

# Intercontinental Press

Africa

Asia

Europe

Oceania

the Americas

Vol. 10, No. 18

© 1972 Intercontinental Press

May 8, 1972

50c

## Vietnamese Score Fresh Victories



REFUGEE FLEEING fighting at Quangtri as Nixon's puppet forces move in with tanks and helicopters. City was reported

"abandoned" to liberation forces May 1 as Vietnamese freedom fighters continued offensive throughout the country.

United Press International

# Shah's Firing Squads Murder Four More

By Javad Sadeeg

Four revolutionists were executed by a firing squad in Teheran April 19. The four, Naser Sadeg, Mohammad Bazergani, Ali Mihandoust, and Ali Bakeri, were charged with conspiracy to overthrow the regime.

The military prosecutor accused them of organizing a group to oppose the "constitutional" monarchy, collecting firearms, attempting to kidnap the shah's nephew, hijacking an airplane to Iraq, and crossing borders to establish contacts with the Confederation of Iranian Students and the Iraqi regime.

What the prosecutor did not say was that the four were part of a group of 120 revolutionists, some of whom fought alongside Palestinian military organizations against Israel. Members of the group were arrested in the fall of 1971 when police raided their homes in Teheran.

Eleven members of the group were brought to trial on February 14. On February 19 the military tribunal condemned to death Naser Sadeg, Mohammad Bazergani, Ali Mihandoust, and Masoud Rajavi. The press was later told that Rajavi's sentence had been reduced to life imprisonment because he had collaborated with the shah's authorities while in prison. The remaining seven defendants were given long prison terms. The only "evidence" offered at the trial was confessions obtained by torture.

Ali Bakeri's name was reported in connection with the case only after his execution. The military claimed that he was one of the eleven sentenced on February 19. However, at that time the press reported the names of eleven defendants and Bakeri's was not among them. It thus appears that in deciding to execute Bakeri, the shah dispensed with the formality of a trial.

## Moving Forward Backwards

"Mr. David E. Fairbairn, the Defence Minister, said on March 28 Australia's defence policy needed to embrace two principles—greater self-reliance, and the cultivation of alliances."—From a release by the Australian News and Information Bureau.

## In This Issue

<b>FEATURES</b>		The Fourth International—by Pierre Frank
	532	Chapter 6: 1948-1968 (Cont'd)
<b>IRAN</b>	506	Shah's Firing Squads Murder Four More — by Javad Sadeeg
<b>INDOCHINA WAR</b>	507	Liberation Forces Deal New Setbacks to Nixon—by David Thorstad
<b>ANTIWAR</b>	508	Antiwar Actions Staged Around the World
	509	Glasgow Marchers Demand "U. S. Out Now"
	510	Caracas Rally in Solidarity With Indochina
	510	4,000 in Copenhagen March Against War
	510	Mass Protests in West Germany
<b>U. S. A.</b>	511	Police Used "Dumdum" Bullets at Attica
<b>WEST GERMANY</b>	512	Ernest Mandel's Speech to Frankfurt Students
	514	Berlin Students Strike Against Mandel Ban
	514	Committee Organized Against Mandel Ban
<b>FRANCE</b>	515	Pompidou's Europe: "Free Circulation" Applies Only to Capitalists
<b>SWEDEN</b>	515	"First March for Women's Rights"
<b>CANADA</b>	516	In Defense of Quebec Nationalism — by Robert Dumont
<b>DOMINICAN REPUBLIC</b>	518	Thousands Protest Murder of Student
<b>ARGENTINA</b>	519	ERP Members Still Target of Lanusse's Police
<b>BRAZIL</b>	520	Developing Struggle Against Dictatorship
<b>COLOMBIA</b>	523	Teachers' Struggle Moves Into the Streets
<b>MIDDLE EAST</b>	524	Sadat Moves to "Unify" Palestinians — by Jon Rothschild
<b>CHINA</b>	525	Was Lin Piao Involved in a Plot to Seize Power?
<b>REVIEWS</b>	527	Brazil: Genocide Continues—by David Burton
	527	Behind the Ecology Crisis
<b>DOCUMENTS</b>	528	No Word of Chinese Trotskyists Held in Mao's Jails
	529	Malcolm Kaufman Expresses Doubts on Tim Wohlforth's Devotion to Democracy
	530	North Vietnamese Statement on 1968 Talks
	531	"Le Monde" Sees Failure of "Vietnamization"
<b>PHOTOS</b>	505	Refugee From Quangtri
	509	Antiwar Demonstrators in Sydney April 21
<b>DRAWINGS</b>	507	William Rogers; 518, Joaquin Balaguer; 524, Anwar el-Sadat—by Copain

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

EDITOR: Joseph Hansen.

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan, Ernest Mandel, George Novack.

MANAGING EDITOR: Allen Myers.

COPY EDITOR: Ruth Schein.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Gerry Foley, Jon Rothschild, George Saunders, David Thorstad.

BUSINESS MANAGER: Reba Hansen.

ASSISTANT BUSINESS MANAGER: Steven Warshell.

TECHNICAL STAFF: H. Massey, James M. Morgan, Lawrence Rand.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Copyright © 1972 by Intercontinental Press.

# Liberation Forces Deal New Setbacks to Nixon

By David Thorstad

U. S. Secretary of State William Rogers went on television's "Meet the Press" program on April 30 to assert that the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong had weakened the military offensive of the liberation forces in the South. He also saw reason for optimism in the fact that after more than a month of the offensive, "no provincial capital has been taken."

Within twenty-four hours, however, the key northern provincial capital of Quangtri had fallen, and the Central Highlands city of Kontum appeared to be on the verge of being liberated. Fire bases and cities under siege were being abandoned by panic-stricken puppet forces.

Despite massive air support, and despite the wishful thinking reflected in official U. S. reactions to the offensive, it was perfectly clear that the Saigon army, on which President Nixon has staked his hopes for "Vietnamization," was far from living up to the boasting in Washington.

"American officials were reported particularly concerned by the performance of South Vietnamese troops at Bongson, where they fled despite heavy American air support and though the Communists had only just begun to penetrate the town," reported *New York Times* correspondent Fox Butterfield from Saigon April 30.

"The troops' morale was just broken," said Major George H. Watkins Jr., the senior American adviser in Bongson. "Some broke and ran, just ran and didn't know where to go. Some deserted to the VC. They just didn't know what to do. . . ."

The same day, Italian free-lance photographer Ennio Iacobucci reported by telephone from Quangtri, where he was trapped, that so many South Vietnamese troops had deserted their posts that there was no one left to guard the city's key bridge. "The South Vietnamese soldiers were so afraid of the shelling and the Communist troops that they ran away on foot or on trucks," he said.

By April 29, such a shambles had

been made of the highway leading to Quangtri from its supply line in Hue that convoys could not get through. In what hardly seemed a realistic appraisal of the situation, one senior American officer in Hue explained: "Please understand, Quangtri



ROGERS: Boast on success of "Vietnamization" proves premature.

is not cut off. We're just not going there today."

Refugees from Quangtri and the surrounding area have added thousands to the already huge refugee population in Hue. Today there are approximately 150,000 refugees in the city, whose normal population is 200,000. "The refugees are camped everywhere in Hue—on river banks, in fields and many on sidewalks," reported *New York Times* correspondent Sidney Schanberg from Hue on April 29. "This former imperial capital is beginning to look more like Calcutta than a once stately Indochinese city.

The hospitals are overflowing with sick and wounded refugees."

In Hue the same day was former Vice President Nguyen Cao Ky, who said he had "nothing to do in Saigon" and that he felt better spending time "in the front line with the soldiers." Reports did not say if he found either a front line or soldiers willing to fight on it, but he may have been thinking of a downtown Hue hotel where a party was being given that day for the Sixth Marine Battalion. "The party," reported Schanberg, "was to celebrate the battalion's victory in staving off a North Vietnamese assault on the town of Dongha three weeks ago." The celebration—with rock singers, go-go dancers, and lots of beer—was held in spite of the fact that Dongha had been taken by the liberation forces just the day before. The battalion commander cautioned the troops against being "too proud of this victory" because there would be "many more fights to come."

The Vietnamese offensive is having effects on troop morale elsewhere in Indochina too. In Laos, for example, wrote D. E. Ronk in the April 24 *Washington Post*, "reliable reports from Pakse say widespread refusals to fight among troops plagued military commanders in the area. Irregular troops who last month mutinied at Long Cheng base in northern Laos were in the Pakse area last week, joining other troops who had earlier refused to board helicopters for assaults."

In spite of Nixon's attempts to portray himself as a peacemaker bent on continuing to withdraw U. S. troops, since the offensive began at the end of March he has actually increased the number of sailors and airmen attached to the Seventh Fleet in the South China Sea by 21,000 men, to a total of 38,000. This strength is not included in overall troop totals.

In addition, in his speech to the nation on April 26 Nixon made clear his intention to continue imperialist

aggression against the Indochinese peoples. "All that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years, now hangs in the balance," he declared.

"We will not be defeated and we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression."

It was in the context of the poor military showing of the Saigon forces and the increasingly apparent collapse of the policy of "Vietnamization" that Nixon dispatched his special adviser Henry Kissinger to Moscow for talks with Leonid Brezhnev. It is thought, Courtney Sheldon observed in the April 26 *Christian Science Monitor*, that one purpose of the trip was to warn the Soviet bureaucrats of "the possibility of more hard actions against North Vietnam" if the military situation continues to deteriorate in the South.

The determination of the Kremlin bureaucrats to go ahead with Nixon's Moscow trip in May and their criminal refusal to take a firm stand against the barbaric imperialist assault in Vietnam can only be interpreted as giving a green light to the Pentagon. This point is not overlooked in U. S. ruling circles, as the *Washington Post* noted in an editorial April 25: "The Kremlin, by limiting its reaction and by continuing preparations for the pending summit, has shown itself hopeful that the President will succeed in his evident attempt to bring the North Vietnamese offensive to an end before the summit begins. For the moment, Moscow seems to regard its provision of hardware to Hanoi, including hardware used in the South, as proof enough of its great-power and socialist credentials alike. It is not 'blinking.'"

The same day, a secret study on Vietnam policy that Nixon himself had ordered at the outset of his administration in 1969 was made public by Senator Mike Gravel. The study, known as National Security Study Memorandum No. 1, revealed a deep split among government agencies over precisely the same bombing policy that Nixon has been following. The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the Saigon command urged Nixon to resume the bombing of North Vietnam that President Johnson had "halted" in late 1968. The Central Intelligence Agency, the State Department, and the Secretary of Defense opposed the bombing as ineffective in reducing the sup-

plies of the liberation forces in the South.

In releasing the document, Gravel charged that Nixon "is today pursu-

ing a reckless, futile, and immoral policy which he knows will not work, but which is intended solely to enable him to save face." □

## In Response to Nixon's Escalation

# Antiwar Actions Staged Around the World

The week of April 15-22 saw the mobilization of antiwar forces throughout Europe against Nixon's new escalation. Some of the actions had been planned earlier; in other cases, emergency demonstrations were held in response to the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong. The following activities were reported in the May 5 issue of *The Militant*, a revolutionary-socialist weekly published in New York.

In Sweden, a total of more than 23,000 marched in demonstrations in forty-seven cities. The largest single protest took place in Stockholm, where 11,000 persons participated. Built by the United-NLF groups, these demonstrations were the biggest antiwar marches ever held in Sweden. During the week of April 9-15, mass meetings against the war were held in 138 cities.

Demonstrations at the U. S. embassy in Stockholm took place on April 16 and 18. On April 22, about 2,000 people marched in Stockholm, and a similar number turned out for a demonstration in Göteborg.

The various groups that had planned separate May Day actions then decided to hold a single, unified action with Indochina as the major focus.

The *New York Times* reported that 5,000 people marched in Helsinki, Finland, on April 16 against the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong.

In France, the Front Solidarité Indochine (FSI—Indochina Solidarity Front) turned out 10,000 people on the streets of Paris April 15. The demonstration was originally planned for April 22, but the Pompidou government banned that march because of the April 23 referendum on the expansion of the Common Market.

The following week, FSI meetings were held throughout France. April 17 was designated a day of education against U. S. multinational firms located in France that are engaged

in producing war matériel. A city-wide high-school antiwar action was held in Paris on April 19, and on April 21 more than 1,000 persons attended a panel discussion on "Indochina 1972," featuring journalists Jean Lacouture and Wilfred Burchett, FSI leader Dr. Marcel-Francis Kahn, and Stephanie Coontz, a representative of the U. S. National Peace Action Coalition.

According to the April 27 *Le Monde*, more than 25,000 people marched against the bombing on April 25 in response to an appeal from the forty-eight organizations that sponsored the Versailles antiwar conference last February. The FSI mobilized several thousand people to march as a contingent.

In Belgium, a teach-in of more than 2,000 people was held at the University of Brussels on April 20. Two days later in Liège, 2,500 people turned out for a demonstration sponsored by the General Confederation of Belgian Workers, the Confederation of Christian Unions, and the National Vietnam Committee.

Another action is scheduled for May 6 in Antwerp, in the Flemish-speaking northern part of Belgium.

The April 20 teach-in in Brussels was preceded by a week of physical confrontations between pro- and antiwar forces in the city. The conflict began when about twenty South Vietnamese students conducting a hunger strike against the war were attacked by pro-Thieu South Vietnamese, who were joined by the local fascists.

The Thieu supporters called for a "mass" demonstration to counteract the growing wave of antiwar activity. They were able to turn out only 400 persons. After this "mass action," they attacked the student-government offices of the University of Brussels.

But the antiwar students organized defense guards to protect their meet-

ings and demonstrations. By the end of the week, it was clear that the pro-war offensive had fizzled.

In Switzerland, the Ad Hoc National April 22 Committee organized a mass meeting in Zurich attended by 2,000 people. That evening, after the meeting, a street demonstration of more than 2,500 people was held.

In Italy, meetings and demonstrations were held in Milan, Bari, and Livorno. On April 8-10, teach-ins took place at universities in Turin, Rome, and Naples, with attendance ranging from 300 to 800.

The Turin Metallurgical Workers Federation condemned the U.S. aggression in Indochina and endorsed the April 22 actions in the United States.

In Australia, mass actions against the war were held in Sydney on April 21, and in Melbourne, Brisbane, and other centers on April 22. A total of more than 20,000 people participated.

Perhaps most indicative both of the new wave of antiwar protest and the new upsurge of general struggle in Europe were the actions organized in Spain. The *International Herald Tribune* reported that 600 people had marched in Barcelona and 250 in Tarrasa on April 22. But Paris radio stations reported that several thousand took part in the Barcelona action.

Antiwar demonstrations in Franco Spain are of course immediately met with police repression, so the demonstrators organize in advance to meet this threat. Last November 6, for example, more than 500 students in Madrid marched in solidarity with U.S. antiwar actions. The marchers assembled quickly, held the demonstration, and dispersed within fifteen minutes, before the police could take any action.

The antiwar offensive in the United States continued on April 29, designated "Out Now Day" by the National Peace Action Coalition. Demonstrations were scheduled in more than twenty cities, including New York, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Minneapolis, Atlanta, Cleveland, Denver, Pittsburgh, Seattle, San Antonio, Houston, Austin, Toledo, and Akron.

New York and Denver saw the largest demonstrations, about 5,000 each; 1,500 marched in Boston. Reports from most other cities are not yet



ANTIWAR DEMONSTRATORS in Sydney April 21 join in worldwide protest against Nixon's escalation of Indochina war. Photo courtesy of the Tribune.

available.

The next major target date for the U.S. antiwar movement is May 4, when a national moratorium will protest the new escalation and at the same

time commemorate the May 1970 killings at Kent, Jackson, and Augusta. Student strikes, rallies, teach-ins, and demonstrations are planned for that day throughout the country. □

## Great Britain

### Glasgow Marchers Demand 'U.S. Out Now'

#### Glasgow

About 500 people turned out here April 22 for the most spirited and colourful march against the Indochina war in several years. The demonstration was organized by the Glasgow April 22 Indochina Committee in response to an appeal from the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC).

Led by the banner of the Indochina Committee, which demanded "U.S. Out of Indochina Now," the demonstrators carried large numbers of placards declaring solidarity with the Indochinese fight for self-determination and demanding U.S. withdrawal and an end to the British government's support for U.S. aggression. The demonstration was received with sympathy by onlookers, some of whom joined in.

Among the demonstrators were members and supporters of the Indochina Committee, members of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Technical and Supervisory Staff) with their union banner, and

members of the Indian Workers Association with their banner. Also present were banners of the International Socialists, International Marxist Group [British section of the Fourth International], Communist Federation of Great Britain (Marxist-Leninist), Clydebank Young Communist League, and supporters of *Rebel*. Members of the Labour party Young Socialists also participated. The Trade Union Centre Choir attended and sang at the rally.

At a brief rally in the city centre, Dr. David Colton, an activist in the U.S. antiwar movement, stressed that only mass actions could force the U.S. out of Indochina. He spoke of the crucial need for international action and the importance of the movement in Britain.

Marion Blackburn, who chaired the rally, read telegrams of support from the representatives of the liberation forces in Paris and from NPAC. Both messages stressed the need for international solidarity and mass action.

The day after the demonstration,

the Indochina Committee met to assess its progress and plan future activities. It was agreed on the basis of experience in building the April 22 action that there is a big potential for a campaign reaching out to broad layers of the population. The committee plans a programme of meetings, paper-selling, distribution of news sheets, fund-raising, and film-showings in order to lay the foundation for an all-Scotland conference to organize future mass actions. □

## Venezuela

### Caracas Rally in Solidarity With Indochina

#### Caracas

A united meeting in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution was held April 21 in the Plaza de la Pastora theater here. The event took place in response to calls by the FSI [Front Solidarité Indochine—Indochina Solidarity Front] in France and NPAC [National Peace Action Coalition] in the United States. The meeting was part of an international campaign for the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the immediate withdrawal of North American troops.

