesmen adopted the tactic of not installing

or repairing the telephones of business premises. The Liberal Postmaster-General Alan Hulme described this tactic as "disgraceful" and "a complete disregard for decency and morality."

Bourgeois decency and morality perhaps, but it shows that postal workers have a pretty good idea who their persecutors are. Needless to say, Hulme called Hawke in, but the Postal Union would not have him at any price.

Far wider layers of workers than these are fighting against the Liberal government's economic and legal repression of their rights. But in all of them, an observable pattern is emerging. Although more defeats are being suffered than victories won, the demands, in spite of the union bureaucrats, are becoming more political.

The Fight for Control

Control over on-the-job safety conditions, over the right to work, and even over the running of the enter-

prise is being posed. Rather than becoming cowed by the growing unemployment, the working class is becoming bolder and more aggressive.

The conservative governments react to this show of strength with panic measures—Essential Services Acts, Summary Offences Acts, Public Order Acts, and States of Emergency—to bring the workers to heel. The pro-Moscow Stalinists and the extreme right-wing Catholic Actionists, in an effective alliance, fulminate at worker militancy disrupting the smooth progress toward a Labor government.

Unless that alliance controls or subdues the workers and thus creates confusion in the ranks, a Labor government will certainly be elected this year. This will be a tremendous experience for the workers, for they still believe in the ALP. They think they control the ALP. A Labor government will then be a rude shock to them, as it was to the British working class. □

Advance Patrol for Mao?

North Korean Official Visits Djakarta

A diplomatic journey that received a good deal less attention than Nixon's trip to Peking may shed considerable light on the meaning of the "peaceful coexistence" there proclaimed. Shortly before Nixon's arrival in China, the Indonesian military dictatorship was host for ten days to Kim Pyong Taek, deputy foreign minister of North Korea.

Kim's visit was the first by a high official of any Asian workers state since the 1965 massacre of more than 500,000 Communist party members and sympathizers. In the era of Ping-Pong diplomacy, it appears, that massacre has become a non-event. Writing from Djakarta in the March 11 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, O. G. Roeder reported that the North Korean diplomat had warm praise for the military butchers:

"... in a prepared statement he said the people of Korea welcomed the success of the Indonesian people in consolidating their independence and national economic progress. He ex-

pressed the hope that his visit would lead to closer relations between the two countries."

Kim's enthusiasm for the Suharto government quite naturally raised another question.

"In the absence of official briefing," Roeder wrote, "speculation was rife about the purpose of the visit. Was it mere coincidence that Kim arrived in Djakarta just before President Nixon was to land in Peking? Was a thaw taking place in Indonesia's relations with not only North Korea but China?"

The question was apt. It makes little sense, after all, for Mao to practice "peaceful coexistence" with American imperialism while pretending intransigence toward its puppets. In at least one respect, a class-collaborationist policy toward Suharto might be even easier for Mao to carry out than it was in regard to Sukarno: There are now half a million fewer Indonesian Communists who would have to be persuaded that such a policy is "revolutionary." □



Lord Harlech, Sir Maurice Dorman, and Lord Pearce (l. to r.), members of commission investigating "acceptability" of deal

between Smith and Heath. Despite best efforts of commission, Zimbabwe Blacks registered resounding "No!"

African 'No' Creates Dilemma for Heath, Smith

"The commission has turned a white-wash into a revelation," a white Rhodesian commented. "The carefully projected white image of Rhodesia as a country of happy, docile Africans has been shattered."

On March 11 the British commission headed by Lord Pearce left Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). And while the above-mentioned "image" could have been believed only by the most myopic racists, another, more important myth had been shattered by the Black response to Lord Pearce: that African resistance to white minority oppression in southern Africa is futile.

The formal purpose of the Pearce Commission was to poll Black attitudes toward an agreement reached last November by British and Rhodesian Prime Ministers Edward Heath and Ian Smith. The deal provided for British recognition of Rhodesian "independence," which was unilaterally declared by Smith in 1965, and the consequent lifting of British and UN-imposed sanctions against the racist regime.

In return, Smith agreed to draft a new constitution, one that would supposedly provide for eventual major-

ity (that is, Black) rule. In reality, the intricate terms of the arrangement made the future attainment of Black parliamentary power wholly illusory. Even the most craven apologists for the Smith government conceded it would be generations before parity between whites and Blacks could be achieved—and only if the Rhodesian ruling class held to the deal. There was no mechanism for making it do so. (See *Intercontinental Press*, December 6, 1971, p. 1062.)

Pearce, along with twenty-three other commissioners, most of them former employees of the British colonial office, expected to visit briefly in Zimbabwe, talk to a few collaborationist tribal chiefs, and report Black acceptance of the deal. Such acceptance, the British said, was a precondition for its ratification.

But things didn't go so smoothly. Massive protests by Blacks resulted in at least fourteen (the government figure) African dead, as mobs of police opened fire on peaceful marchers. Thousands of Blacks in most Zimbabwe cities took to the streets to voice opposition to the sellout pact.

And even in the countryside, where

the Pearce commissioners distributed more than 770,000 prettified summaries of the terms of the deal, the overwhelming answer of the Africans was "No!" (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 31, p. 93 and February 14, p. 155.)

All this has altered the entire political situation in Zimbabwe, and to some extent in all southern Africa.

Pearce has said he expects to have a report on the commission's findings ready for Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary Alec Douglas-Home by the "second half of April." This gives the Tories a few weeks to figure out a response to what nearly all observers believe will be a negative report. But while Heath tries to work his way out of the quagmire, developments in Zimbabwe have proceeded apace.