The meeting opened with the singing of the "Internationale." Then compañero Ostia of the Labor Cultural Center presented the agenda. The speakers were Carvallo and Américo Martín of the MIR [Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria—Movement of the Revolutionary Left], Alfonso Ramírez of Voz Marxista [Marxist Voice, the Venezuelan Trotskyist group], and Carlos Rodríguez of the MAS [Movimiento Al Socialismo—Movement Toward Socialism]. Ramírez's speech was interrupted several times by applause.

Five hundred persons attended this meeting, which is seen as a first step toward future mass demonstrations in support of the Indochinese revolution. Among those in attendance were members of the Student League, the CUR [Comité de Unidad Revolucionaria—Committee for Revolutionary Unity], and groups representing the poor neighborhoods of Caracas.

## Denmark

### 4,000 in Copenhagen March Against War

#### Copenhagen

Demonstrations against the Vietnam war were held here on April 15 and 16.

On April 15, the Danish Vietnam Committees closed out a week of activities on Indochina with a demonstration at the United States embassy. The 4,000 persons who attended heard speeches by, among others, Ho Than Van from the Provisional Revolutionary Government's information office in Copenhagen, Bassam Zamed of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and a representative of the U.S. National Peace Action Coalition.

Reports the following day that American planes had bombed Hanoi and Haiphong during the night sparked a spontaneous demonstration at the American embassy again, in spite of the fact that one had been held the previous day. Between 3,000 and 4,000 persons rallied at the embassy and then marched to the resi-

dence of Danish Foreign Minister K. B. Andersen. There a representative of the Danish Vietnam Committees read and turned over a resolution that the foreign minister promised to present to the government. The resolution reads:

"We demand that the Danish government now draw the proper conclusions from its recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and clearly disassociate itself from the terror bombing of North Vietnam by our ally, the U. S. A.

"We demand that the Danish government cease all economic support to the Saigon junta and cut diplomatic ties with Saigon.

"We demand that the Danish government support the PRG's seven-point declaration.

"We no longer wish to be part of an alliance with the criminals in the Pentagon. We demand that Denmark pull out of NATO." □

## West Germany

### Mass Protests Against U.S. Aggression

#### Mannheim

Approximately 18,000 persons demonstrated against the Indochina war in six important German cities April 22. The largest demonstration, in West Berlin, drew 10,000 marchers.

The importance of these figures becomes clear when one takes into account the situation of the West German left.

In 1968 the Federal Republic was a center of international solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. But the newly formed organizations of the left, under the influence of the revival of workers' struggles (especially the September 1969 strikes), soon turned their attention to problems in their own country. For broad layers of the left, internationalism became an abstract principle. Anti-imperialist actions and demonstrations declined.

Support for the Vietnamese revolution was left to the revisionists, who began, in the interests of the politics of "peaceful coexistence," to deny the results of a sixteen-year struggle. A no less significant part of the left believed the propaganda about the de-escalation of American involvement and, after the turn in U. S. policy toward China, had illusions about the real situation in Indochina. Those sections of the former extraparliamentary opposition who had adopted the Chinese line either fell into confusion or took a completely apologetic attitude toward the new Chinese position.

Only the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten [GIM—German section of the Fourth International] and the Revolutionär-Kommunistische Jugend [RKJ—a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International] attempted

to connect the class struggle in their own country with the revolutionary perspective on a world scale. Through exemplary actions and demonstrations on April 24 and November 6, 1971, they consciously connected the struggle in Germany with the movement against U. S. aggression led by SDS [Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund—German Socialist Students Federation] in its day.

The two organizations stood almost alone in these campaigns. The relationship of forces in West Germany between the Trotskyists and the other tendencies like the "Marxist-Leninists" (despite the latter's fragmentation) and the DKP [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—German Communist party] is so unfavorable that these latter organizations are not confronted with the alternatives of either "going along" or being isolated from an important movement.

In this year of the great spring offensive of the Indochinese liberation forces and the resumption of U. S. bombing of North Vietnam, the appeal of NPAC [National Peace Action Coalition] and the endorsement it won from the Versailles peace conference fell on fruitful ground. The international day of solidarity corresponded to an immediate provocation, and this helped offset the effect of the bourgeois press's news boycott of the mass actions of the antiwar movement in the United States and the other imperialist countries.

Although the GIM and RKJ were not able at this time to build a national united front against the Indochina war, they did succeed in several cities in building local united fronts or in issuing joint calls for demonstrations with other left organizations.

Thus in Berlin 10,000 persons answered the call of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee, signed by Ernest Mandel, Rudi Dutschke, and theology professor Gollwitzer. The neo-Stalinist organizations could not bring themselves to join this demonstration, and so organized their own—which drew only 1,400 persons. Their sectarian and irresponsible behavior ended in a defeat.

In Hamburg, 1,500 persons demonstrated on April 15. On April 22 in Cologne, a demonstration organized by the GIM, RKJ, and various university groups brought out 500.

In the university city of Tübingen the GIM, RKJ, and a Maoist group

called for a demonstration, which brought 700 into the streets April 22.

Some 1,000 demonstrated in Stuttgart. Mannheim on April 22 had its largest demonstration since the second world war. Some 2,000 answered the call of the Gruppe Neues Rotes Forum [New Red Forum Group], made up of former SDS members from Heidelberg, and the GIM and RKJ.

Because of the breadth of the demonstrations and especially the large number of demonstrators in West Berlin, the bourgeois press could not avoid reporting demonstrations in other areas and placing them in their international context. The press had been able after April 24, 1971, to suppress news of the mass actions

in the other European countries and had ignored the November 6, 1971, demonstrations in Europe and the United States. But with the April 22 demonstration in West Germany, the papers saw themselves obliged to report not only the demonstrations in the U. S. A. and the Federal Republic, but also those in Paris and in Spain.

The April 22 mass actions succeeded in reviving the anti-imperialist struggle in the Federal Republic and in providing an important public contribution to the defense of the Indochinese revolution, a contribution suited to increasing the public pressure against U. S. policy in Southeast Asia in the framework of the international wave of protest against the Vietnam war. □

## Outlawed in Warfare, But Not in Prisons

### Police Used 'Dumdum' Bullets at Attica

When New York state police brutally suppressed the prison rebellion at Attica last September 13, they were armed with "dumdum" or expanding bullets. Such bullets, which are outlawed in war, have a soft nose that flattens on contact, tearing large holes in the flesh of victims.

The disclosure about the use of expanding ammunition was made at a hearing of the McKay Commission, which has been investigating the Attica uprising in which thirty-two inmates and ten hostages were killed during the police assault on the prison. Michael T. Kaufman wrote in the April 27 *New York Times*:

"The commission reported that one out of every 11 men in the yard [of the prison] was hit by bullets or shotgun pellets.

"As to the guns and ammunition used, David Harrison of the commission staff reported that more than 400 weapons had been used in the assault and that the ammunition issued to the troopers had been of a type that expands upon penetration.

"This kind of ammunition, he said, is not used by United States military personnel 'pursuant to the Geneva Convention to prevent unnecessary human suffering.' These bullets were used, it was explained, because they

are the only ones available for the sniper guns that are essentially intended for hunting game."

The massively armed police, it seems, had somehow forgotten to bring along more conventional ammunition and were thus required—doubtlessly against their will—to use bullets normally reserved for hunting animals. It may be recalled that the rebellion took place because the Attica prisoners were tired of being forced to live like animals. The response of the government was to kill them like animals.

Another commission investigator reported that the state police had received some unsolicited volunteer help in their assault. Roberto Sackett said that at least two deaths in the yard had been caused by gunfire from prison guards on the outside. Guards had supposedly been barred from participating in the assault, but it seems that several were simply unable to resist such easy targets.

Those cops who were not using expanding bullets had even more deadly weapons, Harrison told the commission. They were armed with shotguns that fired a one-ounce slug. A more common use of such a slug, Harrison said, is for such things "as the reduction of a cement wall to rubble." □

## The Workers' Movement and Democracy in Europe

[On March 21, the Sozialistisches Büro (Socialist Bureau) in Frankfurt am Main organized a teach-in on repression in West Germany and in Europe. The specific event that prompted the teach-in was the February 28 order of the West German government banning Ernest Mandel from the country.

[The Sozialistisches Büro invited Mandel to address the meeting. Because the West German government denied Mandel permission to attend, his speech was recorded in Brussels and replayed for the more than 1,200 students who attended the teach-in.

[The following translation of Mandel's speech is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

\* \* \*

Comrades:

Since the West German recession of 1966-67, the entire social and economic climate of neocapitalism has changed considerably. The average growth-rates of the capitalist economies have declined. This means a sharpening of international competition; it also means a sharpening of class contradictions. Under these conditions, there are fewer concessions that the employers and the bourgeois class can grant to the workers.

But because the radicalization of the youth has brought with it subjective changes and imparted new impulses toward anticapitalist struggle in the periphery—and in some countries in broader layers—of the working class, the sharpening of class contradictions has its own logic on the subjective side as well. We have seen the scope of workers' struggles in Western Europe broaden considerably in this condition of a changing socioeconomic climate.

We have experienced May 1968 in France with 10,000,000 strikers. We have experienced the so-called creeping May of fall 1969 in Italy, with 15,000,000 strikers. In the two following years, 1970 and 1971, we saw in Great Britain how the record was broken for strike-days lost—from the socialist standpoint we should say

strike-days won. We have seen since 1969 a huge wave of wildcat strikes roll over all Europe. Even countries like Sweden and Switzerland, which previously had seemed to be paradises of "class peace," were swept along. We have also seen, in the Federal Republic, the wildcat strikes of September 1969, the token strikes of 1970, and the very radical strike struggles of the Baden-Württemberg miners in 1971—all expressing the sharpening of class contradictions.

We must understand the increasing attacks on the basic democratic rights of the European workers' movement, the European working class, against the background of these changes in the social and economic conditions.

The bourgeoisie appears decked with the halo of the liberal-democratic parliamentary system only so long as it does not feel its class rule threatened. From the moment it has the impression that its rule could be endangered in the long run, or even disturbed over a shorter period, it increasingly sees the maintenance of the liberal-democratic political order as a danger to its rule. The bourgeoisie sees that it is in danger of choking on its own legality and begins to dismantle this liberal-democratic legality.

The growing repression against socialist groups, both in the Federal Republic and in the other countries of Western Europe, must also be seen against the background of changes in the social and economic conditions. It must be understood that in reality the targets are not the still rather small socialist groups, but the basic rights of the workers' movement, the basic rights of the working class.

There are numerous examples of this. In France immediately after the general strike of 1968, they began to circumscribe the freedom of action of the revolutionary-socialist groups. But in Great Britain, not only small socialist groups but the unions themselves are already under attack by antistrike laws, laws against so-called wildcat strikes that have been proposed or already passed—first by the Wilson government and then in much sharper form by the present Conser-

vative regime. The government thus meddles with existing basic rights, the democratic rights of the workers' movement.

This antistrike law not only makes calls for wildcat strikes illegal and limits freedom of the press by outlawing publication of such calls in newspapers or leaflets, but it also, among other things, forbids solidarity strikes, which have always played such an important role in the history of the English workers' movement. This law attempts to set the English union movement back by fifty, seventy-five, and in some respects even 100 years.

It must be said that the practical success of this law has so far been very limited. The biggest and strongest unions have until now not conformed to the changes in the law. In the last few weeks, the remarkable success of the miners' strike has provided proof of how deeply rooted in the English working class is the idea of class solidarity.

But even from this negative experience the bourgeois class has already drawn conclusions aiming at further limitations of the basic democratic rights of the workers' movement. In British business and government circles, plans are being made to forbid pickets or to severely limit their freedom of action. They are also planning to destroy the legal possibilities still available to worker families to claim support from social security or welfare during strikes.

They are threatening not only police force against pickets but also the starvation of wives and children in order to weaken the fighting strength of the English working class.

Up until now—as already mentioned—the practical effects of this escalation of repressive laws in Great Britain have been small. From this the international bourgeoisie has already drawn concrete conclusions as it proceeds to the next step. Once again, the target is not only—and not most importantly—small socialist groups, but the entire workers' movement. In the factories, armed bands are formed—a sort of private



police of the employers—that attempt to hinder strike struggles or the establishment of unions not only with the "legal" means of intimidation but also with physical force.

We have experienced this in France in growing measure since May 1968. There are today some French automobile factories, especially Citroen and SIMCA, in which normal union activity is practically impossible. There the employers have created their yellow "company unions," which, supported by bands of individuals generally known as fascists or semifascists, attempt in close cooperation with the police to hamstring normal union activity in the factories.

Even in the fortresses of the workers' movement, such as Renault, the largest factory in France, there are today these private, armed police. What frightful results this can have was demonstrated a few weeks ago when a young "radical left" worker was shot down for the terrible crime of distributing leaflets outside the factory.

Once more: the central meaning of this entire development is that they are attempting, through a continuous escalation of repressive laws and repressive physical measures, to delay or completely prevent the unfolding of the West European working class's fighting strength and its transformation from a force for immediate goals into a clear-sighted, anticapitalist, fighting power.

Under these conditions it is not only the elementary duty but the elementary interest of all layers, all tendencies—including all the forces of the West European working class—to oppose the growing tendency to repression.

Once it is understood that the real goal of the employers and the bourgeois class is not the suppression of the still relatively small socialist forces, but the limitation of the freedom of movement, the freedom to bargain, and the democratic rights of the entire workers' movement, then the following should also be understood: From the standpoint of the general interests of the working class, the unions, and all tendencies in the workers' movement, it would be suicidal not to react, to proceed without striking back, to observe without fighting as the radical forces in the workers' movement are hemmed in one by one. For after that, the employers

will proceed with redoubled energy against the more moderate forces, until finally they have destroyed all the freedoms of the workers.

I do not mean that today in the Federal Republic we have a trend toward fascism, that a new fascist overlordship stands directly before us. But I do mean that we are faced with a quite clear tendency toward a "strong state." This is a state that attempts to intimidate the workers' movement with laws and repressive measures against the unions and the working class. In this manner the bourgeoisie hopes to throw back the anticapitalist workers' offensive that has been under way since May 1968 and to weaken the fighting strength of the workers.

All workers' organizations and all tendencies in the working class must close ranks against this danger of a strong state, against the antiunion and antiworker legislation, and against the physical repression.

The lesson and the warning from the entire history of the last forty years for the colleagues in the unions and the Social Democratic comrades is this:

Do not fall into the illusion that the ruling class will embrace you because you speak moderately, because you make yourself fit for "society," because you adapt yourself to their customs and speech. They will embrace you only so long as you serve them. If you permit the growing repression to weaken the fighting strength of the workers, then the rulers' real feelings and attitudes toward you will become visible sooner or later. For them you are all communists; for them you are all socialists if you are part of the workers' movement that threatens them and that they want to destroy or deprive of all power.

Never forget that with the slogan, the pretext, of driving Marxism from Germany, Hitler also banned the Social Democratic organizations and the unions. What happened yesterday can happen again tomorrow if you do not counterpose a united front to the growing escalation of repression and antiworker laws.

The necessity of doing this on a *European* plane is all the more important, all the more pressing, in view of the fact that the employers can operate on the international plane through the structure of the Common Market and the international connections of capital. Capital today deals

on the international level and thereby can gain a powerful advantage over its dependent employees, if the latter do not organize as a counterweight on the same level.

In recent years we have experienced countless examples of strikes that were highly promising or even almost at the point of success but were weakened decisively because capital had the opportunity to transfer orders, machines, money, and commodities from one West European country to another at a particular, economically favorable time. The countermeasures against this by the union movement were scandalously weak.

For example, the strike of the British postal employees union at the beginning of 1971, which was so important because it could have introduced a turning point in the relationship between capital and labor in Great Britain and because it could have dealt a real blow to the Conservative government, did not achieve its possibilities of success. This was because the British big businesses sent millions of letters and packages from the British port cities to all the ports of the European continent around the North Sea. The postal workers in these ports—most of them organized in unions—simply forwarded this mail, thereby stabbing their striking British colleagues in the back.

If the British miners' strike achieved an important victory for the working class, it was certainly not because of any extensive actions of international solidarity. The British directors of the coal mines had stored huge coal reserves in the harbors of Rotterdam. When the strike broke out, these supplies were loaded by the port workers of Rotterdam and carried by boatmen and sailors to Great Britain. If this did not succeed in breaking the strike, it was only thanks to the strong class solidarity of the British workers themselves: The port workers, truck drivers, and railway employees prevented these coal supplies from being transported to the English power plants.

The lesson that we must draw from this whole development of the internationalization of capital, of the increasing interconnection of capital on European and other levels, is this: The working class, the unions, the workers' organizations must oppose the international organizations, contacts, and solidarity of capital with

their own international organizations, contacts, and solidarity. If they do not, they will get the short end of the stick, and the strengthening of the Common Market will mean the lasting weakening of the European working class and workers' movement.

But what does this mean concretely? It means that if the Common Market ensures absolute freedom of movement to capital, employers, bankers, and commodities, it must grant absolute freedom of movement to unionists, socialists, and representatives of all tendencies in the workers' movement, or stand openly and cynically exposed as nothing but an instrument for the strengthening of capital and exploitation and the weakening of the workers and the exploited on an international scale.

I know of no international speculator, no international financier or banker who has been refused entry into the Federal Republic. These persons very often disturb "peace and order" with their international speculations. They share responsibility for the whole financial disorder, for the serious economic crisis that we experienced all during 1971. Their speculations threaten German workers, among others, with a significant increase in their cost of living.

I know not even of one of these speculators, these big businessmen, these representatives of multinational concerns, these bankers, who has been hindered in entering or leaving any European country—although all these gentlemen have meddled deeply in the political affairs of all these countries and although their decisions and actions have damaged the interests of millions upon millions of workers.

Therefore, as a countermeasure, we must demand at least the same freedom of movement for representatives of unions, of workers' organizations, and of all socialist tendencies as is granted to these speculators, these big businessmen, these bankers, these representatives of multinational concerns.

When we fight the Federal Republic's ban on Ernest Mandel, we are not fighting for a person or for the representative of a particular revolutionary-socialist group. We are fighting for the elementary common interests of the entire working class, of all employees in the Federal Republic and the European Common Market. □

## Berlin Students Strike Against Mandel Ban

Students at the Free University of West Berlin began a strike April 24 to protest the refusal of the West Berlin Senate to allow the appointment of Ernest Mandel as a professor at the university. During the previous week, according to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, students in the economics department had voted for a strike by a three-to-one margin.

Lecturers in economics arriving for classes on the morning of April 24 found the classrooms barricaded with tables and chairs.

"The first mathematics lectures in the Henry Ford Building were also cut short," reported *Die Welt* (Hamburg) April 25, "but without any serious incidents. Similar events could be observed in other departments. Only rarely could lectures be held."

In some cases, lectures that had begun were interrupted by students demanding that they be transformed in-

to discussions of the repression against socialist views.

The federal government meanwhile provided additional evidence that its intention in banning Mandel from West Germany is to prevent others from hearing his views. In an April 21 press release, Dr. Heribert Kohl of the adult college of Leverkusen reported that Mandel had been refused permission to deliver a lecture at a forum sponsored jointly by the college and the local council of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund [DGB—German Union Federation].

Kohl announced that a suit had been filed in a state court, seeking a lifting of the ban long enough to permit Mandel to address the forum, which was scheduled for April 28. If the suit was refused, Kohl said, the meeting would hear a tape recording of Mandel's speech. □

## West Germany

## Committee Organized Against Mandel Ban

A Committee to Rescind the Order Refusing Entry to Ernest Mandel has been formed in Germany. It issued the following statement announcing its formation:

"Federal [Interior] Minister [Hans-Dietrich] Genscher has decided to refuse to permit Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel to enter the Federal Republic of Germany for an unspecified period of time, despite the fact that he is not being charged with any illegal act.

"This decision represents a dangerous limitation on the activity of scientists, academic figures, and representatives of various political currents that adopt a critical stance within the European Common Market.

"In view of Mandel's twenty years of activity as a lecturer, teacher, and author in his native land of Germany, the decision can only be regarded as a restriction of his natural and inalienable rights.

"Out of a concern to defend these rights—and Mandel has already suffered once from their abrogation—

we demand that the order banning him from the Federal Republic be immediately rescinded."

The founding members and initial signers of the committee and its appeal are:

Frank von Auer, press secretary of the Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft (teachers and professors' union); Heinz Beinert; Prof. Ernst Bloch; Prof. Hans-Peter Dreitzel; Jürgen Egert, member of the Berlin parliament; Hans Magnus Enzensberger; Björn Engholm, member of the federal parliament; Prof. Walter Fabian, member of the German Press Council; Prof. Ossip K. Flechtheim; Prof. Helmut Fleischer; Prof. Peter Furth; Prof. Helmut Gollwitzer; Carl L. Guggemos, journalist; Karl-Heinz Hansen, member of the federal parliament; Helmut Horst, chairman of the young teachers' commission of the Berlin GEW (teachers' union); Klaus Kamberger, Fischer publishing house; Prof. Annelie Keil, Göttingen; Prof. Klaus-Peter Kisker; Rolf Kreibich, president of the Free University of

Berlin; Gerd Lütger, member of a provincial parliament; Prof. Gert Matenkloft; Erich Meinicke, member of the federal parliament; Jakob Moneta, editor in chief of *Metall*, newspaper of the metalworkers' union; Eric Nohara, journalist; Prof. Oskar Negt; Philip Pless, member of a provincial parliament; Sibylle Plogstedt; Manfred Rexin, journalist; Wolfgang Roth, federal chairman of the Young Socialists, youth organization of the Social Democratic party (SPD); Werner Schulz, provincial chairman of the Berlin Falken (SPD youth organization); Prof. Jürgen Seifert; Prof. Heinz Rudolf Sonntag, Konstanz; Dr. Dietrich Sperling, member of the federal

parliament; Adolf Straub, provincial chairman of the Berlin Young Socialists; Klaus Wagenbach, publisher; Prof. Wilhelm Weischedel; Peter Weiss, Stockholm; Prof. Uwe Wesel, vice president of the Free University of Berlin.

All those who join the committee must contribute 30 marks (\$10) to cover initial costs. Payment should be made to: Special Mandel account, Berliner Bank, Account No. 24-34-353; Post Office Account No. of the Berliner Bank: Berlin West 65 11.

Correspondence should be addressed to coordinators Sibylle Plogstedt and Heinz Beinert, c/o SJD—Die Falken, 1000 Berlin 21, Alt Moabit 74, West Germany. □

United States (of course), France, Switzerland (which forgot about its democracy and "neutralism" on this question), and most recently from West Germany.

The Ligue Communiste wanted to show that this famous "free world," free for capitalists and free for them to exploit cheaply the labor they bring to Europe from the underdeveloped countries, is not so free when it comes to revolutionists.

Some other militants besides Tariq Ali and Ernest Mandel were unable to be present for various reasons.

The press, with the exception of *l'Humanité*, took note of this demonstration, particularly *Le Monde* and even *Le Figaro*. It was also announced that Minister of the Interior Raymond Marcellin has asked his minister of justice to look into the possibility of prosecuting Alain Krivine, who presided over the press conference.

A man doesn't have to be intelligent to become a minister of the interior; he just has to have the makings of a cop. Nevertheless, we have some doubts as to whether the minister of justice will follow through on a prosecution. Not because he opposes repression, but because he must know that the accused will not just sit on their hands. And that would mean that all the "banned travelers" and others as well would, through their testimony, turn the accuser into the accused. □

## Pompidou's Europe: 'Free Circulation' Applies Only to Capitalists

Paris

The referendum "for Europe," like all the Fifth Republic referendums, went rather badly for the president. But, since it was about the European Common Market, the Ligue Communiste wanted to demonstrate something of the nature of this "Europe." The Treaty of Rome, which founded the European Economic Community, declared that in the Common Market there would be "free circulation of people, commodities, and capital."

True enough, for capitalists and their capital—and traffickers of every stripe. But not so true for militant workers. Thus, a few days before the referendum, the CGT (Confédération Générale du Travail—General Confederation of Labor) had planned to meet with British trade unionists opposed to the Common Market. But at Calais, the latter were prevented from disembarking. Even while standing on the British ships that had brought them to France, they were attacked by the French police. Among these militant workers, the revolutionists were of course the most hounded.

The government that asked the French people to say "yes" to Europe indulged in this restriction of "the free circulation of people." Likewise, although there was a question about a "European Parliament" elected by universal suffrage, Bernadette Devlin, a member of the British Parliament who came to France to explain the Irish question, was banned.

So far as militant revolutionists are concerned, the other European governments have an identical attitude toward the "free circulation" of people.

The Ligue wanted to bring this situation to light, and also to demonstrate that, as the marchers chanted in the streets of Paris in May 1968 when Danny Cohn-Bendit was expelled, "We don't give a fuck about frontiers." The Ligue organized a press conference featuring two banned personalities, Tariq Ali and Ernest Mandel. The latter is banned from the

## Sweden's 'First March for Women's Rights'

One thousand women, men, and children took part on April 8 in what *Dagens Nyheter* called Sweden's "first march for women's rights." At the head of the march was a big red banner that said "Struggle for Socialism and Women's Liberation."

The main demands of the demonstration were jobs for all, day-care centers, and job training for women. It was organized by the militant women's liberation organization Group 8.

According to the report in *Dagens Nyheter* April 9, "the women who want revolution—and Group 8 does—were at the head of the march, while those who only want more day-care centers, or an end to the exploitation

of women as part of the reserve labor force or as sex objects, followed further behind."

Many of the signs carried by demonstrators raised demands relating to child-care centers. One, for instance, pointed out that "380,000 children have parents who work—child-care centers have room for 38,000."

Some of the chants were: "No to Women as Sex Objects" and "Women: Look at Your Situation, Join the Struggle for Revolution!"

Among the speakers at the rally was Carol Lipman, who was touring Europe for the U. S. Women's National Abortion Action Coalition (WONAAC). □

## In Defense of Quebec Nationalism

By Robert Dumont

[The following article is reprinted from the April 24 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary-socialist bi-weekly published in Toronto.]

\* \* \*

"Trotskyite nationalists" is the title of an article by Sam Walsh in the February 16 issue of *Canadian Tribune*, which expresses the views of the Communist party.

Walsh, president of the Québec CP, is replying to an article by Colleen Levis in the Québec revolutionary-socialist monthly *Libération*. Levis explains why the Trotskyists of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière and the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes support the struggle for a French Québec and how the CP, a supporter of federalism, goes wrong in its violent hostility to this movement.

"Nationalism and unilingualism," Walsh informs his readers, are "the battle cries of the French-Canadian petty bourgeoisie." The bulk of his article is a collection of quotations from V. I. Lenin, torn out of context to distort their meaning, in an attempt to "prove" that Lenin—who was largely responsible for formulating the revolutionary Marxist policy on the national question—was in fact an anti-nationalist, and would have opposed the demand of growing numbers in Québec, including the trade unions, for French to be made the sole official language. Walsh and the CP would have us believe that Lenin's policy on the national question was in irreconcilable opposition with Trotsky's.

Leon Trotsky, Lenin's closest collaborator in the Russian revolution of 1917, had a quite different assessment. "The national policy of Lenin will find its place among the eternal treasures of mankind," he wrote in his monumental *History of the Russian Revolution*. "Lenin appraised with admirable profundity the revolutionary force inherent in the development of the oppressed nationalities, both in Czarist Russia and throughout the world."

A reading of Lenin's works on nationalism, which played a key role in arming the Bolshevik party in the struggle for power in an empire of many nations and nationalities, reveals that the CP's opposition to Québécois nationalism has nothing in common with Leninism—that it is in fact a denial of the revolutionary Marxist view of national struggles upheld by Trotsky and carried forward in Québec by the LSO and LJS.

Walsh quotes Lenin: ". . . Russian Marxists say that there must be no compulsory official language . . ." and triumphantly concludes "It takes Trotskyites to dare pretend Lenin could support unilingualism!" In this, Walsh reveals only his own dishonesty.

The quotation is from an essay by Lenin written shortly before the first world war, entitled "Is a Compulsory Official Language Needed?" Far from arguing against the demand by oppressed national minorities for official recognition of their language rights, Lenin is polemicizing against "liberals and opportunists" who called for accepting the imposition of Russian as the sole official language in the non-Russian nationalities oppressed by Czarism. These elements argued that Russian culture was more advanced and that assimilation into the Great Russian culture was historically progressive.

The equivalent of this argument which Lenin is opposing would be the demand that English be made the sole official language in Québec, on the grounds that English is the predominant language of commercial and cultural intercourse, and is growing in influence! Whatever legal recognition the Québécois have been able to win and maintain for their French language would be abolished.

Lenin fought consistently against such fatalistic capitulation to imperialist domination, and for the right of oppressed nationalities to develop their own schools, culture, courts in their own languages. That is why the second part of the sentence quoted above by Walsh states: "A fundamen-

tal law must be introduced in the constitution declaring invalid all privileges of any one nation and all violations of the rights of national minorities."

When Walsh and the CP use Lenin's polemic against making Russian the official language throughout the Czarist empire, in order to argue against the Québécois demand for French unilingualism, they ignore and violate the distinction between oppressor nation (Russian, or English-Canadian) and oppressed nation (Québec) that is vital to the Marxist concept of self-determination. The result is a purely liberal approach, which substitutes an abstract demand for "equality" of French and English languages in Québec in the place of the actual living struggle of the Québécois against the inequality of the French language, the constant debasement of their language and culture in an English-dominated society.

The CP rages indignantly against the Trotskyists' support of the mass movement for a single French language school system. The CP lamented the 1968 victory of the pro-unilingualists in the school board elections in Saint-Leonard, a Montréal suburb, because it deprived Italian immigrant parents, as Walsh puts it, "of their right to have their children taught in English, which, unfortunately, is still the language of work in Québec." The "Trotskyites," he cries, are "dividing the working class according to nationality."

The facts speak otherwise. A year after the 1968 victory of the Ligue pour l'Intégration Scolaire (LIS), the Saint-Leonard school board's decision to phase out English-language instruction was overruled by Bill 63, which protected the English school system. At that time, nearly 25 percent of the municipality's 5,614 elementary students were in "bilingual" (English-French) classes and the rest were in French-language schools.

And what is the record since Bill 63 imposed "bilingualism" on Saint-Leonard? A study released last January showed that 2,258 of the 2,691 immigrant children in Saint-Leonard were enrolled in English-language schools for the 1971-72 academic year. The local Italian-language weekly, *Il Cittadino Canadese*, comments: "This means that within the near future, Saint-Leonard will be a more or less English-speaking municipality,

like the west end of Montréal island."

Devastating statistics! Those who are dividing the Italian immigrants from the French-speaking workers who make up 90 percent or more of the Québec proletariat are not the advocates of a French school system, but the same "provincial" government which serves so faithfully the interests of the English-Canadian and U. S. monopolies that exploit Québec. The same corporations which—"unfortunately" (Walsh)—impose their language upon the Québec workers by forcing them to learn and speak a foreign language to earn a living; the same corporations which pressure the immigrants to learn English because it is the language of business. To speak of "free choice" or "equality" of languages in such circumstances is to stand things on their head.

Behind the CP's opposition to French unilingualism in Québec is its hostility to Québécois nationalism itself. Here again, Sam Walsh tries to invoke Lenin's authority, but with no greater success.

He recites a string of quotations in which Lenin argues against "bourgeois nationalism." Marxists must avoid getting "bogged down in bourgeois nationalism," Marxists do not condone the striving for privileges on the part of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation, etc., etc.

A diligent researcher can locate many such passages in Lenin's writings, particularly in the pamphlet *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. But here again, the context of the polemic is what's important. Lenin was addressing himself to the particular problem posed in Central and Eastern Europe, just after the turn of the century, where strong nationalist movements led by capitalists—themselves oppressors of subject nationalities within their borders—sought to reestablish privileges they had previously enjoyed before their conquest by neighboring states. Thus, the Russians oppressed the Poles, the Poles the Ukrainians within Poland, and all oppressed the Jews.

But it would be a gross distortion of Lenin's views to make out, as Walsh does, that he saw only that reactionary side of nationalism. Because national movements are historically associated with the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and the creation of modern capitalist states, was no reason for revolutionary socialists

to shy from supporting national demands in nations which had failed to establish full self-government.

"All general democratic demands are *bourgeois-democratic* demands," Lenin wrote in *The Cadets and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination*. "But only the anarchists and opportunists can deduce from this that it is not the business of the proletariat to back these demands in the most consistent manner possible."

One such demand is that French, the national language of the Québécois, the use of which is key to their definition as a nation, be made the national language in schools, government, and industry—and given strong protection in law against encroachments and degeneration by English. When the CP claims the Québécois movement for French schools is "racist," it makes the victims of national oppression the criminals.

Lenin waged an unceasing struggle against those in the left who refused to support national liberation movements for fear of becoming compromised with bourgeois nationalists.

When Karl Radek slandered the 1916 Irish rebellion as "purely . . . petty-bourgeois" and "putschist," Lenin responded: "To imagine that social revolution is *conceivable* without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie *with all its prejudices*, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the land-owners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc.—to imagine all this is to *repudiate social revolution*. . . .

"The struggle of the oppressed nations in Europe [we might add, in North America—RD], a struggle capable of going all the way to insurrection and street fighting, capable of breaking down the iron discipline of the army and martial law, will 'sharpen the revolutionary crisis in Europe' to an infinitely greater degree than a much more developed rebellion in a remote colony. . . .

"We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in the proletariat's great war of liberation for socialism, we did not know how to utilize *every* popular movement against *every single* disaster imperialism brings in order to intensify and extend the crisis. If we were, on the one hand, to repeat in

a thousand keys the declaration that we are 'opposed' to all national oppression and, on the other, to describe the heroic revolt of the most mobile and enlightened section of certain classes in an oppressed nation against its oppressors as a 'putsch,' we should be sinking to the same level of stupidity as the Kautskyites."

Today, in most if not all of the oppressed nations and colonies, the national bourgeoisie is very weak and dependent for whatever privileges it enjoys on its collaboration and complicity with imperialism. The new national liberation movements, based on proletarian and other oppressed layers, have a correspondingly greater impact. To underline this distinction, Lenin proposed to the Second World Congress of the Communist International in 1920 that these noncapitalist-led movements be designated "national-revolutionary" rather than "bourgeois-democratic."

Walsh's claim that in Québec "nationalism and unilingualism" are "the battle cries of the French-Canadian petty bourgeoisie," "divisive slogans of the bourgeoisie," is totally false and irrelevant. In reality, the Québécois capitalists violently oppose the struggle for French unilingualism, as does their most nationalist wing, the Parti Québécois. The demand for a French-only school system has drawn a dividing line between left and right wings of the nationalist movement—between those with a consistent anti-imperialist perspective and those who seek only greater "sovereignty" for Québec while allowing the imperialist corporations to continue to plunder the nation's natural resources and labor.

The Communist party attacks the Québec independence movement not because it really sees Québec nationalism as "bourgeois," but precisely because it fears the *revolutionary* dynamic of the movement for national liberation. While paying lip service to Québec's right to self-determination, the CP is wholly committed to maintaining the basic structures of the Canadian state.

Its official program calls for a "freely-negotiated new confederal pact" based on "voluntary equal partnership of the two nations in a binational, sovereign and democratic state." Each nation is accorded "the right to separate if the majority of one or the other nation so desires."

But "self-determination" for English

Canada is hardly the issue! By constantly harping on the "danger" of "French Canadians" gaining special "privileges," the CP turns its back on the real living struggle against privileges, the Québécois struggle against oppression by English Canadian business and government.

The CP's support of Canadian federalism, its hostility to Québécois nationalism, flow from its adherence to the counterrevolutionary line of peaceful coexistence with imperialism that is advanced by its Moscow mentors. The Kremlin bureaucrats fear the influence of the rising nationalist and revolutionary struggles around the world in encouraging oppressed nationalities in the USSR to themselves mobilize against their national inequality, to overthrow the ruling bu-

reaucratic caste and establish workers' democracy.