On March 10 it was announced that a large group of Blacks meeting in the suburbs of Salisbury had formed a new political organization. The group is a continuation of the African National Council (ANC), which was set up as an ad hoc group last December to oppose the Heath-Smith deal.

The name of the group and its chairman, Bishop Abel T. Muzorewa, will not change. A fifty-five-member National Executive Council was elected, and a manifesto outlining the aims of the ANC was released.

At a Salisbury press conference Muzorewa explained that the ANC was not a revolutionary organization: "We believe in a nonviolent, peaceful, orderly but permanent and continuing struggle to be waged within the law." If the ANC's demands were not met, he said, "the alternative would be bloody violent revolution, to which we are deadly opposed."

But it is virtually impossible for Smith to meet the central demand of the ANC—"universal adult suffrage." Muzorewa aims at the convening of a constitutional convention at which whites and Blacks would work out a settlement. "We believe in the invincibility of numbers," he adds.

While Smith does not believe in "the invincibility of numbers," he clearly recognizes their potential. He knows that the ANC, although its leaders may intend to restrict the struggle to parliamentary forms, has raised a demand that would, if granted, go a long way to destroying the basis of his regime.

Just as the Pearce Commission completed its work, Smith took off to Cape Town, South Africa, for talks with South African Prime Minister John Vorster. During the visit Smith proposed the creation of a common market-style body including Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola. Since South Africa controls Namibia (South-West Africa) in defiance of the World Court, the United Nations, and the Namibian population, the scheme would create a white-controlled, Western-backed bloc including nearly all southern Africa from the Cape to the Congo. (The only exception would be Botswana, which would be surrounded on all sides by the apartheid bloc.)

There was no indication whether South Africa and Portugal were partial to the idea, but it was clearly an attempt on Smith's part to strengthen his regime in case the British should be forced to reimpose economic sanctions against him.

An additional motivation for Smith was perhaps the increasing rightist



Peter Fluck, in *Labour Weekly*, London

"Hey, the bastard's biting my hand"

pressure from Rhodesian whites, many of whom virtually panicked at the strength and depth of the organization shown by the Blacks. On February 10 the Republican Alliance and the Rhodesian National party, two groups that oppose Smith's Rhodesian Front, formed a united opposition at a rally attended by 800 whites.

Inside the Front itself, opposition to Smith is on the rise, as increasing numbers of members are attracted to the idea that Smith's acceptance of the Heath deal in the first place paved the way for the Black mobilization.

Besides shaking Zimbabwe, the Black upsurge against the British sell-out has put the Tories in a delicate

position. If the Pearce Commission reports that Black Africans reject the pact, Heath will be faced with three choices: to endorse the pact despite the commission's report; to place the deal in abeyance and try to work out a new one; to reimpose economic sanctions against Rhodesia. The third option is in basic conflict with the desire of the British bourgeoisie to extricate itself from the irritating "fight" with Smith, which was the aim of the deal in the first place.

The first choice would be an extremely embarrassing retraction of everything the British regime has said up to now. The second, considered the most likely variant, would return British-Rhodesian relations back to "square one," as the British press puts it. Except that this time a new factor would be added—the mobilization and organization of the Black population.

The predominant attitude of Rhodesian whites to the whole situation was summed up in a letter sent to the *Salisbury Herald*, which said in part:

"Rhodesia was a peaceful country with good race relations until the Pearce Commission came here and tried to elicit the political opinions of primitive people on matters beyond their comprehension."

In the primitivism-noncomprehension contest, the white Rhodesian ruling class is clearly among the front-runners. Muzorewa's lofty sentiments about constitutional justice will most likely go over their heads. But the organization and mobilization of hundreds of thousands of Blacks will provide them with a more obvious lesson in political sophistication. □

New Zealanders Call Antiwar Conference

The Auckland Mobilisation Committee has called for a National Antiwar Conference in Auckland the weekend of April 22-23.

"Up until recently," the call states, "New Zealand troops were being used directly against the Vietnamese people. But the massive antiwar mobilisations of 1971 forced the New Zealand and Australian governments to withdraw their troops from Vietnam. This represented a major victory for the antiwar movement and was a vin-

dication of the power of mass actions against the war. However both governments continue to give political and military support to the war, as evidenced by the New Zealand government's decision to send an 18-man team to train Cambodian troops."

The call points to the massive demonstrations of April 30 and July 30 last year as proof that "tens of thousands of New Zealanders are willing to take action around the demand of Out Now!" □

The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[This is the fourth installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement*.

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Chapter 5: From the Founding of the Fourth International to the 2nd World Congress (1938-48)

Munich 1938 was only a short prelude to a new world war. For six years millions of men were mobilized, shoved into regiments, armed, shipped from continent to continent, and hurled against one another in murderous combat.

The contradictions among the capitalist powers prevailed over the contradictions between capitalism as a whole and the Soviet Union, so that at the beginning of the war the Kremlin was allied with Nazi Germany in a pact that would give way, in two years' time, to agreements with the imperialist democracies. This collaboration would contribute to giving the Resistance an ambiguous class character. In the course of the war, mass movements began to get beyond the control of the major powers. Taking advantage of defeats suffered by their "mother" countries, colonies began to revolt. Towards the end of the war, the Soviet Union had a sphere of influence in East Europe, the social character of which would only be definitely determined in the following period. The Socialist International succeeded in committing suicide at the beginning of the war; the Communist International was dissolved by Stalin in 1943. The old working-class parties, Socialist and Communist, tightly regimented during the war, emerged from the conflict with an increasingly right-wing political line.

* * *

Founding of the Fourth International (The Transitional Program)

In 1938, with the world darkened by the monstrous shadow of war and fascism, the International Conference met again. The meeting took place at the same time that the temporary capitalist compromise was signed in Munich. Again Trotsky raised the question of establishing the Fourth International. It was to this conference that Trotsky submitted the *Transitional Program*—which was to serve, for an entire historical period, as the basis for the Fourth International's activities. The conference also

adopted a resolution, "Class Struggle and the War in the Far East," characterizing China's war against Japan as a war of national liberation and supporting China in its struggle.

At this conference the objection could again be heard that it was too early to announce the formation of the Fourth International, that such a decision would not be understood by the masses, etc.—in short, all the arguments that had led to the unfavorable decision in 1936 were still being used on this occasion.

Why was Trotsky so very insistent on this question? Why did he push it so vigorously, even to the point where the final chapter of his *Transitional Program* includes an undisguised polemic against those who were opposed to announcing the establishment of the Fourth International?²⁰ It was because, for him, the most important consideration was not the numerical size of our forces, nor the readiness of a more or less large sector of the workers to understand our decision; but above and beyond all, it was a question of political perspective and political continuity. Trotsky was acutely aware that the workers' movement in general, and our movement in particular, was about to enter an extremely difficult period—the imperialist war—in the course of which we would be subjected to extraordinary pressures by the class enemy and by powerful centrifugal forces. These pressures could well disintegrate and destroy an organization as weak in numbers as our own. Looking back, in examining what happened in our movement during the war, it can be seen that entering the war period without having proclaimed the founding of the Fourth International would have allowed all the outside pressures and all the centrifugal forces (which appeared during that time) to operate a hundred times, a thousand times, more intensively.

In face of the difficulties stemming from national isolation and clandestinity, how many members, subject to all kinds of pressures, might have failed to use as the point of departure in making political analyses the necessity of defending and maintaining the organization and the program it delineated before the war? How many would have had a tendency to work up a new program, to wonder what might be the new ideas they should adopt! At the beginning of this work, we mentioned the importance of historical continuity in the revolutionary movement. In announcing the founding of the Fourth International, Trotsky was essentially aiming at assuring this continuity during a perilous period. It was not at all "too soon" but rather in the nick of time that the Fourth International was founded, at the 1938 conference. The

20. "But the skeptics don't keep quiet: 'Has the time to announce its birth arrived as yet?' 'The Fourth International,' will be our reply, 'doesn't need to be "announced." It is alive and in battle.'" — LT

decision to create *The World Party of Socialist Revolution* — the name the Fourth International adopted — rendered an inestimable service to the working-class movement.

The importance of the *Transitional Program* has often been stressed. It answers these crucial questions: How can humanity be extricated from this nightmare of crises, of world wars, of continuous chaos in which it has been floundering for some forty years? How can the transition to socialism be assured?

The *Transitional Program* is, at one and the same time, a program for organizing the workers in the struggle to win power and a program to be put into operation immediately after the workers take power.²¹ At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when capitalism was in its ascendancy, the socialist parties had a two-part program: the *maximum* program, which expressed the demand for a socialist society in some vague future period; and the *minimum* program of immediate demands, a program of reforms that did not pose the question of the conquest of power. As early as its Third Congress, the Communist International had put forward the idea of a transitional program: "Instead of the minimum program of the reformists and centrists, the Communist International struggles for the concrete needs of the proletariat, for a set of demands which, in their entirety, organize the proletariat and constitute the stages of the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat; each of these demands expresses an urgent need of the broad masses, even if these masses do not as yet consciously stand for the dictatorship of the proletariat." (*Theses on Tactics*)

The *Transitional Program* is not what can be called the fundamental program of the Fourth International. The latter comprises the sum total of the teachings of the struggle for socialism, from the very beginning of the working-class movement. This program does not appear in any single printed document, but is found in several basic texts (the Marxist classics, the first four Congresses of the Communist International, basic documents of the Left Opposition and of the Fourth International, etc.). In this historical context, the *Transitional Program* is its most important political part, the part which, proceeding from the basic teachings, formulates a program for mobilizing the masses in actions appropriate to their level of class consciousness, in order to lead them, through the education they receive by means of these actions, to the highest level — and thus to the conquest of power.

This program comprises a series of slogans for democratic and transitional demands corresponding to the needs of the broadest sectors of the toiling masses, and to the logic of the development of the class struggle. Its key item is the slogan of *workers' government*. As was the case at the Third and Fourth Congresses of the Communist International, this slogan is used in the *Transitional Program* not as a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat, but as a transitional-government formulation, which has to be adapted to the masses' organizational situation and degree of class consciousness at a given moment. A program lacking any perspective

for a workers' government taking anticapitalist measures is not a transitional program.

In the years since the *Transitional Program* was written, its validity was particularly demonstrated in the immediate postwar period, when circumstances obliged the traditional organizations to advance certain of its slogans, although they were careful to avoid moving on to anticapitalist slogans and to calling for a workers' government. For some years now, its validity has also been evidenced in the fact that the idea of a "transitional program" has been picked up by reformists and centrists, but with the purpose of emasculating it. They use it to offer the masses a so-called new road — basically reformist — by which society can be moved from capitalism to socialism without revolutionary upheavals.