Under the banner of peaceful coexistence, the Communist parties in colonial countries have openly advocated and practiced class collaboration with the national bourgeoisie. So much for Walsh's pretended disavowal of "bourgeois nationalism."

As leading militants in the mass action wing of the movement for a French Québec, the Trotskyists are boldly and successfully applying the Leninist approach to the national question. They are building the movement that will overthrow capitalist rule in Québec, and shake the very foundations of capitalist rule in English Canada. In doing so, they are laying the basis for meaningful equality between the workers of Québec and English Canada. □

about a revolutionary system."

Abelardo Ney Díaz, Sagrario Díaz's father, denounced the Balaguer regime for his daughter's death. "I do not believe that there can be justice under this regime," he told *El Nacional* on the day of the funeral. He said he considered Colonel Báez Mariñez, the head of the Special Operations forces and the one who gave the order to begin shooting the students, to be "only an instrument of the system." With bitter irony he pointed out that he was sending Báez Martínez a telegram of congratulations, "since he showed himself to be a great military man and a true man of arms by overcoming Sagrario."

The raid on the university provoked indignation and protests throughout the Dominican Republic. "All sectors of public opinion were united," noted the weekly *Ahora!* on April 17, "in a protest movement the breadth of which has rarely been equaled here."

High schools in Santo Domingo suspended classes. University students mobilized in many cities. All opposition parties and many trade unions protested. Newspapers took strong editorial stands against the behavior of the police and troops. The Dominican episcopate expressed "deep pain."

"Interns in all state hospitals announced a national work stoppage," reported *Ahora!*, "and strong statements of condemnation were issued by all professional associations, including—in addition to the doctors—lawyers, engineers and architects, pharmacists, laboratory technicians, etc., both in the capital and in the interior, as well as groups of artists and intellectuals, heads of private schools, and others." A mass meeting of professors, students, and administrators of the university on April 11 condemned the "aggression and occupation" of the campus by the police and the military.

Finally, even President Balaguer was forced to admit that the authorities had acted with "brutality."

According to journalists who witnessed the assault, the police story that students had attacked the police with bullets and grenades was a complete fabrication. Journalists from four newspapers issued a statement in which they reported seeing the police open up on the students in cold blood.

The Special Operations forces who did the firing received their training from the United States. □

## Thousands Protest Murder of Student

Between 50,000 and 100,000 marchers turned the funeral procession for economics student Sagrario Diaz Santiago in Santo Domingo on April 15 into a massive display of opposition to the brutality of the Balaguer regime. The student died April 14 after struggling against death for ten days. She was shot by police as they invaded the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo on April 4.

In their assault, the police and troops, who claimed to be searching for an alleged leftist, left nine other persons wounded and caused considerable damage by ransacking offices. They continued their military occupation of the university for eleven days.

The funeral march got under way after threats by the police to stop it. Except for an occasional singing of the national anthem, it was a silent procession. Then, as it entered the national cemetery in Máximo Gómez Avenue, the crowd began chanting, "Sagrario died for the revolution" and "Sagrario is dead. Long live the revolution!"

The procession, reported *El Nacional* correspondent Pedro Caba, was "the biggest, most peaceful, and most orderly demonstration of grief in recent years."

Speakers at the cemetery included university rector Jottin Cury, Monsignor Hugo Eduardo Polanco Brito,



BALAGUER: Dictator admits that murder may involve some "brutality."

and Felvio Rodríguez, head of the Dominican Students Federation.

Rodríguez placed blame for the savage murder of the student squarely on the government. "The best and most correct homage that we can pay our revolutionary comrade," he said, "is to join together and struggle to bring

## ERP Members Still Target of Lanusse's Police

The Lanusse government is continuing its efforts to liquidate the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary Army of the People], the guerrilla organization responsible for kidnapping Oberdan Sallustro, general manager of the Argentine division of Fiat, and assassinating General Juan Carlos Sánchez.

How many persons have been imprisoned and tortured in the vast hunt is difficult to ascertain, for the government is following a policy of silence, the better to cover up its crimes. Only a few items have appeared in the Argentine press, indicating what is being inflicted on alleged members of the ERP or persons suspected of being "subversives."

According to some press accounts, the police claimed to have arrested three of the main leaders of the Sallustro kidnapping. These were named as Juan Manuel Carrizo, Jorge Benito Urteaga, and Roberto Eduardo Coppo. Other accounts, however, continue to list them only as "wanted."

For instance, an Agence France-Presse dispatch from Buenos Aires, published in the March 31 issue of the Paris daily *Figaro*, said that the police had "identified" the three as having participated in the kidnapping. Listing Carrizo as a "public accountant," Coppo as a "student of architecture," and Urteaga as a "law student," the AFP dispatch said they were "part of the same group of extremists who escaped in spectacular fashion from the Villa Urquiza penitentiary in the province of Tucumán last September 6. During the escape, five prison guards were killed and three others were wounded.

"The three kidnapers, according to a governmental source, were guided by 'remote control' by extremist chiefs held in the Villa Devoto prison, located in a Buenos Aires suburb.

"That was why 20 to 30 detainees in the prison were transferred to federal prisons situated in the south of the country.

"According to the government, the imprisoned chiefs of the Revolutionary Army of the People were able, before being transferred, to remain

in contact with their men, particularly thanks to their lawyers serving as intermediaries."

The cover-up story offered by the government is reminiscent of the FBI cock-and-bull story that had Philip Berrigan plotting from his prison cell in Harrisburg to kidnap Kissinger and blow up heating tunnels in Washington. The real reason for Lanusse's decision to transfer the ERP political prisoners to Patagonia was undoubtedly to cut them off from contact with their legal counselors and make it easier to subject them to torture without public protest.

The Buenos Aires weekly magazine *Panorama* offered a few more details in its issue of April 6:

"With the information that might have been obtained from the detained guerrilla fighters, the reports of police agents working inside the insurgent commandos, and the operations carried out by the Army, the Federal Police, and the provincial police, the investigation of the Sallustro episode can result in the stiffest of blows against the guerrilla fighters. Aside from having established, according to the official version, that José ('Joe') Baxter, Francisco Ventrici, Rosa Clara Cavalli, Víctor José Fernández Palmeiro, Roberto Eduardo Coppo, Juan Manuel Carrizo and Jorge Benito were involved in the kidnapping of Sallustro, it is known that dozens of persons were detained in the numerous raids carried out by the security forces in the capital, in the suburbs, and in the interior.

"It is possible that many of these persons detained and pressed for information have nothing to do with the leftist militants. . . ." The phrase "pressed for information" includes the most brutal torture.

The extent of the raids can be judged from the official statement issued by the police after they discovered the first "people's prison" in which the ERP held Sallustro before moving him on April 2 to another hiding place. The text of the statement was published in the April 3 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*. ". . . during the last 3 days," said the police, "250

proceedings were carried out" under the operational control of the army.

Among the items seized during the raids were a cache of peso and dollar bills amounting to some \$62,500. Forged identity documents were found, as well as many other altered or forged cards such as drivers' licenses, passports, and "abundant Marxist literature."

According to the April 4 *Clarín*, the police had determined that ten members of the ERP participated "directly" in the kidnapping. Of these the police claimed to have arrested five (three men and two women). Their names were held secret.

In eleven raids the police found explosives, altered and false documents, films, symbols of the ERP, and other materials. Sixteen people were imprisoned as a result of these raids.

The names of two women picked up by the police at the first "people's prison" became known as a result of habeas corpus proceedings initiated by a group of lawyers. The women were Liliana Olga Montanaro and Marta Abregú.

The lawyers were listed by *Clarín* as Ariel Emilio Carreira, Héctor Sandler, and Gustavo T. Soler. They argued that both women were in an advanced state of pregnancy and their lives could be endangered. Liliana Olga Montanaro had been taken by the police to the Pirovano hospital, but Marta Abregú was being held in the Superintendencia de Seguridad where she had been "submitted to energetic interrogations." The lawyers asked that an outside doctor be designated to check the condition of the women and to ascertain whether the one still held in police headquarters had undergone any maltreatment. They also asked that both be liberated immediately in the absence of charges.

Judge Alberto A. Chiodi denied the writ of habeas corpus.

The April 5 issue of the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* reported that twelve members of the ERP had been "detained," fourteen who had been hiding out had been captured, and two were still being sought. The police listed the following names:

*Detained:* Carlos Tomás Ponce de León, Angel Averame, José Luis Da Silva Parreiro, Elena María Da Silva Sarreiro de Antelo, Mirta Mitidillo de Da Silva Parreiro, Marta Abrego [Abregú?], Liliana Montanaro Beccari, Rosa Vallejos de Pérez, Adela Jorge, Emma Debenedetti, Irma Andreu de Betancourt, and Elena Coda.

*At large:* Osvaldo Debenedetti, and Eduardo Pala.

The Buenos Aires daily *La Razón* reported April 6 that "to the 16 detained for kidnapping Dr. Sallustro must be added another 5 presumed extremists." Two of the five were a young couple who sought to get to Tucumán in a taxi. Their names and those of the three youths arrested by the police were not revealed.

The April 10 *Clarín* indicated that the government reports were not free from suspicion:

"The police intervention was also marked by some contradictions that have not yet been cleared up. While the federal body told the public the names of four of the kidnapers (a list headed by Joe Baxter), the Buenos Aires police made known some days later the result of its investigations. According to this, three dangerous extremists participated in the action (Carrizo, Urteaga, and Coppo). They escaped from the Tucumán prison after killing five guards. The case was finally cleared up with the detention of the direct participants in the kidnapping (nine women and three men) and the identification of the rest (Osvaldo Debenedetti and the Mar de Plata doctor Eduardo Pala), both still at large."

On April 10 the police found the second "people's prison" where Sallustro was held by the ERP. They opened up a gun battle with the kidnapers, dooming the hostage. Three male kidnapers managed to escape by climbing a wall and commandeering an automobile, which they abandoned for another one a few blocks away. A woman who had been with them was captured when she sought to escape down a side street.

The April 11 issue of *La Razón* offered further details. The woman was of Brazilian origin and her name was Guiomar Schmidt. The police had just issued a bulletin calling for the arrest of her husband, Mario Raúl Klachko, "implicated in the kidnapping and murder of Doctor Oberdan Guillermo Sallustro."

The arrival of the police at the second "people's prison" has been widely reported as accidental, a consequence of a routine checkup. This account was completely in error, according to *La Razón*. The raid was a "product of the declarations of persons detained only hours earlier, who were linked to the kidnapping of the general manager of Fiat, as well as addresses supplied by anonymous informers."

"At midnight," *La Razón* continued, "a report was circulating in the police department that the three guerrilla fighters who succeeded in fleeing from the house at Avenida Castañares 5413, after the industrialist Oberdan Sallustro was executed, were Benito J. Urteaga, Eduardo Roberto

Coppo and Juan Manuel Carrizo. . . ."

*La Razón* also reported that the autopsy showed that Sallustro had been hit by three shots—two from in front, piercing the thorax, one from above in the head. "These results eliminated the possibility that the bullets might have been fired by members of the police squad who were met by a fusillade from the captors of the general manager of Fiat. It is estimated that even if the two shots that struck Sallustro in the chest could have been fired by federal agents, the one in the head could not have been, and vice versa. Consequently the conclusion was reached that the captive manager was executed by his kidnapers before they fled." □

## Developing Struggle Against Brazilian Dictatorship

[The following interview with several Brazilian Trotskyists appeared in the December 1 and 8, 1971, issues of the Argentine revolutionary-socialist newspaper *La Verdad*. The persons interviewed are members of the Communist First of May Organization (Organización Comunista 1 de Mayo) and the Trotskyist Bolshevik Faction (Fracción Bolchevique Trotskista) who are working to build a revolutionary workers party.]

\* \* \*

*Question.* What is the economic policy of the present regime in Brazil?

*Answer.* We believe that the key to understanding the semifascist military dictatorship is in its "desarrollista" policy [a policy of modernization favoring industrial development]. Its general outlines are the same as the policy drawn up by the "Sorbona" [Escuela Superior de Guerra—War College] under the leadership of General Castello Branco. It does not ask for more freedom, and certainly not for independence, from imperialism, but rather for an increasing integration into it. It is a policy that basically reflects the interests of imperialism and its monopolies.

For this policy to be applied, a dictatorial regime is necessary, the func-

tion of which is to "regulate" all economic, social, and political activity in the interests of a strategy based on the production of durable and semidurable goods, on imperialist investments in new branches of industry, and with its essential market being a foreign one. In other words, to completely play down the domestic market.

*Q.* How do the "national" bourgeoisie and other bourgeois or petty-bourgeois sectors adapt to this policy?

*A.* Up to now there has been some capitalist economic development—though not to the extent claimed by the Brazilian government and its defenders—but it benefits only imperialism, the monopolies, and those sectors with direct or indirect ties to them. The great majority of the population receives no benefits at all. The national bourgeoisie, that is, the sector of the bourgeoisie that sells its products on the domestic market, is growing much weaker. The decrease in the buying power of the vast majority of the population also reduced its market and brought about the closing of many factories.

From the beginning of the dictatorship, starting with Castello Branco, this bourgeois sector had two options: either to integrate itself into the "de-



*sarrollista*" plan by linking up with imperialism, or to cut down on its income by transforming itself, in most cases, into a petty bourgeoisie. That is why "struggles" developed between this sector and imperialism. Its criticisms of the dictatorship are directed against this process.

The petty bourgeoisie also suffers from this policy, and this explains its general shift to the left. There are two different tendencies in this sector: one is a tendency toward proletarianization, and the other toward strengthening its buying power with the aim of transforming the domestic market for durable and semidurable goods.

*Q. What is the state of the workers', peasants', and popular movements?*

A. Not only are the proletariat and the peasantry—which make up the great majority of the population—in a totally marginal position with regard to the "*desarrollista*" strategy, but it is the great exploitation to which they are subjected and the continual lowering of their standard of living that make it possible for capitalism to develop.

The so-called wage-regulation policy has been in effect since early 1964 and has thus far brought about a 40 percent drop in the real wages of the proletariat.

This entire antiworking-class, reactionary, and sellout policy gives birth to a series of new political, economic, and social contradictions that the government and its defenders do not mention and that, moreover, greatly exacerbate already existing contradictions.

Regional and local inequalities, and the enormous concentration of income and capital in the hands of imperialism and its agents while most of the population suffers the horrors of hunger and malnutrition, serve to hasten the rural exodus and to expand the slums with their marginal elements, their outcasts, their crime, and their prostitutes.

More than half of Recife's inhabitants are semi-employed or unemployed. There are thousands of houses built on poles stuck into the mud. Infant mortality, contamination, and a lack of culture prevail. All this has gotten worse since 1964.

*Q. What are the political plans of the dictatorship?*

May 8, 1972

A. In carrying out its policy, the semifascist dictatorship does not have the least interest in allowing the existence of channels for political activity on the part of the proletariat, the peasantry, or the students. Brazilian experience has shown that the proletariat turns even the slightest opportunity for intervention to its own advantage; in other words, it defends interests that are diametrically opposed to those of the dictatorship. Oxasco is an example, and the dictatorship is aware of this. That's why it violently represses all political, trade-union, student, and party activity and why it is trying, through chauvinistic campaigns and demagogic, unrealistic national projects, to make a big impression, and essentially, by its brutal, fascist repression, to prevent the people from thinking and struggling.

The main weapon of the dictatorial regime is fascist repression, which is ever present. Its irrationality, cruelty, brutality, boldness, and scope are truly indescribable. Bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats, priests, intellectuals, workers, peasants, students, revolutionists and reformists, Marxists and Christians—in short, everyone, whether revolutionary or not, who is struggling against semifascism—are repressed, tortured, or sentenced to long years in prison.

Thousands upon thousands of political prisoners, hundreds of persons who have been tortured, as well as dozens of revolutionary youth who have been put on trial with the possibility that they will be given death sentences—all these are concrete facts. On the other hand, terms have been added to everyday vocabulary that clearly express the real meaning of the "*desarrollista*" policy: "water treatment," "electric shocks," "operating table," "death squad," etc.

To mention only the best known of those who have died: Ruben Paiva, bourgeois-democratic industrialist; Mario Alves, leader of the PCBR [Partido Comunista Brasileiro Revolucionário—Brazilian Revolutionary Communist party]; Mariguella and Toledo, leaders of the ALN [Ação Libertadora Nacional—National Liberation Action]; Lamarca of the MR 8 [Movimento Revolucionário do 8 de Outubro—October 8 Revolutionary Movement]; Raimundo Lucena of the VPR [Vanguarda Popular Revolucionária—People's Revolutionary Vanguard];

Medina of the POC [Partido Operário Comunista—Communist Workers party]; and many others, all revolutionary leaders of various organizations. The fascist repression is not directed at only one social class or any one organization. It is much broader in scope.

The way to struggle against the dictatorship is to forge unity in an effort to expose these crimes. It is a duty for all revolutionary and democratic organizations to do this. This is a united front struggle.

All antifascists today have one thing in common: their struggle against the semifascist military dictatorship. The basis for the struggle of the proletariat at the present time is the struggle for democratic and trade-union freedoms, and for freedom for all political prisoners.

In this struggle, the task of all those opposed to the dictatorship is to denounce the laws, those that have been publicly promulgated, as well as those of a "secret" nature that the regime has recently adopted, which only its officials know about and which represent a departure from the norm. The word must be spread about all hunger strikes, like the one going on by the comrades imprisoned on Flores Island.

*Q. What have the Trotskyists been doing in terms of this struggle?*

A. The Trotskyists have participated in this struggle against the dictatorship and for socialism by seeking to form a united action front with other groups and forces. We are trying to find a way to build this front for united action. But while we call for such a front, we are at the same time struggling to build the Trotskyist party and to make the socialist revolution.