Given its nature, the *Transitional Program* cannot and should not be considered holy writ. The foundation on which it stands, however — the principle of a mobilization of the masses toward the conquest of power, on a program of combined demands — remains unalterable. But the demands and their sequential nature must in each instance be adapted to the particular conditions of time and place.

As early as 1938, the *Transitional Program* illuminated the characteristics of the three areas in which the socialist revolution would be continued after the war: the advanced capitalist states, the colonial and semicolonial countries, and the workers states (at that time, there was but one, the Soviet Union).

The Ordeal of the World War

Shortly before the war, the International Secretariat was transferred to America.²²

The war brought considerable losses to our movement — first and foremost, the assassination of Trotsky several weeks after he had written the *Manifesto* of the Emergency Conference (May 1940).

There was also a wholesale slaughter of our comrades in the European countries: In France, Marcel Hic and Pierre Tresso (Blasco), former member of the Political Bureau of the Italian CP; in Belgium, Léon Lesoil and A. Léon; in Greece, Poulipoulos; the German comrade Widelin, to cite only the names of a few leading comrades. But our dead in the second world war can be counted by the hundreds.

Our European sections, for the most part, were changed from top to bottom, and their leaderships almost wholly replenished by youthful elements.

To this must be added the organizational breakup resulting from measures taken by the bourgeois states (censorship, travel restrictions, etc.) which confined most of our sections to a narrow national life in an atmosphere of enormous, reactionary political pressure, of biased news accounts, without an international center capable of functioning normally — even to the slightest extent.

The International Secretariat in America could keep in contact with only a few countries in the "allied" camp

21. See my preface to the 1967 [French] edition of the *Transitional Program*. (Available in English in *International Socialist Review*, May-June 1967, pp. 1-12. — *Translator*)

22. For this part of the history of the Trotskyist movement, see the activity report submitted by the International Secretariat to the Second World Congress — in the special issue of *Quatrieme Internationale* entitled "Second World Congress."

(and even that with great difficulty). Several years were to pass before a European Secretariat could be established among sections in countries occupied by Germany.

Despite these extraordinarily great difficulties, we were able to ascertain, when international connections were reestablished in 1946, that most of the sections, beyond frontiers and fronts, had followed a common general line on essential questions.

This, of course, did not happen without a certain number of internal struggles and crises in several Trotskyist organizations, principal among which were the following:

1. *In the United States.* At the beginning of the war, Shachtman and Burnham, under pressure of a petty bourgeoisie indignant over the Nazi-Soviet Pact, questioned our position on the USSR. Discussion on the point was begun and lasted seven months, covering all the fundamental questions, from problems of Marxist philosophy to problems of building a proletarian party. A petty-bourgeois tendency grouped around Shachtman broke with the Socialist Workers party²³ to form an organization that continued to move farther and farther from our program before disappearing completely.

This entire discussion has been published in two important books: Trotsky's *In Defense of Marxism* and Cannon's *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*.²⁴

Following this split, a special international conference was held in America in May 1940, which condemned the political line and activity of the splitters and adopted a manifesto drawn up by Trotsky — *The Proletarian Revolution and the Second Imperialist War*.²⁵

2. In the case of the *German* section (more exactly, the *émigré* committee leading that section), we witnessed a truly tragic degeneration of a group demoralized by years of exile. The first document to reveal this degeneration was called the "Three Theses" (1941). The basic concept embodied in this document is that fascism constitutes a new historical period succeeding imperialism, one in which humanity is dragged so far backwards that, instead of remaining in the era of world wars and proletarian revolution, it finds itself thrown back into the era of wars for national liberation and of democratic revolutions, of the 1848 type!

3. In *France* we saw the two Trotskyist groups, the POI (Parti Ouvrier Internationaliste — Internationalist Workers party) and the CCI (Comité Communiste Internationaliste — Internationalist Communist Committee), both start off by going off the track — in opposite directions — under pressure by the class enemy. After a political struggle in both groups had enabled them to overcome their respective deviations, unification could take place through the founding, early in 1944, of the PCI

23. At that time the Socialist Workers party was the American section of the Fourth International. Passage of the Voorhis Act in 1940, forbidding labor organizations to belong to an International, resulted in the formal disaffiliation of the SWP, but it has never ceased to remain rigorously faithful to the Trotskyist program.

24. Both of these volumes are available from the publisher, Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. — *Translator*

25. See "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution," in *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1939-40)*. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. — *Translator*

(Parti Communiste Internationaliste — Internationalist Communist party), the French section of the Fourth International.

In a pamphlet entitled "Problems of the World Party of Revolution and Reconstruction of the Fourth International," the group "Voix Ouvrière" (Workers Voice) on February 28, 1966, categorically condemned the Fourth International for the patriotic attitude adopted by one of the Trotskyist groups during the war, and for the fact that the Fourth International supposedly did not move to criticize this policy when the reunification of the French movement and the founding of the PCI took place in 1944. Here is what this pamphlet says:

"The unification of the different Trotskyist groups (POI, CCI, October Group) took place in the beginning of 1944. The chauvinist policy of 1940 was blithely passed over, everything was forgiven and forgotten, and, better yet, they had always been right." (p. 8)

". . . And when after the war the Fourth International ratified the policy of the French section, it became clear that it, too, was opportunistic." (p. 10)

Unfortunately for these comrades, their statements are not correct. In February 1944, under the German occupation, a European conference of the Fourth International was held. One of the items on its agenda was the French reunification and the formation of the PCI. This conference did not "blithely pass over" but proceeded seriously to criticize the positions previously taken. The positions adopted at this European conference served as the basis for reunification in France. The documents of the European conference were published in a clandestine issue of *Quatrième Internationale* (Fourth International). We cite below Point XXIX of "Theses on the Condition of the Working-Class Movement and Perspectives for the Development of the Fourth International," which deals with this question and which explains as completely as anyone could desire what happened at that time. We are very sorry that these comrades did not verify their statements before making them.