*Q. How would you characterize the process that is now opening up?*

A. At this stage, there are two basic factors that complement each other and characterize this new process.

First of all, an economic crisis is already under way that will tend, sooner or later, to break out in open violence and that could endanger the military dictatorship and its proimperialist policy. Even before the crisis of imperialism had become so clear, the economic crisis could be foreseen in the fact that the kind of economic

development the dictatorship wanted was impossible. But the crisis of imperialism dealt a heavy blow to the confidence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie in the stability of the dictatorship and in the viability of its policy. The stock exchanges in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo reflected this right away.

The entire "*desarrollista*" policy is based essentially on the foreign market, especially the North American market. A crisis of Yankee imperialism directly affects its Brazilian ally. The erection of tariff barriers was a hard blow for the "*desarrollista*" strategy. Days before the announcement was made, [Finance Minister] Delfim Neto spoke about the need for an 80 percent increase in the export of manufactured goods in order to maintain the current rate of industrial growth. Fifteen days later, he foresaw a "war for new markets." And less than a month ago, he was in the United States saying that if tariff barriers were not lifted, the entire "*desarrollista*" policy might collapse.

Secondly, there has been a new rise in students' and workers' struggles. Argentinian *compañeros* must keep in mind two things if they want to understand this:

1. Workers' struggles here take a very different form from those in Argentina. The union bureaucracy is not powerful, nor does it have a national (or even a regional) structure. It is completely different from the Peronist bureaucracy. There is no CGT [Confederación General de Trabajadores—General Workers Confederation] and unions have never existed inside factories. There is no such thing as delegates elected by those who work in the factories, and there has been no experience here with factory committees.

2. From area to area there are profound economic and geographic differences in the level of organization and political experience among the working class and the students. The situation is not the same in the northeast, the central region, the south, or the Amazon. Without understanding this, it is impossible to understand the social and revolutionary struggles in Brazil.

Although there are inequalities in the rhythm and the forms the struggles have taken, we can say that an important step forward is being made on a national scale. Workers' strikes have occurred in Salvador, Rio, São

Paulo, etc. This is a slow process, and it is still weak. It takes the form of small strikes demanding the formation of small committees or activist groups in various factories, greater participation in the unions, or the formation of opposition antibureaucratic and antiboss unions.

In the student milieu, there are struggles for student assemblies in university departments and strikes opposing the increase in the cost of meals and in favor of the right of the Student Socialist Front [Frente Estudantil Socialista—FES] to exist, sink roots, and develop in the universities and secondary schools.

We believe that a whole new process is opening up. And if we are able to understand it and to properly prepare ourselves politically and organizationally, we will be able to provide a way out of the present situation in the country.

*Q. How do you plan to go about this?*

A. Eight months ago two leftist groups issued a manifesto calling for a left-wing workers' front. We agreed with this call in principle but it was not possible to get down to details because, among other things, one of the groups, the POC, was so hard hit that it broke off all contact. In spite of this setback, we believe that it will be possible to create a Socialist Workers Front armed with a correct transitional program. Our work in the working class has strengthened us politically and organizationally, and has as its aim the formation of such a front. This can be achieved by coordinating groups in factory committees and committees of activists.

*Q. Do you see splits developing within the regime and the dictatorship?*

A. The new rise of workers' and students' struggles, and the economic crisis, which becomes more obvious every day, give rise to a new situation in which clashes within the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship increase day by day. Less than a week after he called for "social freedoms" and said that Gil Octavio Rodriguez was the ideological successor within the armed forces, Alburqueque Lima was stripped of his functions as director of the War College. The deputy Fer-

nando Lira criticizes the policy of the bourgeoisie and calls for political freedoms. Magalhães Pinto and other members of ARENA [National Renovating Alliance] also demand more freedom of expression. As far as the police are concerned, their statements to the effect that "subversion" is not dead and that it will surface again in factories, unions, and schools, are made as a way of pointing up the need for greater repression.

As we can see, various bourgeois layers are starting to clash and disagree with each other as a result of the new rise in workers' and students' struggles and the developing economic crisis.

*Q. How are the revolutionary groups responding to this new upsurge?*

A. This new situation is also having repercussions in the revolutionary camp. We feel that the merger of the Communist First of May Organization and the Trotskyist Bolshevik Faction represents a step forward for the revolutionary movement, for the class struggle, and for the building of a Leninist party in Brazil. For more than two years, and until the first part of 1971, contacts remained sporadic and, by and large, unproductive. Today the situation has changed, and a unification committee has been formed that coordinates work in the workers' and students' movements. This unification process is a reflection of the new rise in the class struggle and the revolutionary struggle in Brazil.

*Q. What connection is there between the unification and building the party?*

A. We see no contradiction between the two. On the contrary, unification is positive, although it is only a step toward building the party. We see party-building as a combined process involving not only this unification, but also our participating and increasing our strength in the workers' and students' struggles; in the process of doing this, we foresee mergers with other tendencies that—steering clear of the petty-bourgeois variants of reformism and militarism—are joining the working class and are turning toward Marxism, that is, Trotskyism.

*Q. How do the colonies of Brazilians living in exile collaborate with*

*you in this process?*

A. The Trotskyist comrades in exile have a very important role to play in this regard. In Chile, for example, the creation, correct functioning, and growth of the group Punto de Partida is very valuable. When these comrades propose the formation of a revolutionary tendency of all antimilitarist and antireformist groups, they are making a contribution toward the development of a revolutionary-Marxist tendency in exile that will have repercussions inside Brazil. This helps to break down the isolation and the sectarianism of well-intentioned groups, and it makes it easier to carry on discussions that can lead to joint action.

*Q. How do you conceive of our international ties?*

A. We do not believe that it will be possible to build the revolutionary party within the narrow confines of Brazil and the colonies of Brazilians living in exile. The party can be conceived of only as part of the class struggle and the revolutionary movement on a world scale. This means that there must be links with world Trotskyism and the struggles of the proletariat throughout the world.

In our unification congress, we will endeavor to define ourselves in relation to world Trotskyism as represented by the Fourth International. □

## Colombia

### Teachers' Struggle Moves Into the Streets

Bogotá

Mass struggle in the streets against the forces of repression again dominates the Colombia political scene. When they awoke and discovered the nature of the regime, those sectors that had seemed eroded by reformism raised slogans that can still be heard.

Just hours before tomorrow's elections to the municipal councils and departmental assemblies, the main cities throughout the country find themselves under the strictest military control. Their jails are filled with students and teachers who took to the streets in order, through mass struggle, to oppose the electoral farce and to expose the nature of the regime.

Primary, secondary, and technical school teachers find themselves in a confrontation with the bourgeois state as a result of its efforts to adjust and fix wage conditions in order to increase productivity and to strengthen its ideological grip. It has done this in what is known as the "Teaching Statute," which places the teachers in clear confrontation with the state as employer and instrument of political power. It is a confrontation between the employing state and its educational policy on the one hand, and its employees on the other.

As the work stoppage by the teaching profession progresses (it has already gone on for nearly two months),

the growing consciousness and the level of combativity give rise to increasingly frequent confrontations with the repressive forces of a regime that is struggling to polish up its democratic mask as the elections approach, but which succeeds only in filling the stage with boots, helmets, and clubs.

The teachers' struggle is spreading to other sectors. Students and even certain parents' groups are joining the mobilizations. Streets and avenues in the major cities have been invaded by unprecedented demonstrations, to which the government has responded with the harshest and most merciless repression. Bourgeois democracy is again showing its more usual face.

April 7 marked the high point in the agitation and mobilization of the masses, who took to the streets with clear boycott slogans. Other exploited sectors were drawn into the struggle by the students and teachers fighting shoulder to shoulder. Bogotá, Cali, Medellín, Barranquilla, Popayán, and other cities are still shaking under the impact of thousands of demonstrators spilling into their streets in a huge show of determination and militant struggle.

On April 7, the National University was once again invaded by the military, who directed their savage blows at the *compañeras* living in the women's residence. They broke

open doors, windows, and anything that got in their way. Several *compañeras* were dragged from the residence, and two of them received serious spinal wounds and are in danger of being paralyzed.

The response was not long in coming. The following Monday, April 10, the week of political mobilization exposing the electoral farce began. The combativity and militancy of the teachers and students left the repressive forces in a state of consternation. As a sign of the great step forward in political consciousness, more than 80,000 demonstrators took part in the political mobilization throughout the main cities of Colombia.

While the smoke from the gas bombs was still evaporating, along came the traditional groups whose electoral talk makes them seem from another world. Close behind them came the Stalinist groups—the Communist party and the MOIR [Movimiento Obrero Independiente y Revolucionario—Independent Revolutionary Workers Movement]—who made up their retinue. In their role as second fiddle in the electoral farce, during which they have proved unable to make even one show of influence in the "popular" movements, these groups tried desperately to make sure that the ballot boxes were not left empty. The bankruptcy of Stalinism is apparent in the fact that the mobilization of the masses has buried any hopes of justifying participating in the institutions of bourgeois democracy.

The new vanguard socialist forces are involved in forging a party that can restore to the working class its vanguard role in the revolutionary process and provide political leadership to mobilize the most exploited sectors of the population. These new forces were in the forefront of all these demonstrations. They overcame and unmasked the Stalinist groups, which are getting ready to sit down at the banquet prepared by capital. They were the ones who led the masses in the struggle against the state and raised the banner of the socialist revolution.

Conciliationist and reformist slogans have been buried, the trade-union and student bureaucracies exposed, and a new opportunity for winning the working class and the most exploited sectors of society to a revolutionary perspective has opened up.

April 15, 1972

## Sadat Moves to 'Unify' Palestinians

By Jon Rothschild

"This congress is further proof that we and you both stand in the front lines, first in the line of fire. We are the first to shoulder the burden of war, of Israeli crimes, of Israeli expansionism. It is written that our two peoples must fight, struggle, resist; and it is written that we are passing through the most difficult moments of our history. We and you have no other choice but to struggle, and we will take the same road. . . .

"One thing is certain, and that is that we will fight to preserve our rights and yours. This country will fight. It will fight in the air, on the ground, and on the sea; it will fight from house to house if necessary. It will pay the price. We will fight and you will fight."

The speaker was Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat, and the words were therefore lies. This latest show of verbal militancy was for the benefit of the audience, the 151-member Palestine National Council, which supposedly represents the Palestinian people as a sort of parliament-in-exile. On April 6 that body, plus the 400-strong Palestinian People's Congress, opened a four-day special session in Cairo. The meeting was called to organize the Palestinian response to Jordanian King Hussein's proposal for a "United Arab Kingdom."

The session's first speaker was Sadat, who took the occasion to announce that Egypt had decided to sever "all relations" with Jordan. That announcement was greeted with thunderous applause.

But despite the applause, the break with Hussein was viewed—especially by Egyptian students—with some skepticism. In the Arab East, anti-Hussein rhetoric comes cheap. Diplomatic relations between Egypt and Jordan have been poor for years, and economic ties between the two countries are weak.

As usual, Sadat did not explain the concrete implications of his statement. Will Egypt close its airspace to Jordanian commercial flights? Will Sadat support a move to oust Jordan from the League of Arab States, a mea-

sure demanded by the Palestinians? These questions remain unanswered.

Most likely the break with Hussein was Sadat's means of intervening in the Palestine National Council meeting. That body has always lagged behind the Palestinian movement in political development. In the context of the recent severe setbacks the fe-



SADAT: Willing to "fight from house to house" when enemy is Egyptian workers.

dayeen have suffered, the council is the most convenient vehicle for intervention by the Arab regimes, especially Egypt, into the Palestinian political scene.

The theme of the four-day meeting was unity, certainly a necessity for the Palestinians. But the form of unity suggested at the sessions appeared to be exactly what the Palestinians do not need. The adopted proposal called for uniting into a single organization the military commands, news services, and finances of all the various groups.

A twenty-two-member commission was charged with drawing up a plan to implement the proposal.

There was little doubt who would lead such a "unified" organization. Yassir Arafat, leader of Fateh and of the Palestine Liberation Organization, reportedly exclaimed during one of the sessions, "We need the help of the Arab governments," an outlook that may explain why he shared the opening platform with Sadat, who not only has done nothing to support the Palestinian struggle but has physically repressed those demanding that he do so.

But for Sadat, even Arafat is dangerous. So the council meeting saw the reemergence of Ahmed Shukeiry, the old demagogue of drive-the-Jews-into-the-sea fame, for years the primary instrument of Nasserite strangulation of the Palestinian movement.

If Sadat is able to push through a deal with the Zionist government at the Palestinians' expense, he will need a bloodthirsty-sounding Palestinian cover. Shukeiry is the perfect choice.

The council session was not without ironic touches. It was held in the Gamal Abdel Nasser Hall of Cairo University—the building in which students last January held their mass decision-making meetings during their confrontation with the Sadat regime.

One week before the council convened, Sadat was fighting a different battle, also "house to house," but this time with less talk and more action. In late March, textile workers at the Shubra el-Khaima mills in Cairo's working-class southern quarter went on strike—their first such action in more than a decade.

They demanded a seven-hour day and the extension to the private sector of social benefits prevailing in the public sector. The owners responded with a lockout. After some physical confrontations at the plants, the workers were assured by government authorities that the whole thing could be settled through peaceful negotiations.

But the lockout continued. The workers assembled to demonstrate against it and were attacked by club-wielding security forces—9,000 of them according to some reports. More than 200 workers were hospitalized as the cops chased them through the quarter. Sixty-six are still being held

under arrest.

For the Palestinian movement, unity under the auspices of such a regime

as Sadat's would mean extinction. Wide sectors of the Palestinians realize this. The question is whether or

not they will be able to defend effectively the independence of the movement during the coming months. □

## China

# Was Lin Piao Involved in a Plot to Seize Power?

New questions about the disappearance of Lin Piao, Mao Tsetung's heir — according to the constitution adopted by the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist party in 1969, have been raised in an article in the April 26 issue of *Le Monde*. Western sources have reported that Lin was killed in a mysterious plane crash in Mongolia on September 12, 1971. A top Chinese official, however, told visiting French legislators on February 10 that Lin was not dead but had only been "politically eliminated."

*Le Monde's* contributor, Jaap Van Ginneken, a Dutch sociologist who "recently visited" China, offers a political explanation for Lin's sudden and enigmatic fall from power. The reason for the Chinese leader's "elimination," Van Ginneken explains, was given in an article in *Red Flag*, the theoretical journal of the Chinese CP, and later reprinted in issue No. 8 of *Peking Information*. This article was entitled "Restudy: 'A Spark Can Set Flame to an Entire Prairie.'" It was a commentary on a letter Mao wrote to Lin Piao in January 1930. The passage that "clarified" the reasons for the fall of the Chinese heir-apparent was the following:

"The partisans of pessimism always overestimate the enemy's strength and underestimate the strength of the people . . . When they encounter momentary difficulties or when the revolution is on the ebb, they vacillate, desert, betray, or fall into adventurism and putschism. When the revolution is moving ahead smoothly and in full flower, they preach ultraleftism, claim the merits of others as their own, and apply a reactionary ultraleftist line, that is, a line which appears left but is right in reality."

For Van Ginneken, the implications of the article are "clear." The weakness that Lin Piao revealed forty-two years ago led to his final downfall from the very summit of power. "Just as he adopted a 'pessimistic' and

'putschist' attitude in 1930 when the revolution was passing through a difficult period, Lin Piao fell into ultra-leftism in the spring of 1967, at the very time when the revolution was in full flower and extremist ideas were spreading. Lin Piao's fall four years later was directly linked to a reexamination of this episode. This also explains Chou En-lai's new importance."

This conclusion is justified, according to Van Ginneken, because "all last year official spokesmen intimated to selected intermediaries that the investigation of the 'long, hot summer' of 1967 was nearing completion. According to the preliminary conclusions, the extremist left had plotted to seize power. It was still to be determined who in the top leadership had permitted this."

Since almost all information on political developments in China comes from such sources, Van Ginneken's version has perhaps as much credibility as most. To support his conclusions he gives a whole history of the defeat of the "ultraleft" tendency in the Chinese CP. Since he does not mention his sources for this, the question arises whether he learned this information from discussions with officials in China, that is, whether he himself is a "selected intermediary."

At the end of his account of the rise and fall of "ultraleftism" in China, Van Ginneken notes that his version confirms the CIA's analysis of this episode, which was given in the article "The Cultural Revolution's Ultra-Left Conspiracy: The May 16 Movement" by Barry Burton in the November 1971 issue of *Asian Survey*.

Although the CIA "has often misinterpreted the situation in China . . . its experts must have taken a very close look at the situation on the eve of President Nixon's visit." This would be true in particular, although Van Ginneken fails to point it out, because one of the major issues in the fight against the "ultraleft" was supposed

to be Chinese foreign policy — the policy of the period of the greatest verbal hostility to Washington. While Van Ginneken writes in the language of the Chinese leadership and may reflect their attitude to the "ultraleft plot," the CIA might also appreciate such a denunciation of "ultraleftism" or the motives behind it.

In March 1967, Van Ginneken writes, "the 'great proletarian cultural revolution' seemed to have achieved its main objectives. The situation was returning to normal. However some new cadres, buoyed up by the overwhelming enthusiasm of the Red Guards, tried to push the movement to the extreme. They tried to eliminate from power all the moderate cadres and set the revolution on an 'adventurist' line."

The main target of this 'adventurist' line was the conservative leadership of the Chinese army. "The ultraleftists progressively created a disorder leading to the threat of a large-scale conflict with the armed forces."

The first storm center of the struggle, however, was the Ministry of Foreign Relations. "The affair began on April 30, 1967, when two Chinese diplomats expelled by the Indonesian government arrived in Peking. One of them, Yao Teng-shan, immediately launched an attack on the minister of foreign affairs, Chen Yi, accusing him of betraying the Chinese minorities, which were being subjected to racial discrimination in several Southeast Asian countries and particularly in Indonesia. Several young functionaries supported Yao, and little by little, Chen Yi lost ground. Chou En-lai, himself a former minister of foreign

### When You Move...

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

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

affairs, had to call on the minister's adversaries to stick to the rules of fair play. Then a campaign was unleashed against Chou, who was accused of protecting his 'revisionist' friends."