"XXIX. Above all else the present war has subjected the Fourth International movement to the most difficult and decisive ordeals. On the one hand, we had to defend ourselves, on the basis of internationalist principles, against the danger of catching the nationalistic and patriotic fever that, at the beginning, was epidemic among the masses; on the other hand, we had to defend ourselves against the terrorism of the bourgeoisie.

"Under pressure of the conditions created in France and elsewhere after the defeat of French imperialism, a certain weakening in the internationalist behavior of some sections became apparent. The French section primarily — in its day-to-day policies — often expressed the nationalistic influence of the petty-bourgeois masses who were exasperated by the defeat of their imperialist masters.

"The position taken by the French section on the national question, the theses issued in the name of the European Secretariat of the Fourth International, at that time exclusively controlled by the French comrades, represent a social-patriotic deviation that must once and for all be openly condemned and rejected as incompatible with the program and general ideology of the Fourth International.

"Instead of making a distinction between the nationalism of the defeated bourgeoisie (which is an expression of

its imperialist interests) and the 'nationalism' of the masses (which is only an expression of their reaction to, and resistance against, exploitation by the imperialist occupiers), the POI leadership deemed progressive the struggle of its own bourgeoisie; did not, right from the start, separate itself from Gaullism; and was satisfied to clothe the latter in more 'revolutionary' terminology. By placing the French bourgeoisie—a defeated imperialist power—on the same plane as the bourgeoisie of colonial countries, the POI leadership acquired a completely false concept of the national question. It spread dangerous illusions about the character of nationalist organizations, which, far from being able to serve as hypothetical 'allies' for the revolutionary proletariat, will prove to be the counter-revolutionary vanguard of imperialism.

"In the same way, starting out with the entirely correct premise that it was necessary for the revolutionary party to take part in the mass struggle and to win large layers of the working class away from the baneful influence of nationalism, the POI leadership permitted itself to be drawn into making dangerous ideological and tactical concessions. It did not understand that the most important consideration in winning the masses lay in the crystal-clear and revolutionary language of the international class struggle, as opposed to the confused and treacherous language of social patriotism.

"It should be added, however, that just as this condemnation of a right-centrist deviation is called for, so also must the Fourth International vehemently condemn the sectarian 'left' deviation as evidenced, for example, in the policies of the French CCI on the national question. Under guise of safeguarding the heritage of Marxism-Leninism, the CCI obstinately refused to make any distinction between the nationalism of the bourgeoisie and the mass resistance movement.

"In dismissing as 'reactionary and nationalist' the struggle for their everyday interests waged by the proletariat and petty-bourgeois masses when this struggle is directed against the imperialist occupiers and uses petty-bourgeois slogans, sectarianism paralyzes the precise revolutionary efforts needed to combat nationalist ideology, and automatically isolates itself from real mass struggles.

"The social-patriotic deviation was, nevertheless, energetically opposed from the beginning by the healthy resistance of the revolutionary rank and file of the French section, as well as by the rest of the international organization." (*Quatrième Internationale*, No. 6-7, April-May 1944, pp. 8-9.)

The Second World Congress

As soon as international relationships had been reestablished, the International Secretariat in America and the European Secretariat jointly organized an International Conference. Held in the spring of 1946 with a dozen sections participating, this conference assumed the powers of a congress, electing a new International Executive Committee and a new International Secretariat. It set a political orientation and assigned the new leadership bodies the task of preparing a world congress. These decisions were ratified by the sections that had not been able to attend the conference. The new orientation, resulting from the new world situation, consisted in the task of changing our sections, which until then had been propaganda

groups, into parties linked to mass struggles—and aiming to lead these struggles.

Preparation for the Second World Congress took almost two years. It entailed a lively struggle to maintain fundamental positions, especially against tendencies that wanted to revise our position on the question of the USSR. Twenty-two organizations from nineteen different countries were represented at the Second World Congress. It showed that, generally speaking, our movement had emerged from the war with increased strength although as yet unable to make a breakthrough in any particular place. It also showed that our movement had especially broad possibilities in those countries with relatively young working-class movements—in the Far East and in Latin America, for example.

Three main political points, in addition to an evaluation of the organization's progress since its founding congress, were on the agenda of the Second World Congress. The first point was the international situation in the three years following the end of the world war. The congress noted the preponderant strength of the United States compared with the rest of the world; the difficult problems of reconstruction, both in Europe and in the Soviet Union; and the onset of the "cold war." It assessed the situation of the working-class movement, the sharpening of the class struggle, and assigned the sections of the Fourth International the task of strengthening themselves in order to form mass parties.

A document on "The Struggle of the Colonial Peoples and the World Revolution" stressed the point that because of the new relationship of forces among capitalist states, we were witnessing a new division of the colonial world, with the United States taking over from the former imperialist countries, now weakened and unable to maintain their former domination. But the document also noted the policy of strategic retreat adopted by imperialists in a large number of colonial countries, whereby they moved from the old forms of direct rule to new forms of indirect domination, with the help of layers of the indigenous bourgeoisie. Thus the congress clearly saw from the very beginning the new orientation that imperialism would follow, in the direction of what was later called neo-colonialism, while at the same time conducting colonial wars wherever it deemed it had absolutely vital strategic interests to defend.

The congress devoted a very large part of its work—in fact, the major part—to the discussion of a document entitled "The USSR and Stalinism." The Soviet Union's expansion on the heels of its victory over German fascism, the occupation by Soviet troops of several East European countries, the enormous abuses and crimes committed in the course of this occupation, without the bourgeois social structure of these countries having been changed—all this had caused innumerable debates everywhere on the class nature of the Soviet Union.

The document approved by the delegates at the congress reaffirmed Trotsky's definition of the Soviet Union as a degenerated workers state, but it showed the stage which that degeneration had reached. It pointed out that the contradictions within the Soviet Union were sharper than ever; it dissected the Stalinist political line, indicating that the bureaucracy was more and more acting as an absolute brake on economic progress; and it concluded

that the task before us, now that the war was over, was to overthrow the bureaucratic regime.

A good part of the document was devoted to a study of the "Soviet buffer states," i.e., those East European countries occupied by Soviet troops, and it concluded that these countries had retained the structure and function of a bourgeois state. Several pages of the document dealt with the Communist parties, stressing the slide toward reformism they had taken—a very steep slide compared to the prewar period. In conclusion, this document examined the significance of the world discussion on the

question of the Soviet Union, and replied to the "capitalist state" or "bureaucratic collectivist" theories.

In retrospect, it can be seen that the main function of the Second Congress had been to reaffirm the fundamental principles of Trotskyism as opposed to the various centrifugal tendencies that had appeared during the war and immediately thereafter. It was an absolutely indispensable task, but that was as far as the congress could go. Coming events would confront the International with problems and tasks not touched on by this congress.

[To be continued]

Soviet Union

The Kremlin's Campaign Against Solzhenitsyn

By George Saunders

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the world-famous Soviet novelist, has become the object of renewed attacks in the Stalinist press, not only in the Soviet Union but internationally. The attacks on him are part of an intensified repressive drive begun by the Kremlin at the turn of the year.

That drive has taken the form of arrests, police searches, press attacks, and a campaign of "information" for party cadres presented by top officials in confidential sessions. Its primary targets are those dissident groups, organizations, publications, and individuals that have become most visible as the movement for socialist democracy has developed in recent years.

For example, Pyotr Yakir has been a major object of the current drive. Son of a Red Army general who was shot in Stalin's purge of 1937, he is the last prominent member still at liberty of the Initiative Group for Defense of Human Rights, which has continued to function although most of its members have been imprisoned, "hospitalized," or exiled.

Valery Chalidze, a leader of the Human Rights Committee, has also been singled out for attack in the press—in terms that threaten legal proceedings, namely, the charge that he gave "slandorous anti-Soviet materials" to a foreigner. The best-known member of the Human Rights Committee, nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov, has not as yet been publicly denounced. Apparently the Kremlin feels the ground is insufficiently prepared for that.

Another member of the Human

Rights Committee, Aleksandr Galich, a playwright and author of *samizdat* satirical songs, was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union in late December. Galich is a "corresponding member" of the committee, as is Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn himself.

But the renewed attacks on Solzhenitsyn are aimed not so much at any organizational role he plays in the Committee. Indeed he is not an activist or organizational type, although some bureaucrats have charged that he considers himself the "political leader of the opposition." It is the ideas and values he stands for, the fierce independence that he embodies and that his works express, that make him a necessary target if a complete "ideological" housecleaning is to be carried through by the bureaucracy.

His writings contain a merciless critique of the Soviet privileged elite—exposing their corruption, their self-seeking, their cynicism, arbitrariness, and cruelty. At the same time his writings revive Bolshevik, Leninist revolutionary traditions with great vitality and sympathy, and probe the causes of the revolution's degeneration into Stalinism, raising searching questions that endanger the bureaucrats' claim to legitimacy. The religious sympathies and the element of Slavophilism in his writings do not negate the power of his pro-Leninist, antibureaucratic motifs.

In a clean sweep of all visible dissent—something Brezhnev and Company would like to accomplish but which they may find politically un-

feasible—such an intransigent figure, enjoying such international stature, could not be overlooked. But he would have to be discredited before he could be brought down.

If there was already a general need to discredit the Nobel Prize-winning novelist, his increased protest activities in the last few months must have prodded the bureaucrats in their timing. Last fall he issued an open letter denouncing the KGB [political police] for searching his home and beating a friend of his who caught them in the act. The novelist also denounced the KGB for its long-term harassment, vowing to submit in silence no longer.

In December, Solzhenitsyn put pressure on reluctant Swedish authorities, asking in an open letter that his Nobel Prize be awarded to him at a ceremony in Moscow. In the context, such a ceremony would have amounted to a demonstration of defiance against the Stalinist officialdom, which refuses to acknowledge the greatest living Russian writer because of its fear of his pen.

Although the Swedish government, with an eye to its relations with Moscow, has not complied, an unofficial ceremony of oppositional mood nevertheless took place on December 21—not for the Nobel Prize, but in honor of the late editor and poet Aleksandr Tvardovsky—with Solzhenitsyn playing a leading role. (See *Intercontinental Press*, January 17, p. 41.)