Van Ginneken seems to suggest that the activity of this "ultraleftist" group was the cause of China's international isolation in this period: "The ultra-leftists completely controlled Chen Yi's ministry and launched their policy of 'confrontation' leading to a rapid deterioration in foreign relations."

The "ultraleftists" also seized key positions in the propaganda apparatus and in the Cultural Revolution Group, which was supposed to be the supreme ideological guide of the cultural revolution. The head of the Cultural Revolution Group was Chen Po-ta, who until recently ranked fourth in the Chinese hierarchy. "A leftist himself, Chen Po-ta progressively lost control of the ultras. They were able to give wide circulation to a confidential circular issued May 16, 1966, under the inspiration of Mao Tsetung, which had opened the cultural revolution. They took this as their authority for carrying the revolution still further."

The most prominent representative of the May 16 movement was Wang Li, the chief of the propaganda department. The "ultraleftist plot" moved into high gear when he was attacked by a crowd of "conservatives" at the end of July 1967 in Wuhan, the capital of Hupeh province, and beaten up under the very eyes of the military commanders of the region. The propaganda department raised a hue and cry. "Within ten days, the campaign against a 'small handful of capitalist elements' was to mobilize tens of thousands of Red Guards in front of the military barracks.

"The situation grew worse day by day. A dangerous conflict threatened to develop between some garrisons and the mass of youths. The party and the administration had by this time lost all their cohesiveness. A conflict within the armed forces could have engendered total chaos and opened the way for the seizure of power by the extreme left."

The counterattack against the "extreme left," Van Ginneken seems to suggest, came from the party apparatus itself:

"Among those who perceived this threat was Chou En-lai. Under attack by the extreme left, he was in no po-

sition to launch the counterattack on his own authority. Mao himself was no longer in Peking but in the provinces. This is why he [Chou? Mao?] had to mobilize the radical left in the higher bodies to denounce the activities of the ultras before it was too late."

After the counterattack was begun, of course, "personalities of unquestionable prestige" joined in. Van Ginneken mentioned only Chiang Ching, Mao's wife, by name. In mid-August she told a meeting: "I am not going to repeat what I have said about the May 16 organization. To be brief, it will not be tolerated. Comrades, you must not let yourselves be taken in by this group. It is inevitable in the cultural revolution that some people are going to fish in troubled waters . . . this is sabotage." Van Ginneken added: "Other officials immediately joined with her."

However, "some highly placed left elements . . . refused to take a firm position against the ultras. Lin Piao, it seems, was one of these." Lin was supposed to have brought a number of ultraleftists into the army command, including the chief of staff, the second in command of the air force, and the head of the Peking garrison. "Moreover, Hsiao Hua, Lin's old confidant and director of the political department of the army, had urged the press of the armed forces to support Wang Li's campaign over the Wuhan incident."

If this were true, of course, it would mean that the "ultraleftists" were in an extremely powerful position in the armed forces, a position from which they could be removed only by a major purge.

Furthermore, Mao's officially designated successor "implicitly encouraged the extreme left up until the last minute. On August 9 when the other radicals were already preparing their counterattack, Lin Piao adopted Wang Li's position on the incident in Wuhan." Lin said: "This was a very bad thing which has now become a very good thing. If all the bad elements are not uncovered, there is no way to strike them down."

Lin also supported the position of the Cultural Revolution Group, which had a majority of "ultraleft" members. "At the same time, he stressed that Chou En-lai, who was 'administering' the cultural revolution and who had opposed the extreme left on many occasions, should not be relied on."

On September 1, 1967, the official press began its denunciations of "elements who appear to be left but are really right." Nonetheless, "the struggle was far from over." It was not until March 1968 that the May 16 Movement leaders "lost their posts."

Van Ginneken stresses that Chou En-lai was not content at the time with the removal of these lower-ranking officials. According to Chou, the responsibility for the "ultraleft" deviation lay at the "highest level."

Nonetheless, Chou's presumed targets in the top leadership, Chen Po-ta and Lin Piao, strengthened their position at the Ninth Party Congress in 1969. The first article of the new constitution adopted at this congress proclaimed Lin Piao as Mao's sole and indisputable successor.

However, Van Ginneken suggests, the rise of the "moderates" could not be stopped. "Two years later Chou En-lai again emerged in the forefront and the moderates were influential enough to force an inquiry into the preceding period as soon as an occasion presented itself."

The stage was set for Lin Piao's liquidation, "political" or otherwise, when Wilfred Burchett wrote in May 1971, after coming back from Peking: "Some ultraleftists managed to conceal themselves so well that they were accorded high positions at the Ninth Congress."

Van Ginneken's version of Lin Piao's disgrace has a certain air of being made up after the fact. How could a leader fall because of a defeat that happened two years before he attained the summit of power, with his right to absolute power guaranteed by the constitution itself?

Perhaps Peking is pushing this version for reasons of its own. If so, the political meaning of this move may soon become clear. □

## No Escape

Pollution has come to the Antarctic, thanks to a U.S. base, McMurdo Station. An Associated Press dispatch reports that for fourteen years the base has disposed of trash, beer cans, plastic containers, old tires, machinery, etc., by dumping it into McMurdo Sound. Raw sewage has also been pumped into the Sound for the last fourteen years.

Near another U.S. base, Palmer Station, penguins have been observed emerging from the water with oil slicks on their backs.

# REVIEWS

## Brazil: The Genocide Continues

*Green Hell* by Lucien Bodard. Translated by Jennifer Monaghan. Outerbridge & Dienstfrey, New York. 291 pp. \$8.95. 1971.

There is a certain tendency to regard the worst crimes against the Indians of North and South America as having been committed in the past, primarily in the nineteenth century. No one would deny that the original inhabitants of the two continents remain oppressed, exploited, the victims of discrimination, poverty, and unemployment—but the outright massacres, the blankets infected with smallpox, the poisoned candy given to children are usually viewed as confined to the period of European settlement and expansion westward across the Americas.

The terrible truth, however, as Lucien Bodard demonstrates, is that twentieth-century technology has made the genocide of the Indians even more efficient. In the Amazonian jungle (the "Green Hell") of Brazil, at this moment, scattered Indian tribes are being hunted down with planes, bombs, and machine guns. Their only offense is that their existence interferes with someone's profits.

"At Rio de Janeiro," Bodard writes, "at São Paulo, Cuiabá, Goiana, Belém or Manaus, a peace-loving and respectable businessman can just as easily sign a bill as order the extermination of a tribe which is inconveniencing the profits of a mine or a tree-felling concern. Often a bank is involved in the enterprise, and takes a share in financing it—although the price is not high. The local authorities, and sometimes the federal ones, know what is going on, and of course, you have to have a senator or a governor up your sleeve. Easy enough. Almost always the Service for the Protection of the Indians [a federal government agency] is at your beck and call. Its agent in the area is positively enthusiastic; he gives instructions for the expedition and assures a moralistic and judicial 'cover' for the murder of the Indians. He is prepared to swear that the savages are a bad lot,

in open revolt, assassins themselves, and cannibals. Genocide becomes a work of civilization."

The Service for the Protection of the Indians (SPI) is so involved in the genocide that the Brazilian Minister of the Interior has dubbed the agency "Service for the Prostitution of the Indians."

Even the laws and decrees ostensibly designed to protect those Indians who have managed to survive the onslaughts of the "civilized" turn out on closer examination to be schemes by which white landowners rob each other and exterminate more Indians in the process.

The "Indian trick" was explained to Bodard by an entrepreneur who had frequently used it himself. It involves "discovering" a tribe of Indians on land that has been granted to a white. Bribed government officials then force the landholder to "return" the land to the tribe, which mysteriously "disappears" as soon as the entrepreneur has had their brief title made over

to himself.

Statistics to indicate the extent of the genocide are rare, both because of a mysterious fire that destroyed the archives of the SPI and because the Brazilian government has never concerned itself with the Indians' numbers—except to regard any Indians as too many. But just one tribe—the Pacaas Novos—declined from 30,000 persons in 1950 to only 300 or 400 in 1968.

"It was a disappearance without convulsions," Bodard writes. "They died from the building of the rodavia—the new roads. The Pacaas Novos were numerous and powerful—a very great tribe, which had to be exterminated to open up the construction sites on a line between Cuiabá and Porto Velho, and the extraordinary highway, as its completion progressed, allowed the completion of the genocide, or at least the bulk of it. It was no longer a question of humanity or inhumanity, just a pulverization by machines and workers."

Bodard's book, which was originally published in French in 1969 under the title *Le Massacre des Indiens*, is a devastating indictment of the murder of a people. It demonstrates once again that murder-for-profit is not an abnormality of capitalist society, but its logical and inevitable result.

—David Burton

## Behind the Ecology Crisis

*The Pollution Crisis: Who Is Responsible?* by Ronald Reosti. Pathfinder Press, Inc., New York. 14 pp. \$0.35, £0.15. 1971.

In this brief pamphlet, Ronald Reosti produces the facts and figures that demonstrate who really is responsible for pollution. The cause is not, as the neo-Malthusians claim, too many people. Nor is it technology as such:

"The use of technology is determined by society. It is the social system which decides whether or not to use nuclear power and for what purpose. And it is the social system that decides whether to allocate the resources to solve the problems posed by the side effects of industrial production. To endow machines with a life of their own, independent of the people

who use them, is to succumb to fatalism and mysticism."

The system that is destroying the ecology of the United States is, of course, capitalism, and Reosti shows that it is the giant capitalist corporations that contribute the overwhelming bulk of environmental pollution. Even the automobile, which is justly criticized for its contamination of the atmosphere, causes less harm than the big corporate industries.

(As for the pollution from automobiles, Reosti notes that General Motors spends on air-pollution research *one-fifteenth* of what it spends for model changes and less than one-seventh of its advertising costs.)

This pamphlet, originally published in the *International Socialist Review*, is a must for anyone seriously concerned with the ecology crisis. □

## No Word of Chinese Trotskyists Held in Mao's Jails

[The following statement was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International April 16.]

\* \* \*

Since December 1952-January 1953, when they were arrested in the People's Republic of China, a number of Chinese Trotskyists have been held without trial.

Their incarceration without trial is completely illegal. According to Article 87 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, "Citizens of the People's Republic of China enjoy freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association, freedom of procession, and freedom of demonstration. The state guarantees to citizens enjoyment of these freedoms by providing the necessary material facilities."

Among these political prisoners are the following:

*Chen Chao-lin.* A founding member of both the Chinese Communist party (CCP) and the Chinese Trotskyist movement, he was born in 1901. He worked in Paris with Chou En-lai and Chen Yi (the late minister of defense of the Chinese People's Republic) at the end of World War I, and after the Bolshevik revolution went to Moscow where he studied at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East. Chen returned to China in 1925 to work in the Central Committee of the CCP. Having become proficient in English, French, German, and Russian, he translated Communist textbooks into Chinese and engaged in the training of revolutionary cadres of the youth. During the high tide of the 1925-27 revolution, he played an important part in party work in the Wuhan area.

Following the defeat of the revolution, Chen became a Trotskyist. Arrested by the Kuomintang police, he was sentenced to fifteen years in prison. With the onset of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, he was released, having served seven years. Chen spent most of his time during the next few years

translating the works of Trotsky into Chinese. With Japan's surrender in 1945, he edited a semimonthly magazine, *The New Banner*, until it was proscribed by the Kuomintang.

When the People's Liberation army took the city, some of the Trotskyists left for Hong Kong to continue political activity from the outside. Chen and others remained in Shanghai, continuing their work until they were arrested. Chen has lived as a political prisoner for twenty-seven years—seven years under Chiang, twenty years under Mao. He is now about seventy-two.

*Chiang Tseng-tung.* As a worker-communist, this comrade had a leading activist role in the Shanghai labor movement. He took part in the general strike and uprising in that city in 1925, continuing his work as a proletarian revolutionist under the Kuomintang dictatorship and, as a Trotskyist, upholding the banner of the Fourth International. He was arrested in the sweep by Mao's police in December 1952. If alive, he is now about sixty-two years old.

*Chou Jen-sen.* A revolutionary intellectual. A teacher by profession, he taught in middle school (high school). Arrested by Mao's police in the Fukiien port city of Amoy. Is believed imprisoned in Shanghai.

*Ho Chi-sen.* Student leader in Peking in early 1920s and joined the CCP shortly after its formation. During the Northern Expedition of the Kwangtung revolutionary army that set out from Canton to wrest the country from the grip of reactionary warlords (1925-27), he played a leading role in revolutionary activity, together with Mao Tsetung, first in Wuhan, later in Hunan province. After Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary *coup* at Shanghai in April 1927, Ho worked in the underground to revive the prostrate CCP.

In 1929, following the lead of Chen Tu-hsiu, he became convinced of the falsity of the CCP's Moscow-dictated political line and became a Trotsky-

ist. He represented the "Proletarians," one of four Trotskyist groups that fused in 1931 to form the Communist League of China. The unified organization became the Chinese section of the Fourth International when it was formally launched in 1938.

In poor health when his old colleague Mao had him put behind bars, Ho is now about seventy-five years of age, if still alive. Nothing has been heard of him for many years. There is reason to fear that he may have died in a forced-labor camp.

*Ling Hwer-hua.* This veteran of the revolutionary struggle was a member of the executive committee of the Printers Union of Canton when arrested by Mao's police at the end of 1952. He was sent to Wuhan with other Trotskyists arrested in the "Southwestern Administrative Area" and sentenced to work in a hard-labor camp for an indefinite term. If alive, he is over fifty years old. No word of him has reached the outside world.

*Ling Sun-chi.* A lecturer at Sun Yat-sen University in Canton. Arrested by Mao's police some time in 1953, after the mass roundup at the previous year-end. There has been no word of his fate.

*Wang Kuo-lung.* A middle-school teacher like Chou Jen-sen, Wang was arrested in Wenchow (Chekiang province) during the big roundup and is believed to be imprisoned in Shanghai.

*Ying Kwan.* Was with Chou En-lai as a student in France in 1920. In 1923 was active in the branch of the Chinese Socialist Youth in France together with Chen Yi and Li Fu-chwang (a member of the Political Bureau of the CCP), serving as chairman of the Planning Commission. He also served as secretary of the Chinese Socialist party organization in Europe. Later in the year he went to study in Moscow. In 1924 he was the CCP secretary for Shantung province. In 1925 he became secretary of the Shanghai regional committee in which Chen Pi-lan was



also a member.

Took part in the 1925-27 revolution as a leading CCP activist in the central China province of Anhwei, where he was born. Embraced Trotsky's ideas in 1929 and worked to unify the four Trotskyist groups then in existence.

Arrested by the Kuomintang police in 1932, he spent two years in prison. Released in 1934, he was later re-arrested and again set free shortly before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. During the war years he worked among students.

After Japan's surrender, Ying Kwan resumed political work in Shanghai and continued after the Communist take-over until his arrest by Mao's police. If still alive, he is about seventy-two years old. No word of him has reached the outer world.

\* \* \*

These are only a few of the Trotskyists held as political prisoners in China. In addition to the veterans of the movement, many of the younger Trotskyists were seized. Some were sentenced to hard labor for terms ranging from five to ten years. It may be that some have been released, but the circumstances remain unknown.

In addition, members of the families of these political prisoners were likewise arrested, to disappear from public knowledge.

The Mao regime should be pressed to provide information on the fate of these political prisoners. Are they still living? Have some of them been submitted to secret trials? What crimes or infractions of the law were they charged with?

The secretiveness surrounding their incarceration does not speak well for the way in which the constitution is observed in China. On the contrary, it indicates that they were imprisoned in flagrant violation of a constitution that "guarantees" the right of free speech. If this were not the case, why hasn't the government granted them a public trial?

Demand that the Mao government respect rights guaranteed in the constitution! Demand the observance of proletarian democracy in China! Demand the release of the Chinese Trotskyists!

We ask all the organizations that have defended the People's Republic

of China against its foes, that have supported the Chinese revolution, to

take a stand on this issue to help break the wall of silence. □

## Malcolm Kaufman Expresses Doubts on Tim Wohlforth's Devotion to Democracy

[Under the title "The Stalinist-Gangster Tactics of the Workers League," the letter reproduced below was first printed in the April issue of *Vanguard Newsletter*, a mimeographed monthly published in New York. Dated April 2, the letter was addressed to Tim Wohlforth, national secretary of the Workers League, and was signed by Malcolm L. Kaufman for the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses (CRFC).

[The Workers League is in political solidarity with the Socialist Labour League (SLL) in England. Its March 29 demonstration, described in the letter, was called against "unemployment, budget cuts and repression."

[The CRFC is described by *Vanguard Newsletter* as "a united front of workers' organizations and working class militants concerned to build rank-and-file caucuses in the trade unions." The "presently participating organizations" are listed as New York Revolutionary Committee, *Socialist Forum*, and *Vanguard Newsletter*.

[Readers of *Intercontinental Press* may recall that this is not the first time that *Vanguard Newsletter* has felt it necessary to criticize the Workers League's attitude toward workers' democracy. The March 1971 issue of *Vanguard Newsletter* charged that a fraternal discussion between delegates of that publication and the Workers League had ended with Tim Wohlforth threatening to break the nose of a *Vanguard Newsletter* supporter. (See *Intercontinental Press*, May 17, 1971, p. 461.)

[In its introduction to Kaufman's letter, *Vanguard Newsletter* writes that the March 29 incident was foreshadowed by the Workers League's use of the term "rat groups" to describe certain of its political opponents. It also suggests that the Workers League's conduct in this incident is at least partially due to imitation of the SLL and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI—Internationalist Communist Organization). Until their differences became public last fall, the SLL and OCI were jointly engaged in "reconstructing" the Fourth International.

[*Vanguard Newsletter* suggests that two incidents may have served as a model for the Workers League: the beating of British Trotskyist Ernie Tate by SLL goons in London in November 1966; and an "international youth conference" in Essen, Germany, last July during which marshals physically assaulted members of the German section of the Fourth International who were attempting to distribute a leaflet. (See *Intercontinental Press*, September 20, 1971, p. 799.)

[At this writing, the Workers League

has not yet responded publicly to Kaufman's letter. It would probably be a mistake to conclude from this that Wohlforth has privately communicated the apology requested by Kaufman.]