On December 27, Solzhenitsyn issued his "Tribute [Slovo] in Memory of Tvardovsky," a bitter description of how the bureaucrats who had driv-

en Tvardovsky to his death had then conducted a glib official funeral over his remains. (The full text appears on page 344 of our March 27 issue.) Circulating in *samizdat*, Solzhenitsyn's latest work soon became widely known.

In reprisal for his increasingly open defiance, an official press assault, which had clearly been in preparation for some time, was then put into print. It appeared in the weekly paper of the Soviet Writers Union, *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Number 2 for 1972, on January 12.

The attack took the form of a "critique" of Solzhenitsyn's novel *August 1914*, which was published in May 1971 in Paris after all the Soviet publishing houses to which it had been offered had refused it.

The main theme in the assault on Solzhenitsyn is that he wishes to return to prerevolutionary czarist Russia and that he is against the October socialist revolution. In fact, *August 1914*, which deals with the early defeats of the czarist regime in World War I, is Solzhenitsyn's attempt to probe and reveal the roots of the revolution in the war and in the corruption of the old order.

Literaturnaya Gazeta claims that the novel is a disguised attack on the present regime (Does it equate itself with the czarist bureaucracy?), that it lends aid and comfort to "anti-Soviet people," and that it romanticizes prerevolutionary Russia, while maligning the Bolshevik Revolution. Solzhenitsyn's real conception is, apparently, a series of novels of which this is the first, that will ultimately bring him to a portrait and analysis of the revolution. The present novel is far from having laid out Solzhenitsyn's views on that event.

Literaturnaya Gazeta goes further, however, in its efforts to ascribe pro-czarist and procapitalist views to the novelist. It prints a condensed translation of an article that appeared in December in the German picture magazine *Der Stern*. This was based mainly on an interview obtained by *Stern*'s Moscow correspondent from an eighty-two-year-old woman who claims to be Solzhenitsyn's cousin—one Irina Ivanovna Shcherbak of the town of Georgievsk.

Here is how Robert G. Kaiser, in a *Washington Post* article datelined January 12, describes the elderly Shcherbak's function in the story:

"She describes the writer's [Solzhe-

nitsyn's] rich forebears, right down to the Rolls Royce car his grandfather supposedly owned. (A purported picture of the car appeared in *Literary Gazette* today.) She also says her famous cousin treated her badly, after she told him stories of his family's life before the revolution."

Shcherbak claimed that Solzhenitsyn's parents had been wealthy bourgeois and that his grandparents had been big landowners—owning over 4,000 acres and 20,000 head of sheep. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* claims that "these facts have been confirmed," pro-



ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN

testing all the while that it does not intend to make a "vulgar sociological" equation between a person's family background and activity in later life.

Of course, that is precisely what it intends. Solzhenitsyn for his part has categorically denied the story of his alleged "wealthy" background. In fact, he is from a poor family. His father, a schoolteacher, died before Solzhenitsyn was born, in 1918. His mother supported herself and him by working as a typist in Rostov. He was educated in Soviet schools and, being a capable student, went on to earn a university degree in physics and mathematics. He even did some postgraduate work on the strength of a "Stalin scholarship" in 1940.

There may be a simple key to the riddle of "cousin" Irina Shcherbak. First of all, the *Stern* correspondent does not indicate how he "turned her up" in the out-of-the-way town of

Georgievsk. The Soviet paper reports he simply traveled there out of curiosity. How timely! And he even found a picture of a pre-1917 Rolls Royce, convenient as a People's Exhibit A in the case of the "class enemy" A. I. Solzhenitsyn.

The truth about the *Stern* interview can be deduced from a similar incident of several years ago, before the novelist was expelled from the Soviet Writers Union. A purported interview with Solzhenitsyn was made available to the Western press by Victor Louis, the enigmatic Soviet citizen who works for a London paper and acts as an agent for the Soviet government on very high levels. Louis' article was a subtle but unmistakable smear job. Professing objectivity and friendliness toward Solzhenitsyn, Louis ultimately pictured him as a man embittered and twisted in an egocentric way by his life's adversities (that is, the little matter of eight years in Stalin's prison camps).

The Soviet police have the resources and ingenuity to "obtain" the services of a German journalist—or at least to produce a sensational bogus cousin, complete with Rolls Royce photo. Their experience in fabrications, especially since the mid-thirties, is really rather extensive.

The theme that Solzhenitsyn wants to restore the old order was repeated in a special article in the February 26, 1972, *Daily World*, the New York publication expressing the views of the Communist party of the United States. It repeated much of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* material, without attribution, although the Irina Shcherbak concoction was left out—perhaps it has become too embarrassing already.

This attack on Solzhenitsyn, entitled "History Takes a Fall," is datelined, for some reason, Helsinki, Finland, and the author is Martti Larni, not further identified. Larni takes Solzhenitsyn to task for, of all things, *not publishing in his own country!* Quoting bourgeois reviews of the novel (apparently not having read the book itself), Larni implies that Solzhenitsyn is opposed to both the Soviet Union and the October Revolution. Solzhenitsyn, according to the poorly read Larni, attributes the revolution solely to the defeat of the czarist armies at Tannenberg in August 1914—a childish simplification of Solzhenitsyn's approach.