\* \* \*

Dear Comrade:

The absolutely barbaric and uncalled-for behavior exercised by your organization against members of the Committee for Rank and File Caucuses at your Foley Square demonstration last Wednesday, March 29th, requires on my part an expression of the strongest possible objection.

The CRFC supported the general goals of your demonstration and participated in the march. When we sought to distribute copies of the leaflet "Youth and the Labor Movement" in a peaceful and non-disruptive manner, a WL marshal, on your instructions, harassed and physically intimidated Comrade Thomas Lowy. Other members of the CRFC were similarly menaced and were told that they were barred from the demonstration. This, in spite of the fact several of those threatened belonged to Social Service Employees Union local 371 and had accepted an open invitation made by Ronald Roberts, a member of your organization, at a membership meeting of that union on March 23rd.

This type of political crime demonstrates the sheerest hypocrisy. Following serious assaults on several of your members by the MPI (Puerto-Rican Pro-Independence Movement) last year, you wrote the following in an open letter dated 12 April and addressed to all "working class, minority, and youth organizations,"

"The Workers League proposes . . . that all organizations reject and denounce all physical attacks on other tendencies in the working class movement; that we specifically affirm the right of all tendencies to freely present their views and to sell their literature; that we oppose all government or hooligan attacks on these rights."

In my capacity as corresponding secretary of the then New York Branch No. 2 of the Socialist Reconstruction I responded to your open letter, commenting in part,

"We stand with you in the belief that all working class organizations must have the right to openly espouse their views, sell and distribute their literature, and conduct any number of forms of agitational activity. Only open discussion and dialogue can lead to the development of theory and program that can take the

working class to victory over the moribund capitalist system."

Unlike yourself, however, Comrade Wohlforth, we mean what we say. We do not support workers' democracy for cheap organizational advantage. We support it as a matter of principle. The same cannot be said for the Workers League; otherwise the organization would not have engaged in criminal acts similar to those it condemned less than a year earlier.

In the same letter quoted above, I discussed the origins of political hooliganism,

"It is hardly accidental that most of the groups engaging in gangsterism are

dominated by Stalinist ideology. The Stalinists' theoretical bankruptcy and their history of betrayal of the international working class leaves them with a position that cannot be defended through argumentation but instead only through physical intimidation. Needless to say, there is no better proof of the shallowness of Stalinist politics than their refusal to participate in political discussion and their frequent resort to violence as a substitute."

If you object to portions of our leaflet then the principled thing to do would have been to criticize us publicly in your press or to have at least engaged us in

a private conversation that afternoon. But your actions can lead us only to the same conclusion drawn when you were attacked by the Stalinist-influenced MPI. Hooliganism can mean only one thing—confession of political bankruptcy.

It is up to you, then, to clear your record and remove any doubts as to the integrity and character of your organization. An immediate apology would demonstrate a return to the principles outlined by the WL in 1971. We await that apology.

For workers' democracy,  
*Malcolm L. Kaufman*  
Secy-Treas.

## North Vietnamese Statement on 1968 Talks With U.S.

[We reprint below the text of a statement released in Paris April 20 by the representatives of North Vietnam. The statement describes the secret discussions that led to Lyndon Johnson's "halt" of the bombing of North Vietnam in 1968.

[While denying the accuracy of the North Vietnamese statement, the Nixon administration has so far refused to release its own version of the discussions, a refusal that it explains only by vague references to "important diplomatic considerations."]

\* \* \*

Along with the public conversations started on May 13, 1968, there took place the private meetings between the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the United States which led to the cessation of U. S. bombardments against the DRVN and the convening of the Paris conference on Vietnam.

In the private meetings held during the period from June 26 to Sept. 15, 1968, the U. S. side insisted on discussing about "the circumstances following the cessation of the bombing," that is to say, it posed conditions of reciprocity for the U. S. cessation of bombardments. The DRVN side firmly demanded that the United States stop its bombardments completely and unconditionally, and at last the U. S. side accepted that position of the DRVN.

At the Sept. 20, 1968, private meeting, the U. S. side ceased insisting on the aforesaid "circumstances"; it however called for "serious talks" with the participation of the Saigon administration's representatives to find a political solution to the Vietnam problem, as condition for the bombing halt. To show its good will, the DRVN side agreed to this requirement, and continuing their discussions, on Oct. 30, 1968, the two sides agreed on the time and date of the U. S. cessation of bombardments, and those for the convening of the four-party conference in Paris.

Following is the essential contents of those private meetings:

The viewpoint of the United States was that it would stop bombing the DRVN, and after the cessation of the bombing the two sides would put in practice a

number of questions which the United States called "circumstances":

1. Restoration of the DMZ ["demilitarized zone"];

2. No military build-up on both sides;

3. Starting substantive talks, in which each side would be free to raise the problems of its concern, the U. S. side said: "Our side will include representatives of the Republic of Vietnam. Your side will include any representatives you will invite";

4. No major attacks against Saigon, Hue and Danang.

The U. S. side demanded that the two sides must discuss and agree on these questions before it would stop bombing the DRVN.

The DRVN side pointed out that the U. S. proposal was in fact a cessation of bombardments "with conditions" and on the basis of "reciprocity," because the U. S. bombing halt was contingent on the discussion and agreement on questions arising in a later period. Therefore, the DRVN side firmly demanded that the United States completely and unconditionally stopped its bombardments and all other acts of war against the DRVN.

At the Sept. 12, 1968, private meeting, Mr. Le Duc Tho said: "Before the discussion of the questions aimed at finding a political solution to the Vietnam problems, you must unconditionally stop the bombardments and all other acts of war against the DRVN. After that the two sides will discuss the problems that either side may raise.

"Such is our constructive proposal; such is our consistent position; there is no change at all."

At the same Sept. 12, 1968, private meeting, Ambassador Harriman said: "We both agree that for better talks to begin, all bombings must be stopped. You have called for unconditional stop of the bombing. We accept that." However, the U. S. side still reiterated its military conditions for the bombing halt and considered them "very important elements relating to the cessation of bombardment."

At the private meeting on Sept. 15, 1968, Mr. Le Duc Tho reaffirmed: "We demand an unconditional end to the bombing and

all other acts of war against the DRVN, without 'reciprocity.' You have accepted that. After you unconditionally stop the bombing and all other acts of war against the DRVN, we will sit down and discuss. You will raise your problems, we will raise ours."

The Sept. 20, 1968, private meeting took place after Ambassador Harriman's return from the United States. The U. S. side raised the question of the two sides "agreeing on serious talks with the participation of the representatives of the Republic of Vietnam" after the U. S. cessation of the bombing, considering it as a "major factor for the United States to stop bombing North Vietnam." Ambassador Harriman said: "What is new is the statement that my Government authorized me to say that your agreement on this question could be a major factor facilitating the decision to end the bombing."

After being asked by the DRVN side whether the point that the U. S. side had just raised was the only condition, whether the U. S. would stop the bombing only when the two sides had agreed on that question, Ambassador Harriman replied: "We think that our Government will not come to an agreement to stop the bombing unless we agree on this point." Then he added: "I don't think this is a condition in any form. We also take note of your views on stopping the bombing without conditions."

At the private meeting on Oct. 15, 1968, after informing the DRVN side that he had received instructions from Washington, Ambassador Harriman said:

"We are prepared to order the cessation of bombardments and all other acts involving the use of force against the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam if you agree to begin serious talks the next day after the cessation of bombing, and in such discussions, representatives of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam will participate on our side. If your answer on this issue of participation of representatives of the Government of South Vietnam is affirmative, we can tell you that the order to stop all bombardments will be given within the next day or two."

Minister Xuan Thuy replied: "You can report to Washington the following: After the United States unconditionally stops the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the DRVN side will accept a conference with the participation of four delegations, namely the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the delegation of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the delegation of the United States and the delegation of the Saigon administration, to discuss a political solution to the Vietnam problem."

After the two sides agreed on that point, the contents of the following private meetings were discussion about the date for the U. S. cessation of the bombing, the date for convening the four-party conference in Paris, and the way to put the agreement in written documents.

The DRVN side repeated its demand for the unconditional cessation of U. S. bombardments and asked to put it down in the minutes.

The U. S. side reiterated that the U. S. cessation of the bombing was unconditional.

At the private meeting on Oct. 24, 1968, Ambassador Harriman said: "We recognize your statement about 'no condition.' Therefore, we are quite ready to assure you that, in any statement on the cessation of the bombing, the U. S. Government will not refer to any word such as the word 'conditional.'"

However, the U. S. side did not want to put it in the minutes. That is why at the private meeting on Oct. 21, 1968, Minister Xuan Thuy asked the U. S. side: "If this is not put down on paper, some days later you might say that the Democratic Republic of Vietnam have accepted U. S. conditions, while in reality we do not accept any condition. Another instance: A few days later, if journalists ask me: 'You Vietnamese say that the cessation of the bombing is "unconditional" but the United States says it is "conditional." What would we tell them, then?"

Ambassador Harriman: "There is no question that we have told you that we make no condition, that we will stop the bombing without conditions."

On Oct. 30, 1968, the DRVN side informed the U. S. side that it accepted the U. S. request for not making minutes.

At the last private meeting, on the night of Oct. 30-31, 1968, Ambassador Harriman informed the DRVN side:

"If I understand correctly that you are prepared to dispense with a minute, I am authorized to inform you that the President is going to issue orders in the early evening of Oct. 31, namely 7 or 8 o'clock Washington time, to stop all air, naval and artillery bombardments and all other acts involving the use of force against the entire territory of the DRVN. Those orders will be fully effective 12 hours later. The President will make an announcement of this action at about the time the orders are issued. In this connection, I must, of course, emphasize the necessity for absolute secrecy until he makes the announcement.

"The meeting of the type agreed upon will not be held before Nov. 6. We will be in touch with you on the exact time of such a meeting, but it will not be be-

fore next Wednesday, Nov. 6.

"This action is being taken on the basis of all the conversations we have had, taking into account what you have said and what we have said."

Also at this last private meeting, Minister Xuan Thuy concluded:

"For nearly six months now, at the official conversations between the representatives of the DRVN Government and those of the U. S. Government in Paris, we have been demanding that the United States unconditionally stop the bombing and all other acts of war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Today as well as at the previous meetings, your side stated that the United States would stop air, naval and artillery bombardments and all other acts involving the use of force against the entire territory of the DRVN. We understand that this is an unconditional cessation of the bombing. You also said that in substance the cessation of the bombing was without any condition of reciprocity, and that in all statements of the U. S. Government on the cessation of the bombing there will be no mention of the word 'conditional.' And thus we say that the U. S. cessation of the bombing of North Vietnam is 'unconditional.'"

## 'Le Monde' Sees Failure of 'Vietnamization'

[The editorial reprinted below appeared in the April 18 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde*. We have translated the views of this authoritative voice of the European bourgeoisie for the information of our readers.]

\* \* \*

President Nixon is not afraid of setting a new record. Compared to Mr. Johnson, he already had the distinction of being the biggest "bombardier" in history. Now he is ordering an attack on Haiphong bigger than ever before, hurling his B-52s into the battle as a special item.

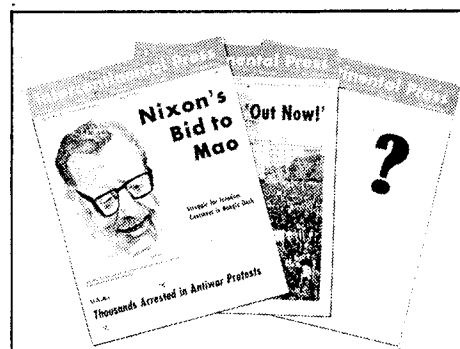
The White House, which has changed its tactics in Indochina and modified its method of intervention, but has never changed its war aims (preventing the National Liberation Front from setting up a government in Saigon), acts as if certain "Pentagon papers" as well as other testimony had not proven the futility of such a strategy of terror. And it will be neither criticism by this or that government nor criticism by his own public opinion (nowadays rather muffled) that will force Mr. Nixon to change his direction.

"As to the conference to find a peaceful solution to the Vietnam problem, the United States says that the Republic of Vietnam would take part in it; the Democratic Republic of Vietnam says that the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation would participate in it. Thus, the participants of the conference are: the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, the United States and the Republic of South Vietnam. Those are what we have agreed upon."

Minister Xuan Thuy added:

"Now, we have agreed to the proposal you made today. However, I must make it clear that for one month now, during these private meetings, there were certain points we had agreed upon, but then you changed your mind and retracted them; all the changes come from your side. From now on, you should act in accordance with what have been agreed upon. It is necessary to repeat that we have come to Paris with serious intent and good will, ready to overcome all difficulties to bring about peace. The same thing is required from your side so that the future questions can be solved properly. We expect you will act correctly." □

The failure of the "Vietnamization" policy is worrying the leaders of the United States much more. Behind the screen of the Paris Conference, they have based their intervention in Indochina as well as in all of Southeast Asia, not to mention the entire underdeveloped world, on this policy—



### COPIES MISSING?

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

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

which is in serious trouble. Hasn't Washington often maintained that Vietnam is a test that will prove whether so-called wars of liberation can be won? And aren't there some contradictions between this attitude (those millions and millions of tons of bombs and shells) and Mr. McNamara's statements about the necessary aid to the Third World?

Mr. Johnson offered \$1,000,000,000 to Hanoi in exchange for a disguised capitulation. The revolutionary leaders took this gesture as an insult. Their nationalism has up to the present time resisted all pressures, no matter from what quarter. To this determination that opposes the will of the U. S., the only response to date has been that of the U. S. Air Force squadrons.

To be sure, the international situation plays a considerable part in the development of the conflict. Moscow

and Peking now contribute a sizable support to Hanoi, though without going so far as to deliver the machinery capable of decisively blasting the Seventh Fleet and the B-52s. On the other hand, Mr. Nixon is taking a risk by deciding on an escalation just five weeks before his trip to the Soviet Union.

But perhaps that is not the most important part of the lesson to be drawn from the event. The fundamental question that is posed once again is to find out, in Indochina as elsewhere, if the great powers can permit the small powers to decide their own destiny, whatever may be the direction of their choice. Aragon, not without reason, spoke of a "Biafra of the spirit" in regard to Czechoslovakia. What superlative would have to be invented to describe this portion of land (smaller than Texas) that is Indochina, the

most ravaged zone on earth?

Is Mr. Kissinger, who boasts himself a specialist on Metternich, a century or a war too late? By undertaking talks with China, he demonstrated his realism. Is this "irreversibly lost" area of the Third World thus being treated as a valuable intermediary, or did Mr. Nixon's adviser address himself to a country that seemed, in his opinion, to be a new world power? In any case, he did not present a plan to the Vietnamese that might have allowed the negotiations to get moving, during their secret talks.

Under these conditions—and if the revolutionaries do not succeed in turning the situation in their favor rapidly and decisively—we have good reason to think that Mr. Nixon's reelection would result in a prolongation of the Indochinese conflict for years and years. □

## A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement

# The Fourth International

By Pierre Frank

[The following is the ninth installment of our translation of Pierre Frank's *The Fourth International: A Contribution to the History of the Trotskyist Movement*. Serialization started with our issue of March 13.

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

\* \* \*

## Chapter 6: From 1948 to 1968 (Cont'd)

### III. The International Reunited

A relatively prolonged period of crises and splits may prove to be a prelude to a period of reunification. All the great events of the epoch—"de-Stalinization," the Sino-Soviet conflict, colonial revolution—had not only resulted in dividing the Trotskyists, they were to contribute to healing the most serious split, that of 1953-54.

The narrowing of the political differences between the majority of the Fourth International and the majority of the International Committee on such important questions as "de-Stalinization" and the colonial revolution; the similarity of experiences in Cuba and Algeria—all

this could not fail to raise the problem of reunification. At a time when a resurgence of Trotskyism was beginning to appear in the world, both sides were well aware that a divided movement would considerably dim the prospects lying before the Fourth International. In 1961-62, contact was initiated. In the course of discussion, it became evident that the similarity of position discernible in the respective publications was indeed substantial, and that there did not seem to be any major political obstacles in the way of reunification.

A Parity Commission between the Fourth International and the International Committee was established to prepare for reunification through a joint congress. In the Fourth International as well as in the International Committee, those who opposed reunification and who had opposing political orientations (the Pablo faction on one hand, the SLL and OCI on the other) wanted to subordinate the reunification discussion to a discussion of the 1953 split, of what caused the split and where the responsibility for it lay. The majority on both sides refused to accept such a proposal. No one dreamed of denying the value of such a discussion—if it were placed in a context that could lead to positive results. If the split were based on questions of principle, these would continue to surface in one form or another in the 1960s, in connection with current political problems. If the split were essentially the product of conjunctural causes (errors of analysis or perspective) or organizational causes, as

we thought, these should not constitute an obstacle to reunification. Study of the causes of the split and who was responsible for it should be of an educational nature; thus it was decided, by common accord, that this question would not be raised at the time of reunification and that it would be studied at a later time, when the reunification had been consolidated. The discussion could then take place without interfering with the organization's activity and without necessarily following the lines of cleavage that existed during the split. It was clear to those who wanted reunification that lurking behind the demand of the minorities was, above all, their desire to use this discussion not to further reunification but once more to justify the split and, worse yet, to assure its perpetuation.

### **The Reunification Congress (Dynamics of the World Revolution Today)**

At the same time that the International was readying its Seventh Congress, and the International Committee a conference of its organizations, the Parity Commission worked on the reunification. The latter was to be effected at a joint congress held immediately after the two above-mentioned assemblies. The Parity Commission prepared the documents that served as the basis for what was to be jointly discussed.

Thus in June 1963, after the International's congress and the International Committee's conference, the Reunification Congress was held, with twenty-six countries represented. Invited to attend the Reunification Congress, the Posadas tendency did not reply, the SLL and OCI refused to participate. Both assemblies were held, then a joint congress announced the reunification, formally adopted the documents that had been approved by the two assemblies, and elected the new, united leadership. The minority led by Pablo presented a counterresolution on the international situation and the tasks of the Fourth International. This minority was given representation in the leadership bodies.