Moreover, the Soviet writer is

charged with being pro-German, with the implication that he was even pro-Nazi. This of a man who led a Soviet artillery unit through most of the war and who was wounded and decorated several times. Solzhenitsyn was originally jailed, in 1945, for criticism, written in a personal letter, of Stalin's inadequate leadership of the war against the Nazis. In 1957 he was cleared of these fabricated charges by a Soviet military court.

But for Larni, and for the Kremlin cynics for whom he writes, such facts mean nothing. Solzhenitsyn is merely "a self-centered man, fed from childhood on vinegar, as we say in Finland, bilious and asocial, who, in a fit of self-admiration does not see farther than his navel. . . ." Such a man, Larni predicts, baring his teeth with a jailkeeper's growl, "is either lost in his speculative constructions and historical facts created by his own imagination or *vanishes without trace in fog in another country.*" (Emphasis added.)

Why does the *Daily World* give so much space to review a novel not yet published in English? Why the Helsinki dateline? Simply to give the impression—especially when sold or quoted in Moscow—that there is wide international revulsion against this apparently reactionary and traitorous Nobel Prize winner, who is "bilious and asocial" to boot!

Certainly such publishing favors by the *Daily World* to its "cothinkers" in Moscow do not contribute in any way to making either the American or the international revolution. Perhaps the "Communists" of the CPUSA have forgotten that part and parcel of the revolution is the fight against bureaucratism and privilege—features of czarism that Lenin especially detested and intended the revolution to remove.

A more ominous attack on Solzhenitsyn occurred in the midst of the trial of Vladimir Bukovsky in Moscow on January 5. There the prosecutor, as part of the official proceedings, classified Solzhenitsyn, along with Bukovsky, as a "slandering and vicious anti-Soviet element."

"A. Solzhenitsyn's lampoons on the Soviet people," she said, according to a *samizdat* transcript that has now become available, "blacken the exploits and achievements of our homeland and the dignity of the Soviet people and were suitable material for the routine, anti-Soviet campaign

blown up in the West." He was awarded the Nobel Prize, she charged, "merely because he had slandered Soviet reality."

A witness for the prosecution also charged that Bukovsky had supplied him with manuscript copies of Solzhenitsyn's novels *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*, as though doing so were a criminal act. Bukovsky, let us recall, was sentenced to a total of twelve years in prison and exile.

So intent are the Kremlin authorities on attacking the great novelist that they have even trotted out one of their house poets to cross swords with Solzhenitsyn before an international audience. Usually they prefer the tactic of silence, pretending that the issue does not exist.

The *New York Times* on February 12 printed a translation of Solzhenitsyn's memorial tribute to Tvardovsky. On March 3, the Soviet poet Yaroslav Smelyakov—himself a former camp inmate, but one who remained loyal to Stalinism—wrote a reply, which was printed in the *Times* on March 11.

Smelyakov denies that Tvardovsky was mistreated. He was "recognized by his people and his Government," Smelyakov asserts. As proof he cites the fact that the Soviet Military Publishing House has printed Tvardovsky's war poem *Vasily Tyorkin* countless times, that his complete works and special selections of his works have been published, that he has received three State Prizes, including one just before he died. "This does not look like hounding, does it?"

Smelyakov is of course speaking of Tvardovsky only as an author of poems. (His very last poem, which circulates in *samizdat*, has not even been published in the "complete works.") But Solzhenitsyn's entire theme was Tvardovsky as *editor of Novy Mir*. Smelyakov breathes not a word of that.

To be sure, Tvardovsky's poetry is officially approved with a few exceptions, but he was driven out of his position as editor of *Novy Mir*, which he held for fourteen years, because he insisted on publishing anti-Stalinist material there—and not the least of that material was prose by Solzhenitsyn.

Smelyakov exposes a "contradiction" in Solzhenitsyn's argument. Solzhenitsyn admits, he says, that Soviet soldiers sent wreaths to be laid on the

late poet's coffin, which disproves that Tvardovsky was at odds with the army.

This is almost too childish. Solzhenitsyn charges that the army officialdom banned *Novy Mir*, because of its anti-Stalinist content, as reading material for rank-and-file troops in the late 1960s. In fact, the Soviet press often printed articles by Soviet brass attacking *Novy Mir* and its editors. Smelyakov does not deny—or even mention that.

Finally, echoing the theme that Solzhenitsyn is "anti-Soviet," Smelyakov asserts that his opponent has illusions "that Soviet power will fall some day and some upcoming youth will build Matryona's world* on its smouldering ruins."

Solzhenitsyn has indeed predicted that Soviet youth's voices will ring out sharply some day against the bureaucratic cancer that sits on the back of the Soviet system and hinders its full development. The reference to Matryona's world is incomprehensible. Smelyakov seems to be suggesting that Solzhenitsyn favors a return to the "simple peasant life" of prerevolutionary Russia.

But in fact his short novel, "Matryona's House," is a sharp attack on the dehumanizing power of private property and primitive capitalist accumulative motives, such as must have produced the kulak class on the land. And Matryona is the embodiment of the victim of acquisitive greed and bureaucratic indifference.

She is nonetheless a person who preserves human values—love, selfless labor—despite oppression. The youth of the world, in making a revolution, will indeed build a world where Matryonas can live—on the smouldering ruins of both capitalism and bureaucratism, with all their Larnis, Smelyakovs, and *Literaturnaya Gazetas*. □

*"Matryona's House" is one of two short novels by Solzhenitsyn in the paperback book *We Never Make Mistakes*, W.W. Norton, New York, N. Y., 1971, \$1.35, translated by Paul W. Blackstock.

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