The congress decided to initiate a campaign to free Hugo Blanco, who had recently been arrested and was facing the death penalty.

This time the Ceylonese section was represented at the world congress, but we learned that the section was in bad shape and that its delegate represented only a minority in the leadership. What happened to this section will be described later.

The congress devoted an entire day to discussing the Algerian question, on which Pablo had presented a report. The congress was unanimous in seeing important possibilities for the development of the Algerian revolution towards a socialist revolution, as had happened in Cuba, and decided to do its utmost to mobilize the International and its sections in support of the Algerian revolution.

As a basis for reunification, the congress adopted a sixteen-point charter,<sup>30</sup> compactly formulating the fundamental positions of Trotskyism. The charter had been adopted earlier by the U. S. Socialist Workers party, which wished in this way to show its complete support for re-

unification; the SWP could not participate in the reunification formally, on an organizational level, because of "democratic" America's restrictive laws.

In addition to the resolution on the international political situation, the congress adopted two important political documents. One dealt with the Sino-Soviet conflict and the situation in the USSR and the other workers states; the other was devoted to the dynamics of the world revolution today.

The document on Stalinism gave an overall picture of the latter's decomposition. It dealt at length with the differences that came to the surface in the Sino-Soviet conflict, and offered a minutely detailed criticism of the positions of both sides. It also examined the differentiations that had appeared in the other Communist parties. The document analyzed, among others, the Cuban leadership, stressing its generally progressive positions while noting that its perspectives were limited to Latin American problems. The text also included a detailed study of the situation in the workers states, where new contradictions—as well as currents with oppositional potential—were appearing. Yugoslavia was analyzed as a special case: on important points the orientation had been more correct than in the other workers states, but decentralization pushed to the extreme and acceptance of the free play of market laws were attended with serious dangers. Finally, the document reformulated the essential points of a program of action for the workers states, enabling the Trotskyist movement to intervene in the crises of Stalinism and to find support inside the workers states.

The main document of the congress was devoted to "Dynamics of World Revolution Today." It embodied the conclusions reached by a very large majority of Trotskyists throughout the world in the wake of the gigantic upheavals of the postwar period.

This text began by pointing out the fact that the world revolution had extended from the Soviet Union toward the colonial countries and not, as had for a long time been expected, toward the economically developed capitalist countries. The document showed that this process, which had carried the revolution to the periphery first, before reaching the heart of the capitalist system, had in no way been an inevitable one: it was essentially a product of betrayal by the traditional working-class leaderships, Social Democratic and Stalinist.

The document then explained that in our era the world revolution was going forward on three fronts, each with its own distinct characteristics: the proletarian or classical revolution in the developed capitalist states; the colonial revolution in the underdeveloped capitalist countries, where it tended to become a permanent revolution; the political, antibureaucratic revolution in the workers states. The document emphasized that it was not a question of simply adding up the three sectors, since the world revolution constitutes a whole whose various parts have a reciprocal effect on each other. And most of the text was specifically devoted to a study of the characteristics of each of these sectors and their interaction with each other.

But the document was not limited to an examination of the "objective" conditions of the world revolution; it dealt with the "subjective" conditions in just as thorough a fashion. Reviewing the necessity for revolutionary leaderships (building such leaderships was the task the Fourth

30. See "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," *Intercontinental Press*, May 11, 1970, p. 442. — *Translator*

International had set for itself from its very foundation), the document replied to a question raised by numerous activists who felt neither deliberate hostility toward the Fourth International nor hostility toward the necessity of a democratically centralized party. That question was: Why hasn't the Fourth International developed into a mass organization? Why wasn't it able to do so after the period of ebb, which extended from 1923 to 1943, came to a close?

The document does not dodge this question. It points out how the defeat of Nazism, due in great part to the Soviet armies, had directly served to strengthen the Stalinist leaderships. Working-class militants at the end of the first world war had been outraged by the treason of the Second International, which had led them to slaughter one another in an imperialist war, and they had responded to the appeals of the Third International. In the second world war, the combination of an interimperialist war with a war for the defense of the Soviet Union against Hitlerism had engendered mixed feelings and political confusion at the war's end. The document also showed how—since the crisis of Stalinism developed under extremely complex conditions, while the countries with the greatest Marxist traditions were going through a stage of political apathy on the part of the working class—the Fourth International had come up against numerous and substantial obstacles to progress. Nevertheless, these obstacles had not prevented the Fourth International from making more and more solid progress, as the old leaderships suffered erosion.

This document<sup>31</sup> ended with an exceptionally forceful justification of the need, more imperative in today's world than ever before, for the Fourth International as it is today, in order to build the mass Fourth International of tomorrow. To our knowledge, no one has attempted to criticize this document, or even partially or indirectly answer it.

### Attacks Against the Reunited International (The Splitters)

The Reunification Congress had put an end to an organizational situation that had given momentum to the centrifugal forces operating on the International; but these forces had not disappeared with the reunification, nor had the difficulties in this area been overcome.

The majority of the organizations brought together in the reunited International encountered no difficulties, even of a minor order, amongst themselves. On the contrary, they had to defend the International against those who had not wanted to participate in the reunification, and for several months internally against the faction led by Pablo. For the latter groups, the reunification constituted a step that, in the long run, threatened their existence, and they had to try to break it up while it was still weak.

The congress had reunited a very large majority of the Trotskyist forces. The Posadas faction was soon to dwindle to a single group in Argentina of slight importance; everywhere else it was composed of individuals. When

31. See "Dynamics of World Revolution Today: Text of Resolution Adopted by Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, June 1963," *International Socialist Review*, Fall 1963, p. 114. —Translator

the Pablo faction publicly broke with the International, about a year after the congress, that faction, too, was numerically very weak. The only two groups of any size outside the International are the SLL in Great Britain and the OCI in France. But what could be clearly seen from inside the International was not so obvious to the world at large, since these groups made their existence known through publications that concentrated on attacking the International.

We have already presented the sectarian positions of the Healy and Lambert groups, and it is not necessary to take this up again at any length. Curiously enough, they intensified their attacks against the "Pabloite" International even several years after Pablo's split, and their attacks were directed to a much lesser degree against Pablo himself, whom they ignored from the moment he broke with the International. It was not Pablo and his ideas that bothered them, but rather the very existence and activity of the International and its sections. The Healy and Lambert groups made a big fuss about holding an international conference of their "Committee" in April 1966, aimed at "reconstructing" the Fourth International; this conference was completely unsuccessful and wound up in a break with those who had attended as observers.

The Posadas group had been especially harmful to the International in Latin America, where, to the Cubans in particular, it represented (wrongly) Trotskyism and the Fourth International. Castro's attack on the Fourth International—as well as on other revolutionary tendencies—at the Tricontinental Conference in Havana in January 1966 was partially based on the incorrect positions taken by the Posadas group. Without for one instant abating its activity in defense of the Cuban revolution, the Fourth International politely but firmly challenged Castro's anti-Trotskyist statements. We were able to ascertain the result obtained on this point when, the following year, on the anniversary of the Tricontinental Conference, Radio Havana rebroadcast Castro's speech without, however, including the part directed against the Fourth International and the other revolutionary tendencies.

The struggle that Pablo and his faction undertook, right after the congress, lasted several months, during which time they often went from one subject to another. With the defeat suffered by the French working class as a result of de Gaulle's coming to power, it was the development of the Algerian revolution, in the years preceding and immediately following its conquest of independence, that heavily influenced Pablo's thinking. He saw, and correctly so, analogies between the course of the Algerian revolution and the course of the Cuban revolution, and, consequently, hoped for a victorious socialist revolution in Algeria. There was no disagreement with Pablo on that point. But losing more and more contact with the Fourth International on one hand, and placing false hopes in his personal opportunities for intervening at the top levels of the Algerian movement on the other hand, he wound up not so much by elaborating an international political line, whether opportunistic or sectarian—at that time he adopted positions in an impressionistic fashion and often changed them from top to bottom in a very short space of time<sup>32</sup>—as by denying the need for an international

32. To mention only a few examples of his most impressionistic positions: he counted on imperialism's rapid retreat from

organization, functioning as at present on the basis of democratic centralism. He put forward a concept of the Fourth International that he had formerly vigorously denounced, i.e., a federation of factions independent of each other and acting in common only on questions on which they were in agreement. After the split, he devoted himself principally to commenting on events; thenceforth he favored using mass movements as they are rather than building new revolutionary parties.

### The Degeneration of the Ceylonese Section

One of the most painful questions facing the united leadership was that of the Ceylonese section. This is the place to discuss the entire problem.

The Lanka Sama Samaja party (LSSP) was a section of the Fourth International with very special characteristics in comparison with all the other sections, by reason of its origin, its composition, its function and influence in its own country. To a large extent, this stemmed from certain characteristics of the political and social situation in Ceylon itself. Although neighbor to India, this island had had no bourgeois movement for independence, as was the case for India, whose Congress party even dared to organize an uprising against British colonialism during the second world war, in British colonialism's most difficult days.

Ceylon's struggle for independence was launched by young intellectuals of bourgeois origin who, in the course of their sojourn in British universities during the 1930s, had been won over to Communist ideas. Moreover, the most outstanding of these young people, moved by the defeat of the second Chinese revolution and seeking the reasons for that defeat, became aware of Trotsky's positions on China and adopted the theory of permanent revolution. Returning to Ceylon, they created the LSSP and began to organize the workers into trade unions. During the war, the LSSP got rid of the Ceylonese Stalinists who, because of the alliance between the Soviet Union and British imperialism, refused to wage a struggle against colonialism.

Imprisoned as a result of the repression, these young Trotskyists managed to escape and make their way to India, where they took part in that country's struggles and helped found the Indian section of the Fourth International. Back in Ceylon after the war, their wartime attitude earned them enormous popularity among the working-class masses. The Ceylonese bourgeoisie, more exactly its compradore part strongly attached to British capitalism, benefited from the latter's retreat and obtained independence in India's wake in 1948, without having to wage the slightest struggle for it. The political party of this compradore bourgeoisie, the UNP (United National party), came to power. The LSSP then surged forward as the island's second party—the party of the workers.

Thus this party, which had gotten rid of its Stalinist wing and had joined the Fourth International, did not

---

Vietnam early in 1965, which attested to his belief in "peaceful coexistence"; he saw "political revolution" in Yugoslavia when Rankovic was eliminated; he made an abrupt change on China, in favor of the Soviet leadership; he made a series of political zigzags on Ceylon, etc.

arise out of crises within the working-class movement and struggles against the old leaderships—as did the other sections of the Fourth International. It was rather the fruit of courageous action by a team of young, revolutionary intellectuals who, the first to do so in Ceylon, had organized the working class and demanded the country's independence from British imperialism.

Heading the party was a team composed for the most part of men like Colvin R. de Silva, Leslie Gunawardene, Bernard Soysa, Doric de Souza, Edmund Samarakody, men of great intellectual worth and great fighting spirit. There were also other elements in the leadership, such as N.M. Perera, far less attached to theoretical questions, opportunistic in character, whose authority stemmed from his systematical trade-union work. These elements were held in check by the leading nucleus. The ranks of the party were composed of very militant workers, very devoted to their class.

But for objective reasons, there had from the start been quite a big gap between the political education of the leadership and that of the rank and file. The overwhelming majority of the workers do not know English. In the absence of adequate material in the Sinhalese or Tamil languages for their political education, the workers had only a rudimentary notion of Marxist principles and the theories of Trotsky and the Fourth International. In its mass, the LSSP was not really Trotskyist in origin.

The party also went through internal struggles, and petty-bourgeois elements were fought and eliminated by the LSSP leadership, which for years acted as a true revolutionary leadership, working to advance its organization toward Trotskyism. Its attitude on August 12, 1953, when a *hartal* (general strike) paralyzed the country, was remarkable, and later it most courageously opposed the communalist currents which for a time set one of Ceylon's main nationalities against the other.

Nevertheless, despite their intellectual qualities, members of this leadership were not without weakness. The party did not have a real Bolshevik organizational structure; its congresses were actually general assemblies in which eloquent oratory often outweighed sound political argument. After a while, when the organization had made electoral gains, political education was neglected in favor of superficial activism, and growing parliamentary tendencies in the party could be observed. While acknowledging these tendencies, the leadership did not fight against them hard enough, and eventually it itself became infected.

Finally, while the party had a solid working-class base, it barely had a toehold in the rural masses that constitute the majority of the island's population. The party hardly had a program for them—and this proved to be an important factor in leading to its political debacle. For a long time, the party had taken hold only among the Sinhalese workers (workers in the port city of Colombo, transport workers, clerical workers, etc.); only with difficulty did the party reach the biggest part of Ceylon's proletariat, the plantation workers made up of Indians "imported" long ago by the British for the latter's needs. These workers still have no citizenship, neither Ceylonese nor Indian.

The International had frequently called the LSSP leadership's attention to these weaknesses and to the necessity for remedying them. But the International's efforts were

limited to those members who could understand English, and under the circumstances, this meant the most advanced section, i. e., the leadership of the party.

For many years, there had been only two opposing parties on the national level, the UNP and the LSSP. During the 1950s, however, the Sri Lanka Freedom party (SLFP) arose out of a split in the UNP. To the surprise of the LSSP leaders, the new party's success in the 1956 election brought it to power. Instead of proceeding to a profound analysis of the causes for this electoral victory, the LSSP's leaders, who very correctly characterized the SLFP as a bourgeois party with a wider base than the UNP, judged that the new party, like the UNP, would rapidly wear out its credit and that the LSSP would then have a clear field.

It was with this perspective that the LSSP approached the March 1960 elections, in which it hoped to win a parliamentary majority. The tremendous effort the party put into these elections made its defeat all the more painful. From that time on, the LSSP's leadership found itself politically disoriented. It began to vacillate politically; the influence of N.M. Perera, who became more open in advancing reformist positions, began to spread. Right after these elections, N.M. Perera proposed that the LSSP enter a government coalition with the SLFP. This proposal was rejected, but the LSSP's parliamentary group practically gave the bourgeois government of the SLFP a vote of confidence. The Fourth International publicly disavowed that vote.<sup>33</sup>

Later on, when the masses went into action against some of the new government's measures, the LSSP went over to the opposition, but without making a serious self-criticism of its previous attitude. The relative consolidation of the SLFP in the 1960 elections resulted in accentuating the vacillation of the LSSP leadership. It had to suffer the political consequences of neglecting the problems of the Ceylonese agricultural workers. It did not understand that this new bourgeois party, unlike the comradre UNP, was based on the "national bourgeoisie" and that this party had been able to win support among the rural masses neglected by the LSSP.

Nevertheless, there was another partial turn to the left by the party in 1962-63, when the masses again went into action. Together with the Ceylonese Communist party and a small, radical-appearing bourgeois organization, the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP), the LSSP formed what was called the United Left Front. This organization was well received by the Ceylonese masses and could have, were it not for the inadequacy of its program, constituted the point of departure of an extraparliamentary struggle for power. But a half-fought fight paves the way for disaster.

Inside the leadership, N.M. Perera, for a long time held in check by the intellectual authority and political strength of the other members of the leadership, gained free rein as a result of the latter's vacillations. The leadership, disoriented and unsure, was divided: on one side, the main nucleus, including Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Gunawardene, adopted a conciliatory position toward the SLFP; on the other, Edmund Samarakkody and Bala

Tampoe defended correct, principled positions, but in a political form that the International considered sectarian and hardly likely to convince the rank and file to oppose the party's political concessions. In this troubled situation, N.M. Perera entered into negotiations with the prime minister, without the party's knowledge, then demanded the immediate calling of a special congress of the party to answer the proposals for a government coalition that the prime minister had made to him. By then the Ceylonese organization had reached an advanced stage of political degeneration. At the congress, about 25 percent of the members rejected in principle any participation in the government, any participation in a bourgeois regime. The old Colvin R. de Silva-Leslie Gunawardene team, which for twenty-five years had led the party, received only 10 percent of the votes on an amendment to the Perera resolution, and in the final vote only retained 4 to 5 percent—the remaining votes going to Perera who became head of the organization. With certain of his friends, he entered the government.

After the Sixth World Congress's condemnation of the 1960 budget-vote—a condemnation independently supported by the position publicly taken in *The Militant* by the U.S. Socialist Workers party—the LSSP leadership still had not sufficiently rectified its orientation. Its oscillations continued. In numerous interventions, the International tried to change the LSSP's line in a more vigorous and thoroughgoing fashion. At the Seventh World Congress, which preceded the reunification of the International, Ceylon was represented by Comrade Samarakkody. At that time, the left wing to which he belonged had disassociated itself from the centrist majority of the leadership, but without deeming it necessary as yet to organize a faction for waging the struggle. The LSSP had just organized the United Left Front. The congress forwarded a long letter to the LSSP, in which it stressed the inadequacies of this policy on four fundamental points:

a) Insufficient critical analysis of the 1960 error.

b) Lack of clarity with respect to the extraparliamentary nature of the potentialities of the United Left Front, in contrast with its parliamentary aspects.

c) Failure to publicly criticize the opportunistic policy of its allies (the CP and the MEP).

d) Failure to include the Tamil plantation-workers' trade-union organizations in the United Left Front.

Later, on April 23, 1964, when the United Secretariat of the Fourth International was informed of N.M. Perera's moves, it condemned them, declaring that accepting such a policy would be tantamount to betrayal. At the congress held in Colombo June 6-7 of the same year, the Fourth International's delegate denounced the policy of coalition from the speakers' platform. To all the Ceylonese people who were following the congress's proceedings, he publicly declared that if such a policy were adopted, it would cause a split between the LSSP and the International. Immediately after the vote, the break was effected by the United Secretariat.

Supporters of the Fourth International regrouped after the congress's vote for the purpose of reestablishing the Trotskyist organization. Unfortunately, Trotskyism had suffered a severe blow in Ceylon, and the Trotskyist movement in that country has never since regained a firm foundation.

[To be continued]

33. See installment No. 8 in our issue of May 1, p. 503.—*Translator*